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Omnia facturum te dicis, nil facis autem.

Nil mirum! levius dicere quam facere est!

Omnia vincetas, sperabas omnia, Müller.

Omnia deficient: incipis esse nihil!

This variation of the old epigram was written by Merrill on a copy of Müller's letter to the Delegates of the Clarendon Press in which he argues the desirability of a continuation of the series "Sacred Books of the East."

1882. Communicated to W. D. W. by R. Host.

THE
SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST

London
MACMILLAN AND CO.



PUBLISHERS TO THE UNIVERSITY OF
Oxford.

THE
SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST

TRANSLATED

BY VARIOUS ORIENTAL SCHOLARS

AND EDITED BY

F. MAX MÜLLER

VOL. I

Oxford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1879

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THE UPANISHADS

TRANSLATED BY

F. MAX MÜLLER

PART I

THE *KHÂNDOGYA*-UPANISHAD

THE *TALAVAKÂRA*-UPANISHAD

THE *AITAREYA-ÂRANYAKA*

THE *KAUSHÎTAKI-BRÂHMAVA*-UPANISHAD

AND

THE *VÂGASANEYI-SAMHITÂ*-UPANISHAD

5

Oxford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1879

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IND L 380.2



TO
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE MARQUIS OF SALISBURY, K.G.

CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD,
LATELY SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA,

SIR HENRY J. S. MAINE, K.C.S.I.

MEMBER OF THE COUNCIL OF INDIA,

AND
THE VERY REV. H. G. LIDDELL, D.D.

DEAN OF CHRIST CHURCH,

TO WHOSE KIND INTEREST AND EXERTIONS
THIS ATTEMPT TO MAKE KNOWN TO THE ENGLISH PEOPLE
THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST
IS SO LARGELY INDEBTED,
I NOW DEDICATE THESE VOLUMES
WITH SINCERE RESPECT AND GRATITUDE,

F. MAX MÜLLER.

'The general inclinations which are naturally implanted in my soul to some religion, it is impossible for me to shift off: but there being such a multiplicity of religions in the world, I desire now seriously to consider with my self which of them all to restrain these my general inclinations to. And the reason of this my enquiry is not, that I am in the least dissatisfied with that religion I have already embraced; but because 'tis natural for all men to have an overbearing opinion and esteem for that particular religion they are born and bred-up in. That, therefore, I may not seem biassed by the prejudice of education, I am resolved to prove and examine them all; that I may see and hold fast to that which is best. . . .

'Indeed there was never any religion so barbarous and diabolical, but it was preferred before all other religions whatsoever, by them that did profess it; otherwise they would not have professed it. . . .

'And why, say they, may not you be mistaken as well as we? Especially when there is, at least, six to one against your Christian religion; all of which think they serve God aright; and expect happiness thereby as well as you. . . . And hence it is that in my looking out for the truest religion, being conscious to my self how great an ascendant Christianity holds over me beyond the rest, as being that religion whereinto I was born and baptized, that which the supreme authority has enjoined and my parents educated me in; that which every one I meet withal highly approves of, and which I my self have, by a long continued profession, made almost natural to me: I am resolved to be more jealous and suspicious of this religion, than of the rest, and be sure not to entertain it any longer without being convinced by solid and substantial arguments, of the truth and certainty of it. That, therefore, I may make diligent and impartial enquiry into all religions and so be sure to find out the best, I shall for a time, look upon my self as one not at all interested in any particular religion whatsoever, much less in the Christian religion; but only as one who desires, in general, to serve and obey Him that made me, in a right manner, and thereby to be made partaker of that happiness my nature is capable of.'

BISHOP BEVERIDGE (1636-1707).

Private Thoughts on Religion, Part I, Article 2.

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P R E F A C E

TO

THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST.

I MUST begin this series of translations of the Sacred Books of the East with three cautions:—the first, referring to the character of the original texts here translated; the second, with regard to the difficulties in making a proper use of translations; the third, showing what is possible and what is impossible in rendering ancient thought into modern speech.

Readers who have been led to believe that the Vedas of the ancient Brahmans, the Avesta of the Zoroastrians, the Tripitaka of the Buddhists, the Kings of Confucius, or the Koran of Mohammed are books full of primeval wisdom and religious enthusiasm, or at least of sound and simple moral teaching, will be disappointed on consulting these volumes. Looking at many of the books that have lately been published on the religions of the ancient world, I do not wonder that such a belief should have been raised; but I have long felt that it was high time to dispel such illusions, and to place the study of the ancient religions of the world on a more real and sound, on a more truly historical basis. It is but natural that those who write on

ancient religions, and who have studied them from translations only, not from original documents, should have had eyes for their bright rather than for their dark sides. The former absorb all the attention of the student, the latter, as they teach nothing, seem hardly to deserve any notice. Scholars also who have devoted their life either to the editing of the original texts or to the careful interpretation of some of the sacred books, are more inclined, after they have disinterred from a heap of rubbish some solitary fragments of pure gold, to exhibit these treasures only than to display all the refuse from which they had to extract them. I do not blame them for this, perhaps I should feel that I was open to the same blame myself, for it is but natural that scholars in their joy at finding one or two fragrant fruits or flowers should gladly forget the brambles and thorns that had to be thrown aside in the course of their search.

But whether I am myself one of the guilty or not, I cannot help calling attention to the real mischief that has been done and is still being done by the enthusiasm of those pioneers who have opened the first avenues through the bewildering forest of the sacred literature of the East. They have raised expectations that cannot be fulfilled, fears also that, as will be easily seen, are unfounded. Anyhow they have removed the study of religion from that wholesome and matter-of-fact atmosphere in which alone it can produce valuable and permanent results.

The time has come when the study of the ancient religions of mankind must be approached in a different, in a less enthusiastic, and more discriminating, in fact, in a more scholarlike spirit. Not

that I object to dilettanti, if they only are what by their name they profess to be, devoted lovers, and not mere amateurs. The religions of antiquity must always be approached in a loving spirit, and the dry and cold-blooded scholar is likely to do here as much mischief as the enthusiastic sciolist. But true love does not ignore all faults and failings: on the contrary, it scans them keenly, though only in order to be able to understand, to explain, and thus to excuse them. To watch in the Sacred Books of the East the dawn of the religious consciousness of man, must always remain one of the most inspiring and hallowing sights in the whole history of the world; and he whose heart cannot quiver with the first quivering rays of human thought and human faith, as revealed in those ancient documents, is, in his own way, as unfit for these studies as, from another side, the man who shrinks from copying and collating ancient MSS., or toiling through volumes of tedious commentary. What we want here, as everywhere else, is the truth, and the whole truth; and if the whole truth must be told, it is that, however radiant the dawn of religious thought, it is not without its dark clouds, its chilling colds, its noxious vapours. Whoever does not know these, or would hide them from his own sight and from the sight of others, does not know and can never understand the real toil and travail of the human heart in its first religious aspirations; and not knowing its toil and travail, can never know the intensity of its triumphs and its joys.

In order to have a solid foundation for a comparative study of the religions of the East, we must have before all things complete and thoroughly

faithful translations of their sacred books. Extracts will no longer suffice. We do not know Germany, if we know the Rhine; nor Rome, when we have admired St. Peter's. No one who collects and publishes such extracts can resist, no one at all events, so far as I know, has ever resisted, the temptation of giving what is beautiful, or it may be what is strange and startling, and leaving out what is commonplace, tedious, or it may be repulsive, or, lastly, what is difficult to construe and to understand. We must face the problem in its completeness, and I confess it has been for many years a problem to me, aye, and to a great extent is so still, how the Sacred Books of the East should, by the side of so much that is fresh, natural, simple, beautiful, and true, contain so much that is not only unmeaning, artificial, and silly, but even hideous and repellent. This is a fact, and must be accounted for in some way or other.

To some minds this problem may seem to be no problem at all. To those (and I do not speak of Christians only) who look upon the sacred books of all religions except their own as necessarily the outcome of human or superhuman ignorance and depravity, the mixed nature of their contents may seem to be exactly what it ought to be, what they expected it would be. But there are other and more reverent minds who can feel a divine afflatus in the sacred books, not only of their own, but of other religions also, and to them the mixed character of some of the ancient sacred canons must always be extremely perplexing.

I can account for it to a certain extent, though not entirely to my own satisfaction. Most of the

ancient sacred books have been handed down by oral tradition for many generations before they were consigned to writing. In an age when there was nothing corresponding to what we call literature, every saying, every proverb, every story handed down from father to son, received very soon a kind of hallowed character. They became sacred heirlooms, sacred, because they came from an unknown source, from a distant age. There was a stage in the development of human thought, when the distance that separated the living generation from their grandfathers or great-grandfathers was as yet the nearest approach to a conception of eternity, and when the name of grandfather and great-grandfather seemed the nearest expression of God¹. Hence, what had been said by these half-human, half-divine ancestors, if it was preserved at all, was soon looked upon as a more than human utterance. It was received with reverence, it was never questioned and criticised.

Some of these ancient sayings were preserved because they were so true and so striking that they could not be forgotten. They contained eternal truths, expressed for the first time in human language. Of such oracles of truth it was said in India that they had been heard, *sruta*, and from it arose the word *sruti*, the recognised term for divine revelation in Sanskrit.

But besides those utterances which had a vitality of their own, strong enough to defy the power of

¹ Bishop Callaway, *Unkulunkulu, or the Tradition of Creation*, as existing among the Amazulu and other tribes of South Africa, p. 7.

time, there were others which might have struck the minds of the listeners with great force under the peculiar circumstances that evoked them, but which, when these circumstances were forgotten, became trivial and almost unintelligible. A few verses sung by warriors on the eve of a great battle would, if that battle ended in victory, assume a charm quite independent of their poetic merit. They would be repeated in memory of the heroes who conquered, and of the gods who granted victory. But when the heroes, and the gods, and the victory were all forgotten, the song of victory and thanksgiving would often survive as a relic of the past, though almost unintelligible to later generations.

Even a single ceremonial act, performed at the time of a famine or an inundation, and apparently attended with a sudden and almost miraculous success, might often be preserved in the liturgical code of a family or a tribe with a superstitious awe entirely beyond our understanding. It might be repeated for some time on similar emergencies, till when it had failed again and again it survived only as a superstitious custom in the memory of priests and poets.

Further, it should be remembered that in ancient as in modern times, the utterances of men who had once gained a certain prestige, would often receive attention far beyond their merits, so that in many a family or tribe the sayings and teachings of one man, who had once in his youth or manhood uttered words of inspired wisdom, would all be handed down together, without any attempt to separate the grain from the chaff.

Nor must we forget that though oral tradition, when once brought under proper discipline, is a most faithful guardian, it is not without its dangers in its incipient stages. Many a word may have been misunderstood, many a sentence confused, as it was told by father to son, before it became fixed in the tradition of a village community, and then resisted by its very sacredness all attempts at emendation.

Lastly, we must remember that those who handed down the ancestral treasures of ancient wisdom, would often feel inclined to add what seemed useful to themselves, and what they knew could be preserved in one way only, namely, if it was allowed to form part of the tradition that had to be handed down, as a sacred trust, from generation to generation. The priestly influence was at work, even before there were priests by profession, and when the priesthood had once become professional, its influence may account for much that would otherwise seem inexplicable in the sacred codes of the ancient world.

These are some of the considerations which may help to explain how, mixed up with real treasures of thought, we meet in the sacred books with so many passages and whole chapters which either never had any life or meaning at all, or if they had, have, in the form in which they have come down to us, completely lost it. We must try to imagine what the Old Testament would have been, if it had not been kept distinct from the Talmud; or the New Testament, if it had been mixed up not only with the spurious gospels, but with the records of the wranglings of the early Councils, if we wish to understand; to some extent at least, the wild confusion of sublime truth

with vulgar stupidity that meets us in the pages of the Veda, the Avesta, and the Tripitaka. The idea of keeping the original and genuine tradition separate from apocryphal accretions was an idea of later growth, that could spring up only after the earlier tendency of preserving whatever could be preserved of sacred or half-sacred lore, had done its work, and wrought its own destruction.

In using, what may seem to some of my fellow-workers, this very strong and almost irreverent language with regard to the ancient Sacred Books of the East, I have not neglected to make full allowance for that very important intellectual parallax which, no doubt, renders it most difficult for a Western observer to see things and thoughts under exactly the same angle and in the same light as they would appear to an Eastern eye. There are Western expressions which offend Eastern taste as much as Eastern expressions are apt to offend Western taste. A symphony of Beethoven's would be mere noise to an Indian ear, an Indian Saṅgīta seems to us without melody, harmony, or rhythm. All this I fully admit, yet after making every allowance for national taste and traditions, I still confidently appeal to the best Oriental scholars, who have not entirely forgotten that there is a world outside the four walls of their study, whether they think that my condemnation is too severe, or that Eastern nations themselves would tolerate, in any of their classical literary compositions, such violations of the simplest rules of taste as they have accustomed themselves to tolerate, if not to admire, in their sacred books.

But then it might no doubt be objected that books of such a character hardly deserve the honour of

being translated into English, and that the sooner they are forgotten, the better. Such opinions have of late been freely expressed by some eminent writers, and supported by arguments worthy of the Khalif Omar himself. In these days of anthropological research, when no custom is too disgusting to be recorded, no rules of intermarriage too complicated to be disentangled, it may seem strange that the few genuine relics of ancient religion which, as by a miracle, have been preserved to us, should thus have been judged from a purely æsthetic, and not from an historical point of view. There was some excuse for this in the days of Sir William Jones and Colebrooke. The latter, as is well known, considered 'the Vedas as too voluminous for a complete translation of the whole,' adding that 'what they contain would hardly reward the labour of the reader; much less that of the translator¹.' The former went still further in the condemnation which he pronounced on Anquetil Duperron's translation of the Zend-avesta. Sir W. Jones, we must remember, was not only a scholar, but also a man of taste, and the man of taste sometimes gained a victory over the scholar. His controversy with Anquetil Duperron, the discoverer of the Zend-avesta, is well known. It was carried on by Sir W. Jones apparently with great success, and yet in the end the victor has proved to be the vanquished. It was easy, no doubt, to pick out from Anquetil Duperron's translation of the sacred writings of Zoroaster hundreds of passages which were or seemed to be utterly unmeaning or absurd. This arose partly, but partly only, from the imperfections

¹ Colebrooke's *Miscellaneous Essays*, 1873, vol. ii, p. 102.

of the translation. Much, however, of what Sir W. Jones represented as ridiculous, and therefore unworthy of Zoroaster, and therefore unworthy of being translated, forms an integral part of the sacred code of the Zoroastrians. Sir W. Jones smiles at those who 'think obscurity sublime and venerable, like that of ancient cloisters and temples, shedding,' as Milton expresses it, 'a dim religious light¹.' 'On possédait déjà,' he writes in his letter addressed to Anquetil Duperron, 'and composed in very good and sparkling French, 'plusieurs traités attribués à Zardusht ou Zeratusht, traduits en Persan moderne; de prétendues conférences de ce législateur avec Ormuzd, des prières, des dogmes, des lois religieuses. Quelques savans, qui ont lu ces traductions, nous ont assuré que les originaux étaient de la plus haute antiquité, parce qu'ils renfermaient beaucoup de platitudes, de bévues, et de contradictions: mais nous avons conclu par les mêmes raisons, qu'ils étaient très-modernes, ou bien qu'ils n'étaient pas d'un homme d'esprit, et d'un philosophe, tel que Zoroastre est peint par nos historiens. Votre nouvelle traduction, Monsieur, nous confirme dans ce jugement: tout le collège des Guèbres aurait beau nous l'assurer; nous ne croirons jamais que le charlatan le moins habile ait pu écrire les fadaises dont vos deux derniers volumes sont remplis².' He at last sums up his argument in the following words: 'Ou Zoroastre n'avait pas le sens commun, ou il n'écrivit pas le livre que vous lui attribuez: s'il n'avait pas le sens commun, il fallait le laisser dans la foule, et dans l'obscurité; s'il n'écrivit pas

¹ Sir W. Jones's Works, vol. iv, p. 113.

² *Ib.*, vol. x, p. 408.

ce livre, il était impudent de le publier sous son nom. Ainsi, ou vous avez insulté le goût du public en lui présentant des sottises, ou vous l'avez trompé en lui donnant des faussetés: et de chaque côté vous méritez son mépris ¹.'

This alternative holds good no longer. The sacred code of Zoroaster or of any other of the founders of religions may appear to us to be full of absurdities, or may in fact really be so, and it may yet be the duty of the scholar to publish, to translate, and carefully to examine those codes as memorials of the past, as the only trustworthy documents in which to study the growth and decay of religion. It does not answer to say that if Zoroaster was what we believe him to have been, a wise man, in our sense of the word, he could not have written the rubbish which we find in the Avesta. If we are once satisfied that the text of the Avesta, or the Veda, or the Tripitaka is old and genuine, and that this text formed the foundation on which, during many centuries, the religious belief of millions of human beings was based, it becomes our duty, both as historians and philosophers, to study these books, to try to understand how they could have arisen, and how they could have exercised for ages an influence over human beings who in all other respects were not inferior to ourselves, nay, whom we are accustomed to look up to on many points as patterns of wisdom, of virtue, and of taste.

The facts, such as they are, must be faced, if the study of the ancient religions of the world is ever to assume a really historical character; and having

¹ Works, vol. x, p. 437.

myself grudged no praise to what to my mind is really beautiful or sublime in the early revelations of religious truth, I feel the less hesitation in fulfilling the duty of the true scholar, and placing before historians and philosophers accurate, complete, and unembellished versions of some of the sacred books of the East. Such versions alone will enable them to form a true and just estimate of the real development of early religious thought, so far as we can still gain a sight of it in literary records to which the highest human or even divine authority has been ascribed by the followers of the great religions of antiquity. It often requires an effort to spoil a beautiful sentence by a few words which might so easily be suppressed, but which are there in the original, and must be taken into account quite as much as the pointed ears in the beautiful Faun of the Capitol. We want to know the ancient religions such as they really were, not such as we wish they should have been. We want to know, not their wisdom only, but their folly also; and while we must learn to look up to their highest points where they seem to rise nearer to heaven than anything we were acquainted with before, we must not shrink from looking down into their stony tracts, their dark abysses, their muddy moraines, in order to comprehend both the height and the depth of the human mind in its searchings after the Infinite.

I can answer for myself and for those who have worked with me, that our translations are truthful, that we have suppressed nothing, that we have varnished nothing, however hard it seemed sometimes even to write it down.

There is only one exception. There are in ancient

books, and particularly in religious books, frequent allusions to the sexual aspects of nature, which, though perfectly harmless and innocent in themselves, cannot be rendered in modern language without the appearance of coarseness. We may regret that it should be so, but tradition is too strong on this point, and I have therefore felt obliged to leave certain passages untranslated, and to give the original, when necessary, in a note. But this has been done in extreme cases only, and many things which we should feel inclined to suppress have been left in all their outspoken simplicity, because those who want to study ancient man, must learn to study him as he really was, an animal, with all the strength and weaknesses of an animal, though an animal that was to rise above himself, and in the end discover his true self, after many struggles and many defeats.

After this first caution, which I thought was due to those who might expect to find in these volumes nothing but gems, I feel I owe another to those who may approach these translations under the impression that they have only to read them in order to gain an insight into the nature and character of the religions of mankind. There are philosophers who have accustomed themselves to look upon religions as things that can be studied as they study the manners and customs of savage tribes, by glancing at the entertaining accounts of travellers or missionaries, and then classing each religion under such wide categories as fetishism, polytheism, monotheism, and the rest. That is not the case. Translations can do much, but they can never take the place of the originals, and if the originals require not only to be

read, but to be read again and again, translations of sacred books require to be studied with much greater care, before we can hope to gain a real understanding of the intentions of their authors or venture on general assertions.

Such general assertions, if once made, are difficult to extirpate. It has been stated, for instance, that the religious notion of sin is wanting altogether in the hymns of the Rig-veda, and some important conclusions have been based on this supposed fact. Yet the gradual growth of the concept of guilt is one of the most interesting lessons which certain passages of these ancient hymns can teach us¹. It has been asserted that in the Rig-veda Agni, fire, was adored essentially as earthly sacrificial fire, and not as an elemental force. How greatly such an assertion has to be qualified, may be seen from a more careful examination of the translations of the Vedic hymns now accessible². In many parts of the Avesta fire is no doubt spoken of with great reverence, but those who speak of the Zoroastrians as fire-worshippers, should know that the true followers of Zoroaster abhor that very name. Again, there are certainly many passages in the Vedic writings which prohibit the promiscuous communication of the Veda, but those who maintain that the Brahmans, like Roman Catholic priests, keep their sacred books from the people, must have for-

¹ M. M., History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, second edition, 1859, p. 540 seq.

² Ludwig, Rig-veda, übersetzt, vol. iii, p. 331 seq. Muir, Sanskrit Texts, vol. v, p. 199 seq. On the later growth of Agni, see a very useful essay by Holtzmann, 'Agni, nach den Vorstellungen des Mahābhārata,' 1878.

gotten the many passages in the Brâhmaṇas, the Sûtras, and even in the Laws of Manu, where the duty of learning the Veda by heart is inculcated for every Brâhmaṇa, Kshatriya, Vaisya, that is, for every man except a Sûdra.

These are a few specimens only to show how dangerous it is to generalise even where there exist complete translations of certain sacred books. It is far easier to misapprehend, or even totally to misunderstand, a translation than the original; and it should not be supposed, because a sentence or a whole chapter seems at first sight unintelligible in a translation, that therefore they are indeed devoid of all meaning.

What can be more perplexing than the beginning of the *Khândogya-upanishad*? 'Let a man meditate,' we read, or, as others translate it, 'Let a man worship the syllable Om.' It may seem impossible at first sight to elicit any definite meaning from these words and from much that follows after. But it would be a mistake, nevertheless, to conclude that we have here *vox et præterea nihil*. Meditation on the syllable Om consisted in a long-continued repetition of that syllable with a view of drawing the thoughts away from all other subjects, and thus concentrating them on some higher object of thought of which that syllable was made to be the symbol. This concentration of thought, *ekâ-gratâ* or one-pointedness, as the Hindus called it, is something to us almost unknown. Our minds are like kaleidoscopes of thoughts in constant motion; and to shut our mental eyes to everything else, while dwelling on one thought only, has become to most of us almost as impossible as to apprehend one

musical note without harmonics. With the life we are leading now, with telegrams, letters, newspapers, reviews, pamphlets, and books ever breaking in upon us, it has become impossible, or almost impossible, ever to arrive at that intensity of thought which the Hindus meant by *ekâgratâ*, and the attainment of which was to them the indispensable condition of all philosophical and religious speculation. The loss may not be altogether on our side, yet a loss it is, and if we see the Hindus, even in their comparatively monotonous life, adopting all kinds of contrivances in order to assist them in drawing away their thoughts from all disturbing impressions and to fix them on one subject only, we must not be satisfied with smiling at their simplicity, but try to appreciate the object they had in view.

When by means of repeating the syllable *Om*, which originally seems to have meant 'that,' or 'yes,' they had arrived at a certain degree of mental tranquillity, the question arose what was meant by this *Om*, and to this question the most various answers were given, according as the mind was to be led up to higher and higher objects. Thus in one passage we are told at first that *Om* is the beginning of the *Veda*, or, as we have to deal with an *Upanishad* of the *Sâma-veda*, the beginning of the *Sâma-veda*, so that he who meditates on *Om*, may be supposed to be meditating on the whole of the *Sâma-veda*. But that is not enough. *Om* is said to be the essence of the *Sâma-veda*, which, being almost entirely taken from the *Rig-veda*, may itself be called the essence of the *Rig-veda*. And more than that. The *Rig-veda* stands for all speech, the *Sâma-veda* for all breath or life, so that *Om* may be conceived again as the

symbol of all speech and all life. Om thus becomes the name, not only of all our physical and mental powers, but especially of the living principle, the *Prāṇa* or spirit. This is explained by the parable in the second chapter, while in the third chapter, that spirit within us is identified with the spirit in the sun. He therefore who meditates on Om, meditates on the spirit in man as identical with the spirit in nature, or in the sun; and thus the lesson that is meant to be taught in the beginning of the *Khândogya-upanishad* is really this, that none of the Vedas with their sacrifices and ceremonies could ever secure the salvation of the worshipper, i.e. that sacred works, performed according to the rules of the Vedas, are of no avail in the end, but that meditation on Om alone, or that knowledge of what is meant by Om alone, can procure true salvation, or true immortality. Thus the pupil is led on step by step to what is the highest object of the Upanishads, viz. the recognition of the self in man as identical with the Highest Self or Brahman. The lessons which are to lead up to that highest conception of the universe, both subjective and objective, are no doubt mixed up with much that is superstitious and absurd; still the main object is never lost sight of. Thus, when we come to the eighth chapter, the discussion, though it begins with Om or the *Udgītha*, ends with the question of the origin of the world; and though the final answer, namely, that Om means ether (*ākāśa*), and that ether is the origin of all things, may still sound to us more physical than metaphysical, still the description given of ether or *ākāśa*, shows that more is meant by it than the physical ether, and that ether

is in fact one of the earlier and less perfect names of the Infinite, of Brahman, the universal Self. This, at least, is the lesson which the Brahmins themselves read in this chapter¹; and if we look at the ancient language of the Upanishads as representing mere attempts at finding expression for what their language could hardly express as yet, we shall, I think, be less inclined to disagree with the interpretation put on those ancient oracles by the later Vedānta philosophers², or, at all events, we shall hesitate before we reject what is difficult to interpret, as altogether devoid of meaning.

This is but one instance to show that even behind the fantastic and whimsical phraseology of the sacred writings of the Hindus and other Eastern nations, there may be sometimes aspirations after truth which deserve careful consideration from the student of the psychological development and the historical growth of early religious thought, and that after careful sifting, treasures may be found in what at first we may feel inclined to throw away as utterly worthless.

And now I come to the third caution. Let it not be supposed that a text, three thousand years old, or, even if of more modern date, still widely distant from our own sphere of thought, can be translated in the same manner as a book

¹ The Upanishad itself says: 'The Brahman is the same as the ether which is around us; and the ether which is around us, is the same as the ether which is within us. And the ether which is within, that is the ether within the heart. That ether in the heart is omnipresent and unchanging. He who knows this obtains omnipresent and unchangeable happiness.' *Kh. Up.* III, 12, 7-9.

² Cf. Vedānta-sūtras I, 1, 22.

written a few years ago in French or German. Those who know French and German well enough, know how difficult, nay, how impossible it is, to render justice to certain touches of genius which the true artist knows how to give to a sentence. Many poets have translated Heine into English or Tennyson into German, many painters have copied the Madonna di San Sisto or the so-called portrait of Beatrice Cenci. But the greater the excellence of these translators, the more frank has been their avowal, that the original is beyond their reach. And what is a translation of modern German into modern English compared with a translation of ancient Sanskrit or Zend or Chinese into any modern language? It is an undertaking which, from its very nature, admits of the most partial success only, and a more intimate knowledge of the ancient language, so far from facilitating the task of the translator, renders it only more hopeless. Modern words are round, ancient words are square, and we may as well hope to solve the quadrature of the circle, as to express adequately the ancient thoughts of the Veda in modern English.

We must not expect therefore that a translation of the sacred books of the ancients can ever be more than an approximation of our language to theirs, of our thoughts to theirs. The translator, however, if he has once gained the conviction that it is impossible to translate old thought into modern speech, without doing some violence either to the one or to the other, will hardly hesitate in his choice between two evils. He will prefer to do some violence to language rather than to misrepresent old thoughts by clothing them in words which do

not fit them. If therefore the reader finds some of these translations rather rugged, if he meets with expressions which sound foreign, with combinations of nouns and adjectives such as he has never seen before, with sentences that seem too long or too abrupt, let him feel sure that the translator has had to deal with a choice of evils, and that when the choice lay between sacrificing idiom or truth, he has chosen the smaller evil of the two. I do not claim, of course, either for myself or for my fellow-workers, that we have always sacrificed as little as was possible of truth or idiom, and that here and there a happier rendering of certain passages may not be suggested by those who come after us. I only wish to warn the reader once more not to expect too much from a translation, and to bear in mind that, easy as it might be to render word by word, it is difficult, aye, sometimes impossible, to render thought by thought.

I shall give one instance only from my own translation of the Upanishads. One of the most important words in the ancient philosophy of the Brahmans is Âtman, nom. sing. Âtmâ. It is rendered in our dictionaries by 'breath, soul, the principle of life and sensation, the individual soul, the self, the abstract individual, self, one's self, the reflexive pronoun, the natural temperament or disposition, essence, nature, character, peculiarity, the person or the whole body, the body, the understanding, intellect, the mind, the faculty of thought and reason, the thinking faculty, the highest principle of life, Brahma, the supreme deity or soul of the universe, care, effort, pains, firmness, the sun, fire, wind, air, a son.'

This will give classical scholars an idea of the chaotic state from which, thanks to the excellent work done by Boehtlingk, Roth, and others, Sanskrit lexicology is only just emerging. Some of the meanings here mentioned ought certainly not to be ascribed to *âtman*. It never means, for instance, the understanding, nor could it ever by itself be translated by sun, fire, wind, air, pains or firmness. But after deducting such surplusage, there still remains a large variety of meanings which may, under certain circumstances, be ascribed to *âtman*.

When *âtman* occurs in philosophical treatises, such as the Upanishads and the Vedânta system which is based on them, it has generally been translated by soul, mind, or spirit. I tried myself to use one or other of these words, but the oftener I employed them, the more I felt their inadequacy, and was driven at last to adopt self and Self as the least liable to misunderstanding.

No doubt in many passages it sounds strange in English to use self, and in the plural selves instead of selves; but that very strangeness is useful, for while such words as soul and mind and spirit pass over us unrealised, self and selves will always ruffle the surface of the mind, and stir up some reflection in the reader. In English to speak even of the I and the Non-I, was till lately considered harsh; it may still be called a foreign philosophical idiom. In German the *Ich* and *Nicht-ich* have, since the time of Fichte, become recognised and almost familiar, not only as philosophical terms, but as legitimate expressions in the literary language of the day. But while the *Ich* with Fichte expressed the highest abstraction of personal existence, the

corresponding word in Sanskrit, the Aham or Ahañkāra, was always looked upon as a secondary development only, and as by no means free from all purely phenomenal ingredients. Beyond the Aham or Ego, with all its accidents and limitations, such as sex, sense, language, country, and religion, the ancient sages of India perceived, from a very early time, the Âtman or the self, independent of all such accidents.

The individual âtman or self, however, was with the Brahmans a phase or phenomenal modification only of the Highest Self, and that Highest Self was to them the last point which could be reached by philosophical speculation. It was to them what in other systems of philosophy has been called by various names, τὸ ὅν, the Divine, the Absolute. The highest aim of all thought and study with the Brahman of the Upanishads was to recognise his own self as a mere limited reflection of the Highest Self, to know his self in the Highest Self, and through that knowledge to return to it, and regain his identity with it. Here to know was to be, to know the Âtman was to be the Âtman, and the reward of that highest knowledge after death was freedom from new births, or immortality.

That Highest Self which had become to the ancient Brahmans the goal of all their mental efforts, was looked upon at the same time as the starting-point of all phenomenal existence, the root of the world, the only thing that could truly be said to be, to be real and true. As the root of all that exists, the Âtman was identified with the Brahman, which in Sanskrit is both masculine and neuter, and with the Sat, which is neuter only, that which is,

or Satya, the true, the real. It alone exists in the beginning and for ever; it has no second. Whatever else is said to exist, derives its real being from the Sat. How the one Sat became many, how what we call the creation, what they call emanation (*πρόοδος*), constantly proceeds and returns to it, has been explained in various more or less fanciful ways by ancient prophets and poets. But what they all agree in is this, that the whole creation, the visible and invisible world, all plants, all animals, all men are due to the one Sat, are upheld by it, and will return to it.

If we translate *Âtman* by soul, mind, or spirit, we commit, first of all, that fundamental mistake of using words which may be predicated, in place of a word which is a subject only, and can never become a predicate. We may say in English that man possesses a soul, that a man is out of his mind, that man has or even that man is a spirit, but we could never predicate *âtman*, or self, of anything else. Spirit, if it means breath or life; mind, if it means the organ of perception and conception; soul, if, like *ĥaitanya*, it means intelligence in general, all these may be predicated of the *Âtman*, as manifested in the phenomenal world. But they are never subjects in the sense in which the *Âtman* is; they have no independent being, apart from *Âtman*. Thus to translate the beginning of the *Aitareya-upanishad*, *Âtmâ vâ idam eka evâgra âsit*, by 'This (world) verily was before (the creation of the world) soul alone' (Röer); or, 'Originally this (universe) was indeed soul only' (Colebrooke), would give us a totally false idea. M. Regnaud in his '*Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de la philo-*

sophie de l'Inde' (vol. ii, p. 24) has evidently felt this, and has kept the word *âtman* untranslated, 'Au commencement cet univers n'était que l'*âtman*.' But while in French it would seem impossible to find any equivalent for *âtman*, I have ventured to translate in English, as I should have done in German, 'Verily, in the beginning all this was Self, one only.'

Thus again when we read in Sanskrit, 'Know the Self by the self,' *âtmanam âtmanâ pasya*, tempting as it may seem, it would be entirely wrong to render it by the Greek *γνώθι σεαυτόν*. The Brahman called upon his young pupil to know not himself, but his Self, that is, to know his individual self as a merely temporary reflex of the Eternal Self. Were we to translate this so-called *âtma*vidyâ, this self-knowledge, by knowledge of the soul, we should not be altogether wrong, but we should nevertheless lose all that distinguishes Indian from Greek thought. It may not be good English to say to know his self, still less to know our selves, but it would be bad Sanskrit to say to know himself, to know ourselves; or, at all events, such a rendering would deprive us of the greatest advantage in the study of Indian philosophy, the opportunity of seeing in how many different ways man has tried to solve the riddles of the world and of his soul.

I have thought it best therefore to keep as close as possible to the Sanskrit original, and where I could not find an adequate term in English, I have often retained the Sanskrit word rather than use a misleading substitute in English. It is impossible, for instance, to find an English equivalent for so simple a word as *Sat*, τὸ ὄν. We cannot render the Greek τὸ

ὄν and τὸ μὴ ὄν by Being or Not-being, for both are abstract nouns; nor by 'the Being,' for this would almost always convey a wrong impression. In German it is easy to distinguish between das Sein, i. e. being, in the abstract, and das Seiende, τὸ ὄν. In the same way the Sanskrit sat can easily be rendered in Greek by τὸ ὄν, in German by das Seiende, but in English, unless we say 'that which is,' we are driven to retain the original Sat.

From this Sat was derived in Sanskrit Sat-ya, meaning originally 'endowed with being,' then 'true.' This is an adjective; but the same word, as a neuter, is also used in the sense of truth, as an abstract; and in translating it is very necessary always to distinguish between Satyam, the true, frequently the same as Sat, τὸ ὄν, and Satyam, truth, veracity. One example will suffice to show how much the clearness of a translation depends on the right rendering of such words as âtman, sat, and satyam.

In a dialogue between Uddâlaka and his son Svetaketu, in which the father tries to open his son's mind, and to make him see man's true relation to the Highest Self (*Khândogya-upanishad* VI), the father first explains how the Sat produced what we should call the three elements¹, viz. fire, water, and earth, which he calls heat, water, and food. Having produced them (VI, 2, 4), the Sat entered into them, but not with its real nature, but only with its 'living self' (VI, 3, 3), which is a reflection (*âbhâsamâtram*) of the real Sat, as the sun in the water is a reflection

¹ Devatâs, literally deities, but frequently to be translated by powers or beings. Mahadeva Moresvar Kunte, the learned editor of the Vedânta-sûtras, ought not (p. 70) to have rendered devâta, in *Kh. Up.* I, 11, 5, by goddess.

of the real sun. By this apparent union of the Sat with the three elements, every form (rûpa) and every name (nâman) in the world was produced; and therefore he who knows the three elements is supposed to know everything in this world, nearly in the same manner in which the Greeks imagined that through a knowledge of the elements, everything else became known (VI, 4, 7). The same three elements are shown to be also the constituent elements of man (VI, 5). Food or the earthy element is supposed to produce not only flesh, but also mind; water, not only blood, but also breath; heat, not only bone, but also speech. This is more or less fanciful; the important point, however, is this, that, from the Brahmanic point of view, breath, speech, and mind are purely elemental, or external instruments, and require the support of the living self, the *gîvâtman*, before they can act.

Having explained how the Sat produces progressively heat, how heat leads to water, water to earth, and how, by a peculiar mixture of the three, speech, breath, and mind are produced, the teacher afterwards shows how in death, speech returns to mind, mind to breath, breath to heat, and heat to the Sat (VI, 8, 6). This Sat, the root of everything, is called *parâ devatâ*, the highest deity, not in the ordinary sense of the word deity, but as expressing the highest abstraction of the human mind. We must therefore translate it by the Highest Being, in the same manner as we translate *devatâ*, when applied to heat, water, and earth, not by deity, but by substance or element.

The same Sat, as the root or highest essence of all material existence, is called *anîman*, from

anu, small, subtile, infinitesimal, atom. It is an abstract word, and I have translated it by subtile essence.

The father then goes on explaining in various ways that this Sat is underlying all existence, and that we must learn to recognise it as the root, not only of all the objective, but likewise of our own subjective existence. 'Bring the fruit of a Nyagrodha tree,' he says, 'break it, and what do you find?' 'The seeds,' the son replies, 'almost infinitesimal.' 'Break one of them, and tell me what you see.' 'Nothing,' the son replies. Then the father continues: 'My son, that subtile essence which you do not see there, of that very essence this great Nyagrodha tree exists.'

After that follows this sentence: 'Etadâtmyam idam sarvam, tat satyam, sa âtmâ, tat tvam asi Svetaketu.'

This sentence has been rendered by Rajendralal Mitra in the following way: 'All this universe has the (Supreme) Deity for its life. That Deity is Truth. He is the Universal Soul. Thou art He, O Svetaketu¹.'

This translation is quite correct, as far as the words go, but I doubt whether we can connect any definite thoughts with these words. In spite of the division adopted in the text, I believe it will be necessary to join this sentence with the last words of the preceding paragraph. This is clear from the commentary, and from later paragraphs, where this sentence is repeated, VI, 9, 4, &c. The division

¹ Anquetil Duperron translates: 'Ipso hoc modo (ens) illud est subtile: et hoc omne, unus âtma est: et id verum et rectum est, O Sopatkit, tatoumes, id est, ille âtma tu as.'

in the printed text (VI, 8, 6) is wrong, and VI, 8, 7 should begin with *sa ya esho 'nimâ*, i. e. that which is the subtile essence.

The question then is, what is further to be said about this subtile essence. I have ventured to translate the passage in the following way :

‘That which is the subtile essence (the Sat, the root of everything), in it all that exists has its self, or more literally, its self-hood. It is the True (not the Truth in the abstract, but that which truly and really exists). It is the Self, i. e. the Sat is what is called the Self of everything¹.’ Lastly, he sums up, and tells Svetaketu that, not only the whole world, but he too himself is that Self, that Satya, that Sat.

No doubt this translation sounds strange to English ears, but as the thoughts contained in the Upanishads are strange, it would be wrong to smoothe down their strangeness by clothing them in language familiar to us, which, because it is familiar, will fail to startle us, and because it fails to startle us, will fail also to set us thinking.

To know oneself to be the Sat, to know that all that is real and eternal in us is the Sat, that all came from it and will, through knowledge, return to it, requires an independent effort of speculative thought. We must realise, as well as we can, the thoughts of the ancient *Rishis*, before we can hope to translate them. It is not enough simply to read the half-religious, half-philosophical utterances which we find in

¹ The change of gender in *sa* for *tad* is idiomatic. One could not say in Sanskrit *tad âtmâ*, it is the Self, but *sa âtmâ*. By *sa*, he, the Sat, that which is, is meant. The commentary explains *sa âtmâ* by *tat sat*, and continues *tat sat tat tvam asi* (p. 443).

the Sacred Books of the East, and to say that they are strange, or obscure, or mystic. Plato is strange, till we know him; Berkeley is mystic, till for a time we have identified ourselves with him. So it is with these ancient sages, who have become the founders of the great religions of antiquity. They can never be judged from without, they must be judged from within. We need not become Brahmans or Buddhists or Taosze altogether, but we must for a time, if we wish to understand, and still more, if we are bold enough to undertake to translate their doctrines. Whoever shrinks from that effort, will see hardly anything in these sacred books or their translations but matter to wonder at or to laugh at; possibly something to make him thankful that he is not as other men. But to the patient reader these same books will, in spite of many drawbacks, open a new view of the history of the human race, of that one race to which we all belong, with all the fibres of our flesh, with all the fears and hopes of our soul. We cannot separate ourselves from those who believed in these sacred books. There is no specific difference between ourselves and the Brahmans, the Buddhists, the Zoroastrians, or the Taosze. Our powers of perceiving, of reasoning, and of believing may be more highly developed, but we cannot claim the possession of any verifying power or of any power of belief which they did not possess as well. Shall we say then that they were forsaken of God, while we are His chosen people? God forbid! There is much, no doubt, in their sacred books which we should tolerate no longer, though we must not forget that there are portions in our own sacred books, too, which many of us would wish to be absent,

which, from the earliest ages of Christianity, have been regretted by theologians of undoubted piety, and which often prove a stumblingblock to those who have been won over by our missionaries to the simple faith of Christ. But that is not the question. The question is, whether there is or whether there is not, hidden in every one of the sacred books, something that could lift up the human heart from this earth to a higher world, something that could make man feel the omnipresence of a higher Power, something that could make him shrink from evil and incline to good, something to sustain him in the short journey through life, with its bright moments of happiness, and its long hours of terrible distress.

If some of those who read and mark these translations learn how to discover some such precious grains in the sacred books of other nations, though hidden under heaps of rubbish, our labour will not have been in vain, for there is no lesson which at the present time seems more important than to learn that in every religion there are such precious grains ; that we must draw in every religion a broad distinction between what is essential and what is not, between the eternal and the temporary, between the divine and the human ; and that though the non-essential may fill many volumes, the essential can often be comprehended in a few words, but words on which 'hang all the law and the prophets.'

PROGRAM OF A TRANSLATION
OF
THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST.

I here subjoin the program in which I first put forward the idea of a translation of the Sacred Books of the East, and through which I invited the co-operation of Oriental scholars in this undertaking. The difficulty of finding translators, both willing and competent to take a part in it, proved far greater than I had anticipated. Even when I had secured the assistance of a number of excellent scholars, and had received their promises of prompt co-operation, illness, domestic affliction, and even death asserted their control over all human affairs. Professor Childers, who had shown the warmest interest in our work, and on whom I chiefly depended for the Pali literature of the Buddhists, was taken from us, an irreparable loss to Oriental scholarship in general, and to our undertaking in particular. Among native scholars, whose co-operation I had been particularly desired to secure, Rajendralal Mitra, who had promised a translation of the *Vāyu-purāṇa*, was prevented by serious illness from fulfilling his engagement. In other cases sorrow and sickness have caused, at all events, serious delay in the translation of the very books which were to have inaugurated this Series. However, new offers of assistance have come, and I hope that more may still come from Oriental scholars both in India and England, so that the limit of time which had been originally

assigned to the publication of twenty-four volumes may not, I hope, be much exceeded.

THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST, TRANSLATED, WITH INTRODUCTIONS AND NOTES, BY VARIOUS ORIENTAL SCHOLARS, AND EDITED BY F. MAX MÜLLER.

Apart from the interest which the Sacred Books of all religions possess in the eyes of the theologian, and, more particularly, of the missionary, to whom an accurate knowledge of them is as indispensable as a knowledge of the enemy's country is to a general, these works have of late assumed a new importance, as viewed in the character of ancient historical documents. In every country where Sacred Books have been preserved, whether by oral tradition or by writing, they are the oldest records, and mark the beginning of what may be called documentary, in opposition to purely traditional, history.

There is nothing more ancient in India than the Vedas; and, if we except the Vedas and the literature connected with them, there is again no literary work in India which, so far as we know at present, can with certainty be referred to an earlier date than that of the Sacred Canon of the Buddhists. Whatever age we may assign to the various portions of the Avesta and to their final arrangement, there is no book in the Persian language of greater antiquity than the Sacred Books of the followers of Zarathustra, nay, even than their translation in Pehlevi. There may have been an extensive ancient literature in China long before Khung-fû-ze and Lâo-ze, but among all that was rescued and preserved of it, the five King and the four Shû claim again the highest antiquity. As to the Koran, it is known to be the fountain-head both of the religion and of the literature of the Arabs.

This being the case, it was but natural that the attention of the historian should of late have been more strongly attracted by these Sacred Books, as likely to afford most valuable information, not only on the religion, but also on the moral sentiments, the social institutions, the legal maxims of some of the most important nations of antiquity. There are not many nations that have preserved sacred writings, and many of those that have been preserved have but lately become accessible to us in their original form, through the rapid advance of Oriental scholarship in Europe. Neither Greeks, nor Romans, nor Germans, nor Celts, nor Slaves have left us anything that deserves the name of Sacred Books. The

Homeric Poems are national Epics, like the *Râmâyana*, and the Nibelunge, and the Homeric Hymns have never received that general recognition or sanction which alone can impart to the poetical effusions of personal piety the sacred or canonical character which is the distinguishing feature of the Vedic Hymns. The sacred literature of the early inhabitants of Italy seems to have been of a liturgical rather than of a purely religious kind, and whatever the Celts, the Germans, the Slaves may have possessed of sacred traditions about their gods and heroes, having been handed down by oral tradition chiefly, has perished beyond all hope of recovery. Some portions of the Eddas alone give us an idea of what the religious and heroic poetry of the Scandinavians may have been. The Egyptians possessed Sacred Books, and some of them, such as the Book of the Dead, have come down to us in various forms. There is a translation of the Book of the Dead by Dr. Birch, published in the fifth volume of Bunsen's Egypt, and a new edition and translation of this important work may be expected from the combined labours of Birch, Chabas, Lepsius, and Naville. In Babylon and Assyria, too, important fragments of what may be called a Sacred Literature have lately come to light. The interpretation, however, of these Hieroglyphic and Cuneiform texts is as yet so difficult that, for the present, they are of interest to the scholar only, and hardly available for historical purposes.

Leaving out of consideration the Jewish and Christian Scriptures, it appears that the only great and original religions which profess to be founded on Sacred Books¹, and have preserved them in manuscript, are:—

1. The religion of the Brahmans.
2. The religion of the followers of Buddha.
3. The religion of the followers of Zarathustra.
4. The religion of the followers of Khung-fû-jze.
5. The religion of the followers of Láo-jze.
6. The religion of the followers of Mohammed.

A desire for a trustworthy translation of the Sacred Books of these six Eastern religions has often been expressed. Several have been translated into English, French, German, or Latin, but in some cases these translations are difficult to procure, in others they are loaded with notes and commentaries, which are intended for

¹ Introduction to the Science of Religion, by F. Max Müller (Longmans, 1873), p. 104.

students by profession only. Oriental scholars have been blamed for not having as yet supplied a want so generally felt, and so frequently expressed, as a complete, trustworthy, and readable translation of the principal Sacred Books of the Eastern Religions. The reasons, however, why hitherto they have shrunk from such an undertaking are clear enough. The difficulties in many cases of giving complete translations, and not selections only, are very great. There is still much work to be done in a critical restoration of the original texts, in an examination of their grammar and metres, and in determining the exact meaning of many words and passages. That kind of work is naturally far more attractive to scholars than a mere translation, particularly when they cannot but feel that, with the progress of our knowledge, many a passage which now seems clear and easy, may, on being re-examined, assume a new import. Thus while scholars who are most competent to undertake a translation, prefer to devote their time to more special researches, the work of a complete translation is deferred to the future, and historians are left under the impression that Oriental scholarship is still in so unsatisfactory a state as to make any reliance on translations of the Veda, the Avesta, or the Tão-te King extremely hazardous.

It is clear, therefore, that a translation of the principal Sacred Books of the East can be carried out only at a certain sacrifice. Scholars must leave for a time their own special researches in order to render the general results already obtained accessible to the public at large. And even then, really useful results can be achieved *viribus unitis* only. If four of the best Egyptologists have to combine in order to produce a satisfactory edition and translation of one of the Sacred Books of ancient Egypt, a much larger number of Oriental scholars will be required for translating the Sacred Books of the Brahmans, the Buddhists, the Zoroastrians, the followers of Khung-fû-ze, Láo-ze, and Mohammed.

Lastly, there was the most serious difficulty of all, a difficulty which no scholar could remove, viz. the difficulty of finding the funds necessary for carrying out so large an undertaking. No doubt there exists at present a very keen interest in questions connected with the origin, the growth, and decay of religion. But much of that interest is theoretic rather than historical. How people might or could or should have elaborated religious ideas, is a topic most warmly discussed among psychologists and theologians, but a study of the documents, in which alone the actual growth of religious thought can be traced, is much neglected.

A faithful, unvarnished prose translation of the Sacred Books of India, Persia, China, and Arabia, though it may interest careful students, will never, I fear, excite a widespread interest, or command a circulation large enough to make it a matter of private enterprise and commercial speculation.

No doubt there is much in these old books that is startling by its very simplicity and truth, much that is elevated and elevating, much that is beautiful and sublime; but people who have vague ideas of primeval wisdom and the splendour of Eastern poetry will soon find themselves grievously disappointed. It cannot be too strongly stated, that the chief, and, in many cases, the only interest of the Sacred Books of the East is historical; that much in them is extremely childish, tedious, if not repulsive; and that no one but the historian will be able to understand the important lessons which they teach. It would have been impossible to undertake a translation even of the most important only of the Sacred Books of the East, without the support of an Academy or a University which recognises the necessity of rendering these works more generally accessible, on the same grounds on which it recognises the duty of collecting and exhibiting in Museums the petrifications of bygone ages, little concerned whether the public admires the beauty of fossilised plants and broken skeletons, as long as hard-working students find there some light for reading once more the darker pages in the history of the earth.

Having been so fortunate as to secure that support, having also received promises of assistance from some of the best Oriental scholars in England and India, I hope I shall be able, after the necessary preparations are completed, to publish about three volumes of translations every year, selecting from the stores of the six so-called 'Book-religions' those works which at present can be translated, and which are most likely to prove useful. All translations will be made from the original texts, and where good translations exist already, they will be carefully revised by competent scholars. Such is the bulk of the religious literature of the Brahmans and the Buddhists, that to attempt a complete translation would be far beyond the powers of one generation of scholars. Still, if the interest in the work itself should continue, there is no reason why this series of translations should not be carried on, even after those who commenced it shall have ceased from their labours.

What I contemplate at present, and I am afraid at my time of life even this may seem too sanguine, is no more than a Series

of twenty-four volumes, the publication of which will probably extend over eight years. In this Series I hope to comprehend the following books, though I do not pledge myself to adhere strictly to this outline:—

1. From among the Sacred Books of the Brahmins I hope to give a translation of the Hymns of the Rig-veda. While I shall continue my translation of selected hymns of that Veda, a traduction raisonnée which is intended for Sanskrit scholars only, on the same principles which I have followed in the first volume¹, explaining every word and sentence that seems to require elucidation, and carefully examining the opinions of previous commentators, both native and European, I intend to contribute a freer translation of the hymns to this Series, with a few explanatory notes only, such as are absolutely necessary to enable readers who are unacquainted with Sanskrit to understand the thoughts of the Vedic poets. The translation of perhaps another Samhitâ, one or two of the Brâhmanas, or portions of them, will have to be included in our Series, as well as the principal Upanishads, theosophic treatises of great interest and beauty. There is every prospect of an early appearance of a translation of the Bhagavad-gîtâ, of the most important among the sacred Law-books, and of one at least of the Purânas. I should have wished to include a translation of some of the Gain books, of the Granth of the Sikhs, and of similar works illustrative of the later developments of religion in India, but there is hardly room for them at present.

2. The Sacred Books of the Buddhists will be translated chiefly from the two original collections, the Southern in Pali, the Northern in Sanskrit. Here the selection will, no doubt, be most difficult. Among the first books to be published will be, I hope, Sûtras from the Dîgha Nikâya, a part of the Vinaya-piṭaka, the Dhammapada, the Divyâvadâna, the Lalita-vistara, or legendary life of Buddha.

3. The Sacred Books of the Zoroastrians lie within a smaller compass, but they will require fuller notes and commentaries in order to make a translation intelligible and useful.

4. The books which enjoy the highest authority with the followers of Khung-fû-tze are the King and the Shû. Of the former the Shû King or Book of History; the Odes of the Temple and

¹ Rig-veda-sanhitâ, The Sacred Hymns of the Brahmins, translated and explained by F. Max Müller. Vol. i. Hymns to the Maruts or the Storm-Gods. London, 1869.

the Altar, and other pieces illustrating the ancient religious views and practices of the Chinese, in the Shih King or Book of Poetry; the Yî King; the Lî Kî; and the Hsião King or Classic of Filial Piety, will all be given, it is hoped, entire. Of the latter, the Series will contain the Kung Yung or Doctrine of the Mean; the Tâ Hsio or Great Learning; all Confucius' utterances in the Lun Yü or Confucian Analects, which are of a religious nature, and refer to the principles of his moral system; and Măng-ze's Doctrine of the Goodness of Human Nature.

5. For the system of Láo-ze we require only a translation of the Táo-teh King with some of its commentaries, and, it may be, an authoritative work to illustrate the actual operation of its principles.

6. For Islam, all that is essential is a trustworthy translation of the Koran.

It will be my endeavour to divide the twenty-four volumes which are contemplated in this Series as equally as possible among the six religions. But much must depend on the assistance which I receive from Oriental scholars, and also on the interest and the wishes of the public.

F. MAX MÜLLER.

OXFORD, October, 1876.

The following distinguished scholars, all of them occupying the foremost rank in their own special departments of Oriental literature, are at present engaged in preparing translations of some of the Sacred Books of the East: S. Beal, R. G. Bhandarkar, G. Bühler, A. Burnell, E. B. Cowell, J. Darmesteter, T. W. Rhys Davids, J. Eggeling, V. Fausböll, H. Jacobi, J. Jolly, H. Kern, F. Kielhorn, J. Legge, H. Oldenberg, E. H. Palmer, R. Pischel, K. T. Telang, E. W. West.

The works which for the present have been selected for translation are the following:

I. ANCIENT VEDIC RELIGION.

Hymns of the *Rig-veda*.

The *Satapatha-brâhmaṇa*.

The Upanishads.

The *Grihya-sûtras* of *Hiranyakesin* and others.

II. LAW-BOOKS IN PROSE.

The *Sûtras* of *Âpastamba*, *Gautama*, *Baudhâya*,
Vasishtha, *Vishnu*, &c.

III. LAW-BOOKS IN VERSE.

The *Laws of Manu*, *Yâgñavalkya*, &c.

IV. LATER BRAHMANISM.

The *Bhagavad-gîtâ*.

The *Vâyu-purâna*.

V. BUDDHISM.

1. Pali Documents.

The *Mahâparinibbâna Sutta*, the *Tevigga Sutta*,
the *Mahasudassana Sutta*, the *Dhammakakkappa-*
vattana Sutta; the *Suttanipâta*; the *Mahâvagga*,
the *Kullavagga*, and the *Pâtimokkha*.

2. Sanskrit Documents.

The *Divyâvadâna* and *Saddharmapundarika*.

3. Chinese Documents.

The *Phû-yâo King*, or life of *Buddhâ*.

4. Prakrit Gâitha Documents.

The *Âkârânga Sûtra*, *Dasavaikâlîka Sûtra*, *Sûtra-*
kritânga, and *Uttarâdhyayana Sûtra*.

VI. PARSÎ RELIGION.

1. Zend Documents.

The *Vendidad*.

2. Pehlevi and Parsi Documents.

The Bundahis, Bahman Yasht, Shâ-yast-lâ-shâ-yast,
Dâdistâni Dînt, Mainyôî Khard.

VII. MOHAMMEDANISM.

The Koran.

VIII. CHINESE RELIGION.

1. Confucianism.

The Shû King, Shih King, Hsiâo King, Yî King,
Lî Kî, Lun Yü, and Măng-ze.

2. Tâoism.

The Tâo-teh King, Kwang-ze, and Kan Ying
Phien.

TRANSLITERATION OF ORIENTAL ALPHABETS.

The system of transcribing Oriental words with Roman types, adopted by the translators of the Sacred Books of the East, is, on the whole, the same which I first laid down in my *Proposals for a Missionary Alphabet*, 1854, and which afterwards I shortly described in my *Lectures on the Science of Language*, Second Series, p. 169 (ninth edition). That system allows of great freedom in its application to different languages, and has, therefore, recommended itself to many scholars, even if they had long been accustomed to use their own system of transliteration.

It rests in fact on a few principles only, which may be applied to individual languages according to the views which each student has formed for himself of the character and the pronunciation of the vowels and consonants of any given alphabet.

It does not differ essentially from the Standard Alphabet proposed by Professor Lepsius. It only endeavours to realise, by means of the ordinary types which are found in every printing office, what my learned friend has been enabled to achieve, it may be in a more perfect manner, by means of a number of new types with diacritical marks, cast expressly for him by the Berlin Academy.

The general principles of what, on account of its easy application to all languages, I have called the *Missionary Alphabet*, are these :

1. No letters are to be used which do not exist in ordinary founts.

2. The same Roman type is always to represent the same foreign letter, and the same foreign letter is always to be represented by the same Roman type.

3. Simple letters are, as a rule, to be represented by simple, compound by compound types.

4. It is not attempted to indicate the pronunciation of foreign languages, but only to represent foreign letters by Roman types, leaving the pronunciation to be learnt, as it is now, from grammars or from conversation with natives.

5. The foundation of every system of transliteration must consist of a classification of the typical sounds of human speech. Such classification may be more or less perfect, more or less minute, according to the objects in view. For ordinary purposes the classification in vowels and consonants, and of consonants again in gutturals, dentals, and labials suffices. In these three classes we distinguish hard (not-voiced) and sonant (voiced) consonants, each being liable to aspiration; nasals, sibilants, and semivowels, some of these also, being either voiced or not-voiced.

6. After having settled the typical sounds, we assign to them, as much as possible, the ordinary Roman types of the first class.

7. We then arrange in every language which possesses a richer alphabet, all remaining letters, according to their affinities, as modifications of the nearest typical letters, or as letters of the second and third class. Thus linguals in Sanskrit are treated as nearest to dentals, palatals to gutturals.

8. The manner of expressing such modifications is uniform throughout. While all typical letters of

the first class are expressed by Roman types, modified letters of the second class are expressed by italics, modified letters of the third class by small capitals. Only in extreme cases, where another class of modified types is wanted, are we compelled to have recourse either to diacritical marks, or to a different fount of types.

9. Which letters in each language are to be considered as primary, secondary, or tertiary may, to a certain extent, be left to the discretion of individual scholars.

10. As it has been found quite impossible to devise any practical alphabet that should accurately represent the pronunciation of words, the Missionary Alphabet, by not attempting to indicate minute shades of pronunciation, has at all events the advantage of not misleading readers in their pronunciation of foreign words. An italic *t*, for instance, or a small capital *T*, serves simply as a warning that this is not the ordinary *t*, though it has some affinity with it. How it is to be pronounced must be learnt for each language, as it now is, from a grammar or otherwise. Thus *t* in Sanskrit is the lingual *t*. How that is to be pronounced, we must learn from the *Prātisākhya*s, or from the mouth of a highly educated *Srotriya*. We shall then learn that its pronunciation is really that of what we call the ordinary dental *t*, as in town, while the ordinary dental *t* in Sanskrit has a pronunciation of its own, extremely difficult to acquire for Europeans.

11. Words or sentences which used to be printed in italics are spaced.

TRANSLITERATION OF ORIENTAL ALPHABETS ADOPTED FOR THE TRANSLATIONS
OF THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST.

SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST.

li

CONSONANTS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.	
	°										
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.								
Gutturales.											
1 Tenuis	k	.	.	क	𐬕	𐬌	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	k	
2 " aspirata	kh	.	.	ख	𐬖	𐬍	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	kh	
3 Media	g	.	.	ग	𐬔	𐬎	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	.	
4 " aspirata	gh	.	.	घ	𐬕	𐬏	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	.	
5 Gutturo-labialis	q	.	.	ङ	𐬕	𐬐	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	.	
6 Nasalis	h (ng)	.	.	ह	𐬕	𐬑	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	.	
7 Spiritus asper	h	.	.	ह	𐬕	𐬑	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	h, hs	
8 " lenis	,	.	.	ह	𐬕	𐬑	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	.	
9 " asper faucalis	'h	.	.	ह	𐬕	𐬑	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	.	
10 " lenis faucalis	'h	.	.	ह	𐬕	𐬑	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	.	
11 " asper fricatus . . . . .	.	'h	.	ह	𐬕	𐬑	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	.
12 " lenis fricatus . . . . .	.	'h	.	ह	𐬕	𐬑	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	.
Gutturales modificatae (palatales, &c.)											
13 Tenuis	k	.	.	क	𐬕	𐬌	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	k	
14 " aspirata	kh	.	.	ख	𐬖	𐬍	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	kh	
15 Media	g	.	.	ग	𐬔	𐬎	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	.	
16 " aspirata	gh	.	.	घ	𐬕	𐬏	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	.	
17 " Nasalis	ñ	.	.	ङ	𐬕	𐬐	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	.	

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	י
19 Spiritus asper		(y)								
20 " lenis		(y)								
21 " asper asibilatus		s		श	𐬱	𐬱	ش	ش	ש	ש
22 " lenis asibilatus		z			𐬲	𐬲	ز	ز	ז	ז
Dentales.										
23 Tenuis	t			त	𐬔	𐬔	ت	ت	ת	ת
24 " aspirata	th			थ	𐬕	𐬕	ث	ث	ת	ת
25 " asibilata			TH							
26 Media	d			द	𐬌	𐬌	د	د	ד	ד
27 " aspirata	dh									
28 " asibilata			DH							
29 Nasalis	n			न	𐬎	𐬎	ن	ن	נ	נ
30 Semivocalis	l			ल	𐬭	𐬭	ل	ل	ל	ל
31 " mollis 1		l								
32 " mollis 2			L							
33 Spiritus asper 1	s			स	𐬰	𐬰	س	س	ס	ס
34 " asper 2			s (ʃ)							
35 " lenis	z									
36 " asperimus 1			z (ʒ)							
37 " asperimus 2			z (ʒ)							

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 Tenuisima	m
44 " fricata	r	53 Nasalis	w
45 " diacritica . . . . .	..	54 Semivocalis	hw
46 Spiritus asper	sh	55 " aspirata	f
47 " lenis	zh	56 Spiritus asper	v
		57 " lenis . . . . .	..
		58 Anusvāra	m
		59 Visarga	h

VOWELS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.		III Class.							
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
1 Neutralis	0			॰	॰	۰	۰	۰	ֿ	ḡ
2 Laryngo-palatalis	ē			॰	॰	۰	۰	۰	ֿ	ḡ
3 " labialis	ō			॰	॰	۰	۰	۰	ֿ	ḡ
4 Gutturalis brevis	a			॰	۰	۰	۰	۰	ֿ	ā
5 " longa	ā		(a)	۰	۰	۰	۰	۰	ֿ	ā
6 Palatalis brevis	i			۰	۰	۰	۰	۰	ֿ	i
7 " longa	ī		(i)	۰	۰	۰	۰	۰	ֿ	i
8 Dentalis brevis	h			॰	॰	۰	۰	۰	ֿ	ḡ
9 " longa	h			॰	॰	۰	۰	۰	ֿ	ḡ
10 Lingualis brevis	ri			۰	۰	۰	۰	۰	ֿ	ḡ
11 " longa	ri			۰	۰	۰	۰	۰	ֿ	ḡ
12 Labialis brevis	u			۰	۰	۰	۰	۰	ֿ	u
13 " longa	ū		(u)	۰	۰	۰	۰	۰	ֿ	ū
14 Gutturo-palatalis brevis	e			۰	۰	۰	۰	۰	ֿ	e
15 " longa	é (ai)		(e)	۰	۰	۰	۰	۰	ֿ	é
16 Diphthongus gutturo-palatalis	āi		(ai)	۰	۰	۰	۰	۰	ֿ	āi
17 " "	ei (ēi)			۰	۰	۰	۰	۰	ֿ	ei, ēi
18 " "	oi (ōu)			۰	۰	۰	۰	۰	ֿ	oi, ōi
19 Gutturo-labialis brevis	o			۰	۰	۰	۰	۰	ֿ	o
20 " longa	ô (au)		(o)	۰	۰	۰	۰	۰	ֿ	ô
21 Diphthongus gutturo-labialis	āu		(au)	۰	۰	۰	۰	۰	ֿ	āu
22 " "	en (ēu)			۰	۰	۰	۰	۰	ֿ	en, ēn
23 " "	ou (ōu)			۰	۰	۰	۰	۰	ֿ	ou, ōu
24 Gutturalis fracta	ä			۰	۰	۰	۰	۰	ֿ	ä
25 Palatalis fracta	ī			۰	۰	۰	۰	۰	ֿ	ī
26 Labialis fracta	ü			۰	۰	۰	۰	۰	ֿ	ü
27 Gutturo-labialis fracta	ö			۰	۰	۰	۰	۰	ֿ	ö

APPROXIMATE PRONUNCIATION OF THE ROMAN LETTERS AS REPRESENTING THE SANSKRIT ALPHABET.

VOWELS.

a	अ	as in sam
ā	आ	„ psalm
i	इ	„ knit
ī	ई	„ neat
ri	ऋ	„ fiery
ṛi	ॠ	„ —
li	लृ	„ friendly
ḷ	ॡ	„ —
u	उ	„ full
ū	ऊ	„ fool
e	ए	„ date
ai	ऐ	„ aisle
o	ओ	„ note
au	औ	„ proud

CONSONANTS.

Gutturals.

k	क	as in kite
kh	ख	„ inkhorn
g	ग	„ gate
gh	घ	„ springhead
ṅ (ng)	ङ	„ sing
h	ह	„ hear

Palatals.

k	च	as in church
kh	छ	„ church-history
g	ज	„ jolly
gh	झ	„ bridge-house

ñ	ञ	as in new
y	य	„ yet
s	श	„ sharp

Dentals.

t	त	as in tin (tip of tongue striking the bone of the teeth)
th	थ	„ lanthorn
d	द	„ din
dh	ध	„ landholder
n	न	„ nay
l	ल	„ let
ḷ	ळ	„ —
s	स	„ grass

Linguals.

t	ट	as in town (tip of tongue striking the alveolar region)
th	ठ	„ outhouse
d	ड	„ done
dh	ढ	„ rodhook
n	ण	„ no
r	र	„ red
sh	ष	„ shun

Labials.

p	प	as in pan
ph	फ	„ topheavy
b	ब	„ bed
bh	भ	„ clubhouse
m	म	„ mill
v	व	„ live
m	म्	„ Anusvāra (slight nasal)
h	ह्	„ Visarga (slight breathing)

Proper names have frequently been left in their ordinary spelling, e.g. Rājendra, instead of Rāgendra. In words which have almost become English, the diacritical marks have often been omitted, e.g. Rig-veda, instead of Rīg-veda; Brahman, instead of Brāhmana; Confucius, Zoroaster, Koran, &c.

INTRODUCTION

TO

THE UPANISHADS.

FIRST TRANSLATION OF THE UPANISHADS.

DÂRÂ SHUKOH, ANQUETIL DUPERRON, SCHOPENHAUER.

THE ancient Vedic literature, the foundation of the whole literature of India, which has been handed down in that country in an unbroken succession from the earliest times within the recollection of man to the present day, became known for the first time beyond the frontiers of India through the Upanishads. The Upanishads were translated from Sanskrit into Persian by, or, it may be, for Dârâ Shukoh, the eldest son of Shâh Jehân, an enlightened prince, who openly professed the liberal religious tenets of the great Emperor Akbar, and even wrote a book intended to reconcile the religious doctrines of Hindus and Moham-medans. He seems first to have heard of the Upanishads during his stay in Kashmir in 1640. He afterwards invited several Pandits from Benares to Delhi, who were to assist him in the work of translation. The translation was finished in 1657. Three years after the accomplishment of this work, in 1659, the prince was put to death by his brother Aurangzib¹, in reality, no doubt, because he was the eldest son and legitimate successor of Shâh Jehân, but under the pretext that he was an infidel, and dangerous to the established religion of the empire.

When the Upanishads had once been translated from Sanskrit into Persian, at that time the most widely read language of the East and understood likewise by many European scholars, they became generally accessible to

¹ Elphinstone, *History of India*, ed. Cowell, p. 610.

all who took an interest in the religious literature of India. It is true that under Akbar's reign (1556-1586) similar translations had been prepared¹, but neither those nor the translations of Dârâ Shukoh attracted the attention of European scholars till the year 1775. In that year Anquetil Duperron, the famous traveller and discoverer of the Zend-avesta, received one MS. of the Persian translation of the Upanishads, sent to him by M. Gentil, the French resident at the court of Shuja ud daula, and brought to France by M. Bernier. After receiving another MS., Anquetil Duperron collated the two, and translated the Persian translation² into French (not published), and into Latin. That Latin translation was published in 1801 and 1802, under the title of 'Oupnek'hat, id est, Secretum tegendum: opus ipsa in India rarissimum, continens antiquam et arcanam, seu theologicam et philosophicam doctrinam, e quatuor sacris Indorum libris Rak baid, Djedjer baid, Sam baid, Athrban baid excerptam; ad verbum, e Persico idiomate, Samkreticis vocabulis intermixto, in Latinum conversum: Dissertationibus et Annotationibus difficiliora explanantibus, illustratum: studio et opera Anquetil Duperron, Indicopleustæ. Argentorati, typis et impensis fratrum Levrault, vol. i, 1801; vol. ii, 1802³.'

This translation, though it attracted considerable interest among scholars, was written in so utterly unintelligible a style, that it required the lynxlike perspicacity of an intre-

¹ M. M., Introduction to the Science of Religion, p. 79.

² Several other MSS. of this translation have since come to light; one at Oxford, Codices Wilsoniani, 399 and 400. Anquetil Duperron gives the following title of the Persian translation: 'Hanc interpretationem τῶν Oupnekhatihai quorumvis quatuor librorum Beid, quod, designatum cum secreto magno (per secretum magnum) est, et integram cognitionem luminis luminum, hic Fakir sine tristitia (Sultan) Mohammed Dara Schakoh ipse, cum significatione recta, cum sinceritate, in tempore sex mensium (postremo die, secundo τῶν Schonbeh, vigesimo) sexto mensis τῶν Ramazzan, anno 1067 τῶν Hedjri (Christi, 1657) in urbe Delhi, in mansionem nakhe noudeh, cum absolutione ad finem fecit pervenire.' The MS. was copied by Âtma Ram in the year 1767 A.D. Anquetil Duperron adds: 'Absolutum est hoc Apographum versionis Latine τῶν quinquaginta Oupnekhatihai, ad verbum, e Persico idiomate, Samskreticis vocabulis intermixto, factæ, die 9 Octobris, 1796, 18 Brumaire, anni 4, Reipublic. Gall. Parisiis.'

³ M. M., History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, second edition, p. 325.

pid philosopher, such as Schopenhauer, to discover a thread through such a labyrinth. Schopenhauer, however, not only found and followed such a thread, but he had the courage to proclaim to an incredulous age the vast treasures of thought which were lying buried beneath that fearful jargon.

As Anquetil Duperron's volumes have become scarce, I shall here give a short specimen of his translation, which corresponds to the first sentences of my translation of the *Khândogya-upanishad* (p. 1):—‘Oum hoc verbum (esse) adkit ut sciveris, sic rò maschghouli fac (de eo meditare), quod ipsum hoc verbum aodkit est; propter illud quod hoc (verbum) oum, in Sam Beid, cum voce altâ, cum harmoniâ pronunciatum fiat.

‘Adkitech porro cremor (optimum, selectissimum) est: quemadmodum ex (præ) omni quieto (non moto), et moto, pulvis (terra) cremor (optimum) est; et e (præ) terra aqua cremor est; et ex aqua, comedendum (victus) cremor est; (et) e comedendo, comedens cremor est; et e comedente, loquela (id quod dicitur) cremor est; et e loquela, alet rōu Beid, et ex alet, rò siam, id est, cum harmonia (pronunciatum); et e Sam, rò adkit, cremor est; id est, oum, voce alta, cum harmonia pronunciare, aokit, cremor cremorum (optimum optimorum) est. Major, ex (præ) adkit, cremor alter non est.’

Schopenhauer not only read this translation carefully, but he makes no secret of it, that his own philosophy is powerfully impregnated by the fundamental doctrines of the Upanishads. He dwells on it again and again, and it seems both fair to Schopenhauer's memory and highly important for a true appreciation of the philosophical value of the Upanishads, to put together what that vigorous thinker has written on those ancient rhapsodies of truth.

In his ‘Welt als Wille und Vorstellung,’ he writes, in the preface to the first edition, p. xiii :

“If the reader has also received the benefit of the Vedas, the access to which by means of the Upanishads is in my eyes the greatest privilege which this still young century (1818) may claim before all previous centuries, (for I anticipate that the influence of Sanskrit literature will not be less pro-

found than the revival of Greek in the fourteenth century.)—if then the reader, I say, has received his initiation in primeval Indian wisdom, and received it with an open heart, he will be prepared in the very best way for hearing what I have to tell him. It will not sound to him strange, as to many others, much less disagreeable; for I might, if it did not sound conceited, contend that every one of the detached statements which constitute the Upanishads, may be deduced as a necessary result from the fundamental thoughts which I have to enunciate, though those deductions themselves are by no means to be found there.’

And again¹:

‘If I consider how difficult it is, even with the assistance of the best and carefully educated teachers, and with all the excellent philological appliances collected in the course of this century, to arrive at a really correct, accurate, and living understanding of Greek and Roman authors, whose language was after all the language of our own predecessors in Europe, and the mother of our own, while Sanskrit, on the contrary, was spoken thousands of years ago in distant India, and can be learnt only with appliances which are as yet very imperfect;—if I add to this the impression which the translations of Sanskrit works by European scholars, with very few exceptions, produce on my mind, I cannot resist a certain suspicion that our Sanskrit scholars do not understand their texts much better than the higher class of schoolboys their Greek. Of course, as they are not boys, but men of knowledge and understanding, they put together, out of what they do understand, something like what the general meaning may have been, but much probably creeps in *ex ingenio*. It is still worse with the Chinese of our European Sinologues.

‘If then I consider, on the other hand, that Sultan Mohammed Dârâ Shukoh, the brother of Aurangzib, was born and bred in India, was a learned, thoughtful, and enquiring man, and therefore probably understood his Sanskrit about as well as we our Latin, that moreover

¹ Schopenhauer, *Parerga*, third edition, II, p. 426.

he was assisted by a number of the most learned Pandits, all this together gives me at once a very high opinion of his translation of the Vedic Upanishads into Persian. If, besides this, I see with what profound and quite appropriate reverence Anquetil Duperron has treated that Persian translation, rendering it in Latin word by word, retaining, in spite of Latin grammar, the Persian syntax, and all the Sanskrit words which the Sultan himself had left untranslated, though explaining them in a glossary, I feel the most perfect confidence in reading that translation, and that confidence soon receives its most perfect justification. For how entirely does the Oupnekhat breathe throughout the holy spirit of the Vedas! How is every one who by a diligent study of its Persian Latin has become familiar with that incomparable book, stirred by that spirit to the very depth of his soul! How does every line display its firm, definite, and throughout harmonious meaning! From every sentence deep, original, and sublime thoughts arise, and the whole is pervaded by a high and holy and earnest spirit. Indian air surrounds us, and original thoughts of kindred spirits. And oh, how thoroughly is the mind here washed clean of all early engrafted Jewish superstitions, and of all philosophy that cringes before those superstitions! In the whole world there is no study, except that of the originals, so beneficial and so elevating as that of the Oupnekhat. It has been the solace of my life, it will be the solace of my death!

‘Though¹ I feel the highest regard for the religious and philosophical works of Sanskrit literature, I have not been able to derive much pleasure from their poetical compositions. Nay, they seem to me sometimes as tasteless and monstrous as the sculpture of India.’

‘In² most of the pagan philosophical writers of the first Christian centuries we see the Jewish theism, which, as Christianity, was soon to become the faith of the people, shining through, much as at present we may perceive shining through in the writings of the learned, the native

¹ Loc. cit. II, pp. 425.

² Loc. cit. I, p. 59.

pantheism of India, which is destined sooner or later to become the faith of the people. *Ex oriente lux.*'

This may seem strong language, and, in some respects, too strong. But I thought it right to quote it here, because, whatever may be urged against Schopenhauer, he was a thoroughly honest thinker and honest speaker, and no one would suspect him of any predilection for what has been so readily called Indian mysticism. That Schelling and his school should use rapturous language about the Upanishads, might carry little weight with that large class of philosophers by whom everything beyond the clouds of their own horizon is labelled mysticism. But that Schopenhauer should have spoken of the Upanishads as 'products of the highest wisdom' (*Ausgeburten der höchsten Weisheit*)¹, that he should have placed the pantheism there taught high above the pantheism of Bruno, Malebranche, Spinoza, and Scotus Erigena, as brought to light again at Oxford in 1681², may perhaps secure a more considerate reception for these relics of ancient wisdom than anything that I could say in their favour.

RAMMOHUN ROY.

Greater, however, than the influence exercised on the philosophical thought of modern Europe, has been the impulse which these same Upanishads have imparted to the religious life of modern India. In about the same year (1774 or 1775) when the first MS. of the Persian translation of the Upanishads was received by Anquetil Duperron, Rammohun Roy³ was born in India, the reformer and reviver of the ancient religion of the Brahmans. A man who in his youth could write a book 'Against the Idolatry of all Religions,' and who afterwards expressed in so many exact words his 'belief in the divine authority of Christ',⁴ was not likely to retain anything of the sacred literature of his own religion, unless he had perceived in it the same

¹ Loc. cit. II, p. 428.

² Loc. cit. I, p. 6. These passages were pointed out to me by Professor Noiré.

³ Born 1774, died at 2.30 A.M., on Friday, 28th September, 1833.

⁴ Last Days of Rammohun Roy, by Mary Carpenter, 1866, p. 135.

divine authority which he recognised in the teaching of Christ. He rejected the Purāṇas, he would not have been swayed in his convictions by the authority of the Laws of Manu, or even by the sacredness of the Vedas. He was above all that. But he discovered in the Upanishads and in the so-called Vedānta something different from all the rest, something that ought not to be thrown away, something that, if rightly understood, might supply the right native soil in which alone the seeds of true religion, aye, of true Christianity, might spring up again and prosper in India, as they had once sprung up and prospered from out the philosophies of Origen or Synesius. European scholars have often wondered that Rammohun Roy, in his defence of the Veda, should have put aside the *Samhitās* and the *Brāhmanas*, and laid his finger on the Upanishads only, as the true kernel of the whole Veda. Historically, no doubt, he was wrong, for the Upanishads presuppose both the hymns and the liturgical books of the Veda. But as the ancient philosophers distinguished in the Veda between the *Karma-kāṇḍa* and the *Gñāna-kāṇḍa*, between works and knowledge; as they themselves pointed to the learning of the sacred hymns and the performance of sacrifices as a preparation only for that enlightenment which was reserved as the highest reward for the faithful performance of all previous duties¹, Rammohun Roy, like Buddha and other enlightened men before him, perceived that the time for insisting on all that previous discipline with its minute prescriptions and superstitious observances was gone, while the knowledge conveyed in the Upanishads or the Vedānta, enveloped though it may be in strange coverings, should henceforth form the foundation of a new religious life². He would tolerate nothing idolatrous, not even in his mother, poor woman, who after joining his most bitter opponents, confessed to her son, before she set out on her

¹ M. M., History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 319.

² 'The adoration of the invisible Supreme Being is exclusively prescribed by the Upanishads or the principal parts of the Vedas and also by the Vedant.' Rammohun Roy, Translation of the Kena-upanishad, Calcutta, 1816, p. 6. M. M., History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 320.

last pilgrimage to Juggernaut, where she died, that 'he was right, but that she was a weak woman, and grown too old to give up the observances which were a comfort to her.' It was not therefore from any regard of their antiquity or their sacred character that Rammohun Roy clung to the Upanishads, that he translated them into Bengali, Hindi, and English, and published them at his own expense. It was because he recognised in them seeds of eternal truth, and was bold enough to distinguish between what was essential in them and what was not,—a distinction, as he often remarked with great perplexity, which Christian teachers seemed either unable or unwilling to make¹.

The death of that really great and good man during his stay in England in 1833, was one of the severest blows that have fallen on the prospects of India. But his work has not been in vain. Like a tree whose first shoot has been killed by one winter frost, it has broken out again in a number of new and more vigorous shoots, for whatever the outward differences may be between the Âdi Brahmo Samâj of Debendranath Tagore, or the Brahmo Samâj of India of Keshub Chunder Sen, or the Sadharan Brahmo Samâj, the common root of them all is the work done, once for all, by Rammohun Roy. That work may have disappeared from sight for a time, and its present manifestations may seem to many observers who are too near, not very promising. But in one form or another, under one name or another, I feel convinced that work will live. 'In India,' Schopenhauer writes, 'our religion will now and never strike root: the primitive wisdom of the human race will never be pushed aside there by the events of Galilee. On the contrary, Indian wisdom will flow back upon Europe, and produce a thorough change in our knowing and thinking.' Here, again, the great philosopher seems to me to have allowed himself to be carried away too far by his enthusiasm for the less known. He is blind for the dark sides of the Upanishads, and he wilfully shuts his eyes against the bright rays of eternal truth in the Gospels, which even

¹ Last Days, p. 11.

Rammohun Roy was quick enough to perceive behind the mists and clouds of tradition that gather so quickly round the sunrise of every religion.

POSITION OF THE UPANISHADS IN VEDIC LITERATURE.

If now we ask what has been thought of the Upanishads by Sanskrit scholars or by Oriental scholars in general, it must be confessed that hitherto they have not received at their hands that treatment which in the eyes of philosophers and theologians they seem so fully to deserve. When the first enthusiasm for such works as *Sakuntalâ* and *Gîta-Govinda* had somewhat subsided, and Sanskrit scholars had recognised that a truly scholarlike study of Indian literature must begin with the beginning, the exclusively historical interest prevailed to so large an extent that the hymns of the *Veda*, the *Brâhmaṇas*, and the *Sûtras* absorbed all interest, while the Upanishads were put aside for a time as of doubtful antiquity, and therefore of minor importance.

My real love for Sanskrit literature was first kindled by the Upanishads. It was in the year 1844, when attending Schelling's lectures at Berlin, that my attention was drawn to those ancient theosophic treatises, and I still possess my collations of the Sanskrit MSS. which had then just arrived at Berlin, the Chambers collection, and my copies of commentaries, and commentaries on commentaries, which I made at that time. Some of my translations which I left with Schelling, I have never been able to recover, though to judge from others which I still possess, the loss of them is of small consequence. Soon after leaving Berlin, when continuing my Sanskrit studies at Paris under Burnouf, I put aside the Upanishads, convinced that for a true appreciation of them it was necessary to study, first of all, the earlier periods of Vedic literature, as represented by the hymns and the *Brâhmaṇas* of the *Vedas*.

In returning, after more than thirty years, to these favourite studies, I find that my interest in them, though it has changed in character, has by no means diminished.

It is true, no doubt, that the stratum of literature which contains the Upanishads is later than the *Samhitās*, and later than the *Brāhmaṇas*, but the first germs of Upanishad doctrines go back at least as far as the Mantra period, which provisionally has been fixed between 1000 and 800 B.C. Conceptions corresponding to the general teaching of the Upanishads occur in certain hymns of the *Rig-veda-samhitā*, they must have existed therefore before that collection was finally closed. One hymn in the *Samhitā* of the *Rig-veda* (I, 191) was designated by *Kātyāyana*, the author of the *Sarvānukramanikā*, as an Upanishad. Here, however, upanishad means rather a secret charm than a philosophical doctrine. Verses of the hymns have often been incorporated in the Upanishads, and among the *Ōpnekhats* translated into Persian by *Dārā Shukoh* we actually find the *Purusha-sūkta*, the 90th hymn of the tenth book of the *Rig-veda*¹, forming the greater portion of the *Bark'heh Soukt*. In the *Samhitā* of the *Yagur-veda*, however, in the *Vāgasaneyi-sākhā*, we meet with a real Upanishad, the famous *Īśā* or *Īśāvāsyā-upanishad*, while the *Sivasamkalpa*, too, forms part of its thirty-fourth book². In the *Brāhmaṇas* several Upanishads occur, even in portions which are not classed as *Āraṇyakas*, as, for instance, the well-known *Kena* or *Talavakāra-upanishad*. The recognised place, however, for the ancient Upanishads is in the *Āraṇyakas*, or forest-books, which, as a rule, form an appendix to the *Brāhmaṇas*, but are sometimes included also under the general name of *Brāhmaṇa*. *Brāhmaṇa*, in fact, meaning originally the sayings of Brahmins, whether in the general sense of priests, or in the more special of Brahman-priest, is a name applicable not only to the books, properly so called, but to all old prose traditions, whether contained in the *Samhitās*, such as the *Taittirīya-samhitā*, the *Brāhmaṇas*, the *Āraṇyakas*, the Upanishads, and even, in certain cases, in the *Sūtras*. We shall see in the introduction to the *Aitareya-Āraṇyaka*, that that *Āraṇyaka* is in the beginning

¹ See Weber, *Indische Studien*, IX, p. 1 seq.

² See M. M., *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 317.

a Brāhmaṇa, a mere continuation of the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa, explaining the Mahāvratā ceremony, while its last book contains the Sūtras or short technical rules explaining the same ceremony which in the first book had been treated in the style peculiar to the Brāhmaṇas. In the same Aitareya-āraṇyaka, III, 2, 6, 6, a passage of the Upanishad is spoken of as a Brāhmaṇa, possibly as something like a Brāhmaṇa, while something very like an Upanishad occurs in the Āpastamba-sūtras, and might be quoted therefore as a Sūtra¹. At all events the Upanishads, like the Āraṇyakas, belong to what Hindu theologians call *Sruti*, or revealed literature, in opposition to *Smṛiti*, or traditional literature, which is supposed to be founded on the former, and allowed to claim a secondary authority only; and the earliest of these philosophical treatises will always, I believe, maintain a place in the literature of the world, among the most astounding productions of the human mind in any age and in any country.

DIFFERENT CLASSES OF UPANISHADS.

The ancient Upanishads, i. e. those which occupy a place in the *Samhitās*, *Brāhmaṇas*, and *Āraṇyakas*, must be, if we follow the chronology which at present is commonly, though, it may be, provisionally only, received by Sanskrit scholars, older than 600 B. C., i. e. anterior to the rise of Buddhism. As to other Upanishads, and their number is very large, which either stand by themselves, or which are ascribed to the *Atharva-veda*, it is extremely difficult to fix their age. Some of them are, no doubt, quite modern, for mention is made even of an Allah-upanishad; but others may claim a far higher antiquity than is generally assigned to them on internal evidence. I shall only mention that the name of *Atharva-siras*, an Upanishad generally assigned to a very modern date, is quoted in the Sūtras of Gautama and Baudhāyana²;

¹ Āpastamba, translated by Bühler, *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. ii, p. 75.

² Gautama, translated by Bühler, *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. ii, p. 272, and Introduction, p. lvi.

that the Svetâsvatara-upanishad, or the Svetâsvatarâxâm Mantropanishad, though bearing many notes of later periods of thought, is quoted by Saṅkara in his commentary on the Vedânta-sûtras¹; while the *Nṛisimhottaratâpaniya*-upanishad forms part of the twelve Upanishads explained by Vidyâranya in his Sarvopanishad-arthânubhûti-prakâsa. The Upanishads comprehended in that work are :

1. Aitareya-upanishad.
2. Taittirîya-upanishad.
3. *Khândogya*-upanishad.
4. *Mundaka*-upanishad.
5. *Prasna*-upanishad.
6. *Kaushîtaki*-upanishad.
7. *Maitrâyaṇiya*-upanishad.
8. *Kaṭhâvallî*-upanishad.
9. Svetâsvatara-upanishad.
10. *Bṛihad-âraṇyaka*-upanishad.
11. *Talavakâra* (*Kena*)-upanishad.
12. *Nṛisimhottaratâpaniya*-upanishad².

The number of Upanishads translated by Dârâ Shukoh amounts to 50; their number, as given in the *Mahâvâkya-muktâvalî* and in the *Muktikâ-upanishad*, is 108³. Professor Weber thinks that their number, so far as we know at present, may be reckoned at 235⁴. In order, however, to arrive at so high a number, every title of an Upanishad would have to be counted separately, while in several cases it is clearly the same Upanishad which is quoted under different names. In an alphabetical list which I published in 1865 (*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* XIX, 137-158), the number of real Upanishads reached 149. To that number Dr. Burnell⁵ in his Catalogue

¹ Vedânta-sûtras I, 1, 11.

² One misses the *Îsâ* or *Îsāvâsya*-upanishad in this list. The Upanishads chiefly studied in Bengal are the *Bṛihad-âraṇyaka*, *Aitareya*, *Khândogya*, *Taittirîya*, *Îsâ*, *Kena*, *Kaṭha*, *Prasna*, *Mundaka*, and *Mândûkya*, to which should be added the *Svetâsvatara*. M. M., *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 325.

³ Dr. Burnell thinks that this is an artificial computation, 108 being a sacred number in Southern India. See Kielhorn in Gough's *Papers on Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 193.

⁴ Weber, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 155 note.

⁵ *Indian Antiquary*, II, 267.

(p. 59) added 5, Professor Haug (*Brahma und die Brahmanen*) 16, making a sum total of 170. New names, however, are constantly being added in the catalogues of MSS. published by Bühler, Kielhorn, Burnell, Rajendralal Mitra, and others, and I shall reserve therefore a more complete list of Upanishads for a later volume.

Though it is easy to see that these Upanishads belong to very different periods of Indian thought, any attempt to fix their relative age seems to me for the present almost hopeless. No one can doubt that the Upanishads which have had a place assigned to them in the *Samhitās*, *Brāhmanas*, and *Āraṇyakas* are the oldest. Next to these we can draw a line to include the Upanishads clearly referred to in the *Vedānta-sūtras*, or explained and quoted by *Śaṅkara*, by *Sāyana*, and other more modern commentators. We can distinguish Upanishads in prose from Upanishads in mixed prose and verse, and again Upanishads in archaic verse from Upanishads in regular and continuous *Anuṣṭubh* Slokas. We can also class them according to their subjects, and, at last, according to the sects to which they belong. But beyond this it is hardly safe to venture at present. Attempts have been made by Professor Weber and M. Regnaud to fix in each class the relative age of certain Upanishads, and I do not deny to their arguments, even where they conflict with each other, considerable weight in forming a preliminary judgment. But I know of hardly any argument which is really convincing, or which could not be met by counter arguments equally strong. Simplicity may be a sign of antiquity, but it is not so always, for what seems simple, may be the result of abbreviation. One Upanishad may give the correct, another an evidently corrupt reading, yet it does not follow that the correct reading may not be the result of an emendation. It is quite clear that a large mass of traditional Upanishads must have existed before they assumed their present form. Where two or three or four Upanishads contain the same story, told almost in the same words, they are not always copied from one another, but they have been settled independently, in different localities, by different teachers, it may be, for different purposes.

Lastly, the influence of Sākhās or schools may have told more or less on certain Upanishads. Thus the Maitrāyaṇīya-upanishad, as we now possess it, shows a number of irregular forms which even the commentator can account for only as peculiarities of the Maitrāyaṇīya-sākhā¹. That Upanishad, as it has come down to us, is full of what we should call clear indications of a modern and corrupt age. It contains in VI, 37, a sloka from the Mānava-dharma-sāstra, which startled even the commentator, but is explained away by him as possibly found in another Sākhā, and borrowed from there by Manu. It contains corruptions of easy words which one would have thought must have been familiar to every student. Thus instead of the passage as found in the *Khândogya-upanishad* VIII, 7, 1, ya ātmāpahatapāpmā vīgaro vimṛītyur visoko 'vīgighatso 'vipāsaḥ, &c., the text of the Maitrāyaṇīya-upanishad (VII, 7) reads, ātmāpahatapāpmā vīgaro vimṛītyur visoko 'vīkikitso 'vipāsaḥ. But here again the commentator explains that another Sākhā reads 'vīgighatsa, and that avipāsa is to be explained by means of a change of letters as apipāsa. Corruptions, therefore, or modern elements which are found in one Upanishad, as handed down in one Sākhā, do not prove that the same existed in other Sākhās, or that they were found in the original text.

All these questions have to be taken into account before we can venture to give a final judgment on the relative age of Upanishads which belong to one and the same class. I know of no problem which offers so many similarities with the one before us as that of the relative age of the four Gospels. All the difficulties which occur in the Upanishads occur here, and no critical student who knows the difficulties that have to be encountered in determining the relative age of the four Gospels, will feel inclined, in the present state of Vedic scholarship, to speak with confidence on the relative age of the ancient Upanishads.

¹ They are generally explained as *khândasa*, but in one place (Maitr. Up. II, 4) the commentator treats such irregularities as *etaḥkhākhāsaṅketapāsaḥ*, a reading peculiar to the Maitrāyaṇīya school. Some learned remarks on this point may be seen in an article by Dr. L. Schroeder, *Über die Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā*.

CRITICAL TREATMENT OF THE TEXT OF THE UPANISHADS.

With regard to a critical restoration of the text of the Upanishads, I have but seldom relied on the authority of new MSS., but have endeavoured throughout to follow that text which is presupposed by the commentaries, whether they are the work of the old Saṅkarācārya, or of the more modern Saṅkarānanda, or Sāyana, or others. Though there still prevails some uncertainty as to the date of Saṅkarācārya, commonly assigned to the eighth century A.D., yet I doubt whether any MSS. of the Upanishads could now be found prior to 1000 A.D. The text, therefore, which Saṅkara had before his eyes, or, it may be, his ears, commands, I think, a higher authority than that of any MSS. likely to be recovered at present.

It may be objected that Saṅkara's text belonged to one locality only, and that different readings and different recensions may have existed in other parts of India. That is perfectly true. We possess various recensions of several Upanishads, as handed down in different Śākhās of different Vedas, and we know of various readings recorded by the commentators. These, where they are of importance for our purposes, have been carefully taken into account.

It has also been supposed that Saṅkara, who, in writing his commentaries on the Upanishad, was chiefly guided by philosophical considerations, his chief object being to use the Upanishads as a sacred foundation for the Vedānta philosophy, may now and then have taken liberties with the text. That may be so, but no stringent proof of it has as yet been brought forward, and I therefore hold that when we succeed in establishing throughout that text which served as the basis of Saṅkara's commentaries, we have done enough for the present, and have fulfilled at all events the first and indispensable task in a critical treatment of the text of the Upanishads.

But in the same manner as it is easy to see that the text

of the Rig-veda, which is presupposed by Sâyana's commentary and even by earlier works, is in many places palpably corrupt, we cannot resist the same conviction with regard to the text of the Upanishads. In some cases the metre, in others grammar, in others again the collation of analogous passages enable us to detect errors, and probably very ancient errors, that had crept into the text long before Saṅkara composed his commentaries.

Some questions connected with the metres of the Upanishads have been very learnedly treated by Professor Gildemeister in his essay, 'Zur Theorie des Sloka.' The lesson to be derived from that essay, and from a study of the Upanishads, is certainly to abstain for the present from conjectural emendations. In the old Upanishads the same metrical freedom prevails as in the hymns; in the later Upanishads, much may be tolerated as the result of conscious or unconscious imitation. The metrical emendations that suggest themselves are generally so easy and so obvious that, for that very reason, we should hesitate before correcting what native scholars would have corrected long ago, if they had thought that there was any real necessity for correction.

It is easy to suggest, for instance, that in the Vâgasaneyi-saṁhitâ-upanishad, verse 5, instead of tad antar asya sarvasya tadu sarvasyâsya bâhyataḥ, the original text may have been tad antar asya sarvasya tadu sarvasya bâhyataḥ; yet Saṅkara evidently read sarvasyâsya, and as the same reading is found in the text of the Vâgasaneyi-saṁhitâ, who would venture to correct so old a mistake?

Again, if in verse 8, we left out yâthâtathyataḥ, we should get a much more regular metre,

Kavir manîṣî paribhûḥ svyambhûḥ
ârthân vyādadhâḥ kṣâsvâtîbhyaḥ sâmbhyaḥ.

Here vyādā forms one syllable by what I have proposed to call synzesis¹, which is allowed in the Upanishads as well as in the hymns. All would then seem right, except

¹ Rig-veda, translated by M. M., vol. i, Preface, p. cxliii.

that it is difficult to explain how so rare a word as *yāthā-tathyataḥ* could have been introduced into the text.

In verse 10 one feels tempted to propose the omission of *eva* in *anyad āhur avidyayā*, while in verse 11, an *eva* inserted after *vidyām ka* would certainly improve the metre.

In verse 15 the expression *satyadharmāya dṛiṣṭaye* is archaic, but perfectly legitimate in the sense of 'that we may see the nature of the True,' or 'that we see him whose nature is true.' When this verse is repeated in the *Maitr. Up. VI, 35*, we find instead, *satyadharmāya viśṇave*, 'for the true *Viṣṇu*.' But here, again, no sound critic would venture to correct a mistake, intentional or unintentional, which is sanctioned both by the MSS. of the text and by the commentary.

Such instances, where every reader feels tempted at once to correct the *textus receptus*, occur again and again, and when they seem of any interest they have been mentioned in the notes. It may happen, however, that the correction, though at first sight plausible, has to be surrendered on more mature consideration. Thus in the *Vāgasaneyi-samhitā-upanishad*, verse 2, one feels certainly inclined to write *evam tve nānyatheto 'sti*, instead of *evam tvayi nānyatheto 'sti*. But *tve*, if it were used here, would probably itself have to be pronounced dissyllabically, while *tvayi*, though it never occurs in the *Rig-veda*, may well keep its place here, in the last book of the *Vāgasaneyi-samhitā*, provided we pronounce it by synizesis, i. e. as one syllable.

Attempts have been made sometimes to go beyond *Saṅkara*, and to restore the text, as it ought to have been originally, but as it was no longer in *Saṅkara*'s time. It is one thing to decline to follow *Saṅkara* in every one of his interpretations, it is quite another to decline to accept the text which he interprets. The former is inevitable, the latter is always very precarious.

Thus I see, for instance, that *M. Regnaud*, in the *Errata* to the second volume of his excellent work on the *Upanishads* (*Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de la philosophie de l'Inde*, 1878) proposes to read in the *Bṛihad-āraṇyaka-*

upanishad IV, 3, 1-8, sam anena vadishya iti, instead of sa mene na vadishya iti. Saṅkara adopted the latter reading, and explained accordingly, that Yāgñavalkya went to king Ganaka, but made up his mind not to speak. M. Regnaud, reading sam anena vadishya iti, takes the very opposite view, namely, that Yāgñavalkya went to king Ganaka, having made up his mind to have a conversation with him. As M. Regnaud does not rest this emendation on the authority of any new MSS., we may examine it as an ingenious conjecture; but in that case it seems to me clear that, if we adopted it, we should have at the same time to omit the whole sentence which follows. Saṅkara saw clearly that what had to be accounted or explained was why the king should address the Brahman first, samrād eva pūrvam paprakṣha; whereas if Yāgñavalkya had come with the intention of having a conversation with the king, he, the Brahman, should have spoken first. This irregularity is explained by the intervening sentence, in which we are reminded that on a former occasion, when Ganaka and Yāgñavalkya had a disputation on the Agnihotra, Yāgñavalkya granted Ganaka a boon to choose, and he chose as his boon the right of asking questions according to his pleasure. Having received that boon, Ganaka was at liberty to question Yāgñavalkya, even though he did not like it, and hence Ganaka is introduced here as the first to ask a question.

All this hangs well together, while if we assume that Yāgñavalkya came for the purpose of having a conversation with Ganaka, the whole sentence from 'atha ha yag ganakas ka' to 'pūrvam paprakṣha' would be useless, nor would there be any excuse for Ganaka beginning the conversation, when Yāgñavalkya came himself on purpose to question him.

It is necessary, even when we feel obliged to reject an interpretation of Saṅkara's, without at the same time altering the text, to remember that Saṅkara, where he is not blinded by philosophical predilections, commands the highest respect as an interpreter. I cannot help thinking therefore that M. Regnaud (vol. i, p. 59) was right in translating the passage in the *Khând. Up.* V, 3, 7, tasmād u

sarveshu lokeshu kshattrasyaiva prasāsanam abhāt, by 'que le kshatriya seul l'a enseignée dans tous les mondes.' For when he proposes in the 'Errata' to translate instead, 'c'est pourquoi l'empire dans tous les mondes fut attribué au kshatriya seulement,' he forgets that such an idea is foreign to the ordinary atmosphere in which the Upanishads move. It is not on account of the philosophical knowledge possessed by a few Kshatriyas, such as Ganaka or Pravāhana, that the privilege of government belongs everywhere to the second class. That rests on a totally different basis. Such exceptional knowledge, as is displayed by a few kings, might be an excuse for their claiming the privileges belonging to the Brahmans, but it would never, in the eyes of the ancient Indian Āryas, be considered as an argument for their claiming kingly power. Therefore, although I am well aware that prasās is most frequently used in the sense of ruling, I have no doubt that Saṅkara likewise was fully aware of that, and that if he nevertheless explained prasāsana here in the sense of prasāstritvam sishyānām, he did so because this meaning too was admissible, particularly here, where we may actually translate it by proclaiming, while the other meaning, that of ruling, would simply be impossible in the concatenation of ideas, which is placed before us in the Upanishad.

It seems, no doubt, extremely strange that neither the last redactors of the text of the Upanishads, nor the commentators, who probably knew the principal Upanishads by heart, should have perceived how certain passages in one Upanishad represented the same or nearly the same text which is found in another Upanishad, only occasionally with the most palpable corruptions.

Thus when the ceremony of offering a mantha or mash is described, we read in the *Khândogya-upanishad* V, 2, 6, that it is to be accompanied by certain words which on the whole are intelligible. But when the same passage occurs again in the *Bṛihad-Āraṇyaka*, those words have been changed to such a degree, and in two different ways in the two Sākhās of the Mādhyandinas and Kāṇvas, that, though the commentator explains them, they are almost unintel-

ligible. I shall place the three passages together in three parallel lines :

- I. *Khândogya-upanishad* V, 2, 6 :
 II. *Bṛihad-âraṇyaka*, *Mâdhyandina-sâkhâ*, XIV, 9, 3, 10 :
 III. *Bṛihad-âraṇyaka-upanishad*, *Kânva-sâkhâ*, VI, 3, 5 :
 I. Amo nâmâsy amâ hi te sarvam idam sa hi *gyeshtha*
 II. âmo 'sy âmam hi te mayi sa hi
 III. âmamsy âmamhi te mahi sa hi
 I. *sreshtha* râgâdhipatiḥ sa mâ *gyaishthyam* srai-
 II. râgesâno 'dhipatiḥ sa mâ râgesâno
 III. râgesâno
 I. *shthyam* râgyam âdhipâtyam gamayatv aham evedam
 II. 'dhipatim karotv iti.
 III. 'dhipatim karotv iti.
 I. sarvam asânîti.
 II.
 III.

The text in the *Khândogya-upanishad* yields a certain sense, viz. 'Thou art Ama by name, for all this together exists in thee. He is the oldest and best, the king, the sovereign. May he make me the oldest, the best, the king, the sovereign. May I be all this.' This, according to the commentator, is addressed to *Prâna*, and Ama, though a purely artificial word, is used in the sense of *Prâna*, or breath, in another passage also, viz. *Bṛihad-âraṇyaka-up.* I, 3, 22. If therefore we accept this meaning of Ama, the rest is easy and intelligible.

But if we proceed to the *Bṛihad-âraṇyaka*, in the *Mâdhyandina-sâkhâ*, we find the commentator proposing the following interpretation : 'O Mantha, thou art a full knower, complete knowledge of me belongs to thee.' This meaning is obtained by deriving *âmaḥ* from â + man, in the sense of knower, and then taking *âmam*, as a neuter, in the sense of knowledge, derivations which are simply impossible.

Lastly, if we come to the text of the *Kânva-sâkhâ*, the grammatical interpretation becomes bolder still. *Saṅkara* does not explain the passage at all, which is strange, but *Anandagiri* interprets *âmamsi tvam* by 'Thou knowest

(all),' and *âmanhi te mahi*, by 'we know thy great (shape),' which are again impossible forms.

But although there can be little doubt here that the reading of the *Khândogya-upanishad* gives us the original text, or a text nearest to the original, no sound critic would venture to correct the readings of the *Bṛihad-âraṇyaka*. They are corruptions, but even as corruptions they possess authority, at all events up to a certain point, and it is the fixing of those certain points or chronological limits, which alone can impart a scientific character to our criticism of ancient texts.

In the *Kaushîtaki-brâhmaṇa-upanishad* Professor Cowell has pointed out a passage to me, where we must go beyond the text as it stood when commented on by the *Saṅkarâ-nanda*. In the beginning of the fourth *adhyâya* all MSS. of the text read *savasan*, and this is the reading which the commentator seems anxious to explain, though not very successfully. I thought that possibly the commentator might have had before him the reading *sa vasan*, or so '*va-san*', but both would be very unusual. Professor Cowell in his *Various Readings*, p. xii, conjectured *samvasan*, which would be liable to the same objection. He now, however, informs me that, as B. has *samtvan*, and C. *satvan*, he believes the original text to have been *Satvan-Matsyeshu*. This seems to me quite convincing, and is borne out by the reading of the Berlin MS., so far as it can be made out from Professor Weber's essay on the *Upanishads*, *Indische Studien* I, p. 419. I see that Boehtlingk and Roth in their *Sanskrit Dictionary*, s. v. *satvat*, suggest the same emendation.

The more we study the nature of Sanskrit MSS., the more, I believe, we shall feel convinced that their proper arrangement is one by locality rather than by time. I have frequently dwelt on this subject in the introductions to the successive volumes of my edition of the *Rig-veda* and its commentary by *Sâyanâkârya*, and my convictions on this point have become stronger ever since. A MS., however modern, from the south of India or from the north, is more important as a check on the *textus receptus* of

any Sanskrit work, as prevalent in Bengal or Bombay, than ever so many MSS., even if of greater antiquity, from the same locality. When therefore I was informed by my friend Dr. Bühler that he had discovered in Kashmir a MS. of the Aitareya-upanishad, I certainly expected some real help from such a treasure. The MS. is described by its discoverer in the last number of the Journal of the Bombay Asiatic Society, p. 34¹, and has since been sent to me by the Indian Government. It is written on birch bark (bhûrga), and in the alphabet commonly called Sâradâ. The leaves are very much injured on the margin, and it is almost impossible to handle them without some injury. In many places the bark has shrunk, probably on being moistened, and the letters have become illegible. Apart from these drawbacks, there remain the difficulties inherent in the Sâradâ alphabet which, owing to its numerous combinations, is extremely difficult to read, and very trying to eyes which are growing weak. However, I collated the Upanishad from the Aitareya-âraṇyaka, which turned out to be the last portion only, viz. the Samhitâ-upanishad (Ait. Âr. III, 1-2), or, as it is called here, Samhitâranya, and I am sorry to say my expectations have been disappointed. The MS. shows certain graphic peculiarities which Dr. Bühler has pointed out. It is particularly careful in the use of the sibilants, replacing the Visarga by sibilants, writing $s + s$ and $s + \text{'s}$ instead of $h + s$ and $h + s$; distinguishing also the Gihvâmûliya and Upadhmanîya. If therefore the MS. writes antastha, we may be sure that it really meant to write so, and not anta~~k~~stha, or, as it would have written, antasstha. It shows equal care in the use of the nasals, and generally carries on the sandhi between different paragraphs. Here and there I met with better readings than those given in Rajendralal Mitra's edition, but in most cases the commentary would have been sufficient to restore the right reading. A few various readings, which seemed to deserve being mentioned, will be found

¹ Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1877. Extra Number, containing the Detailed Report of a Tour in search of Sanskrit MSS., made in Kâsmîr, Rajputana, and Central India, by G. Bühler.

in the notes. The MS., though carefully written, is not free from the ordinary blunders. At first one feels inclined to attribute some importance to every peculiarity of a new MS., but very soon one finds out that what seems peculiar, is in reality carelessness. Thus Ait. Âr. III, 1, 5, 2, the Kashmir MS. has *pûrvam aksharam rūpam*, instead of what alone can be right, *pûrvarūpam*. Instead of *pragayâ pasubhiḥ* it writes repeatedly *pragaya pasubhiḥ*, which is impossible. In III, 2, 2, it leaves out again and again *manomaya* between *hhandomaya* and *vānmaya*; but that this is a mere accident we learn later on, where in the same sentence *manomayo* is found in its right place. Such cases reduce this MS. to its proper level, and make us look with suspicion on any accidental variations, such as I have noticed in my translation.

The additional paragraph, noticed by Dr. Bühler, is very indistinct, and contains, so far as I am able to find out, *jānti* verses only.

I have no doubt that the discovery of new MSS. of the Upanishads and their commentaries will throw new light on the very numerous difficulties with which a translator of the Upanishads, particularly in attempting a complete and faithful translation, has at present to grapple. Some of the difficulties, which existed thirty years ago, have been removed since by the general progress of Vedic scholarship, and by the editions of texts and commentaries and translations of Upanishads, many of which were known at that time in manuscript only. But I fully agree with M. Regnaud as to the *difficultés considérables que les meilleures traductions laissent subsister*, and which can be solved only by a continued study of the Upanishads, the *Āraṇyakas*, the *Brāhmaṇas*, and the *Vedānta-sūtras*.

MEANING OF THE WORD UPANISHAD.

How Upanishad became the recognised name of the philosophical treatises contained in the Veda is difficult to explain. Most European scholars are agreed in deriving

upa-ni-shad from the root sad, to sit down, preceded by the two prepositions ni, down, and upa, near, so that it would express the idea of session, or assembly of pupils sitting down near their teacher to listen to his instruction. In the *Trikāndasheshā*, upanishad is explained by *samīpasādāna*, sitting down near a person¹.

Such a word, however, would have been applicable, it would seem, to any other portion of the Veda as well as to the chapters called Upanishad, and it has never been explained how its meaning came thus to be restricted. It is still more strange that upanishad, in the sense of session or assembly, has never, so far as I am aware, been met with. Whenever the word occurs, it has the meaning of doctrine, secret doctrine, or is simply used as the title of the philosophic treatises which constitute the *gñānakānda*, the knowledge portion, as opposed to the *karmakānda*, the work or ceremonial portion, of the Veda.

Native philosophers seem never to have thought of deriving upanishad from sad, to sit down. They derive it either from the root sad, in the sense of destruction, supposing these ancient treatises to have received their name because they were intended to destroy passion and ignorance by means of divine revelation², or from the root sad, in the sense of approaching, because a knowledge of Brahman comes near to us by means of the Upanishads, or because we approach Brahman by their help. Another explanation proposed by Saṅkara in his commentary on the *Taittirīya-upanishad* II, 9, is that the highest bliss is contained in the Upanishad (*param sreyo 'syām nishannam*).

These explanations seem so wilfully perverse that it is difficult to understand the unanimity of native scholars. We ought to take into account, however, that very general tendency among half-educated people, to acquiesce in any etymology which accounts for the most prevalent meaning of a word. The *Āraṇyakas* abound in

¹ Pāṇini I, 4, 79, has *upanishatkṛīya*.

² M. M., *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 318; Colebrooke, *Essays*, I, 92; Regnaud, *Matériaux*, p. 7.

such etymologies, which probably were never intended as real etymologies, in our sense of the word, but simply as plays on words, helping to account somehow for their meaning. The Upanishads, no doubt, were meant to destroy ignorance and passion, and nothing seemed more natural therefore than that their etymological meaning should be that of destroyers¹.

The history and the genius of the Sanskrit language leave little doubt that upanishad meant originally session, particularly a session consisting of pupils, assembled at a respectful distance round their teacher.

With upa alone, sad occurs as early as the hymns of the Rig-veda, in the sense of approaching respectfully² :—

Rig-veda IX, 11, 6. Nāmasā ít úpa sīdata, 'approach him with praise.' See also Rig-veda X, 73, 11 ; I, 65, 1.

In the *Khândogya-upanishad* VI, 13, 1, a teacher says to his pupil, atha mā prātar upasīdathāh, 'come to me (for advice) to-morrow morning.'

In the same Upanishad VII, 8, 1, a distinction is made between those who serve their teachers (pariṭaritā), and those who are admitted to their more intimate society (upasattā, comm. samīpagaḥ, antaraṅgaḥ, priyaḥ).

Again, in the *Khândogya-upanishad* VII, 1, we read of a pupil approaching his teacher (upāsasāda or upasasāda), and of the teacher telling him to approach with what he knows, i. e. to tell him first what he has learnt already (yad vettha tena mopasīda³).

In the *Sūtras* (Gobhīliya *Gr̥hya-sūtra* II, 10, 38) upasad is the recognised term for the position assumed by a pupil with his hands folded and his eyes looking up to the teacher who is to instruct him.

It should be stated, however, that no passage has yet been met with in which upa-ni-sad is used in the sense of pupils approaching and listening to their teacher. In the

¹ The distinction between possible and real etymologies is as modern as that between legend and history.

² See M. M.'s History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 318.

³ See also *Khând. Up.* VI, 7, 2.

only passage in which upanishasâda occurs (Ait. Âr. II, 2, 1), it is used of Indra sitting down by the side of Visvâ-mitra, and it is curious to observe that both MSS. and commentaries give here upanishasasâda, an entirely irregular form.

The same is the case with two other roots which are used almost synonymously with sad, viz. âs and vis. We find upa + âs used to express the position which the pupil occupies when listening to his teacher, e.g. Pân. III, 4, 72, upâsito gurum bhavân, 'thou hast approached the Guru,' or upâsito gurur bhavatâ, 'the Guru has been approached by thee.' We find pari + upa + âs used with regard to relations assembled round the bed of a dying friend, *Khând. Up.* VI, 15; or of hungry children sitting round their mother, and likened to people performing the Agnihotra sacrifice (*Khând. Up.* V, 24, 5). But I have never met with upa-ni-as in that sense.

We likewise find upa-vis used in the sense of sitting down to a discussion (*Khând. Up.* I, 8, 2), but I have never found upa + ni + vis as applied to a pupil listening to his teacher.

The two prepositions upa and ni occur, however, with pat, to fly, in the sense of flying down and settling near a person, *Khând. Up.* IV, 7, 2; IV, 8, 2. And the same prepositions joined to the verb sri, impart to it the meaning of sitting down beneath a person, so as to show him respect: *Brh. Âr.* I, 4, 11. 'Although a king is exalted, he sits down at the end of the sacrifice below the Brahman,' brahmaivântata upanisrayati.

Sad, with upa and ni, occurs in upanishâdin only, and has there the meaning of subject, e.g. Satap. Brâhm. IX, 4, 3, 3, kshatrâya tad visam adhastâd upanishâdinîṃ karoti, 'he thus makes the Vis (citizen) below, subject to the Kshatriya.'

Sometimes nishad is used by the side of upanishad, and so far as we can judge, without any difference of meaning¹.

All we can say therefore, for the present, is that upani-

¹ Mahâbhârata, Sântiparva, 1613.

shad, besides being the recognised title of certain philosophical treatises, occurs also in the sense of doctrine and of secret doctrine, and that it seems to have assumed this meaning from having been used originally in the sense of session or assembly in which one or more pupils receive instruction from a teacher.

Thus we find the word *upanishad* used in the *Upanishads* themselves in the following meanings :

1. Secret or esoteric explanation, whether true or false.
2. Knowledge derived from such explanation.
3. Special rules or observances incumbent on those who have received such knowledge.
4. Title of the books containing such knowledge.

I. Ait. Ār. III, 1, 6, 3. 'For this *Upanishad*, i.e. in order to obtain the information about the true meaning of *Samhitā*, *Tārukshya* served as a cowherd for a whole year.'

Taitt. Up. I, 3. 'We shall now explain the *Upanishad* of the *Samhitā*.'

Ait. Ār. III, 2, 5, 1. 'Next follows this *Upanishad* of the whole speech. True, all these are *Upanishads* of the whole speech, but this they declare especially.'

Talav. Up. IV, 7. 'As you have asked me to tell you the *Upanishad*, the *Upanishad* has now been told you. We have told you the *Brāhmi Upanishad*,' i.e. the true meaning of *Brahman*.

In the *Khând. Up.* III, 11, 3, after the meaning of *Brahman* has been explained, the text says : 'To him who thus knows this *Brahma upanishad* (the secret doctrine of *Brahman*) the sun does not rise and does not set.' In the next paragraph *brahma* itself is used, meaning either *Brahman* as the object taught in the *Upanishad*, or, by a slight change of meaning, the *Upanishad* itself.

Khând. Up. I, 13, 4. 'Speech yields its milk to him who knows this *Upanishad* (secret doctrine) of the *Sāmāns* in this wise.'

Khând. Up. VIII, 8, 4. When *Indra* and *Viroḍana* had both misunderstood the teaching of *Pragāpati*, he says : 'They both go away without having perceived and without having known the Self, and whoever of these two, whether

Devas or Asuras, will follow this doctrine (upanishad), will perish.'

II. In the *Khând. Up.* I, 1, after the deeper meaning of the Udgîtha or Om has been described, the advantage of knowing that deeper meaning is put forward, and it is said that the sacrifice which a man performs with knowledge, with faith, and with the Upanishad, i.e. with an understanding of its deeper meaning, is more powerful.

III. In the *Taittiriya-upanishad*, at the end of the second chapter, called the *Brahmânandavalli*, and again at the end of the tenth chapter, the text itself says: *Ity upanishad, 'this is the Upanishad, the true doctrine.'*

IV. In the *Kaushîtaki-upanishad* II, 1; 2, we read: 'Let him not beg, this is the Upanishad for him who knows this.' Here upanishad stands for *vrata* or *rahasya-vrata*, rule.

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I.

THE *KHĀNDOGYA*-UPANISHAD.

THE *Khândogya*-upanishad belongs to the *Sâma-veda*. Together with the *Bṛihad-âraṇyaka*, which belongs to the *Yagur-veda*, it has contributed the most important materials to what may be called the orthodox philosophy of India, the *Vedânta*¹, i. e. the end, the purpose, the highest object of the *Veda*. It consists of eight *adhyâyas* or lectures, and formed part of a *Khândogya-brâhmaṇa*, in which it was preceded by two other *adhyâyas*. While MSS. of the *Khândogya*-upanishad and its commentary are frequent, no MSS. of the whole *Brâhmaṇa* has been met with in Europe. Several scholars had actually doubted its existence, but Rajendralal Mitra², in the Introduction to his translation of the *Khândogya*-upanishad, states that in India 'MSS. of the work are easily available, though as yet he has seen no commentary attached to the *Brâhmaṇa* portion of any one of them.' 'According to general accep-

¹ *Vedânta*, as a technical term, did not mean originally the last portions of the *Veda*, or chapters placed, as it were, at the end of a volume of Vedic literature, but the end, i. e. the object, the highest purpose of the *Veda*. There are, of course, passages, like the one in the *Taittirîya-âraṇyaka* (ed. Rajendralal Mitra, p. 820), which have been misunderstood both by native and European scholars, and where *vedânta* means simply the end of the *Veda*:—*yo vedâdau svaraḥ prokto vedânte ka pratishṭhitah*, 'the Om which is pronounced at the beginning of the *Veda*, and has its place also at the end of the *Veda*.' Here *vedânta* stands simply in opposition to *vedâdau*, and it is impossible to translate it, as *Sâyana* does, by *Vedânta* or *Upanishad*. *Vedânta*, in the sense of philosophy, occurs in the *Taittirîya-âraṇyaka* (p. 817), in a verse of the *Nârâyana*-upanishad, repeated in the *Mundaka*-upanishad III, 2, 6, and elsewhere, *vedântavigñânasunishṭhîrthâh*, 'those who have well understood the object of the knowledge arising from the *Vedânta*,' not 'from the last books of the *Veda*;' and *Svetâsvatara*-up. VI, 22, *vedânte paramam guhyam*, 'the highest mystery in the *Vedânta*.' Afterwards it is used in the plural also, e. g. *Kshurikopanishad*, 10 (Bibl. Ind. p. 210), *pundariketi vedânteshu nigadyate*, 'it is called *pundarîka* in the *Vedântas*,' i. e. in the *Khândogya* and other *Upanishads*, as the commentator says, but not in the last books of each *Veda*. A curious passage is found in the *Gautama-sûtras* XIX, 12, where a distinction seems to be made between *Upanishad* and *Vedânta*. Sacred Books, vol. ii, p. 272.

² *Khândogya*-upanishad, translated by Rajendralal Mitra, Calcutta, 1862, Introduction, p. 17.

tation,' he adds, 'the work embraces ten chapters, of which the first two are reckoned to be the *Brāhmaṇa*, and the rest is known under the name of *Khândogya-upanishad*. In their arrangement and style the two portions differ greatly, and judged by them they appear to be productions of very different ages, though both are evidently relics of pretty remote antiquity. Of the two chapters of the *Khândogya-brāhmaṇa* ¹, the first includes eight *sûktas* (hymns) on the ceremony of marriage, and the rites necessary to be observed at the birth of a child. The first *sûkta* is intended to be recited when offering an oblation to Agni on the occasion of a marriage, and its object is to pray for prosperity in behalf of the married couple. The second prays for long life, kind relatives, and a numerous progeny. The third is the marriage pledge by which the contracting parties bind themselves to each other. Its spirit may be guessed from a single verse. In talking of the unanimity with which they will dwell, the bridegroom addresses his bride, "That heart of thine shall be mine, and this heart of mine shall be thine ²." The fourth and the fifth invoke Agni, Vāyu, *Kandramas*, and *Sûrya* to bless the couple and ensure healthful progeny. The sixth is a mantra for offering an oblation on the birth of a child; and the seventh and the eighth are prayers for its being healthy, wealthy, and powerful, not weak, poor, or mute, and to ensure a profusion of wealth and milch-cows. The first *sûkta* of the second chapter is addressed to the Earth, Agni, and Indra, with a prayer for wealth, health, and prosperity; the second, third, fourth, fifth, and sixth are mantras for offering oblations to cattle, the manes, *Sûrya*, and divers minor deities. The seventh is a curse upon worms, insects, flies, and other nuisances, and the last, the concluding mantra of the marriage ceremony, in which a general blessing is invoked for all concerned.'

After this statement there can be but little doubt that

¹ It begins, *Om, deva savitaḥ, pra suva yagnam pra suva yagnapatim bhagāya*. The second begins, *yaḥ prātyāṃ disi sarparāga esha te baliḥ*.

² *Yad etad dhrīdayam tava tad astu hṛīdayam mama, Yad idam hṛīdayam mama tad astu hṛīdayam tava*.

this Upanishad originally formed part of a Brâhmana. This may have been called either by a general name, the Brâhmana of the *Kāṇḍogas*, the followers of the Sâma-veda, or, on account of the prominent place occupied in it by the Upanishad, the Upanishad-brâhmana¹. In that case it would be one of the eight Brâhmanas of the Sâma-veda, enumerated by Kumârila Bhaṭṭa and others², and called simply Upanishad, scil. Brâhmana.

The text of the Upanishad with the commentary of Saṅkara and the gloss of Ānandagiri has been published in the Bibliotheca Indica. The edition can only claim the character of a manuscript, and of a manuscript not always very correctly read.

A translation of the Upanishad was published, likewise in the Bibliotheca Indica, by Rajendralal Mitra.

It is one of the Upanishads that was translated into Persian under the auspices of Dârâ Shukoh³, and from Persian into French by Anquetil Duperron, in his *Oupnekhat*, i. e. *Secretum Tegendum*. Portions of it were translated into English by Colebrooke in his *Miscellaneous Essays*, into Latin and German by F. W. Windischmann, in his *Saṅkara, seu de theologumenis Vedanticorum* (Bonn, 1833), and in a work published by his father, K. J. H. Windischmann, *Die Philosophie im Fortgang der Weltgeschichte* (Bonn, 1827-34). Professor A. Weber has treated of this Upanishad in his *Indische Studien* I, 254; likewise M. P. Regnaud in his *Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de la philosophie de l'Inde* (Paris, 1876) and Mr. Gough in several articles on 'the Philosophy of the Upanishads,' in the *Calcutta Review*, No. CXXXI.

I have consulted my predecessors whenever there was a serious difficulty to solve in the translation of these ancient texts. These difficulties are very numerous, as those know

¹ The same name seems, however, to be given to the adhyâya of the Talavakâra-brâhmana, which contains the Kena-upanishad.

² M. M., *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 348. Most valuable information on the literature of the Sâma-veda may be found in Dr. Burnell's editions of the smaller Brâhmanas of that Veda.

³ M. M., *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 325.

best who have attempted to give complete translations of these ancient texts. It will be seen that my translation differs sometimes very considerably from those of my predecessors. Though I have but seldom entered into any controversy with them, they may rest assured that I have not deviated from them without careful reflection.

II.

THE TALAVAKĀRA-UPANISHAD.

THIS Upanishad is best known by the name of Kena-upanishad, from its first word. The name of brāhmī-upanishad (IV, 7) can hardly be considered as a title. It means 'the teaching of Brahman,' and is used with reference to other Upanishads also¹. Saṅkara, in his commentary, tells us that this Upanishad forms the ninth adhyāya of a Brāhmaṇa, or, if we take his words quite literally, he says, 'the beginning of the ninth adhyāya is "the Upanishad beginning with the words Keneshitam, and treating of the Highest Brahman has to be taught."' In the eight preceeding adhyāyas, he tells us, all the sacred rites or sacrifices had been fully explained, and likewise the meditations (upāsana) on the prāṇa (vital breath) which belongs to all these sacrifices, and those meditations also which have reference to the fivefold and sevenfold Sāmans. After that followed Gâyatra-sāman and the Vamsa, the genealogical list. All this would naturally form the subject of a Sāma-veda-brāhmaṇa, and we find portions corresponding to the description given by Saṅkara in the *Khândogya-upanishad*, e. g. the fivefold Sāman, II, 2 ; the sevenfold Sāman, II, 8 ; the Gâyatra-sāman, III, 12, 1.

Ānandañāna tells us that our Upanishad belonged to the Sākhā of the Talavakāras.

All this had formerly to be taken on trust, because no Brāhmaṇa was known containing the Upanishad. Dr. Burnell, however, has lately discovered a Brāhmaṇa of the Sāma-veda which comes very near the description given by Saṅkara. In a letter dated Tanjore, 8th Dec. 1878, he

¹ See before, p. lxxxiii.

writes : 'It appears to me that you would be glad to know the following about the Kena-upanishad, as it occurs in my MS. of the Talavakâra-brâhmana.

'The last book but one of this Brâhmana is termed Upanishad-brâhmana. It consists of 145 khandas treating of the Gâyatra-sâman, and the 134th is a Vamsa. The Kena-upanishad comprises the 135-145 khandas, or the tenth anuvâka of a chapter. The 139th section begins : âsâ vâ idam agra âsit, &c.

'My MS. of the Talavakâra-brâhmana agrees, as regards the contents, exactly with what Saṅkara says, but not in the divisions. He says that the Kena-upanishad begins the ninth adhyâya, but that is not so in my MS. Neither the beginning nor the end of this Upanishad is noticed particularly.

'The last book of this Brâhmana is the Ârsheya-brâhmana, which I printed last February.

'Among the teachers quoted in the Brâhmana I have noticed both Tândya and Sâtyâyani. I should not be surprised to find in it the difficult quotations which are incorrectly given in the MSS. of Sâyana's commentary on the Rig-veda. The story of Apâlâ, quoted by Sâyana in his commentary on the Rig-veda, VIII, 80, as from the Sâtyâyanaka, is found word for word, except some trivial var. lectiones, in sections 220-221 of the Agnishôma book of the Talavakâra-brâhmana. The Sâtyâyânis seem to be closely connected with the Talavakâra-sâkhâ.'

From a communication made by Dr. Burnell to the Academy (1 Feb. 79), I gather that this Talavakâra-brâhmana is called by those who study it 'Gaiminiya-brâhmana,' after the Sâkhâ of the Sâma-veda which they follow. The account given in the Academy differs on some particulars slightly from that given in Dr. Burnell's letter to me. He writes : 'The largest part of the Brâhmana treats of the sacrifices and the Sâmans used at them. The first chapter is on the Agnihotra, and the Agnishôma and other rites follow at great length. Then comes a book termed Upanishad-brâhmana. This contains 145 sections in four chapters. It begins with speculations on the Gâyatra-

sâman, followed by a *Vamśa*; next, some similar matter and another *Vamśa*. Then (§§ 135-138) comes the *Kena-upanishad* (*Talavakâra*). The last book is the *Ârsheya*. The *Upanishad* forms the tenth *anuvâka* of the fourth chapter, not the beginning of a ninth chapter, as *Saṅkara* remarks.'

The *Kena-upanishad* has been frequently published and translated. It forms part of *Dârâ Shukoh's* Persian, and *Anquetil Duperron's* Latin translations. It was several times published in English by *Rammohun Roy* (*Translations of Several Principal Books, Passages, and Texts of the Veda*, London, 1832, p. 41), in German by *Windischmann*, *Poley*, and others. It has been more or less fully discussed by *Colebrooke*, *Windischmann*, *Poley*, *Weber*, *Röer*, *Gough*, and *Regnaud* in the books mentioned before.

Besides the text of this *Upanishad* contained in the *Brâhmana* of the *Sâma-veda*, there is another text, slightly differing, belonging to the *Atharva-veda*, and there are commentaries on both texts (*Colebrooke*, *Misc. Essays*, 1873, II, p. 80).

III.

THE AITAREYA-ÂRANYAKA.

IN giving a translation of the *Aitareya-upanishad*, I found it necessary to give at the same time a translation of that portion of the *Aitareya-âranyaka* which precedes the *Upanishad*. The *Âranyakas* seem to have been from the beginning the proper repositories of the ancient *Upanishads*, though it is difficult at first sight to find out in what relation the *Upanishads* stood to the *Âranyakas*. The *Âranyakas* are to be read and studied, not in the village (*grâma*), but in the forest, and so are the *Upanishads*. But the subjects treated in the *Upanishads* belong to a very different order from those treated in the other portions of the *Âranyakas*, the former being philosophical, the latter liturgical.

The liturgical chapters of the *Âranyakas* might quite as well have formed part of the *Brâhmanas*, and but for the restriction that they are to be read in the forest, it is difficult to distinguish between them and the *Brâhmanas*. The

first chapter of the Aitareya-*Āraṇyaka* is a mere continuation of the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa, and gives the description of the Mahāvratā, the last day but one of the Gavāmāyana, a sattrā or sacrifice which is supposed to last a whole year. The duties which are to be performed by the Hotri priests are described in the Aitareya-*Āraṇyaka*; not all, however, but those only which are peculiar to the Mahāvratā day. The general rules for the performance of the Mahāvratā are to be taken over from other sacrifices, such as the Visvagit, *Katurvimsa*, &c., which form the type (*prakṛiti*) of the Mahāvratā. Thus the two sastras or recitations, called *āgya-praūga*, are taken over from the Visvagit, the sastras of the Hotrakas from the *Katurvimsa*. The Mahāvratā is treated here as belonging to the Gavāmāyana sattrā, which is described in a different Sākhā, see Taittirīya *Samhitā* VII, 5, 8, and partly in other Vedas. It is the day preceding the udayaniya, the last day of the sattrā. It can be celebrated, however, by itself also, as an ekāha or ahīna sacrifice, and in the latter case it is the tenth day of the Ekadasarātra (eleven nights sacrifice) called *Pundarika*.

Sāyana does not hesitate to speak of the Aitareya-*Āraṇyaka* as a part of the Brāhmaṇa¹; and a still earlier authority, Saṅkara, by calling the Aitareya-upanishad by the name of *Bahvrika-brāhmaṇa-upanishad*², seems to imply that both the Upanishad and the *Āraṇyaka* may be classed as Brāhmaṇa.

The Aitareya-*Āraṇyaka* appears at first sight a miscellaneous work, consisting of liturgical treatises in the first, fourth, and fifth *Āraṇyakas*, and of three Upanishads, in the second and third *Āraṇyakas*. This, however, is not the case. The first *Āraṇyaka* is purely liturgical, giving a description of the Mahāvratā, so far as it concerns the Hotri priest. It is written in the ordinary Brāhmaṇa style. Then follows the first Upanishad, *Āraṇyaka* II, 1-3, showing

¹ Aitareyabrāhmaṇe 'sti kāṇḍam āraṇyakābhidham (introduction), a remark which he repeats in the fifth *Āraṇyaka*. He also speaks of the *Āraṇyaka-vratārūpam brāhmaṇam*; see p. cxiv, l. 24.

² In the same manner the Kaushītaki-upanishad is properly called Kaushītaki-brāhmaṇa-upanishad, though occurring in the *Āraṇyaka*; see Kaushītaki-brāhmaṇa-upanishad, ed. Cowell, p. 30.

how certain portions of the Mahâvrata, as described in the first Âraṇyaka, can be made to suggest a deeper meaning, and ought to lead the mind of the sacrificer away from the purely outward ceremonial to meditation on higher subjects. Without a knowledge of the first Âraṇyaka therefore the first Upanishad would be almost unintelligible, and though its translation was extremely tedious, it could not well have been omitted.

The second and third Upanishads are not connected with the ceremonial of the Mahâvrata, but in the fourth and fifth Âraṇyakas the Mahâvrata forms again the principal subject, treated, however, not as before in the style of the Brâhmanas, but in the style of Sûtras. The fourth Âraṇyaka contains nothing but a list of the Mahânâmî hymns¹, but the fifth describes the Mahâvrata again, so that if the first Âraṇyaka may be looked upon as a portion of the Aitareya-brâhmanas, the fifth could best be classed with the Sûtras of Âsvalâyana.

To a certain extent this fact, the composite character of the Aitareya-âraṇyaka, is recognised even by native scholars, who generally do not trouble themselves much on such questions. They look both on the Aitareya-brâhmana and on the greater portion of Aitareya-âraṇyaka as the works of an inspired Rishi, Mahidâsa Aitareya², but they consider the fourth and fifth books of the Âraṇyaka as contributed by purely human authors, such as Âsvalâyana and Saunaka, who, like other Sûtrakâras, took in verses belonging to other Sâkhâs, and did not confine their rules to their own Sâkhâ only.

There are many legends about Mahidâsa, the reputed author of the Aitareya-brâhmana and Âraṇyaka. He is

¹ See Boehtlingk and Roth, s.v. 'Neun Vedische Verse die in ihrem vollständigen Wortlaut aber noch nicht nachgewiesen sind.' Weber, Indische Studien VIII, 68. How these hymns are to be employed we learn from the Âsvalâyana-sûtras VII, 12, 10, where we are told that if the Udgâtrîs sing the Sâkvara Sâman as the Prishvatotra, the nine verses beginning with Vidâ maghavan, and known by the name of Mahânâmî, are to be joined in a peculiar manner. The only excuse given, why these Mahânâmîs are mentioned here, and not in the Brâhmana, is that they are to be studied in the forest.

² M. M., History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, pp. 177, 335.

quoted several times as Mahidāsa Aitareya in the *Āraṇyaka* itself, though not in the *Brāhmaṇa*. We also meet his name in the *Khândogya-upanishad* (III, 16, 7), where we are told that he lived to an age of 116 years¹. All this, however, would only prove that, at the time of the composition or collection of these *Āraṇyakas* and *Upanishads*, a sage was known of the name of Mahidāsa Aitareya, descended possibly from Itara or Itarā, and that one text of the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Āraṇyakas* of the *Bahvrikas* was handed down in the family of the Aitareyins.

Not content with this apparently very obvious explanation, later theologians tried to discover their own reasons for the name of Aitareya. Thus Sāyana, in his introduction to the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa², tells us that there was once a *Rishi* who had many wives. One of them was called Itarā, and she had a son called Mahidāsa. His father preferred the sons of his other wives to Mahidāsa, and once he insulted him in the sacrificial hall, by placing his other sons on his lap, but not Mahidāsa. Mahidāsa's mother, seeing her son with tears in his eyes, prayed to her tutelary goddess, the Earth (svīyakuladevatā Bhūmī), and the goddess in her heavenly form appeared in the midst of the assembly, placed Mahidāsa on a throne, and on account of his learning, gave him the gift of knowing the *Brāhmaṇa*, consisting of forty adhyāyas, and, as Sāyana calls it, another *Brāhmaṇa*, 'treating of the *Āraṇyaka* duties' (*āraṇyakavratārūpam brāhmaṇam*).

Without attaching much value to the legend of Itarā, we see at all events that Sāyana considered what we call the Aitareyāraṇyaka as a kind of *Brāhmaṇa*, not however the whole of it, but only the first, second, and third *Āraṇyakas* (atha mahāvratam ityādikam ākāryā ākāryā ityan-tam). How easy it was for Hindu theologians to invent such legends we see from another account of Mahidāsa, given by Ānandatīrtha in his notes on the Aitareya-upani-

¹ Not 1600 years, as I printed by mistake; for 24 + 44 + 48 make 116 years. Rajendralal Mitra should not have corrected his right rendering 116 into 1600. Ait. Ār. Introduction, p. 3.

² M. M., History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 336.

shad. He, as Colebrooke was the first to point out, takes Mahidâsa 'to be an incarnation of Nârâyana, proceeding from Visâla, son of Abga,' and he adds, that on the sudden appearance of this deity at a solemn celebration, the whole assembly of gods and priests (suraviprasaṅgha) fainted, but at the intercession of Brahmâ, they were revived, and after making their obeisance, they were instructed in holy science. This avatâra was called Mahidâsa, because those venerable personages (mahin) declared themselves to be his slaves (dâsa)¹.

In order properly to understand this legend, we must remember that Ânandatîrtha, or rather Visvesvaratîrtha, whose commentary he explains, treated the whole of the Mahaitareya-upanishad from a Vaishṇava point of view, and that his object was to identify Mahidâsa with Nârâyana. He therefore represents Nârâyana or Hari as the avatâra of Visâla, the son of Brahman (abgasuta), who appeared at a sacrifice, as described before, who received then and there the name of Mahidâsa (or Mahidâsa), and who taught this Upanishad. Any other person besides Mahidâsa would have been identified with the same ease by Visvesvaratîrtha with Vishṇu or Bhagavat.

A third legend has been made up out of these two by European scholars who represent Mahidâsa as the son of Visâla and Itarâ, two persons who probably never met before, for even the Vaishṇava commentator does not attempt to take liberties with the name of Aitareya, but simply states that the Upanishad was called Aitareyî, from Aitareya.

Leaving these legends for what they are worth, we may at all events retain the fact that, whoever was the author of the Aitareya-brâhmana and the first three books of the Aitareya-âranyaka, was not the author of the two concluding Âranyakas. And this is confirmed in different ways. Sâyana, when quoting in his commentary on the Rig-veda from the last books, constantly calls it a Sûtra of Saunaka, while the fourth Âranyaka is specially ascribed

¹ Colebrooke, *Miscellaneous Essays*, 1873, II, p. 42.

to Āsvalāyana, the pupil and successor of Saunaka¹. These two names of Saunaka and Āsvalāyana are frequently intermixed. If, however, in certain MSS. the whole of the Aitareya-Āraṇyaka is sometimes ascribed either to Āsvalāyana or Saunaka, this is more probably due to the colophon of the fourth and fifth Āraṇyakas having been mistaken for the title of the whole work than to the fact that such MSS. represent the text of the Āraṇyaka, as adopted by the school of Āsvalāyana.

The Aitareya-Āraṇyaka consists of the following five Āraṇyakas :

The first Āraṇyaka has five Adhyāyas :

1. First Adhyāya, Atha mahāvratam, has four Khandas, 1-4.
2. Second Adhyāya, Ā tvā ratham, has four Khandas, 5-8.
3. Third Adhyāya, Hīnkāreṇa, has eight² Khandas, 9-16.
4. Fourth Adhyāya, Atha sūdadohāt, has three Khandas, 17-19.
5. Fifth Adhyāya, Vasam samsati, has three Khandas, 20-22.

The second Āraṇyaka has seven Adhyāyas :

6. First Adhyāya, Eshā panthāt, has eight Khandas, 1-8.
7. Second Adhyāya, Esha imam lokam, has four Khandas, 9-12.
8. Third Adhyāya, Yo ha vā ātmānam, has eight (not three) Khandas, 13-20.
9. Fourth Adhyāya, Ātmā vā idam, has three Khandas, 21-23.
10. Fifth Adhyāya, Puruṣe ha vā, has one Khanda, 24.
11. Sixth Adhyāya, Ko 'yam ātmeti, has one Khanda, 25.
12. Seventh Adhyāya, Vān me manasi, has one Khanda, 26.

The third Āraṇyaka has two Adhyāyas :

13. First Adhyāya, Athātak samhitāyā upaniṣat, has six Khandas, 1-6.
14. Second Adhyāya, Prāno vamsa iti sthaviṛaḥ Śākalyaḥ, has six Khandas, 7-12.

The fourth Āraṇyaka has one Adhyāya :

15. First Adhyāya, Vidā maghavan, has one Khanda (the Mahā-nāmnī's).

The fifth Āraṇyaka has three Adhyāyas :

16. First Adhyāya, Mahāvratasya pañcaviṃsatim, has six Khandas, 1-6.
17. Second Adhyāya, (Grīvāt) Vasyedam, has five Khandas, 7-11.
18. Third Adhyāya, (Ūrū) Indrāgni, has four Khandas, 11-14.

¹ M. M., History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 235.

² Not six, as in Rajendralal Mitra's edition.

With regard to the Upanishad, we must distinguish between the Aitareya-upanishad, properly so-called, which fills the fourth, fifth, and sixth adhyāyas of the second *Āraṇyaka*, and the Mahaitareya-upanishad¹, also called by a more general name *Bahvṛika-upanishad*, which comprises the whole of the second and third *Āraṇyakas*.

The Persian translator seems to have confined himself to the second *Āraṇyaka*², to which he gives various titles, Sarbsar, Asarbeh, Antrteheh. That Antrteheh انترتيه is a misreading of ايتربيه was pointed out long ago by Burnouf, and the same explanation applies probably to اسربيه, asarbeh, and if to that, then to Sarbsar also. No explanation has ever been given why the Aitareya-upanishad should have been called Sarvasāra, which Professor Weber thinks was corrupted into Sarbsar. At all events the Aitareya-upanishad is not the Sarvasāra-upanishad, the Oupnek'hat Sarb, more correctly called Sarvopanishatsāra, and ascribed either to the Taittirīyaka or to the Atharva-veda³.

The Aitareya-upanishad, properly so called, has been edited and translated in the Bibliotheca Indica by Dr. Röer. The whole of the Aitareya-*āraṇyaka* with Śāyana's commentary was published in the same series by Rajendralal Mitra.

Though I have had several MSS. of the text and commentary at my disposal, I have derived little aid from them, but have throughout endeavoured to restore that text which Śaṅkara (the pupil of Govinda) and Śāyana had before them. Śāyana, for the Upanishad portion, follows Śaṅkara's commentary, of which we have a gloss by Ānandagñāna.

Colebrooke in his Essays (vol. ii, p. 42) says that he

¹ This may have been the origin of a Rishi Mahaitareya, by the side of the Rishi Aitareya, mentioned in the *Āśvalāyana Gṛhya-sūtras* III, 4 (ed. Stenzler). Professor Weber takes Aitareya and Mahaitareya here as names of works, but he admits that in the *Śāṅkhāyana Gṛhya-sūtras* they are clearly names of Rishis (Ind. Stud. I, p. 389).

² He translates II, 1-II, 3, 4, leaving out the rest of the third adhyāya; afterwards II, 4-II, 7.

³ Bibliotheca Indica, the Atharvava-upanishads, p. 394.

possessed one gloss by Nārāyaṇendra on Saṅkara's commentary, and another by Ānandatīrtha on a different gloss for the entire Upanishad. The gloss by Nārāyaṇendra¹, however, is, so Dr. Rost informs me, the same as that of Ānandagñāna, while, so far as I can see, the gloss contained in MS. E. I. H. 2386 (also MS. Wilson 401), to which Colebrooke refers, is not a gloss by Ānandatīrtha at all, but a gloss by Visvesvaratīrtha on a commentary by Ānandatīrthabhagavatpādātārya, also called Pūrṇapragñātārya, who explained the whole of the Mahaitareya-upanishad from a Vaiṣṇava point of view.

IV.

THE KAUSHĪTAKI-BRĀHMAṆA-UPANISHAD.

THE Kaushītaki-upanishad, or, as it is more properly called, the Kaushītaki-brāhmaṇa-upanishad, belongs, like the Aitareya-upanishad, to the followers of the Rīg-veda. It was translated into Persian under the title of Kokhenk, and has been published in the Bibliotheca Indica with Saṅkara's commentary and an excellent translation by Professor Cowell.

Though it is called the Kaushītaki-brāhmaṇa-upanishad, it does not form part of the Kaushītaki-brāhmaṇa in 30 adhyāyas which we possess, and we must therefore account for its name by admitting that the Āraṇyaka, of which it formed a portion, could be reckoned as part of the Brāhmaṇa literature of the Rīg-veda (see Aitareya-āraṇyaka, Introduction, p. xcii), and that hence the Upanishad might be called the Upanishad of the Brāhmaṇa of the Kaushītakins².

From a commentary discovered by Professor Cowell it appears that the four adhyāyas of this Upanishad

¹ A MS. in the Notices of Sanskrit MSS., vol. ii, p. 133, ascribed to Abhinavānārāyaṇendra, called Ātmasha/kabhāshyaśkā, begins like the gloss edited by Dr. Röer, and ends like Sāyana's commentary on the seventh adhyāya, as edited by Rajendralal Mitra. The same name is given in MS. Wilson 94, Śrīmatkaivalyendrasarasvatīpūgyapādāśishya-śrīmadabhinavanārāyaṇendrasarasvatī.

² A Mahā-kaushītaki-brāhmaṇa is quoted, but has not yet been met with.

were followed by five other adhyâyas, answering, so far as we can judge from a few extracts, to some of the adhyâyas of the Aitareya-âraṇyaka, while an imperfect MS. of an Âraṇyaka in the Royal Library at Berlin (Weber, Catalogue, p. 20) begins, like the Aitareya-âraṇyaka, with a description of the Mahâvrata, followed by discussions on the uktha in the second adhyâya; and then proceeds in the third adhyâya to give the story of K'itra Gâṅgyâyani in the same words as the Kaushîtaki-upanishad in the first adhyâya. Other MSS. again adopt different divisions. In one MS. of the commentary (MS. A), the four adhyâyas of the Upanishad are counted as sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth (ending with ityâraṇyake navamo 'dhyâya/); in another (MS. P) the third and fourth adhyâyas of the Upanishad are quoted as the fifth and sixth of the Kaushîtakyâraṇyaka, possibly agreeing therefore, to a certain extent, with the Berlin MS. In a MS. of the Sâṅkhâyaṇa Âraṇyaka in the Royal Library at Berlin, there are 15 adhyâyas, 1 and 2 corresponding to Ait. Âr. 1 and 5; 3-6 containing the Kaushîtaki-upanishad; 7 and 8 corresponding to Ait. Âr. 3¹. Poley seems to have known a MS. in which the four adhyâyas of the Upanishad formed the first, seventh, eighth, and ninth adhyâyas of a Kaushîtaki-brâhmaṇa.

As there were various recensions of the Kaushîtaki-brâhmaṇa (the Sâṅkhâyaṇa, Kauthuma, &c.), the Upanishad also exists in at least two texts. The commentator, in some of its MSS., refers to the various readings of the Sâkhâs, explaining them, whenever there seems to be occasion for it. I have generally followed the text which is presupposed by Saṅkarânanda's Dîpikâ, and contained in MSS. F, G (Cowell, Preface, p. v), so far as regards the third and fourth adhyâyas. According to Professor Cowell, Vidyâranya in his Sarvopanishadarthânubhûtiprakâsa followed the text of the commentary, while Saṅkarâçârya, if we may trust to extracts in his commentary on the Vedânta-sûtras, followed the other text, contained in MS. A (Cowell, Preface, p. v).

¹ See Weber, History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 50.

The style of the commentator differs in so marked a manner from that of *Saṅkarākārya*, that even without the fact that the author of the commentary on the *Kaushîtiki-upanishad* is called *Saṅkarānanda*, it would have been difficult to ascribe it, as has been done by some scholars, to the famous *Saṅkarākārya*. *Saṅkarānanda* is called the teacher of *Mādhavākārya* (Hall, Index, p. 98), and the disciple of *Ānandātma Muni* (Hall, Index, p. 116).

I have had the great advantage of being able to consult for the *Kaushîtiki-upanishad*, not only the text and commentary as edited by Professor Cowell, but also his excellent translation. If I differ from him in some points, this is but natural, considering the character of the text and the many difficulties that have still to be solved, before we can hope to arrive at a full understanding of these ancient philosophical treatises.

V.

THE VĀGASANĒYI-SAMHITĀ-UPANISHAD.

THE *Vāgasaneyi-samhitā-upanishad*, commonly called from its beginning, *Īśā* or *Īśāvāsyā*, forms the fortieth and concluding chapter of the *Samhitā* of the White *Yagur-veda*. If the *Samhitās* are presupposed by the *Brāhmanas*, at least in that form in which we possess them, then this *Upanishad*, being the only one that forms part of a *Samhitā*, might claim a very early age. The *Samhitā* of the White *Yagur-veda*, however, is acknowledged to be of modern origin, as compared with the *Samhitā* of the Black *Yagur-veda*, and it would not be safe therefore to ascribe to this *Upanishad* a much higher antiquity than to those which have found a place in the older *Brāhmanas* and *Āraṇyakas*.

There are differences between the text, as contained in the *Yagur-veda-samhitā*, and the text of the *Upanishad* by itself. Those which are of some interest have been mentioned in the notes.

In some notes appended to the translation of this *Upanishad* I have called attention to what seems to me

its peculiar character, namely, the recognition of the necessity of works as a preparation for the reception of the highest knowledge. This agrees well with the position occupied by this Upanishad at the end of the *Samhitâ*, in which the sacrificial works and the hymns that are to accompany them are contained. The doctrine that the moment a man is enlightened, he becomes free, as taught in other Upanishads, led to a rejection of all discipline and a condemnation of all sacrifices, which could hardly have been tolerated in the last chapter of the *Yagur-veda-samhitâ*, the liturgical Veda par excellence.

Other peculiarities of this Upanishad are the name *Îs*, lord, a far more personal name for the highest Being than Brahman; the *asurya* (demoniacal) or *asûrya* (sunless) worlds to which all go who have lost their self; *Mâtariśvan*, used in the sense of *prâna* or spirit; *asnâvîram*, without muscles, in the sense of incorporeal; and the distinction between *sambhûti* and *asambhûti* in verses 12-14.

The editions of the text, commentaries, and glosses, and the earlier translations may be seen in the works quoted before, p. lxxxiv.

KHÂNDOGYA-UPANISHAD.

KHĀNDOGYA-UPANISHAD.

FIRST PRAPĀTHAKA.

FIRST KHANDA¹.

1. LET a man meditate on the syllable² Om, called the udgītha; for the udgītha (a portion of the Sâma-veda) is sung, beginning with Om.

The full account, however, of Om is this:—

2. The essence³ of all beings is the earth, the essence of the earth is water, the essence of water

¹ The *Khândogya-upanishad* begins with recommending meditation on the syllable Om, a sacred syllable that had to be pronounced at the beginning of each Veda and of every recitation of Vedic hymns. As connected with the Sâma-veda, that syllable Om is called udgītha. Its more usual name is *pranava*. The object of the Upanishad is to explain the various meanings which the syllable Om may assume in the mind of a devotee, some of them being extremely artificial and senseless, till at last the highest meaning of Om is reached, viz. Brahman, the intelligent cause of the universe.

² Akshara means both syllable and the imperishable, i.e. Brahman.

³ Essence, *rasa*, is explained in different ways, as origin, support, end, cause, and effect. *Rasa* means originally the sap of trees. That sap may be conceived either as the essence extracted from the tree, or as what gives vigour and life to a tree. In the former case it might be transferred to the conception of effect, in the latter to that of cause. In our sentence it has sometimes the one, sometimes the other meaning. Earth is the support of all beings, water pervades the earth, plants arise from water, man lives by plants, speech is the best part of man, the Rîg-veda the best part of speech, the Sâma-veda the best extract from the *Rîk*, udgītha, or the syllable Om, the crown of the Sâma-veda.

the plants, the essence of plants man, the essence of man speech, the essence of speech the Rig-veda, the essence of the Rig-veda the Sâma-veda¹, the essence of the Sâma-veda the udgîtha (which is Om).

3. That udgîtha (Om) is the best of all essences, the highest, deserving the highest place², the eighth.

4. What then is the *Rik*? What is the Sâman? What is the udgîtha? This is the question.

5. The *Rik* indeed is speech, Sâman is breath, the udgîtha is the syllable Om. Now speech and breath, or *Rik* and Sâman, form one couple.

6. And that couple is joined together in the syllable Om. When two people come together, they fulfil each other's desire.

7. Thus he who knowing this, meditates on the syllable (Om), the udgîtha, becomes indeed a fulfiller of desires.

8. That syllable is a syllable of permission, for whenever we permit anything, we say Om, yes. Now permission is gratification. He who knowing this meditates on the syllable (Om), the udgîtha, becomes indeed a gratifier of desires.

9. By that syllable does the threefold knowledge (the sacrifice, more particularly the Soma-sacrifice, as founded on the three Vedas) proceed. When the Adhvaryu priest gives an order, he says Om. When the Hotri priest recites, he says Om. When the Udgâtri priest sings, he says Om,

¹ Because most of the hymns of the Sâma-veda are taken from the Rig-veda.

² Parârdhya is here derived from para, highest, and ardha, place. The eighth means the eighth or last in the series of essences.

—all for the glory of that syllable. The threefold knowledge (the sacrifice) proceeds by the greatness of that syllable (the vital breaths), and by its essence (the oblations)¹.

10. Now therefore it would seem to follow, that both he who knows this (the true meaning of the syllable Om), and he who does not, perform the same sacrifice². But this is not so, for knowledge and ignorance are different. The sacrifice which a man performs with knowledge, faith, and the Upanishad³ is more powerful. This is the full account of the syllable Om.

¹ These are allusions to sacrificial technicalities, all intended to show the importance of the syllable Om, partly as a mere word, used at the sacrifices, partly as the mysterious name of the Highest Self. As every priest at the Soma-sacrifices, in which three classes of priests are always engaged, has to begin his part of the ceremonial with Om, therefore the whole sacrifice is said to be dependent on the syllable Om, and to be for the glory of that syllable, as an emblem of the Highest Self, a knowledge of whom is the indirect result of all sacrifices. The greatness of the syllable Om is explained by the vital breaths of the priest, the sacrificer, and his wife; its essence by rice, corn, &c., which constitute the oblations. Why breath and food are due to the syllable Om is explained by the sacrifice, which is dependent on that syllable, ascending to the sun, the sun sending rain, rain producing food, and food producing breath and life.

² He who simply pronounces the syllable Om as part of his recitation at a sacrifice, and he who knows the hidden meaning of that syllable, both may perform the same sacrifice. But that performed by the latter is more powerful, because knowledge is better than ignorance. This is, as usual, explained by some comparisons. It is true that both he who knows the quality of the *haritakî* and he who does not, are purged alike if they take it. But on the other hand, if a jeweller and a mere clod sell a precious stone, the knowledge of the former bears better fruit than the ignorance of the latter.

³ Upanishad is here explained by yoga, and yoga by *devatâdivishayam upâsanam*, meditation directed to certain deities. More

SECOND KHANDA¹.

1. Whent he Devas and Asuras² struggled together, both of the race of Pragâpati, the Devas took the udgîtha³ (Om), thinking they would vanquish the Asuras with it.

2. They meditated on the udgîtha³ (Om) as the breath (scent) in the nose⁴, but the Asuras pierced it (the breath) with evil. Therefore we smell by the breath in the nose both what is good-smelling and what is bad-smelling. For the breath was pierced by evil.

3. Then they meditated on the udgîtha (Om) as speech, but the Asuras pierced it with evil. Therefore we speak both truth and falsehood. For speech is pierced by evil.

4. Then they meditated on the udgîtha (Om) as the eye, but the Asuras pierced it with evil. There-

likely, however, it refers to this very upanishad, i.e. to the udgîtha-vidyâ, the doctrine of the secret meaning of Om, as here explained.

¹ A very similar story is told in the *Bṛihad-âraṇyaka* I, 1, 3, 1. But though the coincidences between the two are considerable, amounting sometimes to verbal identity, the purport of the two seems to be different. See *Vedânta-sûtra* III, 3, 6.

² Devas and Asuras, gods and demons, are here explained by the commentator as the good and evil inclinations of man ; *Pra-gâpati* as man in general.

³ *Udgîtha* stands, according to the commentator, for the sacrificial act to be performed by the *Udgâtri*, the *Sâma-veda* priest, with the *udgîtha* hymns ; and as these sacrificial acts always form part of the *Gyotish/oma* &c., these great Soma-sacrifices are really intended. In the second place, however, the commentator takes *udgîtha* in the sense of *Udgâtri*, the performer of the *udgîtha*, which is or was by the Devas thought to be the breath in the nose. I have preferred to take *udgîtha* in the sense of Om, and all that is implied by it.

⁴ They asked that breath should recite the *udgîtha*. Comm.

fore we see both what is sightly and unsightly. For the eye is pierced by evil.

5. Then they meditated on the udgîtha (Om) as the ear, but the Asuras pierced it with evil. Therefore we hear both what should be heard and what should not be heard. For the ear is pierced by evil.

6. Then they meditated on the udgîtha (Om) as the mind, but the Asuras pierced it with evil. Therefore we conceive both what should be conceived and what should not be conceived. For the mind is pierced by evil.

7. Then comes this breath (of life) in the mouth¹. They meditated on the udgîtha (Om) as that breath. When the Asuras came to it, they were scattered, as (a ball of earth) would be scattered when hitting a solid stone.

8. Thus, as a ball of earth is scattered when hitting on a solid stone, will he be scattered who wishes evil to one who knows this, or who persecutes him; for he is a solid stone.

9. By it (the breath in the mouth) he distinguishes neither what is good nor what is bad-smelling, for that breath is free from evil. What we eat and drink with it supports the other vital breaths (i. e. the senses, such as smell, &c.) When at the time of death he² does not find that breath (in the

¹ Mukhya prâṇa is used in two senses, the principal or vital breath, also called śreṣṭhā, and the breath in the mouth, also called āsanya.

² According to the commentator, the assemblage of the other vital breaths or senses is here meant. They depart when the breath of the mouth, sometimes called sarvambhari, all-supporting, does no longer, by eating and drinking, support them.

mouth, through which he eats and drinks and lives), then he departs. He opens the mouth at the time of death (as if wishing to eat).

10. *Āṅgiras*¹ meditated on the *udgṛtha* (Om) as that breath, and people hold it to be *Āṅgiras*, i. e. the essence of the members (*angânâṃ rasah*);

11. Therefore *Bṛihaspati* meditated on *udgṛtha* (Om) as that breath, and people hold it to be *Bṛihaspati*, for speech is *bṛihatī*, and he (that breath) is the lord (*pati*) of speech;

12. Therefore *Ayâśya* meditated on the *udgṛtha* (Om) as that breath, and people hold it to be *Ayâśya*, because it comes (*ayati*) from the mouth (*âśya*);

13. Therefore *Vaka Dâlbhya* knew it. He was the *Udgâtri* (singer) of the *Naimishīya*-sacrificers, and by singing he obtained for them their wishes.

14. He who knows this, and meditates on the syllable Om (the imperishable *udgṛtha*) as the breath of life in the mouth, he obtains all wishes by singing. So much for the *udgṛtha* (Om) as meditated on with reference to the body².

¹ The paragraphs from 10 to 14 are differently explained by Indian commentators. By treating the nominatives *aṅgīrās*, *bṛihaspatis*, and *ayâśyas* (here the printed text reads *ayâśyam*) as accusatives, or by admitting the omission of an *iti* after them, they connect paragraphs 9, 10, and 11 with paragraph 12, and thus gain the meaning that *Vaka Dâlbhya* meditated on the breath in the mouth as *Āṅgiras*, *Bṛihaspati*, and *Ayâśya*, instead of those saints having themselves thus meditated; and that he, knowing the secret names and qualities of the breath, obtained, when acting as *Udgâtri* priest, the wishes of those for whom he sacrificed. *Tena* is difficult to explain, unless we take it in the sense of *tenânurishṭaḥ*, taught by him.

² *Adhyâtma* means with reference to the body, not with reference to the self or the soul. Having explained the symbolical

THIRD KHANDA.

1. Now follows the meditation on the udgītha with reference to the gods. Let a man meditate on the udgītha (Om) as he who sends warmth (the sun in the sky). When the sun rises it sings as Udgātri for the sake of all creatures. When it rises it destroys the fear of darkness. He who knows this, is able to destroy the fear of darkness (ignorance).

2. This (the breath in the mouth) and that (the sun) are the same. This is hot and that is hot. This they call svara (sound), and that they call pratyāsvara¹ (reflected sound). Therefore let a man meditate on the udgītha (Om) as this and that (as breath and as sun).

3. Then let a man meditate on the udgītha (Om) as vyâna indeed. If we breathe up, that is prâna, the up-breathing. If we breathe down, that is apâna, the down-breathing. The combination of prâna and apâna is vyâna, back-breathing or holding in of the breath. This vyâna is speech. Therefore when we utter speech, we neither breathe up nor down.

4. Speech is *Rik*, and therefore when a man utters a *Rik* verse he neither breathes up nor down.

meaning of Om as applied to the body and its organs of sense, he now explains its symbolical meaning adhidaivatam, i.e. as applied to divine beings.

¹ As applied to breath, svara is explained by the commentator in the sense of moving, going out; pratyāsvara, as applied to the sun, is explained as returning every day. More likely, however, svara as applied to breath means sound, Om itself being called svara (*Kṛ.* Up. I, 4, 3), and prasvâra in the *Rig-veda-prâtisākhya*, 882. As applied to the sun, svara and pratyāsvara were probably taken in the sense of light and reflected light.

Rik is Sâman, and therefore when a man utters a Sâman verse he neither breathes up nor down.

Sâman is udgîtha, and therefore when a man sings (the udgîtha, Om) he neither breathes up nor down.

5. And other works also which require strength, such as the production of fire by rubbing, running a race, stringing a strong bow, are performed without breathing up or down. Therefore let a man meditate on the udgîtha (Om) as vyâna.

6. Let a man meditate on the syllables of the udgîtha, i. e. of the word udgîtha. Ut is breath (*prâna*), for by means of breath a man rises (*ut-tishthati*). Gî is speech, for speeches are called *girah*. Tha is food, for by means of food all subsists (*sthita*).

7. Ut is heaven, gî the sky, tha the earth. Ut is the sun, gî the air, tha the fire. Ut is the Sâma-veda, gî the Yagur-veda, tha the Rig-veda¹.

¹ The commentator supplies explanations to all these fanciful etymologies. The heaven is ut, because it is high; the sky is gî, because it gives out all the worlds (*giranât*); earth is tha, because it is the place (*sthâna*) of living beings. The sun is ut, because it is high. The wind is gî, because it gives out fire, &c. (*giranât*); fire is tha, because it is the place (*sthâna*) of the sacrifice. The Sâma-veda is ut, because it is praised as *svarga*; the Yagur-veda is gî, because the gods take the oblation offered with a Yagus; the Rig-veda is tha, because the Sâma verses stand in it. All this is very childish, and worse than childish, but it is interesting as a phase of human folly which is not restricted to the Brahmins of India. I take the following passage from an interesting article, 'On the Ogam Beithluisnin and on Scythian Letters,' by Dr. Charles Graves, Bishop of Limerick. 'An Irish antiquary,' he says, 'writing several hundred years ago, proposes to give an account of the origin of the names of the notes in the musical scale.

"It is asked here, according to Saint Augustine, What is chanting, or why is it so called? Answer. From this word *cantaleua*;

Speech yields the milk, which is the milk of speech itself¹, to him who thus knowing meditates on those

and *cantalena* is the same thing as *lenis cantus*, i.e. a soft, sweet chant to God, and to the Virgin Mary, and to all the Saints. And the reason why the word *puince* (*puncta*) is so called is because the points (or musical notes) *ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la*, hurt the devil and puncture him. And it is thus that these points are to be understood: viz. When Moses the son of Amram with his people in their Exodus was crossing the Red Sea, and Pharaoh and his host were following him, this was the chant which Moses had to protect him from Pharaoh and his host—these six points in praise of the Lord:—

“The first point of these, i.e. *ut*: and *ut* in the Greek is the same as *liberat* in the Latin; and that is the same as *saer* in the Gaelic; i.e. O God, said Moses, deliver us from the harm of the devil.

“The second point of them, i.e. *re*: and *re* is the same as *saer*; i.e. O God, deliver us from everything hurtful and malignant.

“The third point, i.e. *mi*: and *mi* in the Greek is the same as *militum* in the Latin; and that is the same as *ridere* (a knight) in the Gaelic; i.e. O God, said Moses, deliver us from those knights who are pursuing us.

“The fourth point, i.e. *fa*: and *fa* in the Greek is the same as *famulus* in the Latin; and that is the same as *mug* (slave) in the Gaelic; i.e. O God, said Moses, deliver us from those slaves who are pursuing us.

“The fifth point, i.e. *sol*: and *sol* is the same as *grian* (sun); and that is the same as righteousness; because righteousness and Christ are not different; i.e. O Christ, said Moses, deliver us.

“The sixth point, i.e. *la*, is the same as *lav*; and that is the same as *indail* (wash); i.e. O God, said Moses, wash away our sins from us.

“And on the singing of that laud Pharaoh and his host were drowned.

“Understand, O man, that in whatever place this laud, i.e. this chant, is sung, the devil is bound by it, and his power is extirpated thence, and the power of God is called in.”

‘We have been taught that the names of the first six notes

¹ The milk of speech consists in rewards to be obtained by the Rig-veda, &c. Or we may translate, Speech yields its milk to him who is able to milk speech.

syllables of the name of udgîtha, he becomes rich in food and able to eat food.

8. Next follows the fulfilment of prayers. Let a man thus meditate on the *Upasaraṇas*, i. e. the objects which have to be approached by meditation: Let him (the *Udgâtri*) quickly reflect on the *Sâman* with which he is going to praise;

9. Let him quickly reflect on the *Rik* in which that *Sâman* occurs; on the *Rîshi* (poet) by whom it was seen or composed; on the *Devatâ* (object) which he is going to praise;

10. On the metre in which he is going to praise; on the tune with which he is going to sing for himself;

11. On the quarter of the world which he is going to praise. Lastly, having approached himself (his name, family, &c.) by meditation, let him sing the hymn of praise, reflecting on his desire, and avoiding all mistakes in pronunciation, &c. Quickly¹ will the desire be then fulfilled to him, for the sake of which he may have offered his hymn of praise, yea, for which he may have offered his hymn of praise².

in the gamut were suggested by the initial syllables of the first six hemistichs in one of the stanzas of a hymn to St. John:

Ut queant laxis
*R*esonare fibris
*M*ira gestorum
*F*amuli tuorum,
*S*olve polluti
*L*abii reatum,
 Sancte *Ioannes*.'

¹ *Abhyâso* ha yat, lit. depend on it that it will be fulfilled, but always explained by quickly. See *Kh. Up.* II, 1, 4; III, 19, 4; V, 10, 7. Frequently, but wrongly, written with a dental *s*.

² The repetition of the last sentence is always an indication that a chapter is finished. This old division into chapters is of great importance for a proper study of the *Upanishads*.

FOURTH KHANDA.

1. Let a man meditate on the syllable Om, for the udgītha is sung beginning with Om. And this is the full account of the syllable Om :—

2. The Devas, being afraid of death, entered upon (the performance of the sacrifice prescribed in) the threefold knowledge (the three Vedas). They covered themselves with the metrical hymns. Because they covered (*khad*) themselves with the hymns, therefore the hymns are called *khandas*.

3. Then, as a fisherman might observe a fish in the water, Death observed the Devas in the *Rik*, *Yagus*, and *Sâman*-(sacrifices). And the Devas seeing this, rose from the *Rik*, *Yagus*, and *Sâman*-sacrifices, and entered the Svара¹, i. e. the Om (they meditated on the Om).

4. When a man has mastered the Rig-veda, he says quite loud Om; the same, when he has mastered the *Sâman* and the *Yagus*. This Svара is the imperishable (syllable), the immortal, free from fear. Because the Devas entered it, therefore they became immortal, and free from fear.

5. He who knowing this loudly pronounces (*pranauti*)² that syllable, enters the same (imperishable) syllable, the Svара, the immortal, free from fear, and having entered it, becomes immortal, as the Devas are immortal.

¹ Cf. I, 3, 2.

² *Praṇauti*, he lauds, i. e. he meditates on. Comm.

FIFTH KHANDA.

1. The udgîtha is the *pranava*¹, the *pranava* is the udgîtha. And as the udgîtha is the sun², so is the *pranava*, for he (the sun) goes sounding Om.

2. 'Him I sang praises to, therefore art thou my only one,' thus said Kaushîtaki to his son. 'Do thou revolve his rays, then thou wilt have many sons.' So much in reference to the Devas.

3. Now with reference to the body. Let a man meditate on the udgîtha as the breath (in the mouth), for he goes sounding Om³.

4. 'Him I sang praises to, therefore art thou my only son,' thus said Kaushîtaki to his son. 'Do thou therefore sing praises to the breath as manifold, if thou wishest to have many sons.'

5. He who knows that the udgîtha is the *pranava*, and the *pranava* the udgîtha, rectifies from the seat of the Hotri priest any mistake committed by the Udgâtri priest in performing the udgîtha, yea, in performing the udgîtha.

SIXTH KHANDA.

1. The *Rik* (veda) is this earth, the *Sâman* (veda) is fire. This *Sâman* (fire) rests on that *Rik* (earth)⁴. Therefore the *Sâman* is sung as resting on the *Rik*.

¹ *Pranava* is the name used chiefly by the followers of the Rig-veda, udgîtha the name used by the followers of the Sâma-veda. Both words are intended for the syllable Om.

² Cf. *Kh. Up.* I, 3, 1.

³ The breath in the mouth, or the chief breath, says Om, i. e. gives permission to the five senses to act, just as the sun, by saying Om, gives permission to all living beings to move about.

⁴ The Sâma verses are mostly taken from the Rig-veda.

Sâ is this earth, ama is fire, and that makes Sâma.

2. The *Rik* is the sky, the Sâman air. This Sâman (air) rests on that *Rik* (sky). Therefore the Sâman is sung as resting on the *Rik*. Sâ is the sky, ama the air, and that makes Sâma.

3. *Rik* is heaven, Sâman the sun. This Sâman (sun) rests on that *Rik* (heaven). Therefore the Sâman is sung as resting on the *Rik*. Sâ is heaven, ama the sun, and that makes Sâma.

4. *Rik* is the stars, Sâman the moon. This Sâman (moon) rests on that *Rik* (stars). Therefore the Sâman is sung as resting on the *Rik*. Sâ is the stars, ama the moon, and that makes Sâma.

5. *Rik* is the white light of the sun, Sâman the blue exceeding darkness¹ (in the sun). This Sâman (darkness) rests on that *Rik* (brightness). Therefore the Sâman is sung as resting on the *Rik*.

6. Sâ is the white light of the sun, ama the blue exceeding darkness, and that makes Sâma.

Now that golden² person, who is seen within the sun, with golden beard and golden hair, golden altogether to the very tips of his nails,

7. Whose eyes are like blue lotus's³, his name is ut, for he has risen (udita) above all evil. He also who knows this, rises above all evil.

8. *Rik* and Sâman are his joints, and therefore he is udgîtha. And therefore he who praises him

¹ The darkness which is seen by those who can concentrate their sight on the sun.

² Bright as gold.

³ The colour of the lotus is described by a comparison with the Kapyâsa, the seat of the monkey (kapirish/hânto yena upavisati). It was probably a botanical name.

(the ut) is called the Ud-gâtri¹ (the out-singer). He (the golden person, called ut) is lord of the worlds beyond that (sun), and of all the wishes of the Devas (inhabiting those worlds). So much with reference to the Devas.

SEVENTH KHANDA.

1. Now with reference to the body. *Rik* is speech, *Sâman* breath². This *Sâman* (breath) rests on that *Rik* (speech). Therefore the *Sâman* is sung as resting on the *Rik*. *Sâ* is speech, *ama* is breath, and that makes *Sâma*.

2. *Rik* is the eye, *Sâman* the self³. This *Sâman* (shadow) rests on that *Rik* (eye). Therefore the *Sâman* is sung as resting on the *Rik*. *Sâ* is the eye, *ama* the self, and that makes *Sâm a*.

3. *Rik* is the ear, *Sâman* the mind. This *Sâman* (mind) rests on that *Rik* (ear). Therefore the *Sâman* is sung as resting on the *Rik*. *Sâ* is the ear, *ama* the mind, and that makes *Sâma*.

4. *Rik* is the white light of the eye, *Sâman* the blue exceeding darkness. This *Sâman* (darkness) rests on the *Rik* (brightness). Therefore the *Sâman* is sung as resting on the *Rik*. *Sâ* is the white light of the eye, *ama* the blue exceeding darkness, and that makes *Sâma*.

5. Now the person who is seen in the eye, he is *Rik*, he is *Sâman*, *Uktha*⁴, *Yagus*, *Brahman*. The form of that person (in the eye) is the same⁵ as the

¹ Name of the principal priest of the *Sâma*-veda.

² Breath in the nose, sense of smelling. Comm.

³ The shadow-self, the likeness or image thrown upon the eye; see *Kh. Up.* VIII, 9, 1.

⁴ A set of hymns to be recited, whereas the *Sâman* is sung, and the *Yagus* muttered.

⁵ Cf. *Kh. Up.* I, 6, 6.

form of the other person (in the sun), the joints of the one (*Rik* and *Sâman*) are the joints of the other, the name of the one (ut) is the name of the other.

6. He is lord of the worlds beneath that (the self in the eye), and of all the wishes of men. Therefore all who sing to the *vinâ* (lyre), sing him, and from him also they obtain wealth.

7. He who knowing this sings a *Sâman*, sings to both (the *adhidaivata* and *adhyâtma* self, the person in the sun and the person in the eye, as one and the same person). He obtains through the one, yea, he obtains the worlds beyond that, and the wishes of the *Devas*;

8. And he obtains through the other the worlds beneath that, and the wishes of men.

Therefore an *Udgâtri* priest who knows this, may say (to the sacrificer for whom he officiates);

9. 'What wish shall I obtain for you by my songs?' For he who knowing this sings a *Sâman* is able to obtain wishes through his song, yea, through his song.

EIGHTH KHANDA.

1. There were once three men, well-versed in *udgîtha*¹, *Silaka Sâlâvatya*, *Kaikitâyana Dâlhbhya*, and *Pravâhana Gaivali*. They said: 'We are well-versed in *udgîtha*. Let us have a discussion on *udgîtha*.'

2. They all agreed and sat down. Then *Pravâhana Gaivali*² said: 'Sirs, do you both speak first,

¹ Cognisant of the deeper meanings of *udgîtha*, i.e. Om.

² He, though not being a *Brâhmaṇa*, turns out to be the only one who knows the true meaning of *udgîtha*, i.e. the Highest Brahman.

for I wish to hear what two Brâhmanas¹ have to say.'

3. Then Silaka Sâlâvatya said to Kaikitâyana Dâlbhya : 'Let me ask you.'

'Ask,' he replied.

4. 'What is the origin of the Sâman?' 'Tone (svara),' he replied.

'What is the origin of tone?' 'Breath,' he replied.

'What is the origin of breath?' 'Food,' he replied.

'What is the origin of food?' 'Water,' he replied.

5. 'What is the origin of water?' 'That world (heaven),' he replied.

'And what is the origin of that world?'—

He replied: 'Let no man carry the Sâman beyond the world of svarga (heaven). We place (recognise) the Sâman in the world of svarga, for the Sâman is extolled as svarga (heaven).'

6. Then said Silaka Sâlâvatya to Kaikitâyana Dâlbhya : 'O Dâlbhya, thy Sâman is not firmly established. And if any one were to say, Your head shall fall off (if you be wrong), surely your head would now fall.'

7. 'Well then, let me know this from you, Sir,' said Dâlbhya.

'Know it,' replied Silaka Sâlâvatya.

'What is the origin of that world (heaven)?' 'This world,' he replied.

'And what is the origin of this world?'—

He replied: 'Let no man carry the Sâman beyond this world as its rest. We place the Sâman

¹ In V, 3, 5, Pravâhana Gaivali is distinctly called a râganyabandhu.

in this world as its rest, for the Sâman is extolled as rest.'

8. Then said Pravâhana Gaivali to Silaka Sâlâvatya : 'Your Sâman (the earth), O Sâlâvatya, has an end. And if any one were to say, Your head shall fall off (if you be wrong), surely your head would now fall.'

'Well then, let me know this from you, Sir,' said Sâlâvatya.

'Know it,' replied Gaivali.

NINTH KHANDA.

1. 'What is the origin of this world?' 'Ether¹,' he replied. For all these beings take their rise from the ether, and return into the ether. Ether is older than these, ether is their rest.

2. He is indeed the udgîtha (Om = Brahman), greater than great (parovarîyas), he is without end.

He who knowing this meditates on the udgîtha, the greater than great, obtains what is greater than great, he conquers the worlds which are greater than great.

3. Atidhanvan Saunaka, having taught this udgîtha to Udara-sândilya, said : 'As long as they will know in your family this udgîtha, their life in this world will be greater than great.

4. 'And thus also will be their state in the other world.' He who thus knows the udgîtha, and meditates on it thus, his life in this world will be greater than great, and also his state in the other world, yea, in the other world.

¹ Ether, or we might translate it by space, both being intended, however, as names or symbols of the Highest Brahman. See Vedânta-sûtra I, 1, 22.

TENTH KHANDA.

1. When the Kurus had been destroyed by (hail) stones¹, Ushasti *Kâkrâyana* lived as a beggar with his virgin² wife at *Ibhyagrâma*.

2. Seeing a chief eating beans, he begged of him. The chief said: 'I have no more, except those which are put away for me here.'

3. Ushasti said: 'Give me to eat of them.' He gave him the beans, and said: 'There is something to drink also.' Then said Ushasti: 'If I drank of it, I should have drunk what was left by another, and is therefore unclean.'

4. The chief said: 'Were not those beans also left over and therefore unclean?'

'No,' he replied; 'for I should not have lived, if I had not eaten them, but the drinking of water would be mere pleasure³.'

5. Having eaten himself, Ushasti gave the remaining beans to his wife. But she, having eaten before, took them and put them away.

6. Rising the next morning, Ushasti said to her: 'Alas, if we could only get some food, we might gain a little wealth. The king here is going to offer a sacrifice, he should choose me for all the priestly offices.'

¹ When they had been killed either by stone weapons, or by a shower of stones, which produced a famine in the land. Comm.

² *Āṅkī* is not the name of the wife of Ushasti, nor does it mean strong enough to travel. *Saṅkara* explains it as *anupagâtapayodharâdistṛivyaṅganâ*, and *Ānandagiri* adds, *Svairasamāre 'pi na vyabhikârasaṅketi darsayitum āṅkyeti vireshanam*. She was so young that she was allowed to run about freely, without exciting any suspicion. Another commentator says, *Gṛihād bahirgantumarhâ anupagâtapayodharâ*.

³ Or, according to the commentator, 'water I can get whenever I like.'

7. His wife said to him: 'Look, here are those beans of yours.' Having eaten them, he went to the sacrifice which was being performed.

8. He went and sat down on the orchestra near the Udgâtri, who were going to sing their hymns of praise. And he said to the Prastotri (the leader):

9. 'Prastotri, if you, without knowing¹ the deity which belongs to the prastâva (the hymns &c. of the Prastotri), are going to sing it, your head will fall off.'

10. In the same manner he addressed the Udgâtri: 'Udgâtri, if you, without knowing the deity which belongs to the udgîtha (the hymns of the Udgâtri), are going to sing it, your head will fall off.'

11. In the same manner he addressed the Pratihartri: 'Pratihartri, if you, without knowing the deity which belongs to the pratihâra (the hymns of the Pratihartri), are going to sing it, your head will fall off.'

They stopped, and sat down in silence.

ELEVENTH KHANDA.

1. Then the sacrificer said to him: 'I should like to know who you are, Sir.' He replied: 'I am Ushasti Kâkrâyana.'

2. He said: 'I looked for you, Sir, for all these sacrificial offices, but not finding you², I chose others.'

¹ The commentator is at great pains to show that a priest may officiate without knowing the secret meanings here assigned to certain parts of the sacrifice, and without running any risk of punishment. Only, if another priest is present, who is initiated, then the uninitiated, taking his place, is in danger of losing his head.

² Should it be avittvâ, as in I, 2, 9?

3. 'But now, Sir, take all the sacrificial offices.'

Ushasti said : 'Very well ; but let those, with my permission, perform the hymns of praise. Only as much wealth as you give to them, so much give to me also.'

The sacrificer assented.

4. Then the Prastotri approached him, saying : 'Sir, you said to me, "Prastotri, if you, without knowing the deity which belongs to the prastâva, are going to sing it, your head will fall off,"—which then is that deity?'

5. He said : 'Breath (prâna). For all these beings merge into breath alone, and from breath they arise. This is the deity belonging to the prastâva. If, without knowing that deity, you had sung forth your hymns, your head would have fallen off, after you had been warned by me.'

6. Then the Udgâtri approached him, saying : 'Sir, you said to me, "Udgâtri, if you, without knowing the deity which belongs to the udgthta, are going to sing it, your head will fall off,"—which then is that deity?'

7. He said : 'The sun (âditya). For all these beings praise the sun when it stands on high. This is the deity belonging to the udgthta. If, without knowing that deity, you had sung out your hymns, your head would have fallen off, after you had been warned by me.'

8. Then the Pratihatri approached him, saying : 'Sir, you said to me, "Pratihatri, if you, without knowing the deity belonging to the pratihâra, are going to sing it, your head will fall off,"—which then is that deity?'

9. He said : 'Food (anna). For all these beings

live when they partake of food. This is the deity belonging to the pratihâra. If, without knowing that deity, you had sung your hymns, your head would have fallen off, after you had been warned by me¹.

TWELFTH KHANDA.

1. Now follows the udgîtha of the dogs. Vaka Dâlbhya, or, as he was also called, Glâva Maitreya, went out to repeat the Veda (in a quiet place).

2. A white (dog) appeared before him, and other dogs gathering round him, said to him: 'Sir, sing and get us food, we are hungry.'

3. The white dog said to them: 'Come to me to-morrow morning.' Vaka Dâlbhya, or, as he was also called, Glâva Maitreya, watched.

4. The dogs came on, holding together, each dog keeping the tail of the preceding dog in his mouth, as the priests do when they are going to sing praises with the Vahishpavamâna hymn². After they had settled down, they began to say Hiñ.

5. 'Om, let us eat! Om, let us drink! Om, may the divine Varuṇa, Pragâpati, Savitrî³ bring us food! Lord of food, bring hither food, bring it, Om!'

¹ There are certain etymological fancies for assigning each deity to a certain portion of the Sâma-veda ceremonial. Thus prâṇa is assigned to the prastâva, because both words begin with pra. Âditya is assigned to the udgîtha, because the sun is ut. Anna, food, is assigned to the pratihâra, because food is taken, pratihriyate, &c.

² This alludes to a ceremony where the priests have to walk in procession, each priest holding the gown of the preceding priest.

³ The commentator explains Varuṇa and Pragâpati as epithets of Savitrî, or the sun, meaning rain-giver and man-protector.

THIRTEENTH KHANDA ¹.

1. The syllable Hâu ² is this world (the earth), the syllable Hâi ³ the air, the syllable Atha the moon, the syllable Iha the self, the syllable Î ⁴ is Agni, fire.

2. The syllable Ô is the sun, the syllable E is the Nihava or invocation, the syllable Auhoi ⁵ is the Virve Devas, the syllable Hiñ is Pragâpati, Svara ⁶ (tone) is breath (prâna), the syllable Yâ is food, the syllable Vâg ⁷ is Virâg.

3. The thirteenth stobha syllable, viz. the indistinct syllable Huñ, is the Undefinable (the Highest Brahman).

4. Speech yields the milk, which is the milk of speech itself to him who knows this Upanishad (secret doctrine) of the Sâmans in this wise. He becomes rich in food, and able to eat food ⁸,—yea, able to eat food.

¹ The syllables here mentioned are the so-called stobhâksharas, sounds used in the musical recitation of the Sâmân hymns, probably to fill out the intervals in the music for which there were no words in the hymns. These syllables are marked in the MSS. of the Sâmâ-veda, but their exact character and purpose are not quite clear.

² A stobha syllable used in the Rathantara Sâmân.

³ Used in the Vâmadevya Sâmân.

⁴ The Sâmân addressed to Agni takes the syllable î as nidhana.

⁵ The stobha syllables used in the Sâmân addressed to the Virve Devas.

⁶ See *Kh. Up.* I, 4, 4.

⁷ The commentator takes vâg as a stobha, as a syllable occurring in hymns addressed to Virâg, and as implying either the deity Virâg or food.

⁸ I.e. wealthy and healthy.

SECOND PRAPÂTHAKA.

FIRST KHANDA.

1. Meditation on the whole¹ of the Sâman is good, and people, when anything is good, say it is Sâman; when it is not good, it is not Sâman.

2. Thus they also say, he approached him with Sâman, i. e. becomingly; and he approached him without Sâman, i. e. unbecomingly.

3. And they also say, truly this is Sâman for us, i. e. it is good for us, when it is good; and truly that is not Sâman for us, i. e. it is not good for us, when it is not good.

4. If any one knowing this meditates on the Sâman as good, depend upon it all good qualities will approach quickly, aye, they will become his own².

SECOND KHANDA.

1. Let a man meditate on the fivefold Sâman³ as the five worlds. The hînkâra is the earth, the prastâva the fire, the udgîtha the sky, the pratihâra the sun, the nidhana heaven; so in an ascending line.

2. In a descending line, the hînkâra is heaven,

¹ Hitherto meditation on certain portions only of the Sâma-veda and the Sâma-sacrifice had been enjoined, and their deeper meaning explained. Now the same is done for the whole of the Sâman.

² Cf. *Kh. Up.* III, 19, 4.

³ The five forms in which the Sâman is used for sacrificial purposes. The Sâman is always to be understood as the Good, as Dharma, and as Brahman.

the prastâva the sun, the udgîtha the sky, the pratihâra the fire, the nidhana the earth.

3. The worlds in an ascending and in a descending line belong to him who knowing this meditates on the fivefold Sâman as the worlds ¹.

THIRD KHANDA.

1. Let a man meditate on the fivefold Sâman as rain. The hînkâra is wind (that brings the rain); the prastâva is, 'the cloud is come;' the udgîtha is, 'it rains;' the pratihâra, 'it flashes, it thunders;'

2. The nidhana is, 'it stops.' There is rain for him, and he brings rain for others who thus knowing meditates on the fivefold Sâman as rain.

FOURTH KHANDA.

1. Let a man meditate on the fivefold Sâman in all waters. When the clouds gather, that is the hînkâra; when it rains, that is the prastâva; that which flows in the east ², that is the udgîtha; that which flows in the west ³, that is the pratihâra; the sea is the nidhana.

2. He does not die in water ⁴, nay, he is rich in

¹ The commentator supplies some fanciful reasons why each of the five Sâmans is identified with certain objects. Earth is said to be the hînkâra, because both always come first. Agni is prastâva, because sacrifices are praised in the fire (prastûyante). The sky is udgîtha, because it is also called gagana, and both words have the letter g in common. The sun is pratihâra, because everybody wishes the sun to come towards him (prati). Heaven is nidhana, because those who depart from here are placed there (nidhîyante), &c.

² The Ganges, &c. Comm.

³ The Narmadâ, &c. Comm.

⁴ The commentator adds, 'unless he wishes to die in the Ganges.'

water who knowing this meditates on the fivefold Sâman as all waters.

FIFTH KHANDA.

1. Let a man meditate on the fivefold Sâman as the seasons. The hînkâra is spring, the prastâva summer (harvest of yava, &c.), the udgîtha the rainy season, the pratihâra autumn, the nidhana winter.

2. The seasons belong to him, nay, he is always in season (successful) who knowing this meditates on the fivefold Sâman as the seasons.

SIXTH KHANDA.

1. Let a man meditate on the fivefold Sâman in animals. The hînkâra is goats, the prastâva sheep, the udgîtha cows, the pratihâra horses, the nidhana man.

2. Animals belong to him, nay, he is rich in animals who knowing this meditates on the fivefold Sâman as animals.

SEVENTH KHANDA.

1. Let a man meditate on the fivefold Sâman, which is greater than great, as the prâṇas (senses). The hînkâra is smell¹ (nose), the prastâva speech (tongue), the udgîtha sight (eye), the pratihâra hearing (ear), the nidhana mind. These are one greater than the other.

2. What is greater than great belongs to him, nay, he conquers the worlds which are greater than

¹ Prâṇa is explained by ghrâṇa, smell; possibly ghrâṇa may have been the original reading. Anyhow, it cannot be the mukhya prâṇa here, because it is distinctly represented as the lowest sense.

great, who knowing this meditates on the fivefold Sâman, which is greater than great, as the prâṇas (senses).

EIGHTH KHANDA.

1. Next for the sevenfold Sâman. Let a man meditate on the sevenfold Sâman in speech. Whenever there is in speech the syllable huṁ¹, that is hinkâra, pra is the prastâva, â is the âdi, the first, i. e. Om,

2. Ud is the udgîtha, pra the pratihâra, upa the upadrava, ni the nidhana.

3. Speech yields the milk, which is the milk of speech itself, to him who knowing this meditates on the sevenfold Sâman in speech. He becomes rich in food, and able to eat food.

NINTH KHANDA.

1. Let a man meditate on the sevenfold Sâman as the sun. The sun is Sâman, because he is always the same (sama); he is Sâman because he is the same, everybody thinking he looks towards me, he looks towards me².

2. Let him know that all beings are dependent on him (the sun). What he is before his rising, that is the hinkâra. On it animals are dependent. Therefore animals say hiṁ (before sunrise), for they share the hinkâra of that Sâman (the sun).

3. What he is when first risen, that is the prastâva. On it men are dependent. Therefore men love praise (prastuti) and celebrity, for they share the prastâva of that Sâman.

¹ These are again the stobhâksharas, or musical syllables used in the performance of the Sâman hymns; see p. 22.

² Cf. KĪ. Up. II, 2, 2. Comm.

4. What he is at the time of the saṅgava¹, that is the âdi, the first, the Om. On it birds are dependent. Therefore birds fly about in the sky without support, holding themselves, for they share the âdi² (the Om) of that Sâman.

5. What he is just at noon, that is the udgîtha. On it the Devas are dependent (because they are brilliant). Therefore they are the best of all the descendants of Pragâpati, for they share the udgîtha of that Sâman.

6. What he is after midday and before afternoon, that is the pratihâra. On it all germs are dependent. Therefore these, having been conceived (pratihṛita), do not fall, for they share the pratihâra of that Sâman.

7. What he is after the afternoon and before sunset, that is the upadrava. On it the animals of the forest are dependent. Therefore, when they see a man, they run (upadravanti) to the forest as a safe hiding-place, for they share the upadrava of that Sâman.

8. What he is when he first sets, that is the nidhana. On it the fathers are dependent. Therefore they put them³ down (nidadhati), for they share the nidhana of that Sâman. Thus a man meditates on the sevenfold Sâman as the sun.

¹ When the sun puts forth his rays, and when the cows are together with their calves, i.e. as Rajendralal Mitra says, after the cows have been milked and are allowed by the cowherds to suckle their young.

² The tertium comparationis is here the â of âdi and the â of âdâya, i.e. holding. The d might have been added.

³ The cakes for the ancestral spirits, or the spirits themselves.

TENTH KHANDA.

1. Next let a man meditate on the sevenfold Sâman which is uniform in itself¹ and leads beyond death. The word hînkâra has three syllables, the word prastâva has three syllables: that is equal (sama).

2. The word âdi (first, Om) has two syllables, the word pratihâra has four syllables. Taking one syllable from that over, that is equal (sama).

3. The word udgîtha has three syllables, the word upadrava has four syllables. With three and three syllables it should be equal. One syllable being left over, it becomes trisyllabic. Hence it is equal.

4. The word nidhana has three syllables, therefore it is equal. These make twenty-two syllables.

5. With twenty-one syllables a man reaches the sun (and death), for the sun is the twenty-first² from here; with the twenty-second he conquers what is beyond the sun: that is blessedness, that is freedom from grief.

6. He obtains here the victory over the sun (death), and there is a higher victory than the victory over the sun for him, who knowing this meditates on the sevenfold Sâman as uniform in itself, which leads beyond death, yea, which leads beyond death.

ELEVENTH KHANDA³.

1. The hînkâra is mind, the prastâva speech, the udgîtha sight, the pratihâra hearing, the nidhana

¹ Âtmasammita is explained by the commentator either as having the same number of syllables in the names of the different Sâmans, or as equal to the Highest Self.

² There are twelve months, five seasons, three worlds, then follows the sun as the twenty-first. Comm.

³ After having explained the secret meaning of the whole Sâma-

breath. That is the Gâyatra Sâman, as interwoven in the (five) prânas¹.

2. He who thus knows this Gâyatra interwoven in the prânas, keeps his senses, reaches the full life, he lives long², becomes great with children and cattle, great by fame. The rule of him who thus meditates on the Gâyatra is, 'Be not high-minded.'

TWELFTH KHANDA.

1. The hinkâra is, he rubs (the fire-stick); the prastâva, smoke rises; the udgîtha, it burns; the pratihâra, there are glowing coals; the nidhana, it goes down; the nidhana, it is gone out. This is the Rathantara Sâman as interwoven in fire³.

2. He who thus knows this Rathantara interwoven in fire, becomes radiant⁴ and strong. He reaches the full life, he lives long, becomes great with children and cattle, great by fame. The rule is, 'Do not rinse the mouth or spit before the fire.'

THIRTEENTH KHANDA.

1, 2. Next follows the Vâmadevya as interwoven in generation⁵.

veda ceremonial, as it is to be understood by meditation only (dhyâna), he proceeds to explain the secret meaning of the same ceremonial, giving to each its proper name in proper succession (gâyatra, rathantara, &c.), and showing the hidden purport of those names.

¹ Cf. *Kh.* Up. II, 7, 1, where prâna is explained differently. The Gâyatrî itself is sometimes called prâna.

² The commentator generally takes *gyok* in the sense of bright.

³ The Rathantara is used for the ceremony of producing fire.

⁴ *Brahmavarâṇsa* is the 'glory of countenance' produced by higher knowledge, an inspired look. *Annâda*, lit. able to eat, healthy, strong.

⁵ *Upamantrayate sa hinkâro, gñapayate sa prastâvaḥ, striyâ saha*

FOURTEENTH KHANDA.

1. Rising, the sun is the *hinkâra*, risen, he is the *prastâva*, at noon he is the *udgîtha*, in the afternoon he is the *pratihâra*, setting, he is the *nidhana*. That is the *Brîhat Sâman* as interwoven in the sun ¹.

2. He who thus knows the *Brîhat* as interwoven in the sun, becomes refulgent ² and strong, he reaches the full life, he lives long, becomes great with children and cattle, great by fame. His rule is, 'Never complain of the heat of the sun.'

FIFTEENTH KHANDA.

1. The mists gather, that is the *hinkâra*; the cloud has risen, that is the *prastâva*; it rains, that is the *udgîtha*; it flashes and thunders, that is the *pratihâra*; it stops, that is the *nidhana*. That is the *Vairûpa Sâman*, as interwoven in *Parganya*, the god of rain.

2. He who thus knows the *Vairûpa* as interwoven in *Parganya*, obtains all kinds of cattle (*virûpa*), he reaches the full life, he lives long, becomes great with children and cattle, great by fame. His rule is, 'Never complain of the rain.'

SIXTEENTH KHANDA.

1. The *hinkâra* is spring, the *prastâva* summer, the *udgîtha* the rainy season, the *pratihâra* autumn,

sete sa udgîthâh, pratistrî saha sete sa pratihârah, kâlam gakkhati tan nidhanam, pâram gakkhati tan nidhanam. Etad vâmadevyam mithune protam. 2. Sa ya evam etad vâmadevyam mithune protam veda, mithunî bhavati, mithunân mithunât pragâyate, sarvam âyur eti, gycg gîvati, mahân pragayâ parubhir bhavati, mahân kîrttyâ. Na kâmkana pariharet tad vratam.

¹ The sun is *brîhat*. The *Brîhat Sâman* is to be looked upon as the sun, or the *Brîhat* has *Âditya* for its deity.

² The same as *brahmavarâksin*.

the nidhana winter. That is the Vairāga Sāman, as interwoven in the seasons.

2. He who thus knows the Vairāga, as interwoven in the seasons, shines (virāḡati) through children, cattle, and glory of countenance. He reaches the full life, he lives long, becomes great with children and cattle, great by fame. His rule is, 'Never complain of the seasons.'

SEVENTEENTH KHANDA.

1. The hinkāra is the earth, the prastāva the sky, the udgītha heaven, the pratihāra the regions, the nidhana the sea. These are the Sakvarī Sāmans, as interwoven in the worlds¹.

2. He who thus knows the Sakvaris, as interwoven in the worlds, becomes possessed of the worlds, he reaches the full life, he lives long, becomes great with children and cattle, great by fame. His rule is, 'Never complain of the worlds.'

EIGHTEENTH KHANDA.

1. The hinkāra is goats, the prastāva sheep, the udgītha cows, the pratihāra horses, the nidhana man. These are the Revatī Sāmans, as interwoven in animals.

2. He who thus knows these Revatis, as interwoven in animals, becomes rich in animals², he reaches the full life, he lives long, becomes great with children and cattle, great by fame. His rule is, 'Never complain of animals.'

¹ The Sakvaris are sung with the Mahānāmns. These are said to be water, and the worlds are said to rest on water.

² Revat means rich.

NINETEENTH KHANDA.

1. The hinkâra is hair, the prastâva skin, the udgîtha flesh, the pratihâra bone, the nidhana marrow. That is the Yagñâyagñîya Sâmān, as interwoven in the members of the body.

2. He who thus knows the Yagñâyagñîya, as interwoven in the members of the body, becomes possessed of strong limbs, he is not crippled in any limb, he reaches the full life, he lives long, becomes great with children and cattle, great by fame. His rule is, 'Do not eat marrow for a year,' or 'Do not eat marrow at all.'

TWENTIETH KHANDA.

1. The hinkâra is fire, the prastâva air, the udgîtha the sun, the pratihâra the stars, the nidhana the moon. That is the Râgana Sâmān, as interwoven in the deities.

2. He who thus knows the Râgana, as interwoven in the deities, obtains the same world, the same happiness, the same company as the gods, he reaches the full life, he lives long, becomes great with children and cattle, great by fame. His rule is, 'Do not speak evil of the Brâhmanas.'

TWENTY-FIRST KHANDA.

1. The hinkâra is the threefold knowledge, the prastâva these three worlds, the udgîtha Agni (fire), Vâyu (air), and Âditya (sun), the pratihâra the stars, the birds, and the rays, the nidhana the serpents, Gandharvas, and fathers. That is the Sâmān, as interwoven in everything.

2. He who thus knows this Sâmān, as interwoven in everything, he becomes everything.

3. And thus it is said in the following verse :
 ' There are the fivefold three (the three kinds of sacrificial knowledge, the three worlds &c. in their fivefold form, i. e. as identified with the hinkâra, the prastâva, &c.), and the other forms of the Sâman. Greater than these there is nothing else besides.'

4. He who knows this, knows everything. All regions offer him gifts. His rule is, ' Let him meditate (on the Sâman), knowing that he is everything, yea, that he is everything'¹.

TWENTY-SECOND KHANDA².

1. The udgîtha, of which a poet said, I choose the deep sounding note of the Sâman as good for cattle, belongs to Agni; the indefinite note belongs to Pragâpati, the definite note to Soma, the soft and smooth note to Vâyu, the smooth and strong note to Indra, the heron-like note to Brihaspati, the dull note to Varuna. Let a man cultivate all of these, avoiding, however, that of Varuna.

2. Let a man sing³, wishing to obtain by his song immortality for the Devas. ' May I obtain by my song oblations (svadhâ) for the fathers, hope for men, fodder and water for animals, heaven for the sacrificer, food for myself,' thus reflecting on these in his mind, let a man (Udgâtri priest) sing praises, without making mistakes in pronunciation, &c.

¹ Here ends the Sâmapâsana.

² These are lucubrations on the different tones employed in singing the Sâman hymns, and their names, such as vinardi, anirukta, nirukta, mṛīdu ślakṣhṇa, ślakṣhṇa balavad, krauñṭha, apadhvānta.

³ It would be better if the first ity âgâyet could be left out. The commentator ignores these words.

3. All vowels (svara) belong to Indra, all sibilants (ûshman) to Pragâpati, all consonants (sparsa) to Mrityu (death). If somebody should reprove him for his vowels, let him say, 'I went to Indra as my refuge (when pronouncing my vowels) : he will answer thee.'

4. And if somebody should reprove him for his sibilants, let him say, 'I went to Pragâpati as my refuge : he will smash thee.' And if somebody should reprove him for his consonants, let him say, 'I went to Mrityu as my refuge : he will reduce thee to ashes.'

5. All vowels are to be pronounced with voice (ghosha) and strength (bala), so that the Udgâtri may give strength to Indra. All sibilants are to be pronounced, neither as if swallowed (agrasta)¹, nor as if thrown out (nirasta)², but well opened³ (vivrita), so that the Udgâtri may give himself to Pragâpati. All consonants are to be pronounced slowly, and without crowding them together⁴, so that the Udgâtri may withdraw himself from Mrityu.

¹ Grâsa, according to the Rig-veda-prâtisâkhyâ 766, is the stiffening of the root of the tongue in pronunciation.

² Nirâsa, according to the Rig-veda-prâtisâkhyâ 760, is the withdrawing of the active from the passive organ in pronunciation.

³ The opening, vivrita, may mean two things, either the opening of the vocal chords (kha), which imparts to the ûshmans their surd character (Rig. Prât. 709), or the opening of the organs of pronunciation (karana), which for the ûshmans is asprisham sthitam (Rig. Prât. 719), or vivrita (Ath. Prât. I, 31 ; Taïtt. Prât. II, 5).

⁴ Anabhinihita, for thus the commentaries give the reading, is explained by anabhinikshipta. On the real abhinidhâna, see Rig. Prât. 393. The translation does not follow the commentary. The genitive pragâpateh is governed by paridadâni.

TWENTY-THIRD KHANDA.

1. There are three branches of the law. Sacrifice, study, and charity are the first¹,

2. Austerity the second, and to dwell as a Brahmatârin in the house of a tutor, always mortifying the body in the house of a tutor, is the third. All these obtain the worlds of the blessed; but the Brahmasamstha alone (he who is firmly grounded in Brahman) obtains immortality.

3. Pragâpati brooded on the worlds. From them, thus brooded on, the threefold knowledge (sacrifice) issued forth. He brooded on it, and from it, thus brooded on, issued the three syllables, Bhûh, Bhuva, Svah.

4. He brooded on them, and from them, thus brooded on, issued the Om. As all leaves are attached to a stalk, so is all speech (all words) attached to the Om (Brahman). Om is all this, yea, Om is all this.

TWENTY-FOURTH KHANDA.

1. The teachers of Brahman (Veda) declare, as the Prâtaḥ-savana (morning-oblation) belongs to the Vasus, the Mâdhyandina-savana (noon-libation) to

¹ Not the first in rank or succession, but only in enumerating the three branches of the law. This first branch corresponds to the second stage, the âsrama of the householder. Austerity is meant for the Vânaprastha, the third âsrama, while the third is intended for the Brahmatârin, the student, only that the naish/hika or perpetual Brahmatârin here takes the place of the ordinary student. The Brahmasamstha would represent the fourth âsrama, that of the Sannyâsin or parivrâg, who has ceased to perform any works, even the tapas or austerities of the Vânaprastha.

the Rudras, the third Savana (evening-libation) to the Âdityas and the Visve Devas,

2. Where then is the world of the sacrificer? He who does not know this, how can he perform the sacrifice? He only who knows, should perform it¹.

3. Before the beginning of the Prâtaranuvâka (matin-chant), the sacrificer, sitting down behind the household altar (gârhapatya), and looking towards the north, sings the Sâman, addressed to the Vasus :

4. 'Open the door of the world (the earth), let us see thee, that we may rule (on earth).'

5. Then he sacrifices, saying : 'Adoration to Agni, who dwells on the earth, who dwells in the world! Obtain that world for me, the sacrificer! That is the world for the sacrificer!'

6. 'I (the sacrificer) shall go thither, when this life is over. Take this! (he says, in offering the libation.) Cast back the bolt!' Having said this, he rises. For him the Vasus fulfil the morning-oblation.

7. Before the beginning of the Mâdhyandina-savana, the noon-oblation, the sacrificer, sitting down behind the Âgnidhrtya altar, and looking towards the north, sings the Sâman, addressed to the Rudras :

8. 'Open the door of the world (the sky), let us see thee, that we may rule wide (in the sky).'

9. Then he sacrifices, saying : 'Adoration to

¹ The commentator is always very anxious to explain that though it is better that a priest should know the hidden meaning of the sacrificial acts which he has to perform, yet there is nothing to prevent a priest, who has not yet arrived at this stage of knowledge, from performing his duties.

Vâyu (air), who dwells in the sky, who dwells in the world. Obtain that world for me, the sacrificer! That is the world for the sacrificer!

10. 'I (the sacrificer) shall go thither, when this life is over. Take this! Cast back the bolt!' Having said this, he rises. For him the Rudras fulfil the noon-oblation.

11. Before the beginning of the third oblation, the sacrificer, sitting down behind the Âhavanîya altar, and looking towards the north, sings the Sâman, addressed to the Âdityas and Visve Devas:

12. 'Open the door of the world (the heaven), let us see thee, that we may rule supreme (in heaven).' This is addressed to the Âdityas.

13. Next the Sâman addressed to the Visve Devas: 'Open the door of the world (heaven), let us see thee, that we may rule supreme (in heaven).'

14. Then he sacrifices, saying: 'Adoration to the Âdityas and to the Visve Devas, who dwell in heaven, who dwell in the world. Obtain that world for me, the sacrificer!'

15. 'That is the world for the sacrificer! I (the sacrificer) shall go thither, when this life is over. Take this! Cast back the bolt!' Having said this, he rises.

16. For him the Âdityas and the Visve Devas fulfil the third oblation. He who knows this, knows the full measure of the sacrifice, yea, he knows it.

THIRD PRAPÂTHAKA.

FIRST KHANDA¹.

1. The sun is indeed the honey² of the Devas. The heaven is the cross-beam (from which) the sky (hangs as) a hive, and the bright vapours are the eggs of the bees³.

2. The eastern rays of the sun are the honey-cells in front. The *Rik* verses are the bees, the Rig-veda (sacrifice) is the flower, the water (of the sacrificial libations) is the nectar (of the flower).

3. Those very *Rik* verses then (as bees) brooded over the Rig-veda sacrifice (the flower); and from it, thus brooded on, sprang as its (nectar) essence, fame, glory of countenance, vigour, strength, and health⁴.

4. That (essence) flowed forth and went towards the sun⁵. And that forms what we call the red (rohita) light of the rising sun.

¹ After the various meditations on the Sâma-veda sacrifice, the sun is next to be meditated on, as essential to the performance of all sacrifices.

² Everybody delights in the sun, as the highest reward of all sacrifices.

³ I am not certain whether this passage is rightly translated. Rajendralal Mitra speaks of an arched bamboo, whence the atmosphere hangs pendant like a hive, in which the vapours are the eggs. Apôpa means a cake, and may mean a hive. In order to understand the simile, we ought to have a clearer idea of the construction of the ancient bee-hive.

⁴ Annâdya, explained as food, but more likely meaning power to eat, appetite, health. See III, 13, 1.

⁵ The commentator explains: The *Rik* verses, on becoming part of the ceremonial, perform the sacrifice. The sacrifice (the flower), when surrounded by the *Rik* verses (bees), yields its essence, the nectar. That essence consists in all the rewards to be obtained through sacrifice, and as these rewards are to be enjoyed in the

SECOND KHANDA.

1. The southern rays of the sun are the honey-cells on the right. The Yagus verses are the bees, the Yagur-veda sacrifice is the flower, the water (of the sacrificial libations) is the nectar (of the flower).

2. Those very Yagus verses (as bees) brooded over the Yagur-veda sacrifice (the flower); and from it, thus brooded on, sprang as its (nectar) essence, fame, glory of countenance, vigour, strength, and health.

3. That flowed forth and went towards the sun. And that forms what we call the white (sukla) light of the sun.

THIRD KHANDA.

1. The western rays of the sun are the honey-cells behind. The Sâman verses are the bees, the Sâma-veda sacrifice is the flower, the water is the nectar.

2. Those very Sâman verses (as bees) brooded over the Sâma-veda sacrifice; and from it, thus brooded on, sprang as its (nectar) essence, fame, glory of countenance, vigour, strength, and health.

3. That flowed forth and went towards the sun. And that forms what we call the dark (krishna) light of the sun.

FOURTH KHANDA.

1. The northern rays of the sun are the honey-cells on the left. The (hymns of the) Atharvângiras are the bees, the Itihâsa-purâṇa¹ (the reading of the old stories) is the flower, the water is the nectar.

next world and in the sun, therefore that essence or nectar is said to ascend to the sun.

¹ As there is no Atharva-veda sacrifice, properly so called, we have corresponding to the Atharva-veda hymns the so-called fifth

2. Those very hymns of the Atharvângiras (as bees) brooded over the Itihâsa-purâna; and from it, thus brooded on, sprang as its (nectar) essence, fame, glory of countenance, vigour, strength, and health.

3. That flowed forth, and went towards the sun. And that forms what we call the extreme dark (*paraḥ krishnam*) light of the sun.

FIFTH KHANDA.

1. The upward rays of the sun are the honey-cells above. The secret doctrines are the bees, Brahman (the Om) is the flower, the water is the nectar.

2. Those secret doctrines (as bees) brooded over Brahman (the Om); and from it, thus brooded on, sprang as its (nectar) essence, fame, glory of countenance, brightness, vigour, strength, and health.

3. That flowed forth, and went towards the sun. And that forms what seems to stir in the centre of the sun.

4. These (the different colours in the sun) are the essences of the essences. For the Vedas are essences (the best things in the world); and of them (after they have assumed the form of sacrifice) these (the colours rising to the sun) are again the essences. They are the nectar of the nectar. For the Vedas are nectar (immortal), and of them these are the nectar.

Veda, the Itihâsa-purâna. This may mean the collection of legends and traditions, or the old book of traditions. At all events it is taken as one Purâna, not as many. These ancient stories were repeated at the Asvamedha sacrifice during the so-called Pariplava nights. Many of them have been preserved in the Brâhmanas; others, in a more modern form, in the Mahâbhârata. See Weber, Indische Studien, I, p. 258, note.

SIXTH KHANDA.

1. On the first of these nectars (the red light, which represents fame, glory of countenance, vigour, strength, health) the Vasus live, with Agni at their head. True, the Devas do not eat or drink, but they enjoy by seeing the nectar.

2. They enter into that (red) colour, and they rise from that colour¹.

3. He who thus knows this nectar, becomes one of the Vasus, with Agni at their head, he sees the nectar and rejoices. And he, too, having entered that colour, rises again from that colour.

4. So long as the sun rises in the east and sets in the west², so long does he follow the sovereign supremacy of the Vasus.

SEVENTH KHANDA.

1. On the second of these nectars the Rudras live, with Indra at their head. True, the Devas do not eat or drink, but they enjoy by seeing the nectar.

2. They enter into that white colour, and they rise from that colour.

3. He who thus knows this nectar, becomes one of the Rudras, with Indra at their head, he sees the

¹ This is differently explained by the commentator. He takes it to mean that, when the Vasus have gone to the sun, and see that there is no opportunity for enjoying that colour, they rest; but when they see that there is an opportunity for enjoying it, they exert themselves for it. I think the colour is here taken for the colour of the morning, which the Vasus enter, and from which they go forth again.

² 1. East: Vasus: red: Agni. 2. South: Rudras: white: Indra. 3. West: Âditya: dark: Varuṇa. 4. North: Marut: very dark: Soma. 5. Upward: Sâdhya: centre: Brahman.

nectar and rejoices. And he, having entered that colour, rises again from that colour.

4. So long as the sun rises in the east and sets in the west, twice as long does it rise in the south and set in the north ; and so long does he follow the sovereign supremacy of the Rudras.

EIGHTH KHANDA.

1. On the third of these nectars the Âdityas live, with Varuṇa at their head. True, the Devas do not eat or drink, but they enjoy by seeing the nectar.

2. They enter into that (dark) colour, and they rise from that colour.

3. He who thus knows this nectar, becomes one of the Âdityas, with Varuṇa at their head, he sees the nectar and rejoices. And he, having entered that colour, rises again from that colour.

4. So long as the sun rises in the south and sets in the north, twice as long does it rise in the west and set in the east ; and so long does he follow the sovereign supremacy of the Âdityas.

NINTH KHANDA.

1. On the fourth of these nectars the Maruts live, with Soma at their head. True, the Devas do not eat or drink, but they enjoy by seeing the nectar.

2. They enter in that (very dark) colour, and they rise from that colour.

3. He who thus knows this nectar, becomes one of the Maruts, with Soma at their head, he sees the nectar and rejoices. And he, having entered that colour, rises again from that colour.

4. So long as the sun rises in the west and sets

in the east, twice as long does it rise in the north and set in the south; and so long does he follow the sovereign supremacy of the Maruts.

TENTH KHANDA.

1. On the fifth of these nectars the Sâdhyas live, with Brahman at their head. True, the Devas do not eat or drink, but they enjoy by seeing the nectar.

2. They enter into that colour, and they rise from that colour.

3. He who thus knows this nectar, becomes one of the Sâdhyas, with Brahman at their head; he sees the nectar and rejoices. And he, having entered that colour, rises again from that colour.

4. So long as the sun rises in the north and sets in the south, twice as long does it rise above, and set below; and so long does he follow the sovereign power of the Sâdhyas¹.

¹ The meaning of the five *Khandas* from 6 to 10 is clear, in so far as they are intended to show that he who knows or meditates on the sacrifices as described before, enjoys his reward in different worlds with the Vasus, Rudras, &c. for certain periods of time, till at last he reaches the true Brahman. Of these periods each succeeding one is supposed to be double the length of the preceding one. This is expressed by imagining a migration of the sun from east to south, west, north, and zenith. Each change of the sun marks a new world, and the duration of each successive world is computed as double the duration of the preceding world. Similar ideas have been more fully developed in the *Purâṇas*, and the commentator is at great pains to remove apparent contradictions between the *Paurâṇik* and *Vaidik* accounts, following, as *Ānandagṛāṇagiri* remarks, the *Dravidakārya* (p. 173, l. 13).

ELEVENTH KHANDA.

1. When from thence he has risen upwards, he neither rises nor sets. He is alone, standing in the centre. And on this there is this verse :

2. 'Yonder he neither rises nor sets at any time. If this is not true, ye gods, may I lose Brahman.'

3. And indeed to him who thus knows this Brahma-upanishad (the secret doctrine of the Veda) the sun does not rise and does not set. For him there is day, once and for all ¹.

4. This doctrine (beginning with III, 1, 1) Brahman (m. Hiranyagarbha) told to Pragâpati (Virâg), Pragâpati to Manu, Manu to his offspring (Ikshvâku, &c.) And the father told that (doctrine of) Brahman (n.) to Uddâlaka Âruni.

5. A father may therefore tell that doctrine of Brahman to his eldest son ², or to a worthy pupil.

But no one should tell it to anybody else, even if he gave him the whole sea-girt earth, full of treasure, for this doctrine is worth more than that, yea, it is worth more.

TWELFTH KHANDA.

1. The Gâyatrî³ (verse) is everything whatsoever here exists. Gâyatrî indeed is speech, for speech

¹ Cf. *Kh.* Up. VIII, 4, 2.

² This was the old, not the present custom, says Ânandagiri. Not the father, but an âtârya, has now to teach his pupils.

³ The Gâyatrî is one of the sacred metres, and is here to be meditated on as Brahman. It is used in the sense of verse, and as the name of a famous hymn. The Gâyatrî is often praised as the most powerful metre, and whatever can be obtained by means of the recitation of Gâyatrî verses is described as the achievement of the Gâyatrî. The etymology of gâyatrî from gai and trâ is, of course, fanciful.

sings forth (gâya-ti) and protects (trâya-te) everything that here exists.

2. That Gâyatrî is also the earth, for everything that here exists rests on the earth, and does not go beyond.

3. That earth again is the body in man, for in it the vital airs (prâṇas¹, which are everything) rest, and do not go beyond.

4. That body again in man is the heart within man, for in it the prâṇas (which are everything) rest, and do not go beyond.

5. That Gâyatrî has four feet² and is sixfold³. And this is also declared by a *Rik* verse (Rig-veda X, 90, 3):—

6. 'Such is the greatness of it (of Brahman, under the disguise of Gâyatrî⁴); greater than it is the Person⁵ (purusha). His feet are all things. The immortal with three feet is in heaven (i. e. in himself).'

¹ The prâṇas may be meant for the five senses, as explained in *Kh.* I, 2, 1; II, 7, 1; or for the five breathings, as explained immediately afterwards in III, 13, 1. The commentator sees in them everything that here exists (*Kh.* Up. III, 15, 4), and thus establishes the likeness between the body and the Gâyatrî. As Gâyatrî is the earth, and the earth the body, and the body the heart, Gâyatrî is in the end to be considered as the heart.

² The four feet are explained as the four quarters of the Gâyatrî metre, of six syllables each. The Gâyatrî really consists of three feet of eight syllables each.

³ The Gâyatrî has been identified with all beings, with speech, earth, body, heart, and the vital airs, and is therefore called sixfold. This, at least, is the way in which the commentator accounts for the epithet 'sixfold.'

⁴ Of Brahman modified as Gâyatrî, having four feet, and being sixfold.

⁵ The real Brahman, unmodified by form and name.

7. The Brahman which has been thus described (as immortal with three feet in heaven, and as Gâyatri) is the same as the ether which is around us ;

8. And the ether which is around us, is the same as the ether which is within us. And the ether which is within us,

9. That is the ether within the heart. That ether in the heart (as Brahman) is omnipresent and unchanging. He who knows this obtains omnipresent and unchangeable happiness.

THIRTEENTH KHANDA¹.

1. For that heart there are five gates belonging to the Devas (the senses). The eastern gate is the Prâna (up-breathing), that is the eye, that is Âditya (the sun). Let a man meditate on that as brightness (glory of countenance) and health. He who knows this, becomes bright and healthy.

2. The southern gate is the Vyâna (back-breathing), that is the ear, that is the moon. Let a man meditate on that as happiness and fame. He who knows this, becomes happy and famous.

3. The western gate is the Apâna (down-breathing), that is speech, that is Agni (fire). Let a man meditate on that as glory of countenance and health. He who knows this, becomes glorious and healthy.

4. The northern gate is the Samâna (on-breathing), that is mind, that is Parganya (rain). Let a man meditate on that as celebrity and beauty.

¹ The meditation on the five gates and the five gate-keepers of the heart is meant to be subservient to the meditation on Brahman, as the ether in the heart, which, as it is said at the end, is actually seen and heard by the senses as being within the heart.

He who knows this, becomes celebrated and beautiful.

5. The upper gate is the Udâna (out-breathing), that is air, that is ether. Let a man meditate on that as strength and greatness. He who knows this, becomes strong and great.

6. These are the five men of Brahman, the door-keepers of the Svarga (heaven) world. He who knows these five men of Brahman, the door-keepers of the Svarga world, in his family a strong son is born. He who thus knows these five men of Brahman, as the door-keepers of the Svarga world, enters himself the Svarga world.

7. Now that light which shines above this heaven, higher than all, higher than everything, in the highest world, beyond which there are no other worlds, that is the same light which is within man. And of this we have this visible proof¹:

8. Namely, when we thus perceive by touch the warmth here in the body². And of it we have this audible proof: Namely, when we thus, after stopping our ears, listen to what is like the rolling of a carriage, or the bellowing of an ox, or the sound of a burning fire³ (within the ears). Let a man meditate on this as the (Brahman) which is seen and heard.

¹ The presence of Brahman in the heart of man is not to rest on the testimony of revelation only, but is here to be established by the evidence of the senses. Childish as the argument may seem to us, it shows at all events how intently the old Brahmins thought on the problem of the evidence of the invisible.

² That warmth must come from something, just as smoke comes from fire, and this something is supposed to be Brahman in the heart.

³ Cf. Ait. Âr. III, 2, 4, 11-13.

He who knows this, becomes conspicuous and celebrated, yea, he becomes celebrated.

FOURTEENTH KHANDA.

1. All this is Brahman (n.) Let a man meditate on that (visible world) as beginning, ending, and breathing¹ in it (the Brahman).

Now man is a creature of will. According to what his will is in this world, so will he be when he has departed this life. Let him therefore have this will and belief :

2. The intelligent, whose body is spirit, whose form is light, whose thoughts are true, whose nature is like ether (omnipresent and invisible), from whom all works, all desires, all sweet odours and tastes proceed ; he who embraces all this, who never speaks, and is never surprised,

3. He is my self within the heart, smaller than a corn of rice, smaller than a corn of barley, smaller than a mustard seed, smaller than a canary seed or the kernel of a canary seed. He also is my self within the heart, greater than the earth, greater than the sky, greater than heaven, greater than all these worlds.

4. He from whom all works, all desires, all sweet odours and tastes proceed, who embraces all this, who never speaks and who is never surprised, he, my self within the heart, is that Brahman (n.) When I shall have departed from hence, I shall obtain him (that Self). He who has this faith² has no doubt ; thus said *Sândilya*³, yea, thus he said.

¹ Galân is explained by *ga*, born, *la*, absorbed, and *an*, breathing. It is an artificial term, but fully recognised by the Vedânta school, and always explained in this manner.

² Or he who has faith and no doubt, will obtain this.

³ This chapter is frequently quoted as the *Sândilya-vidyâ*, Vedântasâra, init ; Vedânta-sûtra III, 3, 31.

FIFTEENTH KHANDA¹.

1. The chest which has the sky for its circumference and the earth for its bottom, does not decay, for the quarters are its sides, and heaven its lid above. That chest is a treasury, and all things are within it.

2. Its eastern quarter is called *Guhû*, its southern *Sahamânâ*, its western *Râgñî*, its northern *Subhûtâ*². The child of those quarters is *Vâyû*, the air, and he who knows that the air is indeed the child of the quarters, never weeps for his sons. 'I know the wind to be the child of the quarters, may I never weep for my sons.'

3. 'I turn to the imperishable chest with such and such and such³.' 'I turn to the *Prâna* (life) with such and such and such.' 'I turn to *Bhûh* with such and such and such.' 'I turn to *Bhuva* with such and such and such.' 'I turn to *Sva* with such and such and such.'

4. 'When I said, I turn to *Prâna*, then *Prâna* means all whatever exists here—to that I turn.'

5. 'When I said, I turn to *Bhûh*, what I said is, I turn to the earth, the sky, and heaven.'

¹ The object of this section, the *Kosavignâna*, is to show how the promise made in III, 13, 6, 'that a strong son should be born in a man's family,' is to be fulfilled.

² These names are explained by the commentator as follows: Because people offer libations (*guhvatî*), turning to the east, therefore it is called *Guhû*. Because evil doers suffer (*sahante*) in the town of *Yama*, which is in the south, therefore it is called *Sahamânâ*. The western quarter is called *Râgñî*, either because it is sacred to king *Varuṇa* (*râgan*), or on account of the red colour (*râga*) of the twilight. The north is called *Subhûtâ*, because wealthy beings (*bhûtimat*), like *Kuvera* &c., reside there.

³ Here the names of the sons are to be pronounced.

6. 'When I said, I turn to *Bhuvaḥ*, what I said is, I turn to *Agni* (fire), *Vāyu* (air), *Āditya* (sun).'

7. 'When I said, I turn to *Svaḥ*, what I said is, I turn to the *Rig-veda*, *Yagur-veda*, and *Sāma-veda*. That is what I said, yea, that is what I said.'

SIXTEENTH KHANDA¹.

1. Man is sacrifice. His (first) twenty-four years are the morning-libation. The *Gāyatrī* has twenty-four syllables, the morning-libation is offered with *Gāyatrī* hymns. The *Vasus* are connected with that part of the sacrifice. The *Prānas* (the five senses) are the *Vasus*, for they make all this to abide (*vāsayanti*).

2. If anything ails him in that (early) age, let him say: 'Ye *Prānas*, ye *Vasus*, extend this my morning-libation unto the midday-libation, that I, the sacrificer, may not perish in the midst of the *Prānas* or *Vasus*.' Thus he recovers from his illness, and becomes whole.

3. The next forty-four years are the midday-libation. The *Trishṭubh* has forty-four syllables, the midday-libation is offered with *Trishṭubh* hymns. The *Rudras* are connected with that part of it. The *Prānas* are the *Rudras*, for they make all this to cry (*rodanti*).

4. If anything ails him in that (second) age, let him say: 'Ye *Prānas*, ye *Rudras*, extend this my midday-libation unto the third libation, that I, the sacrificer, may not perish in the midst of the *Prānas* or *Rudras*.' Thus he recovers from his illness, and becomes whole.

5. The next forty-eight years are the third

¹ The object of this *Khanda* is to show how to obtain long life, as promised before.

libation. The *Gagati* has forty-eight syllables, the third libation is offered with *Gagati* hymns. The *Âdityas* are connected with that part of it. The *Prânas* are the *Âdityas*, for they take up all this (*âdadata*).

6. If anything ails him in that (third) age, let him say: 'Ye *Prânas*, ye *Âdityas*, extend this my third libation unto the full age, that I, the sacrificer, may not perish in the midst of the *Prânas* or *Âdityas*.' Thus he recovers from his illness, and becomes whole.

7. Mahidâsa Aitareya (the son of Itarâ), who knew this, said (addressing a disease): 'Why dost thou afflict me, as I shall not die by it?' He lived a hundred and sixteen years (i.e. $24 + 44 + 48$). He, too, who knows this lives on to a hundred and sixteen years.

SEVENTEENTH KHANDA¹.

1. When a man (who is the sacrificer) hungers, thirsts, and abstains from pleasures, that is the *Dîkshâ* (initiatory rite).

2. When a man eats, drinks, and enjoys pleasures, he does it with the *Upasadas* (the sacrificial days on which the sacrificer is allowed to partake of food).

3. When a man laughs, eats, and delights himself, he does it with the *Stuta-sastras* (hymns sung and recited at the sacrifices).

4. Penance, liberality, righteousness, kindness, truthfulness, these form his *Dakshinâs* (gifts bestowed on priests, &c.)

5. Therefore when they say, 'There will be a

¹ Here we have a representation of the sacrifice as performed without any ceremonial, and as it is often represented when performed in thought only by a man living in the forest.

birth,' and 'there has been a birth' (words used at the Soma-sacrifice, and really meaning, 'He will pour out the Soma-juice,' and 'he has poured out the Soma-juice'), that is his new birth. His death is the Avabhṛ̥tha ceremony (when the sacrificial vessels are carried away to be cleansed).

6. Ghora Âṅgīrasa, after having communicated this (view of the sacrifice) to Kṛishna, the son of Devākī¹—and he never thirsted again (after other knowledge)—said: 'Let a man, when his end ap-

¹ The curious coincidence between Kṛishna Devakīputra, here mentioned as a pupil of Ghora Âṅgīrasa, and the famous Kṛishna, the son of Devākī, was first pointed out by Colebrooke, *Miscell. Essays*, II, 177. Whether it is more than a coincidence, is difficult to say. Certainly we can build no other conclusions on it than those indicated by Colebrooke, that new fables may have been constructed elevating this personage to the rank of a god. We know absolutely nothing of the old Kṛishna Devakīputra except his having been a pupil of Ghora Âṅgīrasa, nor does there seem to have been any attempt made by later Brahmins to connect their divine Kṛishna, the son of Vasudeva, with the Kṛishna Devakīputra of our Upanishad. This is all the more remarkable because the author of the Sāṅdilya-sūtras, for instance, who is very anxious to find a śrauta authority for the worship of Kṛishna Vāsudeva as the supreme deity, had to be satisfied with quoting such modern compilations as the Nārāyaṇopaniṣad, Atharvasiras, VI, 9, brahmaṇyo devakīputro brahmaṇyo madhusūdanaḥ (see Sāṅdilya-sūtras, ed. Ballantyne, p. 36, translated by Cowell, p. 51), without venturing to refer to the Kṛishna Devakīputra of the Khândogya-upaniṣad. The occurrence of such names as Kṛishna, Vāsudeva, Madhusūdana stamps Upanishads, like the Âtmabodha-upaniṣad, as modern (Colebrooke, *Essays*, I, 101), and the same remark applies, as Weber has shown, to the Gopālatāpani-upaniṣad (*Bibliotheca Indica*, No. 183), where we actually find such names as Śrīkṛishna Govinda, Gopīganavallabha, Devakyaṁ gātaḥ (p. 38), &c. Professor Weber has treated these questions very fully, but it is not quite clear to me whether he wishes to go beyond Colebrooke and to admit more than a similarity of name between the pupil of Ghora Âṅgīrasa and the friend of the Gopīs.

proaches, take refuge with this Triad¹: "Thou art the imperishable," "Thou art the unchangeable," "Thou art the edge of Prāṇa." On this subject there are two *Rik* verses (Rig-veda VIII, 6, 30):—

7. 'Then they see (within themselves) the ever-present light of the old seed (of the world, the Sat), the highest, which is lighted in the brilliant (Brahman).' Rig-veda I, 50, 10:—

'Perceiving above the darkness (of ignorance) the higher light (in the sun), as the higher light within the heart, the bright source (of light and life) among the gods, we have reached the highest light, yea, the highest light².'

EIGHTEENTH KHANDA³.

1. Let a man meditate on mind as Brahman (n.), this is said with reference to the body. Let a man meditate on the ether as Brahman (n.), this is said with reference to the Devas. Thus both the meditation which has reference to the body, and the meditation which has reference to the Devas, has been taught.

2. That Brahman (mind) has four feet (quarters).

¹ Let him recite these three verses.

² Both these verses had to be translated here according to their scholastic interpretation, but they had originally a totally different meaning. Even the text was altered, *divā* being changed to *divi*, *svaḥ* to *sve*. The first is taken from a hymn addressed to Indra, who after conquering the dark clouds brings back the light of the sun. When he does that, then the people see again, as the poet says, the daily light of the old seed (from which the sun rises) which is lighted in heaven. The other verse belongs to a hymn addressed to the sun. Its simple meaning is: 'Seeing above the darkness (of the night) the rising light, the Sun, bright among the bright, we came towards the highest light.'

³ This is a further elucidation of *Rik*. Up. III, 14, 2.

Speech is one foot, breath is one foot, the eye is one foot, the ear is one foot—so much with reference to the body. Then with reference to the gods, Agni (fire) is one foot, Vâyu (air) is one foot, Âditya (sun) is one foot, the quarters are one foot. Thus both the worship which has reference to the body, and the worship which has reference to the Devas, has been taught.

3. Speech is indeed the fourth foot of Brahman. That foot shines with Agni (fire) as its light, and warms. He who knows this, shines and warms through his celebrity, fame, and glory of countenance.

4. Breath is indeed the fourth foot of Brahman. That foot shines with Vâyu (air) as its light, and warms. He who knows this, shines and warms through his celebrity, fame, and glory of countenance.

5. The eye is indeed the fourth foot of Brahman. That foot shines with Âditya (sun) as its light, and warms. He who knows this, shines and warms through his celebrity, fame, and glory of countenance.

6. The ear is indeed the fourth foot of Brahman. That foot shines with the quarters as its light, and warms. He who knows this, shines and warms through his celebrity, fame, and glory of countenance.

NINETEENTH KHANDA.

1. Âditya (the sun¹) is Brahman, this is the doctrine, and this is the fuller account of it :—

In the beginning this was non-existent². It be-

¹ Âditya, or the sun, had before been represented as one of the four feet of Brahman. He is now represented as Brahman, or as to be meditated on as such.

² Not yet existing, not yet developed in form and name, and therefore as if not existing.

came existent, it grew. It turned into an egg¹. The egg lay for the time of a year. The egg broke open. The two halves were one of silver, the other of gold.

2. The silver one became this earth, the golden one the sky, the thick membrane (of the white) the mountains, the thin membrane (of the yoke) the mist with the clouds, the small veins the rivers, the fluid the sea.

3. And what was born from it that was Âditya, the sun. When he was born shouts of hurrah arose, and all beings arose, and all things which they desired. Therefore whenever the sun rises and sets, shouts of hurrah arise, and all beings arise, and all things which they desire.

4. If any one knowing this meditates on the sun as Brahman, pleasant shouts will approach him and will continue, yea, they will continue.

FOURTH PRAPÂTHAKA.

FIRST KHANDA².

1. There lived once upon a time Gânasruti Pautrâyana (the great-grandson of Ganasruta), who was a pious giver, bestowing much wealth upon the

¹ *Ânda* instead of *anda* is explained as a Vedic irregularity. A similar cosmogony is given in Manu's Law Book, I, 12 seq. See Kellgren, *Mythus de ovo mundano*, Helsingfors, 1849.

² *Vâyu* (air) and *Prâna* (breath) had before been represented as feet of Brahman, as the second pair. Now they are represented as Brahman, and as to be meditated on as such. This is the teaching of Raikva. The language of this chapter is very obscure, and I am not satisfied with the translation.

people, and always keeping open house. He built places of refuge everywhere, wishing that people should everywhere eat of his food.

2. Once in the night some *Hamsas* (flamingoes) flew over his house, and one flamingo said to another: 'Hey, *Bhalláksha*, *Bhalláksha* (short-sighted friend). The light (glory) of *Gânasruti Pautráyana* has spread like the sky. Do not go near, that it may not burn thee.'

3. The other answered him: 'How can you speak of him, being what he is (a *râganya*, noble), as if he were like *Raikva* with the car¹?'

4. The first replied: 'How is it with this *Raikva* with the car of whom thou speakest?'

The other answered: 'As (in a game of dice) all the lower casts² belong to him who has conquered with the *Kṛita* cast, so whatever good deeds other people perform, belong to that *Raikva*. He who knows what he knows, he is thus spoken of by me.'

5. *Gânasruti Pautráyana* overheard this conversation, and as soon as he had risen in the morning, he said to his door-keeper (*kshattri*): 'Friend, dost thou speak of (me, as if I were) *Raikva* with the car?'

He replied: 'How is it with this *Raikva* with the car?'

6. The king said: 'As (in a game of dice), all the lower casts belong to him who has conquered with the *Kṛita* cast, so whatever good deeds other people perform, belong to that *Raikva*. He who knows what he knows, he is thus spoken of by me.'

¹ Sayugvan is explained as possessed of a car with yoked horses or oxen. Could it have meant originally, 'yoke-fellow, equal,' as in *Rig-veda* X, 130, 4? Anquetil renders it by 'semper cum se ipso camelum solutum habens.'

² Instead of *adhareyâh*, we must read *adhare 'yâh*.

7. The door-keeper went to look for Raikva, but returned saying, 'I found him not.' Then the king said: 'Alas! where a Brâhmaṇa should be searched for (in the solitude of the forest), there go for him.'

8. The door-keeper came to a man who was lying beneath a car and scratching his sores¹. He addressed him, and said: 'Sir, are you Raikva with the car?'

He answered: 'Here I am.'

Then the door-keeper returned, and said: 'I have found him.'

SECOND KHANDA.

1. Then Gânasruti Pautrâyaṇa took six hundred cows, a necklace, and a carriage with mules, went to Raikva and said:

2. 'Raikva, here are six hundred cows, a necklace, and a carriage with mules; teach me the deity which you worship.'

3. The other replied: 'Fie, necklace and carriage be thine, O Sûdra, together with the cows.'

Then Gânasruti Pautrâyaṇa took again a thousand cows, a necklace, a carriage with mules, and his own daughter, and went to him.

4. He said to him: 'Raikva, there are a thousand cows, a necklace, a carriage with mules, this wife, and this village in which thou dwellest. Sir, teach me!'

5. He, opening her mouth², said: 'You have

¹ It is curious that in a hymn of the Atharva-veda (V, 22, 5, 8) takman, apparently a disease of the skin, is relegated to the Mahâ-vrîshas, where Raikva dwelt. Roth, Zur Literatur des Veda, p. 36.

² To find out her age. The commentator translates, 'Raikva, knowing her mouth to be the door of knowledge, i.e. knowing that for her he might impart his knowledge to Gânasruti, and that

brought these (cows and other presents), O Sûdra, but only by that mouth did you make me speak.'

These are the Raikva-parva villages in the country of the Mahâvrihas (mahâpunyas) where Raikva dwelt under him¹. And he said to him :

THIRD KHANDA.

1. 'Air (vâyu) is indeed the end of all². For when fire goes out, it goes into air. When the sun goes down, it goes into air. When the moon goes down, it goes into air.

2. 'When water dries up, it goes into air. Air indeed consumes them all. So much with reference to the Devas.

3. 'Now with reference to the body. Breath (prâna) is indeed the end of all. When a man sleeps, speech goes into breath, so do sight, hearing, and mind. Breath indeed consumes them all.

4. 'These are the two ends, air among the Devas, breath among the senses (prânâh).'

5. Once while Saunaka Kâpeya and Abhipratârin Kâkshaseni were being waited on at their meal, a religious student begged of them. They gave him nothing.

6. He said: 'One god—who is he?—swallowed the four great ones³, he, the guardian of the world.

Gânasruti by bringing such rich gifts had become a proper receiver of knowledge, consented to do what he had before refused.'

¹ The commentator supplies adât, the king gave the villages to him.

² Samvarga, absorption, whence samvargavidyâ, not samsarga. It is explained by samvargana, samgrahana, and samgrasana, in the text itself by adana, eating.

³ This must refer to Vâyu and Prâna swallowing the four, as explained in IV, 3, 2, and IV, 3, 3. The commentator explains

O Kâpeya, mortals see him not, O Abhipratârin, though he dwells in many places. He to whom this food belongs, to him it has not been given¹.

7. Saunaka Kâpeya, pondering on that speech, went to the student and said : 'He is the self of the Devas, the creator of all beings, with golden tusks, the eater, not without intelligence. His greatness is said to be great indeed, because, without being eaten, he eats even what is not food². Thus do we, O Brahmatârin, meditate on that Being.' Then he said : 'Give him food.'

8. They gave him food. Now these five (the eater Vâyu (air), and his food, Agni (fire), Âditya (sun), Kândramas (moon), Ap (water)) and the other five (the eater Prâna (breath), and his food, speech, sight, hearing, mind) make ten, and that is the Kṛita (the highest³) cast (representing the ten, the eaters and the food). Therefore in all quarters those ten are food (and) Kṛita (the highest cast). These are again the Virâg⁴ (of ten syllables)

it by Pragâpati, who is sometimes called Ka. In one sense it would be Brahman, as represented by Vâyu and Prâna.

¹ The food which you have refused to me, you have really refused to Brahman.

² Saunaka wishes the student to understand that though 'mortals see him not,' he sees and knows him, viz. the god who, as Vâyu, swallows all the gods, but produces them again, and who, as prâna, swallows during sleep all senses, but produces them again at the time of waking.

³ The words are obscure, and the commentator does not throw much light on them. He explains, however, the four casts of the dice, the Kṛita=4, the Tretâ=3, the Dvâpara=2, the Kali=1, making together 10, the Kṛita cast absorbing the other casts, and thus counting ten.

⁴ Virâg, name of a metre of ten syllables, and also a name of food. One expects, 'which is the food and eats the food.'

which eats the food. Through this all this becomes seen. He who knows this sees all this and becomes an eater of food, yea, he becomes an eater of food.

FOURTH KHANDA¹.

1. Satyakâma, the son of Gabâlâ, addressed his mother and said: 'I wish to become a Brahmaçârin (religious student), mother. Of what family am I?'

2. She said to him: 'I do not know, my child, of what family thou art. In my youth when I had to move about much as a servant (waiting on the guests in my father's house), I conceived thee. I do not know of what family thou art. I am Gabâlâ by name, thou art Satyakâma (Philaethes). Say that thou art Satyakâma Gâbâla.'

3. He going to Gautama Hâridrumata said to him, 'I wish to become a Brahmaçârin with you, Sir. May I come to you, Sir?'

4. He said to him: 'Of what family are you, my friend?' He replied: 'I do not know, Sir, of what family I am. I asked my mother, and she answered: "In my youth when I had to move about much as a servant, I conceived thee. I do not know of what family thou art. I am Gabâlâ by name, thou art Satyakâma," I am therefore Satyakâma Gâbâla, Sir.'

5. He said to him: 'No one but a true Brâhmaçâri would thus speak out. Go and fetch fuel, friend, I shall initiate you. You have not swerved from the truth.'

Having initiated him, he chose four hundred lean and weak cows, and said: 'Tend these, friend.'

¹ This carries on the explanation of the four feet of Brahman, as first mentioned in III, 18, 1. Each foot or quarter of Brahman is represented as fourfold, and the knowledge of these sixteen parts is called the Shodasakalâvidyâ.

He drove them out and said to himself, 'I shall not return unless I bring back a thousand.' He dwelt a number of years (in the forest), and when the cows had become a thousand,

FIFTH KHANDA.

1. The bull of the herd (meant for Vāyu) said to him: 'Satyakāma!' He replied: 'Sir!' The bull said: 'We have become a thousand, lead us to the house of the teacher;

2. 'And I will declare to you one foot of Brahman.' 'Declare it, Sir,' he replied.

He said to him: 'The eastern region is one quarter, the western region is one quarter, the southern region is one quarter, the northern region is one quarter. This is a foot of Brahman, consisting of the four quarters, and called Prakāsavat (endowed with splendour).

3. 'He who knows this and meditates on the foot of Brahman, consisting of four quarters, by the name of Prakāsavat, becomes endowed with splendour in this world. He conquers the resplendent worlds, whoever knows this and meditates on the foot of Brahman, consisting of the four quarters, by the name of Prakāsavat.

SIXTH KHANDA.

1. 'Agni will declare to you another foot of Brahman.'

(After these words of the bull), Satyakāma, on the morrow, drove the cows (toward the house of the teacher). And when they came towards the evening, he lighted a fire, penned the cows, laid wood on the fire, and sat down behind the fire, looking to the east.

2. Then Agni (the fire) said to him : 'Satyakâma!' He replied : 'Sir.'

3. Agni said : 'Friend, I will declare unto you one foot of Brahman.'

'Declare it, Sir,' he replied.

He said to him : 'The earth is one quarter, the sky is one quarter, the heaven is one quarter, the ocean is one quarter. This is a foot of Brahman, consisting of four quarters, and called Anantavat (endless).

4. 'He who knows this and meditates on the foot of Brahman, consisting of four quarters, by the name of Anantavat, becomes endless in this world. He conquers the endless worlds, whoever knows this and meditates on the foot of Brahman, consisting of four quarters, by the name of Anantavat.

SEVENTH KHANDA.

1. 'A *Hamsa* (flamingo, meant for the sun) will declare to you another foot of Brahman.'

(After these words of Agni), Satyakâma, on the morrow, drove the cows onward. And when they came towards the evening, he lighted a fire, penned the cows, laid wood on the fire, and sat down behind the fire, looking toward the east.

2. Then a *Hamsa* flew near and said to him : 'Satyakâma.' He replied : 'Sir.'

3. The *Hamsa* said : 'Friend, I will declare unto you one foot of Brahman.'

'Declare it, Sir,' he replied.

He said to him : 'Fire is one quarter, the sun is one quarter, the moon is one quarter, lightning is one quarter. This is a foot of Brahman, consisting of four quarters, and called *Gyotishmat* (full of light).

4. 'He who knows this and meditates on the foot of Brahman, consisting of four quarters, by the name of Gyotishmat, becomes full of light in this world. He conquers the worlds which are full of light, whoever knows this and meditates on the foot of Brahman, consisting of four quarters, by the name of Gyotishmat.

EIGHTH KHANDA.

1. 'A diver-bird (Madgu, meant for Prâna) will declare to you another foot of Brahman.'

(After these words of the Hamsa), Satyakâma, on the morrow, drove the cows onward. And when they came towards the evening, he lighted a fire, penned the cows, laid wood on the fire, and sat down behind the fire, looking toward the east.

2. Then a diver flew near and said to him: 'Satyakâma.' He replied: 'Sir.'

3. The diver said: 'Friend, I will declare unto you one foot of Brahman.'

'Declare it, Sir,' he replied.

He said to him: 'Breath is one quarter, the eye is one quarter, the ear is one quarter, the mind is one quarter. This is a foot of Brahman, consisting of four quarters, and called Âyatanavat (having a home).

'He who knows this and meditates on the foot of Brahman, consisting of four quarters, by the name of Âyatanavat, becomes possessed of a home in this world. He conquers the worlds which offer a home, whoever knows this and meditates on the foot of Brahman, consisting of four quarters, by the name of Âyatanavat.'

NINTH KHANDA.

1. Thus he reached the house of his teacher. The teacher said to him : 'Satyakâma.' He replied : 'Sir.'

2. The teacher said : 'Friend, you shine like one who knows Brahman. Who then has taught you¹?' He replied : 'Not men. But you only, Sir, I wish, should teach me²;

3. 'For I have heard from men like you, Sir, that only knowledge which is learnt from a teacher (Âkârya), leads to real good.' Then he taught him the same knowledge. Nothing was left out, yea, nothing was left out.

TENTH KHANDA³.

1. Upakosala Kâmalâyana dwelt as a Brahmanârîṇ (religious student) in the house of Satyakâma Gâbâla. He tended his fires for twelve years. But the teacher, though he allowed other pupils (after they had learnt the sacred books) to depart to their own homes, did not allow Upakosala to depart.

2. Then his wife said to him : 'This student, who is quite exhausted (with austerities), has carefully tended your fires. Let not the fires themselves blame you, but teach him.' The teacher, however, went away on a journey without having taught him.

3. The student from sorrow was not able to eat.

¹ It would have been a great offence if Satyakâma had accepted instruction from any man, except his recognised teacher.

² The text should be, *bhagavâms tv eva me kâme brūyât* (me kâme = mamekâkâryâm).

³ The Upakosala-vidyâ teaches first Brahman as the cause, and then in its various forms, and is therefore called âtmavidyâ and agnividya.

Then the wife of the teacher said to him : 'Student, eat! Why do you not eat?' He said : 'There are many desires in this man here, which lose themselves in different directions. I am full of sorrows, and shall take no food.'

4. Thereupon the fires said among themselves : 'This student, who is quite exhausted, has carefully tended us. Well, let us teach him.' They said to him :

5. 'Breath is Brahman, Ka (pleasure) is Brahman, Kha (ether) is Brahman.'

He said : 'I understand that breath is Brahman, but I do not understand Ka or Kha¹.'

They said : 'What is Ka is Kha, what is Kha is Ka².' They therefore taught him Brahman as breath, and as the ether (in the heart)³.

ELEVENTH KHANDA.

1. After that the Gârhapatya fire⁴ taught him : 'Earth, fire, food, and the sun (these are my forms, or

¹ I do not understand, he means, how Ka, which means pleasure, and is non-eternal, and how Kha, which means ether, and is not intelligent, can be Brahman.

² The commentator explains as follows :—Ka is pleasure, and Kha is ether, but these two words are to determine each other mutually, and thus to form one idea. Ka therefore does not mean ordinary pleasures, but pleasures such as belong to Kha, the ether. And Kha does not signify the ordinary outward ether, but the ether in the heart, which alone is capable of pleasure. What is meant by Ka and Kha is therefore the sentient ether in the heart, and that is Brahman, while Prâna, breath, is Brahman, in so far as it is united with the ether in the heart.

³ And as its ether, i.e. as the ether in the heart, the Brahman, with which prâna is connected. Comm.

⁴ The household altar.

forms of Brahman). The person that is seen in the sun, I am he, I am he indeed ¹.

2. 'He who knowing this meditates on him, destroys sin, obtains the world (of Agni Gârha-patya), reaches his full age, and lives long; his descendants do not perish. We guard him in this world and in the other, whosoever knowing this meditates on him.'

TWELFTH KHANDA.

1. Then the Anvâhârya fire ² taught him: 'Water, the quarters, the stars, the moon (these are my forms). The person that is seen in the moon, I am he, I am he indeed.

2. 'He who knowing this meditates on him, destroys sin, obtains the world (of Agni Anvâhârya), reaches his full age, and lives long; his descendants do not perish. We guard him in this world and in the other, whosoever knowing this meditates on him.'

THIRTEENTH KHANDA.

1. Then the Âhavanîya ³ fire taught him: 'Breath, ether, heaven, and lightning (these are my forms). The person that is seen in the lightning, I am he, I am he indeed.

¹ Fanciful similarities and relations between the fires of the three altars and their various forms and manifestations are pointed out by the commentator. Thus earth and food are represented as warmed and boiled by the fire. The sun is said to give warmth and light like the fire of the altar. The chief point, however, is that in all of them Brahman is manifested.

² The altar on the right. Anvâhârya is a sacrificial oblation, chiefly one intended for the manes.

³ The Âhavanîya altar is the altar on the eastern side of the sacrificial ground.

2. 'He who knowing this meditates on him, destroys sin, obtains the world (of Agni Âhavanīya), reaches his full age, and lives long; his descendants do not perish. We guard him in this world and in the other, whosoever knowing this meditates on him.'

FOURTEENTH KHANDA.

1. Then they all said: 'Upakosala, this is our knowledge, our friend, and the knowledge of the Self, but the teacher will tell you the way (to another life).'

2. In time his teacher came back, and said to him: 'Upakosala.' He answered: 'Sir.' The teacher said: 'Friend, your face shines like that of one who knows Brahman. Who has taught you?'

'Who should teach me, Sir?' he said. He denies, as it were. And he said (pointing) to the fires: 'Are these fires other than fires?'

The teacher said: 'What, my friend, have these fires told you?'

3. He answered: 'This' (repeating some of what they had told him).

The teacher said: 'My friend, they have taught you about the worlds, but I shall tell you this; and as water does not cling to a lotus leaf, so no evil deed clings to one who knows it.' He said: 'Sir, tell it me.'

FIFTEENTH KHANDA.

1. He said: 'The person that is seen in the eye, that is the Self. This is the immortal, the fearless, this is Brahman¹. Even though they drop melted

¹ This is also the teaching of Pragâpati in VIII, 7, 4.

butter or water on him, it runs away on both sides¹.

2. 'They call him *Samyadvâma*, for all blessings (*vâma*) go towards him (*samyanti*). All blessings go towards him who knows this.

3. 'He is also *Vâmant*, for he leads (*nayati*) all blessings (*vâma*). He leads all blessings who knows this.

4. 'He is also *Bhâmant*, for he shines (*bhâti*) in all worlds. He who knows this, shines in all worlds.

5. 'Now (if one who knows this, dies), whether people perform obsequies for him or no, he goes to light (*arkis*)², from light to day, from day to the light half of the moon, from the light half of the moon to the six months during which the sun goes to the north, from the months to the year, from the year to the sun, from the sun to the moon, from the moon to the lightning. There is a person not human,

6. 'He leads them to Brahman. This is the path of the Devas, the path that leads to Brahman. Those who proceed on that path, do not return to the life of man, yea, they do not return.'

SIXTEENTH KHANDA³.

1. Verily, he who purifies (*Vây*u) is the sacrifice, for he (the air) moving along, purifies everything.

¹ It does so in the eye, and likewise with the person in the eye, who is not affected by anything. Cf. *Kh. Up.* IV, 14, 3.

² The commentator takes light, day, &c. as persons, or *devatâs*. Cf. *Kh. Up.* V, 10, 1.

³ If any mistakes happen during the performance of a sacrifice, as described before, they are remedied by certain interjectional

Because moving along he purifies everything, therefore he is the sacrifice. Of that sacrifice there are two ways, by mind and by speech.

2. The Brahman priest performs one of them in his mind¹, the Hotri, Adhvaryu, and Udgâtri priests perform the other by words. When the Brahman priest, after the Prâtarānuvâka ceremony has begun, but before the recitation of the Paridhâ-
ntiyâ hymn, has (to break his silence and) to speak,

3. He performs perfectly the one way only (that by words), but the other is injured. As a man walking on one foot, or a carriage going on one wheel, is injured, his sacrifice is injured, and with the injured sacrifice the sacrificer is injured; yes, having sacrificed, he becomes worse.

4. But when after the Prâtarānuvâka ceremony has begun, and before the recitation of the Paridhâ-
ntiyâ hymn, the Brahman priest has not (to break his silence and) to speak, they perform both ways perfectly, and neither of them is injured.

5. As a man walking on two legs and a carriage going on two wheels gets on, so his sacrifice gets on, and with the successful sacrifice the sacrificer gets on; yes, having sacrificed, he becomes better.

syllables (vyâhrîti), the nature of which is next described. All this is supposed to take place in the forest.

¹ While the other priests perform the sacrifice, the Brahman priest has to remain silent, following the whole sacrifice in his mind, and watching that no mistake be committed. If a mistake is committed, he has to correct it, and for that purpose certain corrective penances (prâyaścitta) are enjoined. The performance of the Brahman priest resembles the meditations of the sages in the forest, and therefore this chapter is here inserted.

SEVENTEENTH KHANDA.

1. Pragâpati brooded over the worlds, and from them thus brooded on he squeezed out the essences, Agni (fire) from the earth, Vâyu (air) from the sky, Âditya (the sun) from heaven.

2. He brooded over these three deities, and from them thus brooded on he squeezed out the essences, the *Rik* verses from Agni, the *Yagus* verses from Vâyu, the *Sâman* verses from Âditya.

3. He brooded over the threefold knowledge (the three Vedas), and from it thus brooded on he squeezed out the essences, the sacred interjection Bhûs from the *Rik* verses, the sacred interjection Bhuvas from the *Yagus* verses, the sacred interjection Svar from the *Sâman* verses.

4. If the sacrifice is injured from the *Rig*-veda side, let him offer a libation in the Gârhapatya fire, saying, Bhûh, Svâha! Thus does he bind together and heal, by means of the essence and the power of the *Rik* verses themselves, whatever break the *Rik* sacrifice may have suffered.

5. If the sacrifice is injured from the *Yagur*-veda side, let him offer a libation in the Dakshina fire, saying, Bhuva, Svâhâ! Thus does he bind together and heal, by means of the essence and the power of the *Yagus* verses themselves, whatever break the *Yagus* sacrifice may have suffered.

6. If the sacrifice is injured by the *Sâma*-veda side, let him offer a libation in the Âhavanitya fire, saying, Sva, Svâhâ! Thus does he bind together and heal, by means of the essence and the power of the *Sâman* verses themselves, whatever break the *Sâman* sacrifice may have suffered.

7. As one binds (softens) gold by means of *lavana*¹ (borax), and silver by means of gold, and tin by means of silver, and lead by means of tin, and iron (*loha*) by means of lead, and wood by means of iron, or also by means of leather,

8. Thus does one bind together and heal any break in the sacrifice by means of (the *Vyâhr̥itis* or sacrificial interjections which are) the essence and strength of the three worlds, of the deities, and of the threefold knowledge. That sacrifice is healed² in which there is a Brahman priest who knows this.

9. That sacrifice is inclined towards the north (in the right way) in which there is a Brahman priest who knows this. And with regard to such a Brahman priest there is the following *Gâthâ*³: 'Wherever it falls back, thither the man⁴ goes,'—viz. the Brahman only, as one of the *R̥itvig* priests. 'He saves the Kurus as a mare' (viz. a Brahman priest who

¹ *Lavana*, a kind of salt, explained by *kshâra* and *ṛaṅka* or *ṛaṅkana*. It is evidently borax, which is still imported from the East Indies under the name of tincal, and used as a flux in chemical processes.

² *Bheshagakṛita*, explained by *bheshagena* 'iva *kṛitaḥ saṃskṛitaḥ*, and also by *ṛikitsakena* *suśikṣhitena* 'esha *yagñō bhavati*,' which looks as if the commentator had taken it as a genitive of *bheshagakṛit*.

³ This *Gâthâ* (or, according to *Saṅkara*, *Anugâthâ*) is probably a *Gâyatrī*, though *Ānandagiri* says that it is not in the *Gâyatrī* or any other definite metre. It may have been originally 'yato yata āvartate, tattad *gakkhati* *mānavaḥ*, *kurūn* *asvābhirakṣhati*.' This might be taken from an old epic ballad, 'Wherever the army fell back, thither the man went; the mare (mares being preferred to stallions in war) saves the Kurus.' That verse was applied to the Brahman priest succouring the sacrifice, whenever it seemed to waver, and protecting the Kurus, i. e. the performers of the sacrifice.

⁴ *Mānava*, explained from *mauna*, or *manana*, but possibly originally, a descendant of *Manu*.

knows this, saves the sacrifice, the sacrificer, and all the other priests). Therefore let a man make him who knows this his Brahman priest, not one who does not know it, who does not know it.

FIFTH PRAPÂTHAKA¹.

FIRST KHANDA.

1. He who knows the oldest and the best becomes himself the oldest and the best. Breath indeed is the oldest and the best.

2. He who knows the richest, becomes himself the richest. Speech indeed is the richest.

3. He who knows the firm rest, becomes himself firm in this world and in the next. The eye indeed is the firm rest.

4. He who knows success, his wishes succeed, both his divine and human wishes. The ear indeed is success.

5. He who knows the home, becomes a home of his people. The mind indeed is the home.

6. The five senses quarrelled together², who was the best, saying, I am better, I am better.

¹ The chief object is to show the different ways on which people proceed after death. One of these ways, the Devapatha that leads to Brahman and from which there is no return, has been described, IV, 15. The other ways for those who on earth know the conditioned Brahman only, have to be discussed now.

² The same fable, the *prâṇasamvâda* or *prâṇavidyâ*, is told in the *Bṛihadâraṇyaka* VI, 1, 1-14, the *Aitareya Âr.* II, 4, the *Kaush. Up.* III, 3, and the *Prasna Up.* II, 3. The last is the simplest version of all, but it does not follow therefore that it is the oldest. It would be difficult to find two fables apparently more alike, yet in reality differing from each other more characteristically than this fable and the fable told to the plebeians by Menenius Agrippa.

7. They went to their father Pragâpati and said : 'Sir, who is the best of us ?' He replied : 'He by whose departure the body seems worse than worst, he is the best of you.'

8. The tongue (speech) departed, and having been absent for a year, it came round and said : 'How have you been able to live without me ?' They replied : 'Like mute people, not speaking, but breathing with the breath, seeing with the eye, hearing with the ear, thinking with the mind. Thus we lived.' Then speech went back.

9. The eye (sight) departed, and having been absent for a year, it came round and said : 'How have you been able to live without me ?' They replied : 'Like blind people, not seeing, but breathing with the breath, speaking with the tongue, hearing with the ear, thinking with the mind. Thus we lived.' Then the eye went back.

10. The ear (hearing) departed, and having been absent for a year, it came round and said : 'How have you been able to live without me ?' They replied : 'Like deaf people, not hearing, but breathing with the breath, speaking with the tongue, thinking with the mind. Thus we lived.' Then the ear went back.

11. The mind departed, and having been absent for a year, it came round and said : 'How have you been able to live without me ?' They replied : 'Like children whose mind is not yet formed, but breathing with the breath, speaking with the tongue, seeing with the eye, hearing with the ear. Thus we lived.' Then the mind went back.

12. The breath, when on the point of departing, tore up the other senses, as a horse, going to start,

might tear up the pegs to which he is tethered¹. They came to him and said: 'Sir, be thou (our lord); thou art the best among us. Do not depart from us!'

13. Then the tongue said to him: 'If I am the richest, thou art the richest.' The eye said to him: 'If I am the firm rest, thou art the firm rest².'

14. The ear said to him: 'If I am success, thou art success.' The mind said to him: 'If I am the home, thou art the home.'

15. And people do not call them, the tongues, the eyes, the ears, the minds, but the breaths (prâṇa, the senses). For breath are all these.

SECOND KĪHĀNDA.

1. Breath said: 'What shall be my food?' They answered: 'Whatever there is, even unto dogs and birds.' Therefore this is food for Ana (the breather). His name is clearly Ana³. To him who knows this there is nothing that is not (proper) food.

2. He said: 'What shall be my dress?' They answered: 'Water.' Therefore wise people, when they are going to eat food, surround their food before and after with water⁴. He (prâṇa) thus gains a dress, and is no longer naked⁵.

¹ Padvīsa, fetter, πείδη, pedica, a word now well known, but which Burnouf (*Commentaire sur le Yaçna*, Notes, CLXXIV) tried in vain to decipher.

² Burnouf rightly preferred pratish/hâsi to pratish/ho'si, though the commentary on the corresponding passage of the *Bṛhadâraṇyaka* seems to favour tatpratish/ho'si.

³ Ana, breather, more general than pra-ana=prâṇa, forth-breather, and the other more specified names of breath.

⁴ They rinse the mouth before and after every meal.

⁵ We expect, 'He who knows this' instead of prâṇa, but as

3. Satyakâma Gâbâla, after he had communicated this to Gosruti Vaiyâghrapadya, said to him : 'If you were to tell this to a dry stick, branches would grow, and leaves spring from it.'

4. If¹ a man wishes to reach greatness, let him perform the Dikshâ² (preparatory rite) on the day of the new moon, and then, on the night of the full moon, let him stir a mash of all kinds of herbs with curds and honey, and let him pour ghee on the fire (âvasathya laukika), saying, 'Svâhâ to the oldest and the best.' After that let him throw all that remains (of the ghee)³ into the mash.

5. In the same manner let him pour ghee on the fire, saying, 'Svâhâ to the richest.' After that let him throw all that remains together into the mash.

In the same manner let him pour ghee on the fire, saying, 'Svâhâ to the firm rest.' After that let him throw all that remains together into the mash.

In the same manner let him pour ghee on the fire, saying, 'Svâhâ to success.' After that let him throw all that remains together into the mash.

6. Then going forward and placing the mash

prâṇa may apply to every individual prâṇa, the usual finishing sentence was possibly dropt on purpose.

¹ The oblation here described is called mantha, a mortar, or what is pounded in a mortar, i.e. barley stirred in some kind of gravy. See Gaim. N. M. V. p. 406.

² Not the real dikshâ, which is a preparatory rite for great sacrifices, but penance, truthfulness, abstinence, which take the place of dikshâ with those who live in the forest and devote themselves to upâsana, meditative worship.

³ What is here called sampâtam avanayati is the same as samsravam avanayati in the Brîh. Âr. VI, 3, 2. The commentator says: Sruvâvalepanam âgyam mantham samsrâvayati.

in his hands, he recites: 'Thou (Prâna) art Ama¹ by name, for all this together exists in thee. He is the oldest and best, the king, the sovereign. May he make me the oldest, the best, the king, the sovereign. May I be all this.'

7. Then he eats with the following *Rik* verse at every foot: 'We choose' that food'—here he swallows—'Of the divine Savitri (prâna)'—here he swallows—'The best and all-supporting food'—here he swallows—'We meditate on the speed of Bhaga (Savitri, prâna)'—here he drinks all.

8. Having cleansed the vessel, whether it be a *kamsa* or a *kamasa*, he sits down behind the fire on a skin or on the bare ground, without speaking or making any other effort. If in his dream he sees a woman, let him know this to be a sign that his sacrifice has succeeded.

9. On this there is a *Sloka*: 'If during sacrifices which are to fulfil certain wishes he sees in his dreams a woman, let him know success from this vision in a dream, yea, from this vision in a dream.'

THIRD KHANDA².

1. Svetaketu Âruneya went to an assembly³ of the Pañâlas. Pravâhana Gaivali⁴ said to him: 'Boy, has your father instructed you?' 'Yes, Sir,' he replied.

2. 'Do you know to what place men go from here?' 'No, Sir,' he replied.

¹ Cf. *Brîh. Âr.* I, 1, 3, 22.

² This story is more fully told in the *Brîhadâraṇyaka* VI, 2, *Satapatha-brâhmaṇa* XIV, 8, 16.

³ Samiti, or parishad, as in the *Brîh. Âr.*

⁴ He is the same Kshatriya sage who appeared in I, 8, 1, silencing the Brâhmans.

‘Do you know how they return again?’ ‘No Sir,’ he replied.

‘Do you know where the path of Devas and the path of the fathers diverge?’ ‘No, Sir,’ he replied.

3. ‘Do you know why that world¹ never becomes full?’ ‘No, Sir,’ he replied.

‘Do you know why in the fifth libation water is called Man²?’ ‘No, Sir,’ he replied.

4. ‘Then why did you say (you had been) instructed? How could anybody who did not know these things say that he had been instructed?’ Then the boy went back sorrowful to the place of his father, and said: ‘Though you had not instructed me, Sir, you said you had instructed me.

5. ‘That fellow of a Rāganya asked me five questions, and I could not answer one of them.’ The father said: ‘As you have told me these questions of his, I do not know any one of them³. If I knew these questions, how should I not have told you⁴?’

6. Then Gautama went to the king’s place, and when he had come to him, the king offered him proper respect. In the morning the king went out on his way to the assembly⁵. The king said to him :

¹ That of the fathers. Comm.

² Or, according to others, why the water has a human voice; *purushavākaḥ* in *Bṛh. Âr. XIV, 9, 3*.

³ I doubt whether the elliptical construction of these sentences is properly filled out by the commentator. In the *Bṛhadâraṇyaka* the construction is much easier. ‘You know me well enough to know that whatever I know, I told you.’

⁴ I read *avedishyam*, though both the text and commentary give *avadishyam*. Still *viditavân asmi* points to an original *avedishyam*, and a parallel passage, VI, 1, 7, confirms this emendation.

⁵ Cf. *Kh. Up. V, 11, 5*.

‘Sir, Gautama, ask a boon of such things as men possess.’ He replied: ‘Such things as men possess may remain with you. Tell me the speech which you addressed to the boy.’

7. The king was perplexed, and commanded him, saying: ‘Stay with me some time.’ Then he said: ‘As (to what) you have said to me, Gautama, this knowledge did not go to any Brâhmaṇa before you, and therefore this teaching belonged in all the worlds to the Kshatra class alone. Then he began:

FOURTH KHANDA¹.

1. ‘The altar (on which the sacrifice is supposed to be offered) is that world (heaven), O Gautama; its fuel is the sun itself, the smoke his rays, the light the day, the coals the moon, the sparks the stars.

2. ‘On that altar the Devas (or prâṇas, represented by Agni, &c.) offer the sraddhâ libation (consisting of water). From that oblation rises Soma, the king² (the moon).

FIFTH KHANDA.

1. ‘The altar is Parganya (the god of rain), O Gautama; its fuel is the air itself, the smoke the cloud, the light the lightning, the coals the thunderbolt, the sparks the thunderings³.

¹ He answers the last question, why water in the fifth libation is called Man, first.

² The sacrificers themselves rise through their oblations to heaven, and attain as their reward a Soma-like nature.

³ Hrâduni, generally explained by hail, but here by stanayitnu-sabdâḥ, rumblings.

2. 'On that altar the Devas offer Soma, the king (the moon). From that oblation rises rain¹.

SIXTH KHANDA.

1. 'The altar is the earth, O Gautama ; its fuel is the year itself, the smoke the ether, the light the night, the coals the quarters, the sparks the intermediate quarters.

2. 'On that altar the Devas (prâṇas) offer rain. From that oblation rises food (corn, &c.)

SEVENTH KHANDA.

1. 'The altar is man, O Gautama ; its fuel speech itself, the smoke the breath, the light the tongue, the coals the eye, the sparks the ear.

2. 'On that altar the Devas (prâṇas) offer food. From that oblation rises seed.

EIGHTH KHANDA.

1. 'The altar is woman, O Gautama².

2. 'On that altar the Devas (prâṇas) offer seed. From that oblation rises the germ.

NINTH KHANDA.

1. 'For this reason is water in the fifth oblation called Man. This germ, covered in the womb, having dwelt there ten months, or more or less, is born.

2. 'When born, he lives whatever the length of his life may be. When he has departed, his friends carry him, as appointed, to the fire (of the funeral pile) from whence he came, from whence he sprang.

¹ The water, which had assumed the nature of Soma, now becomes rain.

² Tasyâ upastha eva samid, yad upamantrayate sa dhûmo, yonir arîr, yad antaḥ karoti te 'ngârâ abhinandâ vishphulingâḥ.

TENTH KHANDA.

1. 'Those who know this¹ (even though they still be *grihasthas*, householders) and those who in the forest follow faith and austerities (the *vâna-prasthas*, and of the *parivrâgakas* those who do not yet know the Highest Brahman) go² to light (*arṁis*), from light to day, from day to the light half of the moon, from the light half of the moon to the six months when the sun goes to the north, from the six months when the sun goes to the north to the year, from the year to the sun, from the sun to the moon, from the moon to the lightning. There is a person not human³,—

2. 'He leads them to Brahman (the conditioned Brahman). This is the path of the Devas.

3. 'But they who living in a village practise (a life of) sacrifices, works of public utility, and alms, they go to the smoke, from smoke to night, from night to the dark half of the moon, from the dark half of the moon to the six months when the sun goes to the south. But they do not reach the year.

4. 'From the months they go to the world of the fathers, from the world of the fathers to the ether, from the ether to the moon. That is Soma, the king. Here they are loved (eaten) by the Devas, yes, the Devas love (eat) them⁴.

¹ The doctrine of the five fires, and our being born in them, i. e. in heaven, rain, earth, man, and woman.

² Cf. *Kṛ. Up.* IV, 15, 5.

³ Instead of *mânava*, human, or *amânava*, not human, the *Brh.* *Ar.* reads *mânasa*, mental, or created by *manas*, mind.

⁴ This passage has been translated, 'They are the food of the gods. The gods do eat it.' And this is indeed the literal meaning of the words. But *bhag* (to enjoy) and *bhaksh* (to eat) are often

5. 'Having dwelt there, till their (good) works are consumed, they return again that way as they came¹, to the ether, from the ether to the air. Then the sacrificer, having become air, becomes smoke, having become smoke, he becomes mist,

6. 'Having become mist, he becomes a cloud, having become a cloud, he rains down. Then he is born as rice and corn, herbs and trees, sesamum and beans. From thence the escape is beset with most difficulties. For whoever the persons may be that eat the food, and beget offspring, he henceforth becomes like unto them.

used by theosophical writers in India, in the more general sense of cherishing or loving, and *anna* in the sense of an object of desire, love, and protection. The commentators, however, as the use of *bhaksh* in this sense is exceptional, or as it has no support in the use of the ancients, warn us here against a possible misunderstanding. If those, they say, who have performed sacrifices enter at last into the essence of Soma, the moon, and are eaten by the Devas, by Indra, &c., what is the use of their good works? No, they reply, they are not really eaten. Food (*anna*) means only what is helpful and delightful; it is not meant that they are eaten by morsels, but that they form the delight of the Devas. Thus we hear it said that men, women, and cattle are food for kings. And if it is said that women are loved by men, they are, in being loved, themselves loving. Thus these men also, being loved by the Devas, are happy and rejoice with the Devas. Their body, in order to be able to rejoice in the moon, becomes of a watery substance, as it was said before, that the water, called the *Śraddhâ* libation, when offered in heaven, as in the fire of the altar, becomes Soma, the king (*Kh. Up. V, 4, 1*). That water becomes, after various changes, the body of those who have performed good works, and when a man is dead and his body burnt (*Kh. Up. V, 9, 2*), the water rises from the body upwards with the smoke, and carries him to the moon, where, in that body, he enjoys the fruits of his good works, as long as they last. When they are consumed, like the oil in a lamp, he has to return to a new round of existences.

¹ But only to a certain point.

7. 'Those whose conduct has been good, will quickly attain some good birth, the birth of a Brâhmaṇa, or a Kshatriya, or a Vaisya. But those whose conduct has been evil, will quickly attain an evil birth, the birth of a dog, or a hog, or a *Kandâla*.

8. 'On neither of these two ways those small creatures (flies, worms, &c.) are continually returning of whom it may be said, Live and die. Theirs is a third place.

'Therefore that world never becomes full'¹ (cf. V, 3, 2).

¹ In this manner all the five questions have been answered. First, why in the fifth oblation water is called man; secondly, to what place men go after death, some by the path of the Devas, others by the path of the fathers, others again by neither of these paths; thirdly, how they return, some returning to Brahman, others returning to the earth; fourthly, where the paths of the Devas and the fathers diverge, viz. when from the half-year the path of the Devas goes on to the year, while that of the fathers branches off to the world of the fathers; fifthly, why that world, the other world, does never become full, viz. because men either go on to Brahman or return again to this world.

Many questions are raised among Indian philosophers on the exact meaning of certain passages occurring in the preceding paragraphs. First, as to who is admitted to the path of the Devas? Householders, who know the secret doctrine of the five fires or the five libations of the Agnihotra, as described above, while other householders, who only perform the ordinary sacrifices, without a knowledge of their secret meaning, go by the path of the fathers. Secondly, those who have retired to the forest, and whose worship there consists in faith and austerities, i. e. Vânaprasthas and Parivrâgakas, before they arrive at a knowledge of the true Brahman. The question then arises, whether religious students also enter the path of the Devas? This is affirmed, because Purâṇas and Smṛitis assert it, or because our text, if properly understood, does not exclude it. Those, on the contrary, who know not only a conditioned, but the highest unconditioned Brahman, do not proceed on the path of the Devas, but obtain Brahman immediately.

Again, there is much difference of opinion whether, after a man

‘Hence let a man take care to himself¹! And thus it is said in the following Sloka² :—

9. ‘A man who steals gold, who drinks spirits,

has been in the moon, consuming his works, he can be born again. Birth is the result of former works, and if former works are altogether consumed, there can be no new birth. This, however, is shown to be an erroneous view, because, besides the good sacrificial works, the fruits of which are consumed in the moon, there are other works which have to be enjoyed or expiated, as the case may be, in a new existence.

The great difficulty or danger in the round of transmigration arises when the rain has fructified the earth, and passes into herbs and trees, rice, corn, and beans. For, first of all, some of the rain does not fructify at once, but falls into rivers and into the sea, to be swallowed up by fishes and sea monsters. Then, only after these have been dissolved in the sea, and after the sea water has been attracted by the clouds, the rain falls down again, it may be on desert or stony land. Here it may be swallowed by snakes or deer, and these may be swallowed by other animals, so that the round of existence seems endless. Nor is this all. Some rain may dry up, or be absorbed by bodies that cannot be eaten. Then, if the rain is absorbed by rice, corn, &c., and this be eaten, it may be eaten by children or by men who have renounced marriage, and thus again lose the chance of a new birth. Lastly, there is the danger arising from the nature of the being in whom the food, such as rice and corn, becomes a new seed, and likewise from the nature of the mother. All these chances have to be met before a new birth as a Brâhmana, Kshatriya, or Vaisya can be secured.

Another curious distinction is here made by Saṅkara in his commentary. There are some, he says, who assume the form of rice, corn, &c., not in their descent from a higher world, as described in the Upanishad, but as a definite punishment for certain evil deeds they have committed. These remain in that state till the results of their evil deeds are over, and assume then a new body, according to their work, like caterpillars. With them there is also a consciousness of these states, and the acts which caused them to

¹ Let him despise it. Comm.

² Evidently an old Trishubh verse, but irregular in the third line. See Manu XI, 54.

who dishonours his Guru's bed, who kills a Brahman; these four fall, and as a fifth he who associates with them.

10. 'But he who thus knows the five fires is not defiled by sin even though he associates with them. He who knows this, is pure, clean, and obtains the world of the blessed, yea, he obtains the world of the blessed.'

ELEVENTH KHANDA¹.

1. Prâkṣasâla Aupamanyava, Satyayagña Paulushi, Indradyumna Bhâllaveya, Gana Sârkarakshya, and Budîla Âsvatarasvi, these five great householders and great theologians came once together and held a discussion as to What is our Self, and what is Brahman².

2. They reflected and said: 'Sirs, there is that Uddâlaka Âruni, who knows at present that Self,

assume this or that body, leave impressions behind, like dreams. This is not the case with those who in their descent from the moon, pass, as we saw, through an existence as rice, corn, &c. They have no consciousness of such existences, at least not in their descent. In their ascent to the moon, they have consciousness, as a man who climbs up a tree knows what he is about. But in their descent, that consciousness is gone, as it is when a man falls down from a tree. Otherwise a man, who by his good works had deserved rewards in the moon, would, while corn is being ground, suffer tortures, as if he were in hell, and the very object of good works, as taught by the Veda, would be defeated. As we see that a man struck by a hammer can be carried away unconscious, so it is in the descent of souls, till they are born again as men, and gain a new start for the attainment of the Highest Brahman.

¹ The same story is found in the Satapatha-brâhmaṇa X, 6, 1, 1.

² Âtman and Brâhman are to be taken as predicate and subject.

called Vaisvânara. Well, let us go to him.' They went to him.

3. But he reflected: 'Those great householders and great theologians will examine me, and I shall not be able to tell them all; therefore I shall recommend another teacher to them.'

4. He said to them: 'Sirs, Arvapati Kaikeya knows at present that Self, called Vaisvânara. Well, let us go to him.' They went to him.

5. When they arrived (the king) ordered proper presents to be made separately to each of them. And rising the next morning¹ he said: 'In my kingdom there is no thief, no miser, no drunkard, no man without an altar in his house, no ignorant person, no adulterer, much less an adulteress. I² am going to perform a sacrifice, Sirs, and as much wealth as I give to each *Ritvig* priest, I shall give to you, Sirs. Please to stay here.'

6. They replied: 'Every man ought to say for what purpose he comes. You know at present that Vaisvânara Self, tell us that.'

7. He said: 'To-morrow I shall give you an answer.' Therefore on the next morning they approached him, carrying fuel in their hands (like students), and he, without first demanding any preparatory rites³, said to them:

¹ The commentator explains that the king, seeing that they would not accept his presents, and thinking that they did not consider him worthy of bestowing presents on them, made these remarks.

² When they still refused his presents, he thought the presents he had offered were too small, and therefore invited them to a sacrifice.

³ He was satisfied with the humility of the Brahmans, who, being Brahmans, came to him, who was not a Brahman, as pupils. Gene-

TWELFTH KHANDA.

1. 'Aupamanyava, whom do you meditate on as the Self?' He replied: 'Heaven only, venerable king.' He said: 'The Self which you meditate on is the Vaisvânara Self, called Sutegas (having good light). Therefore every kind of Soma libation is seen in your house¹.

2. 'You eat food, and see your desire (a son, &c.), and whoever thus meditates on that Vaisvânara Self, eats food, sees his desire, and has Vedic glory (arising from study and sacrifice) in his house. That, however, is but the head of the Self, and thus your head would have fallen (in a discussion), if you had not come to me.'

THIRTEENTH KHANDA.

1. Then he said to Satyayagña Paulushi: 'O Prâ-
ĕtnayogya, whom do you meditate on as the Self?' He replied: 'The sun only, venerable king.' He said: 'The Self which you meditate on is the Vaisvânara Self, called Visvarûpa (multiform). Therefore much and manifold wealth is seen in your house.

2. 'There is a car with mules, full of slaves and jewels. You eat food and see your desire, and whoever thus meditates on that Vaisvânara Self, eats food and sees his desire, and has Vedic glory in his house.

'That, however, is but the eye of the Self, and you would have become blind, if you had not come to me.'

rally a pupil has first to pass through several initiatory rites before he is admitted to the benefit of his master's teaching.

¹ Soma is said to be suta in the Ekâha, prasuta in the Ahîna, âsuta in the Sattrâ-sacrifices.

FOURTEENTH KHANDA.

1. Then he said to Indradyumna Bhállaveya : 'O Vaiyāghrapadya, whom do you meditate on as the Self?' He replied : 'Air only, venerable king.' He said : 'The Self which you meditate on is the Vaisvânara Self, called Prīthagvartman (having various courses). Therefore offerings come to you in various ways, and rows of cars follow you in various ways.

2. 'You eat food and see your desire, and whoever thus meditates on that Vaisvânara Self, eats food and sees his desire, and has Vedic glory in his house.

'That, however, is but the breath of the Self, and your breath would have left you, if you had not come to me.'

FIFTEENTH KHANDA.

1. Then he said to Gana Sārkarākshya : 'Whom do you meditate on as the Self?' He replied : 'Ether only, venerable king.' He said : 'The Self which you meditate on is the Vaisvânara Self, called Bahula (full). Therefore you are full of offspring and wealth.

2. 'You eat food and see your desire, and whoever thus meditates on that Vaisvânara Self, eats food and sees his desire, and has Vedic glory in his house.

'That, however, is but the trunk of the Self, and your trunk would have perished, if you had not come to me.'

SIXTEENTH KHANDA.

1. Then he said to Buzīla Āsvatarāsvi, 'O Vaiyāghrapadya, whom do you meditate on as the Self?' He replied : 'Water only, venerable king.' He said :

‘The Self which you meditate on is the Vaisvânara Self, called Rayi (wealth). Therefore are you wealthy and flourishing.

2. ‘You eat food and see your desire, and whoever thus meditates on that Vaisvânara Self, eats food and sees his desire, and has Vedic glory in his house.

‘That, however, is but the bladder of the Self, and your bladder would have burst, if you had not come to me.’

SEVENTEENTH KHANDA.

1. Then he said to Auddâlaka Ârûni : ‘O Gautama, whom do you meditate on as the Self?’ He replied : ‘The earth only, venerable king.’ He said : ‘The Self which you meditate on is the Vaisvânara Self, called Pratiśṭhâ (firm rest). Therefore you stand firm with offspring and cattle.

2. ‘You eat food and see your desire, and whoever thus meditates on that Vaisvânara Self, eats food and sees his desire, and has Vedic glory in his house.

‘That, however, are but the feet of the Self, and your feet would have given way, if you had not come to me.’

EIGHTEENTH KHANDA.

1. Then he said to them all : ‘You eat your food, knowing that Vaisvânara Self as if it were many. But he who worships the Vaisvânara Self as a span long, and as¹ identical with himself, he eats food in all worlds, in all beings, in all Selves.

¹ The two words *prâḍesamâtra* and *abhivimâna* are doubtful. The commentator explains the first in different ways, which are all more or less fanciful. He is measured or known (*mâtra*) as Self,

2. 'Of that Vaisvânara Self the head is Sutegas (having good light), the eye Visvarûpa (multiform), the breath *Prithagvartman* (having various courses), the trunk *Bahula* (full), the bladder *Rayi* (wealth), the feet the earth, the chest the altar, the hairs the grass on the altar, the heart the *Gârhapatya* fire, the mind the *Anvâhârya* fire, the mouth the *Âhavan-tya* fire.

NINETEENTH KHANDA.

1. 'Therefore¹ the first food which a man may take, is in the place of Homa. And he who offers that first oblation, should offer it to *Prâna* (up-breathing), saying *Svâhâ*. Then *Prâna* (up-breathing) is satisfied,

2. 'If *Prâna* is satisfied, the eye is satisfied, if the eye is satisfied, the sun is satisfied, if the sun is satisfied, heaven is satisfied, if heaven is satisfied, whatever is under heaven and under the sun is satisfied. And through their satisfaction he (the sacrificer or eater) himself is satisfied with offspring, cattle, health, brightness, and Vedic splendour.

by means of heaven as his head and the earth as his feet, these being the *prâdesas*; or, in the mouth and the rest, which are instruments, he is known as without action himself; or, he has the length from heaven to earth, heaven and earth being called *prâdesa*, because they are taught. The interpretation, supported by the *Gâbâlasruti*, that *prâdesa* is the measure from the forehead to the chin, he rejects. *Abhivimâna* is taken in the same meaning as *abhimâna* in the *Vedânta*, seeing everything in oneself. *Vaisvânara* is taken as the real Self of all beings, and, in the end, of all Selves, and as thus to be known and worshipped.

¹ The object now is to show that to him who knows the *Vaisvânara* Self, the act of feeding himself is like feeding *Vaisvânara*, and that feeding *Vaisvânara* is the true *Agnihotra*.

TWENTIETH KHANDA.

1. 'And he who offers the second oblation, should offer it to Vyâna (back-breathing), saying Svâhâ. Then Vyâna is satisfied,

2. 'If Vyâna is satisfied, the ear is satisfied, if the ear is satisfied, the moon is satisfied, if the moon is satisfied, the quarters are satisfied, if the quarters are satisfied, whatever is under the quarters and under the moon is satisfied. And through their satisfaction he (the sacrificer or eater) himself is satisfied with offspring, cattle, health, brightness, and Vedic splendour.

TWENTY-FIRST KHANDA.

1. 'And he who offers the third oblation, should offer it to Apâna (down-breathing), saying Svâhâ. Then Apâna is satisfied. If Apâna is satisfied, the tongue is satisfied, if the tongue is satisfied, Agni (fire) is satisfied, if Agni is satisfied, the earth is satisfied, if the earth is satisfied, whatever is under the earth and under fire is satisfied.

2. 'And through their satisfaction he (the sacrificer or eater) himself is satisfied with offspring, cattle, health, brightness, and Vedic splendour.

TWENTY-SECOND KHANDA.

1. 'And he who offers the fourth oblation, should offer it to Samâna (on-breathing), saying Svâhâ. Then Samâna is satisfied,

2. 'If Samâna is satisfied, the mind is satisfied, if the mind is satisfied, Parganya (god of rain) is satisfied, if Parganya is satisfied, lightning is satisfied, if lightning is satisfied, whatever is under Parganya and under lightning is satisfied. And through their

satisfaction he (the sacrificer or eater) himself is satisfied with offspring, cattle, health, brightness, and Vedic splendour.

TWENTY-THIRD KHANDA.

1. 'And he who offers the fifth oblation, should offer it to Udâna (out-breathing), saying Svâhâ. Then Udâna is satisfied,

2. 'If Udâna is satisfied, Vâyu (air) is satisfied, if Vâyu is satisfied, ether is satisfied, if ether is satisfied, whatever is under Vâyu and under the ether is satisfied. And through their satisfaction he (the sacrificer or eater) himself is satisfied with offspring, cattle, health, brightness, and Vedic splendour.

TWENTY-FOURTH KHANDA.

1. 'If, without knowing this, one offers an Agnihotra, it would be as if a man were to remove the live coals and pour his libation on dead ashes.

2. 'But he who offers this Agnihotra with a full knowledge of its true purport, he offers it (i.e. he eats food)¹ in all worlds, in all beings, in all Selves.

3. 'As the soft fibres of the Ishîkâ reed, when thrown into the fire, are burnt, thus all his sins are burnt whoever offers this Agnihotra with a full knowledge of its true purport.

4. 'Even if he gives what is left of his food to a *Kandâla*, it would be offered in his (the *Kandâla*'s) Vaisvânara Self. And so it is said in this Sloka :—

'As hungry children here on earth sit (expectantly) round their mother, so do all beings sit round the Agnihotra, yea, round the Agnihotra.'

¹ Cf. V, 18, 1.

SIXTH PRAPĀTHAKA.

FIRST KHANDA.

i/ i/ 1. Hari~~h~~, Om. There lived once Svetaketu Āruneya (the grandson of Arun~~a~~). To him his father (Uddālaka, the son of Arun~~a~~) said: 'Svetaketu, go to school; for there is none belonging to our race, darling, who, not having studied (the Veda), is, as it were, a Brāhmaṇa by birth only.'

2. Having begun his apprenticeship (with a teacher) when he was twelve years of age¹, Svetaketu returned to his father, when he was twenty-four, having then studied all the Vedas,—conceited, considering himself well-read, and stern.

3. His father said to him: 'Svetaketu, as you are so conceited, considering yourself so well-read, and so stern, my dear, have you ever asked for that instruction by which we hear what cannot be heard, by which we perceive what cannot be perceived, by which we know what cannot be known?'

4. 'What is that instruction, Sir?' he asked.

The father replied: 'My dear, as by one clod of clay all that is made of clay is known, the difference² being only a name, arising from speech, but the truth being that all is clay;

5. 'And as, my dear, by one nugget of gold³

¹ This was rather late, for the son of a Brahman might have begun his studies when he was seven years old. Āpastamba-sūtras I, 1, 18. Twelve years was considered the right time for mastering one of the Vedas.

² Vikāra, difference, variety, change, by form and name, development, cf. VI, 3, 3.

³ The commentator takes lohamāṇi here as suvarṇapinda.

all that is made of gold is known, the difference being only a name, arising from speech, but the truth being that all is gold?

6. 'And as, my dear, by one pair of nail-scissors all that is made of iron (*kârshnâyasam*) is known, the difference being only a name, arising from speech, but the truth being that all is iron,—thus, my dear, is that instruction.'

7. The son said: 'Surely those venerable men (my teachers) did not know that. For if they had known it, why should they not have told it me? Do you, Sir, therefore tell me that.' 'Be it so,' said the father.

SECOND KHANDA ¹.

1. 'In the beginning,' my dear, 'there was that only which is (*τὸ ὅν*), one only, without a second. Others say, in the beginning there was that only which is not (*τὸ μὴ ὅν*), one only, without a second; and from that which is not, that which is was born.

2. 'But how could it be thus, my dear?' the father continued. 'How could that which is, be born of that which is not? No, my dear, only that which is, was in the beginning, one only, without a second.

3. 'It thought⁽²⁾ may I be many, may I grow forth. It sent forth fire³.

¹ Cf. Taitt. Up. II, 6.

⁽²⁾ Literally, it saw. This verb is explained as showing that the Sat is conscious, not unconscious (*bewusst, nicht unbewusst*).

³ In other Upanishads the Sat produces first *âkâśa*, ether, then *vâyu*, air, and then only *tegas*, fire. Fire is a better rendering for *tegas* than light or heat. See Jacobi, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenl. Gesellschaft*, XXIX, p. 242. The difficulties, however, of

‘That fire’¹ thought, may I be many, may I grow forth. It sent forth water².

‘And therefore whenever anybody anywhere is hot and perspires, water is produced on him from fire alone.

4. ‘Water thought, may I be many, may I grow forth. It sent forth earth’³ (food).

‘Therefore whenever it rains anywhere, most food is then produced. From water alone is eatable food produced.

THIRD KHANDA.

1. ‘Of all living things there are indeed three origins only’⁴, that which springs from an egg (oviparous), that which springs from a living being (viviparous), and that which springs from a germ.

2. ‘That Being’⁵ (i. e. that which had produced fire, water, and earth) thought, let me now enter those three beings⁶ (fire, water, earth) with this living

accurately translating *tegas* are not removed by rendering it by fire, as may be seen immediately afterward in VI, 4, 1, where *tegas* is said to supply the red colour of *agni*, the burning fire, not the god of fire. See also VI, 8, 6. In later philosophical treatises the meaning of *tegas* is more carefully determined than in the Upanishads.

¹ Really the *Sat*, in the form of fire. Fire is whatever burns, cooks, shines, and is red.

² By water is meant all that is fluid, and bright in colour.

³ By *anna*, food, is here meant the earth, and all that is heavy, firm, dark in colour.

⁴ In the *Ait. Up.* four are mentioned, *andaga*, here *ândaga*, *gâruga* (i. e. *garâyuga*), here *gîvaga*, *svedaga*, and *udbhigga*, *svedaga*, born from heat, being additional. Cf. *Atharva-veda* I, 12, 1.

⁵ The text has *devatâ*, deity; here used in a very general sense. The *Sat*, though it has produced fire, water, and earth, has not yet obtained its wish of becoming many.

Self (*gīva âtmâ*)¹, and let me then reveal (develop) names and forms.

3. 'Then that Being having said, Let me make each of these three tripartite (so that fire, water, and earth should each have itself for its principal ingredient, besides an admixture of the other two) entered into those three beings (*devatâ*) with this living self only, and revealed names and forms.

4. 'He made each of these tripartite; and how these three beings become each of them tripartite, that learn from me now, my friend!

FOURTH KHANDA.

1. 'The red colour of burning fire (*agni*) is the colour of fire, the white colour of fire is the colour of water, the black colour of fire the colour of earth. Thus vanishes what we call fire, as a mere variety, being a name, arising from speech. What is true (*satya*) are the three colours (or forms).

2. 'The red colour of the sun (*âditya*) is the colour of fire, the white of water, the black of earth. Thus vanishes what we call the sun, as a mere variety, being a name, arising from speech. What is true are the three colours.

3. 'The red colour of the moon is the colour of fire, the white of water, the black of earth. Thus vanishes what we call the moon, as a mere variety, being a name, arising from speech. What is true are the three colours.

4. 'The red colour of the lightning is the colour of fire, the white of water, the black of earth. Thus

¹ This living self is only a shadow, as it were, of the Highest Self; and as the sun, reflected in the water, does not suffer from the movement of the water, the real Self does not suffer pleasure or pain on earth, but the living self only.

vanishes what we call the lightning, as a mere variety, being a name, arising from speech. What is true are the three colours.

5. 'Great householders and great theologians of olden times who knew this, have declared the same, saying, "No one can henceforth mention to us anything which we have not heard, perceived, or known¹." Out of these (three colours or forms) they knew all.

6. 'Whatever they thought looked red, they knew was the colour of fire. Whatever they thought looked white, they knew was the colour of water. Whatever they thought looked black, they knew was the colour of earth.

7. 'Whatever they thought was altogether unknown, they knew was some combination of those three beings (devatâ).

'Now learn from me, my friend, how those three beings, when they reach man, become each of them tripartite.

FIFTH KHANDA.

1. 'The earth (food) when eaten becomes threefold; its grossest portion becomes feces, its middle portion flesh, its subtilest portion mind.

2. 'Water when drunk becomes threefold; its grossest portion becomes water, its middle portion blood, its subtilest portion breath.

3. 'Fire (i. e. in oil, butter, &c.) when eaten becomes threefold; its grossest portion becomes bone, its middle portion marrow, its subtilest portion speech².

¹ This reminds one of the Aristotelian *διὰ γὰρ ταῦτα καὶ ἐκ τούτων πάντα γινώσκεται, ἀλλ' οὐ ταῦτα διὰ τῶν ὑποκειμένων*.

² Food, water, and fire are each to be taken as tripartite; hence animals which live on one of the three elements only, still share in some measure the qualities of the other elements also.

4. 'For truly, my child, mind comes of earth, breath of water, speech of fire.'

'Please, Sir, inform me still more,' said the son.

'Be it so, my child,' the father replied.

SIXTH KHANDA.

1. 'That which is the subtile portion of curds, when churned, rises upwards, and becomes butter.

2. 'In the same manner, my child, the subtile portion of earth (food), when eaten, rises upwards, and becomes mind.

3. 'That which is the subtile portion of water, when drunk, rises upwards, and becomes breath.

4. 'That which is the subtile portion of fire, when consumed, rises upwards, and becomes speech.

5. 'For mind, my child, comes of earth, breath of water, speech of fire.'

'Please, Sir, inform me still more,' said the son.

'Be it so, my child,' the father replied.

SEVENTH KHANDA.

1. 'Man (purusha), my son, consists of sixteen parts. Abstain from food for fifteen days, but drink as much water as you like, for breath comes from water, and will not be cut off, if you drink water.'

2. Svetaketu abstained from food for fifteen days. Then he came to his father and said: 'What shall I say?' The father said: 'Repeat the *Rik*, *Yagus*, and *Sâman* verses.' He replied: 'They do not occur to me, Sir.'

3. The father said to him: 'As of a great lighted fire one coal only of the size of a firefly may be left, which would not burn much more than this (i.e. very

little), thus, my dear son, one part only of the sixteen parts (of you) is left, and therefore with that one part you do not remember the Vedas. Go and eat!

4. 'Then wilt thou understand me.' Then Svetaketu ate, and afterwards approached his father. And whatever his father asked him, he knew it all by heart. Then his father said to him :

5. 'As of a great lighted fire one coal of the size of a firefly, if left, may be made to blaze up again by putting grass upon it, and will thus burn more than this,

6. 'Thus, my dear son, there was one part of the sixteen parts left to you, and that, lighted up with food, burnt up, and by it you remember now the Vedas.' After that, he understood what his father meant when he said : 'Mind, my son, comes from food, breath from water, speech from fire.' He understood what he said, yea, he understood it¹.

EIGHTH KHANDA.

1. Uddâlaka Âruṇi said to his son Svetaketu : 'Learn from me the true nature of sleep (svapna). When a man sleeps here, then, my dear son, he becomes united with the True², he is gone to his

¹ The repetition shows that the teaching of the Trivṛttikarṇa, the tripartite nature of things, is ended.

² The deep sushupta sleep is meant, in which personal consciousness is lost, and the self for a time absorbed in the Highest Self. Sleep is produced by fatigue. Speech, mind, and the senses rest, breath only remains awake, and the *gîva*, the living soul, in order to recover from his fatigue, returns for a while to his true Self (*âtma*). The Sat must be taken as a substance, nay, as the highest substance or subject, the Brahman. The whole purpose of the Upanishad is obscured if we translate sat or satyam by truth, instead of the True, the true one, τὸ ὄντως ὄν.

own (Self). Therefore they say, svapiti, he sleeps, because he is gone (ap̥ta) to his own (sva)¹.

2. 'As a bird when tied by a string flies first in every direction, and finding no rest anywhere, settles down at last on the very place where it is fastened, exactly in the same manner, my son, that mind (the *g̐tva*, or living Self in the mind, see VI, 3, 2), after flying in every direction, and finding no rest anywhere, settles down on breath²; for indeed, my son, mind is fastened to breath.

3. 'Learn from me, my son, what are hunger and thirst. When a man is thus said to be hungry, water is carrying away (digests) what has been eaten by him. Therefore as they speak of a cow-leader (*go-nāya*), a horse-leader (*asva-nāya*), a man-leader (*purusha-nāya*), so they call water (which digests food and causes hunger) food-leader (*asa-nāya*). Thus (by food digested &c.), my son, know this offshoot (the body) to be brought forth, for this (body) could not be without a root (cause).

4. 'And where could its root be except in food (earth)³? And in the same manner, my son, as

¹ This is one of the many recognised plays on words in the Upanishads and the Vedānta philosophy. Svapiti, he sleeps, stands for *sva* (his own), i.e. the self, and *ap̥ta*, gone to.

² The commentator takes *prāna* here in the sense of Sat, which it often has elsewhere. If so, this illustration would have the same object as the preceding one. If we took *prāna* in the sense of breath, breath being the result of water, this paragraph might be taken to explain the resignation of the living Self to its bondage to breath, while on earth.

³ That food is the root of the body is shown by the commentator in the following way: Food when softened by water and digested becomes a fluid, blood (*sonita*). From it comes flesh, from flesh fat, from fat bones, from bones marrow, from marrow seed. Food eaten by a woman becomes equally blood (*lohita*),

food (earth) too is an offshoot, seek after its root, viz. water. And as water too is an offshoot, seek after its root, viz. fire. And as fire too is an offshoot, seek after its root, viz. the True. Yes, all these creatures, my son, have their root in the True, they dwell in the True, they rest in the True.

5. 'When a man is thus said to be thirsty, fire carries away what has been drunk by him. Therefore as they speak of a cow-leader (go-nâya), of a horse-leader (asva-nâya), of a man-leader (purusha-nâya), so they call fire udanyâ, thirst, i.e. water-leader. Thus (by water digested &c.), my son, know this offshoot (the body) to be brought forth : this (body) could not be without a root (cause).

6. 'And where could its root be except in water? As water is an offshoot, seek after its root, viz. fire. As fire is an offshoot, seek after its root, viz. the True. Yes, all these creatures, O son, have their root in the True, they dwell in the True, they rest in the True.

'And how these three beings (devatâ), fire, water, earth, O son, when they reach man, become each of them tripartite, has been said before (VI, 4, 7). When a man departs from hence, his speech¹ is merged

and from seed and blood combined the new body is produced. We must always have before us the genealogical table :—

Sat, तद ऽयं.

|

Tegas (fire)=Vâk (speech).

|

Ap (water)=Prâna (breath).

|

Anna (earth)=Manas (mind).

¹ If a man dies, the first thing which his friends say is, He speaks no more. Then, he understands no more. Then, he moves no more. Then, he is cold.

in his mind, his mind in his breath, his breath in heat (fire), heat in the Highest Being.

7. 'Now that which is that subtile essence (the root of all), in it all that exists has its self. It is the True. It is the Self, and thou, O Svetaketu, art it.'

'Please, Sir, inform me still more,' said the son.

'Be it so, my child,' the father replied.

NINTH KHANDA.

1. 'As the bees¹, my son, make honey by collecting the juices of distant trees, and reduce the juice into one form,

2. 'And as these juices have no discrimination, so that they might say, I am the juice of this tree or that, in the same manner, my son, all these creatures, when they have become merged in the True (either in deep sleep or in death), know not that they are merged in the True.

3. 'Whatever these creatures are here, whether a lion, or a wolf, or a boar, or a worm, or a midge, or a gnat, or a musquito, that they become again and again.

4. 'Now that which is that subtile essence, in it all that exists has its self. It is the True. It is the Self, and thou, O Svetaketu, art it.'

'Please, Sir, inform me still more,' said the son.

'Be it so, my child,' the father replied.

¹ At the beginning of each chapter the commentator supplies the question which the son is supposed to have asked his father. The first is: All creatures falling every day into deep sleep (su-shupti) obtain thereby the Sat, the true being. How is it then that they do not know that they obtain the Sat every day?

TENTH KHANDA¹.

1. 'These rivers, my son, run, the eastern (like the Gangâ) toward the east, the western (like the Sindhu) toward the west. They go from sea to sea (i. e. the clouds lift up the water from the sea to the sky, and send it back as rain to the sea). They become indeed sea. And as those rivers, when they are in the sea, do not know, I am this or that river,

2. 'In the same manner, my son, all these creatures, when they have come back from the True, know not that they have come back from the True. Whatever these creatures are here, whether a lion, or a wolf, or a boar, or a worm, or a midge, or a gnat, or a musquito, that they become again and again.

3. 'That which is that subtile essence, in it all that exists has its self. It is the True. It is the Self, and thou, O Svetaketu, art it.'

'Please, Sir, inform me still more,' said the son.

'Be it so, my child,' the father replied.

ELEVENTH KHANDA².

1. 'If some one were to strike at the root of this large tree here, it would bleed, but live. If he were to strike at its stem, it would bleed, but live. If he were to strike at its top, it would bleed, but live.

¹ The next question which the son is supposed to have asked is: If a man who has slept in his own house, rises and goes to another village, he knows that he has come from his own house. Why then do people not know that they have come from the Sat?

² The next question is: Waves, foam, and bubbles arise from the water, and when they merge again in the water, they are gone. How is it that living beings, when in sleep or death they are merged again in the Sat, are not destroyed?

Pervaded by the living Self that tree stands firm, drinking in its nourishment and rejoicing ;

2. ' But if the life (the living Self) leaves one of its branches, that branch withers ; if it leaves a second, that branch withers ; if it leaves a third, that branch withers. If it leaves the whole tree, the whole tree withers ¹. In exactly the same manner, my son, know this.' Thus he spoke :

3. ' This (body) indeed withers and dies when the living Self has left it ; the living Self dies not.

' That which is that subtile essence, in it all that exists has its self. It is the True. It is the Self, and thou, Svetaketu, art it.'

' Please, Sir, inform me still more,' said the son.

' Be it so, my child,' the father replied.

¹ The commentator remarks that according to the Veda, trees are conscious, while Buddhists and followers of Kanâda hold them to be unconscious. They live, because one sees how their sap runs and how it dries up, just as one sees the sap in a living body, which, as we saw, was produced by food and water. Therefore the simile holds good. The life, or, more correctly, the liver, the living Self, pervades the tree, as it pervades man, when it has entered the organism which produces breath, mind, and speech. If any accident happens to a branch, the living Self draws himself away from that branch, and then the branch withers. The sap which caused the living Self to remain, goes, and the living Self goes away with it. The same applies to the whole tree. The tree dies when the living Self leaves it, but the living Self does not die ; it only leaves an abode which it had before occupied. Some other illustrations, to show that the living Self remains, are added by the commentator : First, with regard to the living Self being the same when it awakes from deep sleep (sushupti), he remarks that we remember quite well that we have left something unfinished before we fell asleep. And then with regard to the living Self being the same when it awakes from death to a new life, he shows that creatures, as soon as they are born take the breast, and exhibit terror, which can only be explained, as he supposes, by their possessing a recollection of a former state of existence.

TWELFTH KHANDA¹.

1. 'Fetch me from thence a fruit of the Nyagrodha tree.'

'Here is one, Sir.'

'Break it.'

'It is broken, Sir.'

'What do you see there?'

'These seeds, almost infinitesimal.'

'Break one of them.'

'It is broken, Sir.'

'What do you see there?'

'Not anything, Sir.'

2. The father said : 'My son, that subtle essence which you do not perceive there, of that very essence this great Nyagrodha tree exists.'

3. 'Believe it, my son. That which is the subtle essence, in it all that exists has its self. It is the True. It is the Self, and thou, O Svetaketu, art it.'

'Please, Sir, inform me still more,' said the son.

'Be it so, my child,' the father replied.

THIRTEENTH KHANDA².

1. 'Place this salt in water, and then wait on me in the morning.'

The son did as he was commanded.

The father said to him : 'Bring me the salt, which you placed in the water last night.'

¹ The question which the son is supposed to have asked is : How can this universe which has the form and name of earth &c. be produced from the Sat which is subtle, and has neither form nor name ?

² The question here is supposed to have been : If the Sat is the root of all that exists, why is it not perceived ?

The son having looked for it, found it not, for, of course, it was melted.

2. The father said : 'Taste it from the surface of the water. How is it?'

The son replied : 'It is salt.'

'Taste it from the middle. How is it?'

The son replied : 'It is salt.'

'Taste it from the bottom. How is it?'

The son replied : 'It is salt.'

The father said : 'Throw it away¹ and then wait on me.'

He did so ; but salt exists for ever.

Then the father said : 'Here also, in this body, forsooth, you do not perceive the True (Sat), my son ; but there indeed it is.

3. 'That which is the subtile essence, in it all that exists has its self. It is the True. It is the Self, and thou, O Svetaketu, art it.'

'Please, Sir, inform me still more,' said the son.

'Be it so, my child,' the father replied.

FOURTEENTH KHANDA².

1. 'As one might lead a person with his eyes covered away from the Gandhâras³, and leave him

¹ Read abhiprâsya, which is evidently intended by the commentary : abhiprâyasya parityagya. See B. R. Sanskrit Dictionary, s. v.

² The question here asked is : The salt, though no longer perceptible by means of sight or touch, could be discovered by taste. Then how can the Sat be discovered, although it is imperceptible by all the senses?

³ The Gandhâras, but rarely mentioned in the Rig-veda and the Ait. Brâhmaṇa, have left their name in Kāvḍapoi and Candahar. The fact of their name being evidently quite familiar to the author of the Upanishad might be used to prove either its antiquity or its Northern origin.

then in a place where there are no human beings; and as that person would turn towards the east, or the north, or the west, and shout, "I have been brought here with my eyes covered, I have been left here with my eyes covered,"

2. 'And as thereupon some one might loose his bandage and say to him, "Go in that direction, it is Gandhâra, go in that direction;" and as thereupon, having been informed and being able to judge for himself, he would by asking his way from village to village arrive at last at Gandhâra,—in exactly the same manner does a man, who meets with a teacher to inform him, obtain the true knowledge¹. For him

¹ Tedious as the commentator is in general, he is sometimes almost eloquent in bringing out all that is implied or supposed to be implied in the sacred text. He explains the last simile as follows: A man was carried away by robbers from his own country. After his eyes had been covered, he was taken to a forest full of terrors and dangers arising from tigers, robbers, &c. Not knowing where he was, and suffering from hunger and thirst, he began to cry, wishing to be delivered from his bonds. Then a man took pity on him and removed his bonds, and when he had returned to his home, he was happy. Next follows the application. Our real home is the True (Sat), the Self of the world. The forest into which we are driven is the body, made of the three elements, fire, water, earth, consisting of blood, flesh, bones, &c., and liable to cold, heat, and many other evils. The bands with which our eyes are covered are our desires for many things, real or unreal, such as wife, children, cattle, &c., while the robbers by whom we are driven into the forest are our good and evil deeds. Then we cry and say: 'I am the son of so and so, these are my relatives, I am happy, I am miserable, I am foolish, I am wise, I am just, I am born, I am dead, I am old, I am wretched, my son is dead, my fortune is gone, I am undone, how shall I live, where shall I go, who will save me?' These and hundreds and thousands of other evils are the bands which blind us. Then, owing to some supererogatory good works we may have done, we suddenly meet a man who knows the Self of Brahman, whose own bonds have been broken, who takes pity on us and shows us the way to see the evil which attaches to all

there is only delay so long as he is not delivered (from the body); then he will be perfect¹.

3. 'That which is the subtile essence, in it all that exists has its self. It is the True. It is the Self, and thou, O Svetaketu, art it.'

'Please, Sir, inform me still more,' said the son.

'Be it so, my child,' the father replied.

FIFTEENTH KHANDA².

1. 'If a man is ill, his relatives assemble round him and ask: "Dost thou know me? Dost thou know me?" Now as long as his speech is not

that we love in this world. We then withdraw ourselves from all worldly pleasures. We learn that we are not mere creatures of the world, the son of so and so, &c., but that we are that which is the True (Sat). The bands of our ignorance and blindness are removed, and, like the man of Gandhâra, we arrive at our own home, the Self, or the True. Then we are happy and blessed.

¹ The last words are really—'for him there is only delay so long as I shall not be delivered; then I shall be perfect.' This requires some explanation. First of all, the change from the third to the first person, is best explained by assuming that at the point where all individuality vanishes, the father, as teacher, identifies himself with the person of whom he is speaking.

The delay (the *kira* or *kshepa*) of which he speaks is the time which passes between the attainment of true knowledge and death, or freedom from the effects of actions performed before the attainment of knowledge. The actions which led to our present embodiment must be altogether consumed, before the body can perish, and then only are we free. As to any actions performed after the attainment of knowledge, they do not count; otherwise there would be a new embodiment, and the attainment of even true knowledge would never lead to final deliverance.

² The question supposed to be asked is: By what degrees a man, who has been properly instructed in the knowledge of Brahman, obtains the Sat, or returns to the True. To judge from the text both he who knows the True and he who does not, reach, when they die, the Sat, passing from speech to mind and breath and heat (fire). But whereas he who knows, remains in the Sat, they who do not

merged in his mind, his mind in breath, breath in heat (fire), heat in the Highest Being (devatâ), he knows them.

2. 'But when his speech is merged in his mind, his mind in breath, breath in heat (fire), heat in the Highest Being, then he knows them not.

'That which is the subtle essence, in it all that exists has its self. It is the True. It is the Self, and thou, O Svetaketu, art it.'

'Please, Sir, inform me still more,' said the son.

'Be it so, my child,' the father replied.

SIXTEENTH KHANDA¹.

1. 'My child, they bring a man hither whom they have taken by the hand, and they say: "He has taken something, he has committed a theft." (When

know, return again to a new form of existence. It is important to observe that the commentator denies that he who knows, passes at his death through the artery of the head to the sun, and then to the Sat. He holds that with him who knows there is no further cause for delay, and that as soon as he dies, he returns to the Sat.

¹ The next question is: Why does he who knows, on obtaining the Sat, not return, while he who does not know, though obtaining the Sat in death, returns? An illustration is chosen which is intended to show how knowledge produces a material effect. The belief in the efficacy of ordeals must have existed at the time, and appealing to that belief, the teacher says that the man who knows himself guilty, is really burnt by the heated iron, while the man who knows himself innocent, is not. In the same manner the man who knows his Self to be the true Self, on approaching after death the true Self, is not repelled and sent back into a new existence, while he who does not know, is sent back into a new round of births and deaths. The man who tells a falsehood about himself, loses his true Self and is burnt; the man who has a false conception about his Self, loses likewise his true Self, and not knowing the true Self, even though approaching it in death, he has to suffer till he acquires some day the true knowledge.

he denies, they say), "Heat the hatchet for him." If he committed the theft, then he makes himself to be what he is not. Then the false-minded, having covered his true Self by a falsehood, grasps the heated hatchet—he is burnt, and he is killed.

2. 'But if he did not commit the theft, then he makes himself to be what he is. Then the true-minded, having covered his true Self by truth, grasps the heated hatchet—he is not burnt, and he is delivered.

'As that (truthful) man is not burnt, thus has all that exists its self in That. It is the True. It is the Self, and thou, O Svetaketu, art it.' He understood what he said, yea, he understood it.

SEVENTH PRAPÂTHAKA.

FIRST KHANDA.

1. Nârada approached Sanatkumâra and said, 'Teach me, Sir!' Sanatkumâra said to him: 'Please to tell me what you know; afterward I shall tell you what is beyond.'

2. Nârada said: 'I know the *Rig-veda*, Sir, the *Yagur-veda*, the *Sâma-veda*, as the fourth the *Âtharvâna*, as the fifth the *Itihâsa-purâna* (the *Bhârata*); the *Veda* of the *Vedas* (grammar); the *Pitrya* (the rules for the sacrifices for the ancestors); the *Râsi* (the science of numbers); the *Daiva* (the science of portents); the *Nidhi* (the science of time); the *Vâkovâkya* (logic); the *Ekâyana* (ethics); the *Devavidyâ* (etymology); the *Brahma-vidyâ* (pronunciation, *sikshâ*, ceremonial, *kalpa*, prosody, *khandas*); the *Bhûta-vidyâ* (the science of demons); the *Kshatra-*

vidyâ (the science of weapons); the Nakshatra-vidyâ (astronomy); the Sarpa and Devagana-vidyâ (the science of serpents or poisons, and the sciences of the genii, such as the making of perfumes, dancing, singing, playing, and other fine arts)¹. All this I know, Sir.

3. 'But, Sir, with all this I know the Mantras only, the sacred books, I do not know the Self. I have heard from men like you, that he who knows the Self overcomes grief. I am in grief. Do, Sir, help me over this grief of mine.'

Sanatkumâra said to him: 'Whatever you have read, is only a name.

4. 'A name is the *Rig-veda*, *Yagur-veda*, *Sâma-veda*, and as the fourth the *Âtharvâna*, as the fifth the *Itihâsa-purâna*, the Veda of the Vedas, the *Pitrya*, the *Râsi*, the *Daiva*, the *Nidhi*, the *Vâko-vâkyâ*, the *Ekâyana*, the *Deva-vidyâ*, the *Brahma-vidyâ*, the *Bhûta-vidyâ*, the *Kshatra-vidyâ*, the *Nakshatra-vidyâ*, the *Sarpa* and *Devagana-vidyâ*. All these are a name only. Meditate on the name.

5. 'He who meditates on the name as Brahman²,

¹ This passage, exhibiting the sacred literature as known at the time, should be compared with the *Brîhadâraṇyaka*, II, 4, 10. The explanation of the old titles rests on the authority of Saṅkara, and he is not always consistent. See Colebrooke, *Miscellaneous Essays*, 1873, II, p. 10.

² Why a man who knows the Veda should not know the Self, while in other places it is said that the Veda teaches the Self, is well illustrated by the commentary. If a royal procession approaches, he says, then, though we do not see the king, because he is hidden by flags, parasols, &c., yet we say, there is the king. And if we ask who is the king, then again, though we cannot see him and point him out, we can say, at least, that he is different from all that is seen. The Self is hidden in the Veda as a king is hidden in a royal procession.

is, as it were, lord and master as far as the name reaches—he who meditates on the name as Brahman.’

‘Sir, is there something better than a name?’

‘Yes, there is something better than a name.’

‘Sir, tell it me.’

SECOND KHANDA.

1. ‘Speech is better than a name. Speech makes us understand the *Rig-veda*, *Yagur-veda*, *Sâma-veda*, and as the fourth the *Âtharvâna*, as the fifth the *Itihâsa-purâna*, the Veda of the Vedas, the *Pitrya*, the *Râsi*, the *Daiva*, the *Nidhi*, the *Vâkovâkya*, the *Ekâyana*, the *Deva-vidyâ*, the *Brahma-vidyâ*, the *Kshatra-vidyâ*, the *Nakshatra-vidyâ*, the *Sarpa* and *Devagana-vidyâ*; heaven, earth, air, ether, water, fire, gods, men, cattle, birds, herbs, trees, all beasts down to worms, midges, and ants; what is right and what is wrong; what is true and what is false; what is good and what is bad; what is pleasing and what is not pleasing. For if there were no speech, neither right nor wrong would be known¹, neither the true nor the false, neither the good nor the bad, neither the pleasant nor the unpleasant. Speech makes us understand all this. Meditate on speech.

2. ‘He who meditates on speech as Brahman, is, as it were, lord and master as far as speech reaches—he who meditates on speech as Brahman.’

‘Sir, is there something better than speech?’

‘Yes, there is something better than speech.’

‘Sir, tell it me.’

¹ The commentator explains *vyagñâpayishyat* by *avigñâtam abhavishyat*. Possibly *hridayagñô* stands for *hridayagñam*.

THIRD KHANDA.

1. 'Mind (manas) is better than speech. For as the closed fist holds two amalaka or two kola or two aksha fruits, thus does mind hold speech and name. For if a man is minded in his mind to read the sacred hymns, he reads them ; if he is minded in his mind to perform any actions, he performs them ; if he is minded to wish for sons and cattle, he wishes for them ; if he is minded to wish for this world and the other, he wishes for them. For mind is indeed the self¹, mind is the world, mind is Brahman. Meditate on the mind.

2. 'He who meditates on the mind as Brahman, is, as it were, lord and master as far as the mind reaches—he who meditates on the mind as Brahman.'

'Sir, is there something better than mind ?'

'Yes, there is something better than mind.'

'Sir, tell it me.'

FOURTH KHANDA.

1. 'Will² (saṅkalpa) is better than mind. For when a man wills, then he thinks in his mind, then he sends forth speech, and he sends it forth in a name. In a name the sacred hymns are contained, in the sacred hymns all sacrifices.

2. 'All these therefore (beginning with mind and

¹ The commentator explains this by saying that, without the instrument of the mind, the Self cannot act or enjoy.

² Saṅkalpa is elsewhere defined as a modification of manas. The commentator says that, like thinking, it is an activity of the inner organ. It is difficult to find any English term exactly corresponding to saṅkalpa. Rajendralal Mitra translates it by will, but it implies not only will, but at the same time conception, determination, and desire.

ending in sacrifice) centre in will, consist of will, abide in will. Heaven and earth willed, air and ether willed, water and fire willed. Through the will of heaven and earth &c. rain wills; through the will of rain food wills; through the will of food the vital airs will; through the will of the vital airs the sacred hymns will; through the will of the sacred hymns the sacrifices will; through the will of the sacrifices the world (as their reward) wills; through the will of the world everything wills¹. This is will. Meditate on will.

3. 'He who meditates on will as Brahman, he, being himself safe, firm, and undistressed, obtains the safe, firm, and undistressed worlds which he has willed; he is, as it were, lord and master as far as will reaches—he who meditates on will as Brahman.'

'Sir, is there something better than will?'

'Yes, there is something better than will.'

'Sir, tell it me.'

FIFTH KHANDA.

1. 'Consideration (*kitta*)² is better than will. For when a man considers, then he wills, then he thinks in his mind, then he sends forth speech, and he

¹ This paragraph is obscure. The text seems doubtful, for instance, in *samak/îpatâm*, *samakalpetâm*, and *samakalpatâm*. Then the question is the exact meaning of *samk/îptyai*, which must be taken as an instrumental case. What is intended is that, without rain, food is impossible &c. or inconceivable; but the text says, 'By the will of rain food wills,' &c. Will seems almost to be taken here in the sense in which modern philosophers use it, as a kind of creative will. By the will of rain food wills, would mean, that first rain wills and exists, and afterwards the vital airs will and exist, &c.

² *Kitta*, thought, implies here consideration and reflection.

sends it forth in a name. In a name the sacred hymns are contained, in the sacred hymns all sacrifices.

2. 'All these (beginning with mind and ending in sacrifice) centre in consideration, consist of consideration, abide in consideration. Therefore if a man is inconsiderate, even if he possesses much learning, people say of him, he is nothing, whatever he may know; for, if he were learned, he would not be so inconsiderate. But if a man is considerate, even though he knows but little, to him indeed do people listen gladly. Consideration is the centre, consideration is the self, consideration is the support of all these. Meditate on consideration.

3. 'He who meditates on consideration as Brahman, he, being himself safe, firm, and undistressed, obtains the safe, firm, and undistressed worlds which he has considered; he is, as it were, lord and master as far as consideration reaches—he who meditates on consideration as Brahman.'

'Sir, is there something better than consideration?'

'Yes, there is something better than consideration.'

'Sir, tell it me.'

SIXTH KHANDA.

1. 'Reflection (dhyâna)¹ is better than consideration. The earth reflects, as it were, and thus does the sky, the heaven, the water, the mountains, gods and men. Therefore those who among men obtain

¹ Reflection is concentration of all our thoughts on one object, *ekâgratâ*. And as a man who reflects and meditates on the highest objects acquires thereby repose, becomes firm and immovable, so the earth is supposed to be in repose and immovable, as it were, by reflection and meditation.

greatness here on earth, seem to have obtained a part of the object of reflection (because they show a certain repose of manner). Thus while small and vulgar people are always quarrelling, abusive, and slandering, great men seem to have obtained a part of the reward of reflection. Meditate on reflection.

2. 'He who meditates on reflection as Brahman, is lord and master, as it were, as far as reflection reaches—he who meditates on reflection as Brahman.'

'Sir, is there something better than reflection?'

'Yes, there is something better than reflection.'

'Sir, tell it me.'

SEVENTH KHANDA.

1. 'Understanding (*vignāna*) is better than reflection. Through understanding we understand the *Rig-veda*, the *Yagur-veda*, the *Sāma-veda*, and as the fourth the *Ātharvāna*, as the fifth the *Itihāsa-purāṇa*¹, the Veda of the Vedas, the *Pitrya*, the *Rāsi*, the *Daiva*, the *Nidhi*, the *Vākovākya*, the *Ekāyana*, the *Deva-vidyā*, the *Brahma-vidyā*, the *Bhūta-vidyā*, the *Kshatra-vidyā*, the *Nakshatra-vidyā*, the *Sarpa* and *Devagana-vidyā*, heaven, earth, air, ether, water, fire, gods, men, cattle, birds, herbs, trees, all beasts down to worms, midges, and ants; what is right and what is wrong; what is true and what is false; what is good and what is bad; what is pleasing and what is not pleasing; food and savour, this world and that, all this we understand through understanding. Meditate on understanding.

2. 'He who meditates on understanding as Brahman, reaches the worlds where there is understanding

¹ See before, p. 109.

and knowledge¹; he is, as it were, lord and master as far as understanding reaches—he who meditates on understanding as Brahman.'

'Sir, is there something better than understanding?'

'Yes, there is something better than understanding.'

'Sir, tell it me.'

EIGHTH KHANDA.

1. 'Power (bala) is better than understanding. One powerful man shakes a hundred men of understanding. If a man is powerful, he becomes a rising man. If he rises, he becomes a man who visits wise people. If he visits, he becomes a follower of wise people. If he follows them, he becomes a seeing, a hearing, a perceiving, a knowing, a doing, an understanding man. By power the earth stands firm, and the sky, and the heaven, and the mountains, gods and men, cattle, birds, herbs, trees, all beasts down to worms, midges, and ants; by power the world stands firm. Meditate on power.

2. 'He who meditates on power as Brahman, is, as it were, lord and master as far as power reaches—he who meditates on power as Brahman.'

'Sir, is there something better than power?'

'Yes, there is something better than power.'

'Sir, tell it me.'

NINTH KHANDA.

1. 'Food (anna) is better than power. Therefore if a man abstain from food for ten days, though he live, he would be unable to see, hear, perceive, think, act, and understand. But when he obtains

¹ The commentator takes *vigñāna* here as understanding of sacred books, *gñāna* as cleverness with regard to other subjects.

food, he is able to see, hear, perceive, think, act, and understand. Meditate on food.

2. 'He who meditates on food as Brahman, obtains the worlds rich in food and drink; he is, as it were, lord and master as far as food reaches—he who meditates on food as Brahman.'

'Sir, is there something better than food?'

'Yes, there is something better than food.'

'Sir, tell it me.'

TENTH KHANDA.

1. 'Water (ap) is better than food. Therefore if there is not sufficient rain, the vital spirits fail from fear that there will be less food. But if there is sufficient rain, the vital spirits rejoice, because there will be much food. This water, on assuming different forms, becomes this earth, this sky, this heaven, the mountains, gods and men, cattle, birds, herbs and trees, all beasts down to worms, midges, and ants. Water indeed assumes all these forms. Meditate on water.

2. 'He who meditates on water as Brahman, obtains all wishes, he becomes satisfied; he is, as it were, lord and master as far as water reaches—he who meditates on water as Brahman.'

'Sir, is there something better than water?'

'Yes, there is something better than water.'

'Sir, tell it me.'

ELEVENTH KHANDA.

1. 'Fire (tegas) is better than water. For fire united with air, warms the ether. Then people say, It is hot, it burns, it will rain. Thus does fire, after showing this sign (itself) first, create water. And

thus again thunderclaps come with lightnings, flashing upwards and across the sky. Then people say, There is lightning and thunder, it will rain. Then also does fire, after showing this sign first, create water. Meditate on fire.

2. 'He who meditates on fire as Brahman, obtains, resplendent himself, resplendent worlds, full of light and free of darkness; he is, as it were, lord and master as far as fire reaches—he who meditates on fire as Brahman.'

'Sir, is there something better than fire?'

'Yes, there is something better than fire.'

'Sir, tell it me.'

TWELFTH KHANDA.

1. 'Ether (or space) is better than fire. For in the ether exist both sun and moon, the lightning, stars, and fire (agni). Through the ether we call, through the ether we hear, through the ether we answer¹. In the ether or space we rejoice (when we are together), and rejoice not (when we are separated). In the ether everything is born, and towards the ether everything tends when it is born². Meditate on ether.

2. 'He who meditates on ether as Brahman, obtains the worlds of ether and of light, which are free from pressure and pain, wide and spacious³; he is, as it were, lord and master as far as ether reaches—he who meditates on ether as Brahman.'

'Sir, is there something better than ether?'

¹ Cf. *Kā.* Up. IV, 5, 1.

² The seed grows upwards towards the ether; not downwards.

³ Cf. *Kā.* Up. II, 11.

‘Yes, there is something better than ether.’

‘Sir, tell it me.’

THIRTEENTH KHANDA.

1. ‘Memory¹ (smara) is better than ether. Therefore where many are assembled together, if they have no memory, they would hear no one, they would not perceive, they would not understand. Through memory we know our sons, through memory our cattle. Meditate on memory.

2. ‘He who meditates on memory as Brahman, is, as it were, lord and master as far as memory reaches—he who meditates on memory as Brahman.’

‘Sir, is there something better than memory?’

‘Yes, there is something better than memory.’

‘Sir, tell it me.’

FOURTEENTH KHANDA.

1. ‘Hope (âśâ) is better than memory. Fired by hope does memory read the sacred hymns, perform sacrifices, desire sons and cattle, desire this world and the other. Meditate on hope.

2. ‘He who meditates on hope as Brahman, all his desires are fulfilled by hope, his prayers are not in vain; he is, as it were, lord and master as far as hope reaches—he who meditates on hope as Brahman.’

‘Sir, is there something better than hope?’

‘Yes, there is something better than hope.’

‘Sir, tell it me.’

¹ The apparent distance between ether and memory is bridged over by the commentator pointing out that without memory everything would be as if it were not, so far as we are concerned.

FIFTEENTH KHANDA.

1. 'Spirit' (*prâna*) is better than hope. As the spokes of a wheel hold to the nave², so does all this (beginning with names and ending in hope) hold to spirit. That spirit moves by the spirit, it gives spirit to the spirit. Father means spirit, mother is spirit, brother is spirit, sister is spirit, tutor is spirit, *Brâhmaṇa* is spirit.

2. 'For if one says anything unbecoming to a father, mother, brother, sister, tutor or *Brâhmaṇa*, then people say, Shame on thee! thou hast offended thy father, mother, brother, sister, tutor, or a *Brâhmaṇa*.

3. 'But, if after the spirit has departed from them, one shoves them together with a poker, and burns them to pieces, no one would say, Thou offendest thy father, mother, brother, sister, tutor or a *Brâhmaṇa*.

4. 'Spirit then is all this. He who sees this, perceives this, and understands this, becomes an *ativâdin*³. If people say to such a man, Thou

¹ *Prâna* is used here in a technical sense. It does not mean simply breath, but the spirit, the conscious self (*pragñâtman*) which, as we saw, enters the body in order to reveal the whole variety of forms and names. It is in one sense the *mukhya prâna*.

² The commentary carries the simile still further. The fellow, he says, holds to the spokes, the spokes to the nave. So do the *bhûtamâtrâs* hold to the *pragñâmâtrâs*, and these to the *prâna*.

³ One who declares something that goes beyond all the declarations made before, beginning with the declaration that names are Brahman, and ending with the declaration that hope is Brahman;—one who knows that *prâna*, spirit, the conscious self, is Brahman. This declaration represents the highest point reached by ordinary people, but *Nârada* wishes to go beyond. In the *Mundâka*, III, 1, 4, an *ativâdin* is contrasted with one who really knows the highest truth.

art an ativâdin, he may say, I am an ativâdin ; he need not deny it.'

SIXTEENTH KHANDA¹.

I. 'But in reality he is an ativâdin who declares the Highest Being to be the True (Satya, τὸ ὄντως ὅν).'

'Sir, may I become an ativâdin by the True?'

'But we must desire to know the True.'

'Sir, I desire to know the True.'

SEVENTEENTH KHANDA.

I. 'When one understands the True, then one declares the True. One who does not understand it, does not declare the True². Only he who understands it, declares the True. This understanding, however, we must desire to understand.'

'Sir, I desire to understand it.'

EIGHTEENTH KHANDA.

I. 'When one perceives, then one understands. One who does not perceive, does not understand. Only he who perceives, understands. This perception, however, we must desire to understand.'

'Sir, I desire to understand it.'

¹ As Nârada asks no further, whether there is anything better, higher, truer than *prâṇa*, he is supposed to be satisfied with his belief that *prâṇa* is the Highest Being. Sanatkumâra, however, wishes to lead him on to a still higher view ; hence the paragraphs which follow from 16 to 26.

² He would, for instance, call fire real, not knowing that fire is only a mixture of the three elements (cf. VI, 4), the *rûpatraya*, a mere variety (*vikâra*), and name (*nâman*).

NINETEENTH KHANDA.

I. 'When one believes, then one perceives. One who does not believe, does not perceive. Only he who believes, perceives. This belief, however, we must desire to understand.'

'Sir, I desire to understand it.'

TWENTIETH KHANDA.

I. 'When one attends on a tutor (spiritual guide), then one believes. One who does not attend on a tutor, does not believe. Only he who attends, believes. This attention on a tutor, however, we must desire to understand.'

'Sir, I desire to understand it.'

TWENTY-FIRST KHANDA.

I. 'When one performs all sacred duties¹, then one attends really on a tutor. One who does not perform his duties, does not really attend on a tutor. Only he who performs his duties, attends on his tutor. This performance of duties, however, we must desire to understand.'

'Sir, I desire to understand it.'

TWENTY-SECOND KHANDA.

I. 'When one obtains bliss (in oneself), then one performs duties. One who does not obtain bliss, does not perform duties. Only he who obtains bliss, performs duties. This bliss, however, we must desire to understand.'

'Sir, I desire to understand it.'

¹ The duties of a student, such as restraint of the senses, concentration of the mind, &c.

TWENTY-THIRD KHANDA.

1. 'The Infinite (bhûman)¹ is bliss. There is no bliss in anything finite. Infinity only is bliss. This Infinity, however, we must desire to understand.'

'Sir, I desire to understand it.'

TWENTY-FOURTH KHANDA.

1. 'Where one sees nothing else, hears nothing else, understands nothing else, that is the Infinite. Where one sees something else, hears something else, understands something else, that is the finite. The Infinite is immortal, the finite is mortal.'

'Sir, in what does the Infinite rest?'

'In its own greatness—or not even in greatness².'

2. 'In the world they call cows and horses, elephants and gold, slaves, wives, fields and houses greatness. I do not mean this,' thus he spoke; 'for in that case one being (the possessor) rests in something else, (but the Infinite cannot rest in something different from itself.)

TWENTY-FIFTH KHANDA.

1. 'The Infinite indeed is below, above, behind, before, right and left—it is indeed all this.

'Now follows the explanation of the Infinite as

¹ Bhûman is sometimes translated by grandeur, the superlative, the akme. It is the highest point that can be reached, the infinite and the true.

² This phrase reminds one of the last verse in the No sad âsfid hymn, where, likewise, the expression of the highest certainty is followed by a misgiving that after all it may be otherwise. The commentator takes yadi vâ in the sense of, If you ask in the highest sense, then I say no; for the Infinite cannot rest in anything, not even in greatness.

the I : I am below, I am above, I am behind, before, right and left—I am all this.

2. 'Next follows the explanation of the Infinite as the Self: Self is below, above, behind, before, right and left—Self is all this.

'He who sees, perceives, and understands this, loves the Self, delights in the Self, revels in the Self, rejoices in the Self—he becomes a Svarâg, (an autocrat or self-ruler); he is lord and master in all the worlds.

'But those who think differently from this, live in perishable worlds, and have other beings for their rulers.

TWENTY-SIXTH KHANDA.

1. 'To him who sees, perceives, and understands this¹, the spirit (*prâna*) springs from the Self, hope springs from the Self, memory springs from the Self; so do ether, fire, water, appearance and disappearance², food, power, understanding, reflection, consideration, will, mind, speech, names, sacred hymns, and sacrifices—aye, all this springs from the Self.

2. 'There is this verse, "He who sees this, does not see death, nor illness, nor pain; he who sees this, sees everything, and obtains everything everywhere.

"He is one (before creation), he becomes three

¹ Before the acquirement of true knowledge, all that has been mentioned before, spirit, hope, memory, &c., on to names, was supposed to spring from the Sat, as something different from one-self. Now he is to know that the Sat is the Self.

² In the preceding paragraphs appearance and disappearance (birth and death) are not mentioned. This shows how easy it was in these treatises either to omit or to add anything that seemed important.

(fire, water, earth), he becomes five, he becomes seven, he becomes nine; then again he is called the eleventh, and hundred and ten and one thousand and twenty¹."

'When the intellectual aliment has been purified, the whole nature becomes purified. When the whole nature has been purified, the memory becomes firm. And when the memory (of the Highest Self) remains firm, then all the ties (which bind us to a belief in anything but the Self) are loosened.

'The venerable Sanatkumâra showed to Nârada, after his faults had been rubbed out, the other side of darkness. They call Sanatkumâra Skanda, yea, Skanda they call him.'

EIGHTH PRAPÂTHAKA.

FIRST KHANDA².

I. Hari^h, Om. There is this city of Brahman (the body), and in it the palace, the small lotus (of

¹ This too is meant as a verse. The commentary says that the various numbers are intended to show the endless variety of form on the Self after creation. Cf. Mait. Up. V, 2.

² The eighth Prapâthaka seems to form a kind of appendix to the Upanishad. The highest point that can be reached by speculation had been reached in the seventh Prapâthaka, the identity of our self and of everything else with the Highest Self. This speculative effort, however, is too much for ordinary people. They cannot conceive the Sat or Brahman as out of space and time, as free from all qualities, and in order to help them, they are taught to adore the Brahman, as it appears in space and time, an object endowed with certain qualities, living in nature and in the human heart. The Highest Brahman, besides which there is nothing, and which can neither be reached as an object, nor be considered as

the heart), and in it that small ether. Now what exists within that small ether, that is to be sought for, that is to be understood.

2. And if they should say to him: 'Now with regard to that city of Brahman, and the palace in it, i. e. the small lotus of the heart, and the small ether within the heart, what is there within it that deserves to be sought for, or that is to be understood?'

3. Then he should say: 'As large as this ether (all space) is, so large is that ether within the heart. Both heaven and earth are contained within it, both fire and air, both sun and moon, both lightning and stars; and whatever there is of him (the Self) here in the world, and whatever is not (i. e. whatever has been or will be), all that is contained within it¹.'

4. And if they should say to him: 'If everything that exists is contained in that city of Brahman, all beings and all desires (whatever can be imagined or desired), then what is left of it, when old age reaches it and scatters it, or when it falls to pieces?'

5. Then he should say: 'By the old age of the body, that (the ether, or Brahman within it) does not age; by the death of the body, that (the ether, or Brahman within it) is not killed. That (the Brah-

an effect, seems to ordinary minds like a thing which is not. Therefore while the true philosopher, after acquiring the knowledge of the Highest Sat, becomes identified with it suddenly, like lightning, the ordinary mortal must reach it by slow degrees, and as a preparation for that higher knowledge which is to follow, the eighth Prapâṇaka, particularly the first portion of it, has been added to the teaching contained in the earlier books.

¹ The ether in the heart is really a name of Brahman. He is there, and therefore all that comes of him when he assumes bodily shapes, both what is and what is not, i. e. what is no longer or not yet; for the absolute nothing is not intended here.

man) is the true Brahma-city (not the body¹). In it all desires are contained. It is the Self, free from sin, free from old age, from death and grief, from hunger and thirst, which desires nothing but what it ought to desire, and imagines nothing but what it ought to imagine. Now as here on earth people follow as they are commanded, and depend on the object which they are attached to, be it a country or a piece of land,

6. 'And as here on earth, whatever has been acquired by exertion, perishes, so perishes whatever is acquired for the next world by sacrifices and other good actions performed on earth. Those who depart from hence without having discovered the Self and those true desires, for them there is no freedom in all the worlds. But those who depart from hence, after having discovered the Self and those true desires², for them there is freedom in all the worlds.

SECOND KHANDA.

1. 'Thus he who desires the world³ of the fathers, by his mere will the fathers come to receive him, and having obtained the world of the fathers, he is happy.

2. 'And he who desires the world of the mothers, by his mere will the mothers come to receive him,

¹ I translate this somewhat differently from the commentator, though the argument remains the same.

² True desires are those which we ought to desire, and the fulfilment of which depends on ourselves, supposing that we have acquired the knowledge which enables us to fulfil them.

³ World is the nearest approach to loka: it means life with the fathers, or enjoying the company of the fathers.

and having obtained the world of the mothers, he is happy.

3. 'And he who desires the world of the brothers, by his mere will the brothers come to receive him, and having obtained the world of the brothers, he is happy.

4. 'And he who desires the world of the sisters, by his mere will the sisters come to receive him, and having obtained the world of the sisters, he is happy.

5. 'And he who desires the world of the friends, by his mere will the friends come to receive him, and having obtained the world of the friends, he is happy.

6. 'And he who desires the world of perfumes and garlands (gandhamâlya), by his mere will perfumes and garlands come to him, and having obtained the world of perfumes and garlands, he is happy.

7. 'And he who desires the world of food and drink, by his mere will food and drink come to him, and having obtained the world of food and drink, he is happy.

8. 'And he who desires the world of song and music, by his mere will song and music come to him, and having obtained the world of song and music, he is happy.

9. 'And he who desires the world of women, by his mere will women come to receive him, and having obtained the world of women, he is happy.

'Whatever object he is attached to, whatever object he desires, by his mere will it comes to him, and having obtained it, he is happy.

THIRD KHANDA.

1. 'These true desires, however, are hidden by what is false; though the desires be true, they have a covering which is false. Thus, whoever belonging to us has departed this life, him we cannot gain back, so that we should see him with our eyes.

2. 'Those who belong to us, whether living or departed, and whatever else there is which we wish for and do not obtain, all that we find there (if we descend into our heart, where Brahman dwells, in the ether of the heart). There are all our true desires, but hidden by what is false¹. As people who do not know the country, walk again and again over a gold treasure that has been hidden somewhere in the earth and do not discover it, thus do all these creatures day after day go into the Brahma-world (they are merged in Brahman, while asleep), and yet do not discover it, because they are carried away by untruth (they do not come to themselves, i. e. they do not discover the true Self in Brahman, dwelling in the heart).

3. 'That Self abides in the heart. And this is the etymological explanation. The heart is called *hrīḍayam*, instead of *hrīdy-ayam*, i. e. He who is in the heart. He who knows this, that He is in the heart, goes day by day (when in *sushupti*, deep sleep) into heaven (*svarga*), i. e. into the Brahman of the heart.

4. 'Now that serene being² which, after having

¹ All the desires mentioned before are fulfilled, if we find their fulfilment in our Self, in the city of Brahman within our heart. There we always can possess those whom we have loved, only we must not wish to see them with our eyes; that would be a false covering to a true desire.

² Cf. *Kh. Up.* VIII, 12, 3.

risen from out this earthly body, and having reached the highest light (self-knowledge), appears in its true form, that is the Self,' thus he spoke (when asked by his pupils). This is the immortal, the fearless, this is Brahman. And of that Brahman the name is the True, Satyam,

5. This name Sattyam consists of three syllables, sat-tî-yam¹. Sat signifies the immortal, t, the mortal, and with yam he binds both. Because he binds both, the immortal and the mortal, therefore it is yam. He who knows this goes day by day into heaven (svarga).

FOURTH KHANDA.

1. That Self is a bank², a boundary, so that these worlds may not be confounded. Day and night do not pass that bank, nor old age, death, and grief; neither good nor evil deeds. All evil-doers turn back from it, for the world of Brahman is free from all evil.

2. Therefore he who has crossed that bank, if blind, ceases to be blind; if wounded, ceases to be wounded; if afflicted, ceases to be afflicted. Therefore when that bank has been crossed, night becomes day indeed, for the world of Brahman is lighted up once for all³.

3. And that world of Brahman belongs to those

¹ We ought probably to read Sattyam, and then Sat-tî-yam. The î in tî would then be the dual of an anubandha î. Instead of yaddhi, I conjecture yatti. See Ait. Âranyaka II, 5, 5.

² Setu, generally translated by bridge, was originally a bank of earth (mṛidâdimaya), thrown up to serve as a pathway (pons) through water or a swamp. Such banks exist still in many places, and they serve at the same time as boundaries (maryâdâ) between fields belonging to different properties. Cf. Mait. Up. VII, 7; Kâṇ. Up. III, 2; Talav. Up. comm. p. 59; Mund. Up. II, 2, 5.

³ Kâ. Up. III, 11, 3.

only who find it by abstinence—for them there is freedom in all the worlds.

FIFTH KHANDA.

1. What people call sacrifice (*yagña*), that is really abstinence (*brahmaṭarya*). For he who knows, obtains that (world of Brahman, which others obtain by sacrifice), by means of abstinence.

What people call sacrifice (*ishṭa*), that is really abstinence, for by abstinence, having searched (*ish-tvâ*), he obtains the Self.

2. What people call sacrifice (*sattrâyana*), that is really abstinence, for by abstinence he obtains from the Sat (the true), the safety (*trâna*) of the Self.

What people call the vow of silence (*mauna*), that is really abstinence, for he who by abstinence has found out the Self, meditates (*manute*).

3. What people call fasting (*anâsakâyana*), that is really abstinence, for that Self does not perish (*na nasyati*), which we find out by abstinence.

What people call a hermit's life (*aranyâyana*), that is really abstinence. *Ara*¹ and *Nya* are two lakes in the world of Brahman, in the third heaven from hence; and there is the lake *Airammadṭya*, and the *Asvattha* tree, showering down Soma, and the city of Brahman (*Hiranyagarbha*) *Aparâgitâ*², and the golden *Prabhuvimita* (the hall built by *Prabhu*, Brahman).

Now that world of Brahman belongs to those who find the lakes *Ara* and *Nya* in the world of Brahman by means of abstinence; for them there is freedom in all the worlds³.

¹ In the Kaush. Br. Up. I, 3, the lake is called *Âra*, at least according to the commentator.

² In the Kaush. Br. Up. *Aparâgita* is not *pûh*, but *âyatanam*.

³ The fifth *khanda* is chiefly meant to recommend *brahmaṭarya*

SIXTH KHANDA.

1. Now those arteries of the heart consist of a brown substance, of a white, blue, yellow, and red

or abstinence from all worldly enjoyments, enjoined on the brahmaârin, the student, as a means of obtaining a knowledge of Brahman. But instead of showing that such abstinence is indispensable for a proper concentration of our intellectual faculties, we are told that abstinence is the same as certain sacrifices; and this is shown, not by arguments, but by a number of very far-fetched plays on words. These it is impossible to render in any translation, nay, they hardly deserve being translated. Thus abstinence is said to be identical with sacrifice, *yagña*, because *yo gñâtâ*, 'he who knows,' has a certain similarity with *yagña*. *Ishâ*, another kind of sacrifice, is compared with *eshanâ*, search; *sattrâ-yana* with *Sat*, the True, the Brahman, and *trâyana*, protection; *mauna*, silence, with *manana*, meditating (which may be right); *anâsakâyana*, fasting, with *nas*, to perish, and *aranyâgana*, a hermit's life, with *ara*, *nya*, and *ayana*, going to the two lakes *Ara* and *Nya*, which are believed to exist in the legendary world of Brahman. Nothing can be more absurd. Having once struck the note of Brahmanic legends, such as we find it, for instance, in the Kaushîtaki-brâhmana-upanishad, the author goes on. Besides the lakes *Ara* and *Nya* (in the Kaushîtaki-brâhmana-upanishad we have only one lake, called *Âra*), he mentions the *Airammadîya* lake, and explains it as *aira* (*irâ annam, tanmaya airo mandas, tena pûrnam airam*) and *madîya*, delightful. The *Asvattha* tree, which pours down *Soma*, is not tortured into anything else, except that *Soma* is explained as the immortal, or nectar. *Aparâgita* becomes the city of Brahman, because it can be conquered by no one except those who have practised abstinence. And the hall which elsewhere is called *Vibhu-pramita* becomes *Prabhuvimitam*, or *Prabhu-vinirmita*, made by *Prabhu*, i.e. Brahman. All the fulfilled desires, as enumerated in *khandas* 2-5, whether the finding again of our fathers and mothers, or entering the *Brahmaloka* with its lakes and palaces, must be taken, not as material (*sthûla*), but as mental only (*mânasa*). On that account, however, they are by no means considered as false or unreal, as little as dreams are. Dreams are false and unreal, relatively only, i.e. relatively to what we see, when we awake; but not in themselves. Whatever we see in waking, also, has been shown to be

substance, and so is the sun brown, white, blue, yellow, and red.

2. As a very long highway goes to two places, to one at the beginning, and to another at the end, so do the rays of the sun go to both worlds, to this one and to the other. They start from the sun, and enter into those arteries; they start from those arteries, and enter into the sun.

3. And when a man is asleep, reposing, and at perfect rest, so that he sees no dream¹, then he has entered into those arteries. Then no evil touches him, for he has obtained the light (of the sun).

4. And when a man falls ill, then those who sit round him, say, 'Do you know me? Do you know me?' As long as he has not departed from this body, he knows them.

5. But when he departs from this body, then he departs upwards by those very rays (towards the worlds which he has gained by merit, not by knowledge); or he goes out while meditating on Om² (and thus securing an entrance into the Brahma-

false; because it consists of forms and names only; yet these forms and names have a true element in them, viz. the Sat. Before we know that Sat, all the objects we see in waking seem true; as dreams seem true in dreaming. But when once we awake from our waking by true knowledge, we see that nothing is true but the Sat. When we imagine we see a serpent, and then discover that it is a rope, the serpent disappears as false, but what was true in it, the rope, remains true.

¹ Svapna in Sanskrit is both somnus and somnium. Hence one might translate also, 'so that he is not aware that he is asleep,' which in some respects would seem even more appropriate in our passage; cf. VIII, 11, 1.

² According to the explanation given of the Om in the Upanishads, and more particularly in the Dahara-vidyâ contained in this Prapâthaka.

loka). And while his mind is failing, he is going to the sun. For the sun is the door of the world (of Brahman). Those who know, walk in; those who do not know, are shut out. There is this verse¹: 'There are a hundred and one arteries of the heart; one of them penetrates the crown of the head; moving upwards by it a man reaches the immortal; the others serve for departing in different directions, yea, in different directions².'

SEVENTH KHANDA³.

1. Pragâpati said: 'The Self which is free from sin, free from old age, from death and grief, from hunger and thirst, which desires nothing but what it ought to desire, and imagines nothing but what it ought to imagine, that it is which we must search out, that it is which we must try to understand. He who has searched out that Self and understands it, obtains all worlds and all desires.'

2. The Devas (gods) and Asuras (demons) both heard these words, and said: 'Well, let us search for that Self by which, if one has searched it out, all worlds and all desires are obtained.'

Thus saying Indra went from the Devas, Viroçana from the Asuras, and both, without having communicated with each other, approached Pragâpati,

¹ Prasna Up. II, 1.

² The same verse occurs in the Kaṭha 6, 16, and is frequently quoted elsewhere, for instance, Mait. comm. p. 164. For vishvañ, the right reading would seem to be vishvak. In the Mait. Up. VI, 30, the Trishṭubh are reduced to Anuṣṭubh verses. See also Prasna Up. III, 6-7; Mund. Up. II, 2.

³ Here the highest problem is treated again, the knowledge of the true Self, which leads beyond the world of Brahmâ (masc.), and enables the individual self to return into the Highest Self.

holding fuel in their hands, as is the custom for pupils approaching their master.

3. They dwelt there as pupils for thirty-two years. Then Pragâpati asked them: 'For what purpose have you both dwelt here?'

They replied: 'A saying of yours is being repeated, viz. "the Self which is free from sin, free from old age, from death and grief, from hunger and thirst, which desires nothing but what it ought to desire, and imagines nothing but what it ought to imagine, that it is which we must search out, that it is which we must try to understand. He who has searched out that Self and understands it, obtains all worlds and all desires." Now we both have dwelt here because we wish for that Self.'

Pragâpati said to them: 'The person that is seen in the eye¹, that is the Self. This is what I have said. This is the immortal, the fearless, this is Brahman.'

They asked: 'Sir, he who is perceived in the water, and he who is perceived in a mirror, who is he?'

He replied: 'He himself indeed is seen in all these².'

¹ The commentator explains this rightly. Pragâpati means by the person that is seen in the eye, the real agent of seeing, who is seen by sages only, even with their eyes shut. His pupils, however, misunderstand him. They think of the person that is seen, not of the person that sees (Yoga-sûtras II, 6). The person seen in the eye is to them the small figure imaged in the eye, and they go on therefore to ask, whether the image in the water or in a mirror is not the Self.

² The commentators are at great pains to explain that Pragâpati told no falsehood. He meant by purusha the personal element in the highest sense, and it was not his fault that his pupils took purusha for man or body.

EIGHTH KHANDA.

1. 'Look at your Self in a pan of water, and whatever you do not understand of your Self¹, come and tell me.'

They looked in the water-pan. Then Pragâpati said to them: 'What do you see?'

They said: 'We both see the self thus altogether, a picture even to the very hairs and nails.'

2. Pragâpati said to them: 'After you have adorned yourselves, have put on your best clothes and cleaned yourselves, look again into the water-pan.'

They, after having adorned themselves, having put on their best clothes and cleaned themselves, looked into the water-pan.

Pragâpati said: 'What do you see?'

3. They said: 'Just as we are, well adorned, with our best clothes and clean, thus we are both there, Sir, well adorned, with our best clothes and clean.'

Pragâpati said: 'That is the Self, this is the immortal, the fearless, this is Brahman.'

Then both went away satisfied in their hearts.

4. And Pragâpati, looking after them, said: 'They both go away without having perceived and without having known the Self, and whoever of these two², whether Devas or Asuras, will follow this doctrine (upanishad), will perish.'

Now Viroḥana, satisfied in his heart, went to the Asuras and preached that doctrine to them, that the self (the body) alone is to be worshipped, that the

¹ I take *âtmanaḥ* as a genitive, governed by *yad*, not as an accusative plural.

² The commentator reads *yatare* for *yataḥ*.

self (the body) alone is to be served, and that he who worships the self and serves the self, gains both worlds, this and the next.

5. Therefore they call even now a man who does not give alms here, who has no faith, and offers no sacrifices, an Âsura, for this is the doctrine (upani-shad) of the Asuras. They deck out the body of the dead with perfumes, flowers, and fine raiment by way of ornament, and think they will thus conquer that world¹.

NINTH KHANDA.

1. But Indra, before he had returned to the Devas, saw this difficulty. As this self (the shadow in the water)² is well adorned, when the body is well adorned, well dressed, when the body is well dressed, well cleaned, if the body is well cleaned, that self will also be blind, if the body is blind, lame, if the body is lame³, crippled, if the body is crippled, and will perish in fact as soon as the body perishes. Therefore I see no good in this (doctrine).

2. Taking fuel in his hand he came again as a pupil to Pragâpati. Pragâpati said to him: 'Maghavat (Indra), as you went away with Virokâna, satisfied in your heart, for what purpose did you come back?'

¹ This evidently refers to the customs and teaching of tribes not entirely conforming to the Brahmanic system. Whether the adorning of the dead body implies burial instead of burning, seems doubtful.

² The commentator remarks that though both Indra and Virokâna had mistaken the true import of what Pragâpati said, yet while Virokâna took the body to be the Self, Indra thought that the Self was the shadow of the body.

³ Srâma, lame, is explained by the commentator as one-eyed, ekanetra.

He said : 'Sir, as this self (the shadow) is well adorned, when the body is well adorned, well dressed, when the body is well dressed, well cleaned, if the body is well cleaned, that self will also be blind, if the body is blind, lame, if the body is lame, crippled, if the body is crippled, and will perish in fact as soon as the body perishes. Therefore I see no good in this (doctrine).'

3. 'So it is indeed, Maghavat,' replied Pragâpati ; 'but I shall explain him (the true Self) further to you. Live with me another thirty-two years.'

He lived with him another thirty-two years, and then Pragâpati said :

TENTH KHANDA.

1. 'He who moves about happy in dreams, he is the Self, this is the immortal, the fearless, this is Brahman.'

Then Indra went away satisfied in his heart. But before he had returned to the Devas, he saw this difficulty. Although it is true that that self is not blind, even if the body is blind, nor lame, if the body is lame, though it is true that that self is not rendered faulty by the faults of it (the body),

2. Nor struck when it (the body) is struck, nor lamed when it is lamed, yet it is as if they struck him (the self) in dreams, as if they chased him ¹.

¹ I have adopted the reading *vikkhâyayanti*, because it is the most difficult, and therefore explains most easily the various corruptions, or it may be emendations, that have crept into the text. Sâṅkara explains *vikkhâdayanti* by *vidrâvayanti*, and this shows that he too must have read *vikkhâyayanti*, for he could not have explained *vikkhâdayanti*, which means they uncover or they deprive of their clothing, by *vidrâvayanti*, they drive away. It is true that *vikkhâyayanti* may be explained in two ways ; it may be the causative of *khâ*, to cut, but this meaning is not very appropriate here,

He becomes even conscious, as it were, of pain, and sheds tears. Therefore I see no good in this.

3. Taking fuel in his hands, he went again as a pupil to Pragâpati. Pragâpati said to him: 'Maghavat, as you went away satisfied in your heart, for what purpose did you come back?'

He said: 'Sir, although it is true that that self is not blind even if the body is blind, nor lame, if the body is lame, though it is true that that self is not rendered faulty by the faults of it (the body),

4. Nor struck when it (the body) is struck, nor lamed when it is lamed, yet it is as if they struck him (the self) in dreams, as if they chased him. He becomes even conscious, as it were, of pain, and sheds tears. Therefore I see no good in this.'

'So it is indeed, Maghavat,' replied Pragâpati; 'but I shall explain him (the true Self) further to you. Live with me another thirty-two years.'

He lived with him another thirty-two years. Then Pragâpati said:

and quite inadmissible in another passage where *vikkhâyati* occurs, whereas, if derived from *vikkh* (*οἰχομαι*) in a causative sense, Sāṅkara could hardly have chosen a better explanation than *vidrāvayanti*, they make run away. The root *vikkh*, *vikkhâyati* is recognised in Pāṇini III, 1, 28, and in the Dhātupāṭha 28, 129, but it has hitherto been met with in this passage only, and in *Brīhadâraṇyaka* Up. IV, 3, 20. Here also the author speaks of a man who imagines that people kill him or do him violence, or that an elephant chases him or that he falls into a pit. Here we have *hastīva vikkhâyati*, and Sāṅkara, at least as printed by Dr. Roer, explains this by *vikkhâpayati*, *vikkhâdayati*, *vidrāvayati*; *dhâvatīty arthaḥ*. Much better is Dvivedaganga's commentary, as published by Dr. Weber, Satap. Brāhm. p. 1145, *Kadâkid enam hastī vikkhâyatiṇa vidrāvayatiṇa*; *vikkhā gatau, gupūdḥūpavikkhi-panīpanibhya āya iti* (Pāṇ. III, 1, 28) *svārtha āyapratyayaḥ*. In the Dictionary of Boehtlingk and Roth the derivation from *kḥā*, to cut, is preferred; see Nachträge, s. v. *kḥā*.

ELEVENTH KHANDA.

1. 'When a man being asleep, reposing, and at perfect rest¹, sees no dreams, that is the Self, this is the immortal, the fearless, this is Brahman.'

Then Indra went away satisfied in his heart. But before he had returned to the Devas, he saw this difficulty. In truth he thus does not know himself (his self) that he is I, nor does he know anything that exists. He is gone to utter annihilation. I see no good in this.

2. Taking fuel in his hand he went again as a pupil to Pragâpati. Pragâpati said to him: 'Maghavat, as you went away satisfied in your heart, for what purpose did you come back?'

He said: 'Sir, in that way he does not know himself (his self) that he is I, nor does he know anything that exists. He is gone to utter annihilation. I see no good in this.'

3. 'So it is indeed, Maghavat,' replied Pragâpati; 'but I shall explain him (the true Self) further to you, and nothing more than this². Live here other five years.'

He lived there other five years. This made in all one hundred and one years, and therefore it is said that Indra Maghavat lived one hundred and one years as a pupil with Pragâpati. Pragâpati said to him:

TWELFTH KHANDA.

1. 'Maghavat, this body is mortal and always held by death. It is the abode of that Self which is

¹ See *Kh. Up.* VIII, 6, 3.

² Saṅkara explains this as meaning the real Self, not anything different from the Self.

immortal and without body¹. When in the body (by thinking this body is I and I am this body) the Self is held by pleasure and pain. So long as he is in the body, he cannot get free from pleasure and pain. But when he is free of the body (when he knows himself different from the body), then neither pleasure nor pain touches him².

2. 'The wind is without body, the cloud, lightning, and thunder are without body (without hands, feet, &c.) Now as these, arising from this heavenly ether (space), appear in their own form, as soon as they have approached the highest light,

3. 'Thus does that serene being, arising from this body, appear in its own form, as soon as it has approached the highest light (the knowledge of Self³). He (in that state) is the highest person (*uttama pûrusha*). He moves about there laughing (or eating), playing, and rejoicing (in his mind), be it with women, carriages, or relatives, never minding that body into which he was born⁴.

¹ According to some, the body is the result of the Self, the elements of the body, fire, water, and earth springing from the Self, and the Self afterwards entering them.

² Ordinary, worldly pleasure. Comm.

³ The simile is not so striking as most of those old similes are. The wind is compared with the Self, on account of its being for a time lost in the ether (space), as the Self is in the body, and then rising again out of the ether and assuming its own form as wind. The chief stress is laid on the highest light, which in the one case is the sun of summer, in the other the light of knowledge.

⁴ These are pleasures which seem hardly compatible with the state of perfect peace which the Self is supposed to have attained. The passage may be interpolated, or put in on purpose to show that the Self enjoys such pleasures as an inward spectator only, without identifying himself with either pleasure or pain. He sees them, as he says afterwards, with his divine eye. The Self per-

‘Like as a horse attached to a cart, so is the spirit¹ (prâṇa, praṇâtman) attached to this body.

4. ‘Now where the sight has entered into the void (the open space, the black pupil of the eye), there is the person of the eye, the eye itself is the instrument of seeing. He who knows, let me smell this, he is the Self, the nose is the instrument of smelling. He who knows, let me say this, he is the Self, the tongue is the instrument of saying. He who knows, let me hear this, he is the Self, the ear is the instrument of hearing.

5. ‘He who knows, let me think this, he is the Self, the mind is his divine eye². He, the Self, seeing these pleasures (which to others are hidden like a buried treasure of gold) through his divine eye, i. e. the mind, rejoices.

‘The Devas who are in the world of Brahman meditate on that Self (as taught by Pragâpati to Indra, and by Indra to the Devas). Therefore all worlds belong to them, and all desires. He who knows that Self and understands it, obtains all worlds and all desires.’ Thus said Pragâpati, yea, thus said Pragâpati.

ceives in all things his Self only, nothing else. In his commentary on the Taittirîya Upanishad (p. 45) Saṅkara refers this passage to Brahman as an effect, not to Brahman as a cause.

¹ The spirit, the conscious self, is not identical with the body, but only joined to it, like a horse, or driving it, like a charioteer. In other passages the senses are the horses; buddhi, reason, the charioteer; manas, mind, the reins. The spirit is attached to the cart by the âetana; cf. Ânandagîrî.

² Because it perceives not only what is present, but also what is past and future.

THIRTEENTH KHANDA ¹.

1. From the dark (the Brahman of the heart) I come to the nebulous (the world of Brahman), from the nebulous to the dark, shaking off all evil, as a horse shakes his hairs, and as the moon frees herself from the mouth of Râhu ². Having shaken off the body, I obtain, self made and satisfied, the uncreated world of Brahman, yea, I obtain it.

FOURTEENTH KHANDA.

1. He who is called ether³ (âkâśa) is the revealer of all forms and names. That within which these forms and names are contained is the Brahman, the Immortal, the Self.

I come to the hall of Pragâpati, to the house; I am the glorious among Brâhmans, glorious among princes, glorious among men⁴. I obtained that glory, I am glorious among the glorious. May I never go to the white, toothless, yet devouring, white abode⁵; may I never go to it.

¹ This chapter is supposed to contain a hymn of triumph.

² Râhu, in later times a monster, supposed to swallow the sun and moon at every solar or lunar eclipse. At first we only hear of the mouth or head of Râhu. In later times a body was assigned to him, but it had to be destroyed again by Vishnu, so that nothing remained of him but his head. Râhu seems derived from rah, to separate, to remove. From it raksh, to wish or strive to remove, to keep off, to protect, and in a different application rākshas, a tearing away, violence, rakshás, a robber, an evil spirit.

³ Âkâśa, ether or space, is a name of Brahman, because, like ether, Brahman has no body and is infinitely small.

⁴ Here the three classes, commonly called castes, are clearly marked by the names of brâhmana, râjan, and vis.

⁵ Yonisabditam pragananendriyam.

FIFTEENTH KHANDA.

1. Brahmâ (Hiranyagarbha or Paramesvara) told this to Pragâpati (Kasyapa), Pragâpati to Manu (his son), Manu to mankind. He who has learnt the Veda from a family of teachers, according to the sacred rule, in the leisure time left from the duties to be performed for the Guru, who, after receiving his discharge, has settled in his own house, keeping up the memory of what he has learnt by repeating it regularly in some sacred spot, who has begotten virtuous sons, and concentrated all his senses on the Self, never giving pain to any creature, except at the tirthas¹ (sacrifices, &c.), he who behaves thus all his life, reaches the world of Brahman, and does not return, yea, he does not return.

¹ The commentator says that even travelling about as a mendicant causes pain, but that a mendicant is allowed to importune people for alms at tirthas, or sacred places. Others explain this differently.

TALAVAKĀRA
OR
KENA-UPANISHAD.

TALAVAKÂRA-UPANISHAD.

FIRST KHANDA.

1. THE Pupil asks: 'At whose wish does the mind sent forth proceed on its errand? At whose command does the first breath go forth? At whose wish do we utter this speech? What god directs the eye, or the ear?'

2. The Teacher replies: 'It is the ear of the ear, the mind of the mind, the speech of speech, the breath of breath, and the eye of the eye. When freed (from the senses) the wise, on departing from this world, become immortal¹.

3. 'The eye does not go thither, nor speech, nor mind. We do not know, we do not understand, how any one can teach it.

4. 'It is different from the known, it is also above the unknown, thus we have heard from those of old, who taught us this².

5. 'That which is not expressed by speech and

¹ This verse admits of various translations, and still more various explanations. Instead of taking *vâkam*, like all the other words, as a nominative, we might take them all as accusatives, governed by *atimukhya*, and *sa u prânasya prânaḥ* as a parenthetical sentence. What is meant by the ear of the ear is very fully explained by the commentator, but the simplest acceptation would seem to take it as an answer to the preceding questions, so that the ear of the ear should be taken for him who directs the ear, i. e. the Self, or Brahman. This will become clearer as we proceed.

² Cf. *Îsa Up.* 11; 13.

by which speech is expressed, that alone know as Brahman, not that which people here adore.

6. 'That which does not think by mind, and by which, they say, mind is thought¹, that alone know as Brahman, not that which people here adore.

7. 'That which does not see by the eye, and by which one sees (the work of) the eyes, that alone know as Brahman, not that which people here adore.

8. 'That which does not hear by the ear, and by which the ear is heard, that alone know as Brahman, not that which people here adore.

9. 'That which does not breathe by breath, and by which breath is drawn, that alone know as Brahman, not that which people here adore.'

SECOND KHANDA.

1. The Teacher says: 'If thou thinkest I know it well; then thou knowest surely but little, what is that form of Brahman known, it may be, to thee².'

2. The Pupil says: 'I do not think I know it well, nor do I know that I do not know it. 'He

¹ The *varia lectio* *manaso matam* (supported also by the commentary) is metrically and grammatically easier, but it may be, for that very reason, an emendation.

⁽²⁾ In order to obtain a verse, we must leave out the words *tvam yad asya deveshv atha nu mîmâmsyam eva*. They were probably inserted, as an excuse for the third *khandâ* treating of the relation of Brahman to the Devas. There is considerable variety in the text, as handed down in the *Sâma-veda* and in the *Atharva-veda*, which shows that it has been tampered with. *Daharam* for *dabhram* may be the older reading, as *synezeisis* occurs again and again in the Upanishads.

among us who knows this, he knows it, nor does he know that he does not know it¹.

3. 'He by whom it (Brahman) is not thought, by him it is thought; he by whom it is thought, knows it not. It is not understood by those who understand it, it is understood by those who do not understand it.

4. 'It is thought to be known (as if) by awakening, and (then) we obtain immortality indeed. By the Self we obtain strength, by knowledge we obtain immortality.

5. 'If a man know this here, that is the true (end of life); if he does not know this here, then there is great destruction (new births). The wise who have thought on all things (and recognised the Self in them) become immortal, when they have departed from this world.'

THIRD KHANDA².

1. Brahman obtained the victory for the Devas. The Devas became elated by the victory of Brah-

¹ This verse has again been variously explained. I think the train of thought is this: We cannot know Brahman, as we know other objects, by referring them to a class and pointing out their differences. But, on the other hand, we do not know that we know him not, i. e. no one can assert that we know him not, for we want Brahman in order to know anything. He, therefore, who knows this double peculiarity of the knowledge of Brahman, he knows Brahman, as much as it can be known; and he does not know, nor can anybody prove it to him, that he does not know Brahman.

² This *khanda* is generally represented as a later addition, but its prose style has more of a Brâhmaṇa character than the verses in the preceding *khandas*, although their metrical structure is irregular, and may be taken as a sign of antiquity.

man, and they thought, this victory is ours only, this greatness is ours only.

2. Brahman perceived this and appeared to them. But they did not know it, and said: 'What sprite (yaksha or yakshya) is this?'

3. They said to Agni (fire): 'O Gâtavedas, find out what sprite this is.' 'Yes,' he said.

4. He ran toward it, and Brahman said to him: 'Who are you?' He replied: 'I am Agni, I am Gâtavedas.'

5. Brahman said: 'What power is in you?' Agni replied: 'I could burn all whatever there is on earth.'

6. Brahman put a straw before him, saying: 'Burn this.' He went towards it with all his might, but he could not burn it. Then he returned thence and said: 'I could not find out what sprite this is.'

7. Then they said to Vâyu (air): 'O Vâyu, find out what sprite this is.' 'Yes,' he said.

8. He ran toward it, and Brahman said to him: 'Who are you?' He replied: 'I am Vâyu, I am Mâtariśvan.'

9. Brahman said: 'What power is in you?' Vâyu replied: 'I could take up all whatever there is on earth.'

10. Brahman put a straw before him, saying: 'Take it up.' He went towards it with all his might, but he could not take it up. Then he returned thence and said: 'I could not find out what sprite this is.'

11. Then they said to Indra: 'O Maghavan, find out what sprite this is.' He went towards it, but it disappeared from before him.

12. Then in the same space (ether) he came

towards a woman, highly adorned : it was Umâ, the daughter of Himavat¹. He said to her : 'Who is that sprite?'

FOURTH KHANDA.

1. She replied : 'It is Brahman. It is through the victory of Brahman that you have thus become great.' After that he knew that it was Brahman.

2. Therefore these Devas, viz. Agni, Vâyû, and Indra, are, as it were, above the other gods, for they touched it (the Brahman) nearest².

3. And therefore Indra is, as it were, above the other gods, for he touched it nearest, he first knew it.

4. This is the teaching of Brahman, with regard to the gods (mythological) : It is that which now

Epilog

¹ Umâ may here be taken as the wife of Siva, daughter of Himavat, better known by her earlier name, Pârvatî, the daughter of the mountains. Originally she was, not the daughter of the mountains or of the Himâlaya, but the daughter of the cloud, just as Rudra was originally, not the lord of the mountains, girîsa, but the lord of the clouds. We are, however, moving here in a secondary period of Indian thought, in which we see, as among Semitic nations, the manifested powers, and particularly the knowledge and wisdom of the gods, represented by their wives. Umâ means originally flax, from vâ, to weave, and the same word may have been an old name of wife, she who weaves (cf. duhitri, spinster, and possibly wife itself, if O. H. G. wîb is connected with O. H. G. wēban). It is used almost synonymously with ambikâ, Taitt. Âr. p. 839. If we wished to take liberties, we might translate umâ haimavatî by an old woman coming from the Himavat mountains; but I decline all responsibility for such an interpretation.

² The next phrase was borrowed from § 3, without even changing the singular to the plural. As Indra only found out that it was Brahman, the original distinction between Indra and the other gods, who only came near to it, was quite justified. Still it might be better to adopt the var. lect. sa hy etat in § 2.

flashes forth in the lightning, and now vanishes again.

5. And this is the teaching of Brahman, with regard to the body (psychological): It is that which seems to move as mind, and by it imagination remembers again and again¹.

6. That Brahman is called Tadvana², by the name of Tadvana it is to be meditated on. All beings have a desire for him who knows this.

7. The Teacher: 'As you have asked me to tell you the Upanishad, the Upanishad has now

¹ I have translated these paragraphs very differently from Sankara and other interpreters. The wording is extremely brief, and we can only guess the original intention of the Upanishad by a reference to other passages. Now the first teaching of Brahman, by means of a comparison with the gods or heavenly things in general, seems to be that Brahman is what shines forth suddenly like lightning. Sometimes the relation between the phenomenal world and Brahman is illustrated by the relation between bubbles and the sea, or lightning and the unseen heavenly light (Mait. Up. VI, 35). In another passage, *Kh. Up. VIII, 12, 2*, lightning, when no longer seen, is to facilitate the conception of the reality of things, as distinct from their perceptibility. I think, therefore, that the first simile, taken from the phenomenal world, was meant to show that Brahman is that which appears for a moment in the lightning, and then vanishes from our sight.

The next illustration is purely psychological. Brahman is proved to exist, because our mind moves towards things, because there is something in us which moves and perceives, and because there is something in us which holds our perceptions together (*sankalpa*), and revives them again by memory.

I give my translation as hypothetical only, for certainty is extremely difficult to attain, when we have to deal with these enigmatical sayings which, when they were first delivered, were necessarily accompanied by oral explanations.

² Tadvana, as a name of Brahman, is explained by 'the desire of it,' and derived from *van*, to desire, the same as *vāñkh*.

been told you. We have told you the Brâhmi Upanishad.

8. 'The feet on which that Upanishad stands are penance, restraint, sacrifice; the Vedas are all its limbs¹, the True is its abode.

9. 'He who knows this Upanishad, and has shaken off all evil, stands in the endless, unconquerable² world of heaven, yea, in the world of heaven.'

¹ It is impossible to adopt Saṅkara's first rendering, 'the Vedas and all the Aṅgas,' i.e. the six subsidiary doctrines. He sees himself that sarvâṅgâni stands in opposition to pratishā and âyatana, but seeing Veda and Aṅga together, no Brahman could help thinking of the Vedâṅgas.

² Might we read agyeye for gyeye? cf. Satap. Brâhm. XI, 5, 7, 1.

AITAREYA-ÂRANYAKA.

AITAREYA - ÂRANYAKA.

FIRST ÂRANYAKA.

FIRST ADHYÂYA.

FIRST KHANDA.

1. Now follows the Mahâvrata ceremony.
2. After having killed *Vritra*, *Indra* became great. When he became great, then there was the Mahâvrata (the great work). This is why the Mahâvrata ceremony is called Mahâvrata.
3. Some people say: 'Let the priest make two (recitations with the offering of the) âgya (ghee) on that day,' but the right thing is one¹.
4. He who desires prosperity should use the hymn, *pra vo devâyâgnaye* (Rv. III, 13, 1).
5. He who desires increase should use the hymn, *viso viso atithim* (Rv. VIII, 74, 1).

¹ That it should be one only is proved from the types, i. e. from other sacrifices, that have to be followed in the performance of the Mahâvrata. The first type is the *Agnish/oma*, where one *sastra* is enjoined as *âgyasastra*, viz. *pra vo devâyâgnaye*. In the *Visvagit*, which has to follow the *Agnish/oma*, another hymn is put in its place, viz. *agnim naro dîdhitibhiḥ*. In the Mahâvrata, which has to follow the *Visvagit*, some people recommend the use of both these hymns. But that is wrong, for there must be in the sacrifices which follow the *Agnish/oma* twelve *sastras* altogether; and if there were two here, instead of one, we should get a total of thirteen.

6. The people (*visaḥ*) indeed are increase¹, and therefore he (the sacrificer) becomes increased.

7. But (some say), there is the word *atithim* (in that hymn, which means a guest or stranger, asking for food). Let him not therefore take that hymn. Verily, the *atithi* (stranger) is able² to go begging.

8. 'No,' he said, 'let him take that hymn.'

9. 'For he who follows the good road and obtains distinction, he is an *atithi* (guest)³.

10. 'They do not consider him who is not so, worthy to be (called) an *atithi* (guest).

11. 'Therefore let him by all means take that hymn.'

12. If he takes that hymn, let him place the (second) *tristich*, *âganma vṛtrahantamam*, 'we came near to the victorious,' first.

13. For people worship the whole year (performing the *Gavâmayana* sacrifice) wishing for this day (the last but one)—they do come near.

14. The (next following) three *tristichs* begin with an *Anushṭubh*⁴. Now *Brahman* is *Gâyatri*; speech is *Anushṭubh*. He thus joins speech with *Brahman*.

15. He who desires glory should use the hymn, *abodhy agniḥ samidhâ ganânâm* (*Rv. V, 1, 1*).

¹ The word *visaḥ*, which occurs in the hymn, means people. The commentator says that because the *Vaiśyas* or tradespeople increase their capital, therefore they are called increase.

² Able, or liable; cf. *Ait. Âr. II, 3, 5, 7*.

³ *Atithi* is here explained by *yo bhavati*, and *bhavati* is explained as walking on the good road. One expects *yo vâ atati*. The obtaining of distinction is probably derived from *ati*, above, in *atithi*.

⁴ In the first and second the *Anushṭubh* is followed by two *Gâyatris*.

16. He who desires offspring and cattle should use the hymn, *hotâganishṭa ketanaḥ* (Rv. II, 5, 1).

SECOND KHANDA.

1. He who desires proper food¹ should use the hymn, *agnim naro dīdhitibhiḥ* (Rv. VII, 1, 1)².

2. Verily, Agni (fire) is the eater of food.

In the other (recitations accompanying the) offerings of *âgya* (where Agni is likewise mentioned) the worshippers come more slowly near to Agni (because the name of Agni does not stand at the beginning of the hymn). But here a worshipper obtains proper food at once, he strikes down evil at once.

3. Through the words (occurring in the second foot of the first verse), *hastakṛtyuti ganayanta*, 'they caused the birth of Agni by moving their arms,' the hymn becomes endowed with (the word) birth. Verily, the sacrificer is born from this day of the sacrifice, and therefore the hymn is endowed with (the word) birth.

4. There are four metrical feet (in the *Trishṭubh* verses of this hymn). Verily, cattle have four feet, therefore they serve for the gaining of cattle.

5. There are three metrical feet (in the *Virâg* verses of this hymn). Verily, three are these three-

¹ *Annâdyam* is always explained as food, here as *annam tad âdyam ka*. It must be so translated here and elsewhere (I, 2, 10), though it is often an abstract of *annâda*, an eater of food, a healthy man.

² This hymn is prescribed in the *Virvagit* sacrifice, and taken over to the *Mahâvrata*, according to rule. It is used, however, both as obligatory and as optional at the same time, i. e. it is an essential part of the sacrifice, and at the same time to be used by those who wish for proper food.

fold worlds. Therefore they serve for the conquest of the worlds.

6. These (the Trishûbh and Virâg verses of the hymn) form two metres, which form a support (pratihâ). Verily, man is supported by two (feet), cattle by four feet. Therefore this hymn places the sacrificer who stands on two feet among cattle which stand on four.

7. By saying them straight on there are twenty-five verses in this hymn. Man also consists of twenty-five. There are ten fingers on his hands, ten toes on his feet, two legs, two arms, and the trunk (âtman) the twenty-fifth. He adorns that trunk, the twenty-fifth, by this hymn.

8. And then this day (of the sacrifice) consists of twenty-five, and the Stoma hymn of that day consists of twenty-five¹ (verses); it becomes the same through the same. Therefore these two, the day and the hymn, are twenty-five².

9. These twenty-five verses, by repeating the first thrice and the last thrice, become thirty less one. This is a Virâg verse (consisting of thirty syllables), too small by one. Into the small (heart) the vital spirits are placed, into the small stomach food is placed³, therefore this Virâg, small by one, serves for the obtainment of those desires.

10. He who knows this, obtains those desires.

11. The verses (contained in the hymn agnim naro dâdhitibhih) become the Brîhatt⁴ metre and

¹ Cf. Ait. Âr. I, 1, 4, 21; II, 3, 4, 2.

² The plural after the dual is explained by the fact that the hymn means the twenty-five verses.

³ Cf. I, 3, 7, 5.

⁴ The hymn consists of eighteen Virâg and seven Trishûbh

the Virâg metre, (they become) the perfection which belongs to that day (the mahâvrata). Then they also become Anushûbh¹, for the offerings of âgya (ghee) dwell in Anushûbhs².

THIRD KHANDA³.

1. Some say: 'Let him take a Gâyatrî hymn for the Pra-uga. Verily, Gâyatrî is brightness and glory of countenance, and thus the sacrificer becomes bright and glorious.'

2. Others say: 'Let him take a Ushnih hymn for the Pra-uga. Verily, Ushnih is life, and thus the sacrificer has a long life.'

Others say: 'Let him take an Anushûbh hymn

verses. Therefore the eighteen Virâg verses remain what they are, only that the first is repeated three times, so that we have twenty Virâg verses. The seven Trishûbhs, by repeating the last three times, become nine. We then take eight syllables away from each verse, thus changing them into nine Brîhatî verses. The nine times eight syllables, which were taken off, give us seventy-two syllables, and as each Brîhatî consists of thirty-six syllables, two Brîhatîs.

¹ The change of the first verse, which is a Virâg of thirty-three syllables, into an Anushûbh is produced by a still easier process. The first Virâg consists here of thirty-three syllables, the Anushûbh should have thirty-two. But one or two syllables more or less does not destroy a metre, according to the views of native metricians. The Virâg itself, for instance, should have thirty syllables, and here has thirty-three. Therefore if changed into an Anushûbh, it simply has one syllable over, which is of no consequence. Comm.

² Cf. Ait. Âr. I, 1, 4.

³ Thus far the hymn which has to be recited by the Hotrî priest, after the eating of the *ritugrahas*, has been considered. What follows next is the so-called Pra-uga hymn, consisting of seven *trîkas*, which the Hotrî has to recite after the Visvedevagraha. Different Sâkhâs recommend hymns of different metres, our Sâkhâ fixes on the Gâyatrî.

for the Pra-uga. Verily, Anushṭubh is valour, and it serves for obtaining valour.'

Others say: 'Let him take a Brīhatt hymn for the Pra-uga. Verily, Brīhatt is fortune, and thus the sacrificer becomes fortunate.'

Others say: 'Let him take a Paṅkti hymn for the Pra-uga. Verily, Paṅkti is food, and thus the sacrificer becomes rich in food.'

Others say: 'Let him take a Trishṭubh hymn for the Pra-uga. Verily, Trishṭubh is strength, and thus the sacrificer becomes strong.'

Others say: 'Let him take a Gāgati hymn for the Pra-uga. Verily, cattle is Gāgati-like, and thus the sacrificer becomes rich in cattle.'

3. But we say: 'Let him take a Gâyatri hymn only. Verily, Gâyatri is Brahman, and that day (the mahâvrata) is (for the attainment of) Brahman. Thus he obtains Brahman by means of Brahman.

4. 'And it must be a Gâyatri hymn by Madhukṛkṇandas,

5. 'For Madhukṛkṇandas is called Madhukṛkṇandas, because he wishes (kṛkṇdati) for honey (madhu) for the Rishis.

6. 'Now food verily is honey, all is honey, all desires are honey, and thus if he recites the hymn of Madhukṛkṇandas, it serves for the attainment of all desires.

7. 'He who knows this, obtains all desires.'

This (Gâyatri pra-uga), according to the one-day (ekâha) ceremonial¹, is perfect in form². On that day (the mahâvrata) much is done now and then which

¹ It is copied from the Visvagit, and that from the Agnishoma.

² Nothing is wanting for its performance, if one only follows the rules given in the Agnishoma.

has to be hidden¹, and has to be atoned for (by recitation of hymns). Atonement (*sânti*) is rest, the one-day sacrifice. Therefore at the end of the year (on the last day but one of the sacrifice that lasts a whole year) the sacrificers rest on this atonement as their rest.

8. He who knows this rests firm, and they also for whom a *Hotri* priest who knows this, recites this hymn.

FOURTH KHANDA².

1. Rv. I, 2, 1-3. *Vâyav â yâhi darsateme somâ aram kṛitâh*, 'Approach, O *Vâyuv*, conspicuous, these Somas have been made ready.' Because the word ready occurs in these verses, therefore is this day (of the sacrifice) ready (and auspicious) for the sacrificer and for the gods.

2. Yes, this day is ready (and auspicious) to him who knows this, or for whom a *Hotri* priest who knows this, recites.

3. Rv. I, 2, 4-6. *Indravâyû ime sutâ, â yâtam upa nishkrîtam*, 'Indra and *Vâyuv*, these Somas are prepared, come hither towards what has been prepared.' By *nishkrîta*, prepared, he means what has been well prepared (*samskrîta*).

4. Indra and *Vâyuv* go to what has been prepared by him who knows this, or for whom a *Hotri* priest who knows this, recites.

¹ *Dâsînṛitya*-bahubhûtamaitihuna-brahmakâripumsâlisampravâdâdikam. See Rajendralal Mitra, Introduction to his edition of the *Aitareya-âraṇyaka*, p. 25. It might be better to join *ekâhaḥ* with *sântiyâm*, but even then the argumentation is not quite clear.

² Next follows a list of the verses which form the seven *trîkas* (groups of three verses) of the *Pra-uga* hymn, with occasional remarks on certain words.

5. Rv. I, 2, 7. Mitram huve pûtadaksham, dhiyam ghrîtakîm sâdhantâ, 'I call Mitra of holy strength; (he and Varuna) they fulfil the prayer accompanied with clarified butter.' Verily, speech is the prayer accompanied with clarified butter.

6. Speech is given to him who knows this, or for whom a Hotri priest who knows this, recites.

7. Rv. I, 3, 1. Asvinâ yagvarîr ishah, 'O Asvinau, (eat) the sacrificial offerings.' Verily, the sacrificial offerings are food, and this serves for the acquirement of food.

8. Rv. I, 3, 3. Â yâtam rudravartant, 'Come hither, ye Rudravartant.'

9. The Asvinau go to the sacrifice of him who knows this, or for whom a Hotri priest who knows this, recites.

10. Rv. I, 3, 4-6. Indrâ yâhi êitrabhâno, indrâ yâhi dhiyeshitah, indrâ yâhi tûtugâna, 'Come hither, Indra, of bright splendour, Come hither, Indra, called by prayer, Come hither, Indra, quickly!' Thus he recites, Come hither, come hither!

11. Indra comes to the sacrifice of him who knows this, or for whom a Hotri priest who knows this, recites.

12. Rv. I, 3, 7. Omâsas êarshantdhrito visve devâsa â gata, 'Visve Devas, protectors, supporters of men, come hither!'

13. Verily, the Visve Devas come to the call of him who knows this, or for whom a Hotri priest who knows this, recites.

14. Rv. I, 3, 7. Dâsvâmso dâsushah sutam, 'Come ye givers to the libation of the giver!' By dâsushah he means dadushah, i. e. to the libation of every one that gives.

15. The gods fulfil his wish, with whatever wish he recites this verse,

16. (The wish of him) who knows this, or for whom a Hotri priest who knows this, recites.

17. Rv. I, 3, 10. Pâvakâ na^h sarasvatî yagñam vash^{tu} dhiyâvasu^h, 'May the holy Sarasvatî accept our sacrifice, rich in prayer!' Speech is meant by 'rich in prayer.'

18. Speech is given to him who knows this, or for whom a Hotri priest who knows this, recites.

19. And when he says, 'May she accept our sacrifice!' what he means is, 'May she carry off our sacrifice!'

20. If these verses are recited straight on, they are twenty-one. Man also consists of twenty-one. There are ten fingers on his hands, ten toes on his feet, and the trunk the twenty-first. He adorns that trunk, the twenty-first, by this hymn.

21. By repeating the first and the last verses thrice, they become twenty-five. The trunk is the twenty-fifth, and Pragâpati is the twenty-fifth. There are ten fingers on his hands, ten toes on his feet, two legs, two arms, and the trunk the twenty-fifth. He adorns that trunk, the twenty-fifth, by this hymn¹.

Now this day consists of twenty-five, and the Stoma hymn of that day consists of twenty-five: it becomes the same through the same. Therefore these two, the day and the hymn, are twenty-five, yea, twenty-five.

¹ Cf. I, 1, 2, 7; I, 3, 5, 7.

SECOND ADHYÂYA.

FIRST KHANDA¹.

1. The two *trikas*, Rv. VIII, 68, 1-3, â tvâ ratham yathotaye, and Rv. VIII, 2, 1-3, idam vaso sutam andhaḥ, form the first (pratipad) and the second (anukara) of the Marutvatīya hymn.

2. Both, as belonging to the one-day ceremonial², are perfect in form. On that day much is done now and then which has to be hidden, and has to be atoned for. Atonement is rest, the one-day sacrifice. Therefore at the end of the year the sacrificers rest on this atonement as their rest. He who knows this rests firm, and they also for whom a Hotri priest who knows this, recites this hymn³.

3. In the second verse of (the Pragâtha⁴), indra nedīya ed ihi, pra sū tirâ saḥibhir ye ta ukthinaḥ (Rv. VIII, 53, 5, 6), there occurs the word ukthinaḥ, reciters of hymns⁵. Verily, this day (the mahâvrata) is an uktha (hymn), and as endowed with an uktha, the form of this day is perfect.

4. In the first verse (of another Pragâtha) the word vīra, strong, occurs (Rv. I, 40, 3), and as endowed with the word vīra, strong, the form of this day is perfect.

¹ In the first adhyâya the two hymns to be recited by the Hotri priest at the morning-libation (the âgya and pra-uga sastra) have been considered. Now follows the Marutvatīya hymn, to be recited by the Hotri priest at the noon-libation.

² Taken from the Agnishōma.

³ Cf. I, 1, 3, 7-8.

⁴ All these Pragâthas consist of two verses expanded into a trika.

⁵ Hotrâdaya ukthinaḥ sastrinaḥ.

5. In the second verse (of another Pragâtha) the word *suvîryam*, strength, occurs (Rv. I. 40, 1), and as endowed with the word *suvîrya*, strength, the form of this day is perfect.

6. In the first verse (of another Pragâtha) the word *ukthyam*, to be hymned, occurs (Rv. I, 40, 5). Verily, this day is an *uktha*, and as endowed with an *uktha*, the form of this day is perfect.

7. In the (Dhayyâ) verse *agnir netâ* (Rv. III, 20, 4) the word *vritrahâ*, killer of *Vritra*, occurs. The killing of *Vritra* is a form (character) of Indra, this day (the *mahâvrata*) belongs to Indra, and this is the (perfect) form of that day.

8. In the (Dhayyâ) verse *tvam soma kratubhiḥ sukratur bhûḥ* (Rv. I, 91, 2) the word *vriṣhâ*¹, powerful, occurs. Powerful is a form (character) of Indra, this day belongs to Indra, and this is the (perfect) form of that day.

9. In the (Dhayyâ) verse *pinvanty apaḥ* (Rv. I, 64, 6) the word *vâginam*, endowed with food, occurs. Endowed with food is a form (character) of Indra, this day belongs to Indra, and this is the (perfect) form of that day.

10. In the same verse the word *stanayantam*, thundering, occurs. Endowed with thundering is a form (character) of Indra, this day belongs to Indra, and this is the (perfect) form of that day.

11. In (the Pragâtha) *pra va indrâya bṛîhate* (Rv. VIII, 89, 3) (the word *bṛîhat* occurs). Verily, *bṛîhat* is *mahat* (great), and as endowed with *mahat*, great, the form of this day (*mahâvrata*) is perfect.

12. In (the Pragâtha) *bṛîhad indrâya gâyata* (Rv.

¹ Cf. I, 2, 2, 14.

VIII, 89, 1) (the word *brîhat* occurs). Verily, *brîhat* is mahat (great), and as endowed with mahat, the form of this day is perfect.

13. In (the Pragâtha) *nakiḥ* sudâso ratham paryâsa na rîramad (Rv. VII, 32, 10) the words paryâsa (he moved round) and na rîramad (he did not enjoy) occur, and as endowed with the words paryasta and rânti the form of this day is perfect ¹.

He recites all (these) Pragâthas, in order to obtain all the days (of the sacrifice), all the Ukthas ², all the *Prishthas* ³, all the Sastras ⁴, all the Pra-ugas ⁵, and all the Savanas (libations).

SECOND KHANDA ⁶.

1. He recites the hymn, *asat su me garitaḥ sâbhi-vegaḥ* (Rv. X, 27, 1), (and in it the word) *satya-dhvrîtam*, the destroyer of truth. Verily, that day

¹ Because the performance of the Mahâvrata sacrifice moves the worshipper round to another world and gives him enjoyment. Comm. It is difficult to surpass the absurdity of these explanations. Na rîramat means no one stopped the chariot of Sudâs. But even if it meant that no one rejoiced through the chariot of Sudâs, it would be difficult to see how the negative of enjoyment, mentioned in the hymn, could contribute to the perfection of a sacrifice which is to confer positive enjoyment on the worshipper.

² The stotras following after the Yagnâyagnîya Sâman, serving for the ukthya-kratus.

³ The stotras of the noon-libation, to be performed with the Rathantara, *Brîhat*, and other Sâmans.

⁴ The sastras, recitations, accompanying the oblations of âgya.

⁵ The pra-ugas, a division of sastras, described above.

⁶ The type after which the Marutvatîya-sastra is to be performed is the *Katurvîmsa* day. Hitherto (from â tvâ ratham to *nakiḥ sudâsaḥ*), all that is taken over from the type to the modification, i. e. the Marutvatîya, has been explained. Now follow the verses which are new and peculiar to the Marutvatîya of the Mahâvrata.

is truth, and as endowed with the word satya, truth, the form of this day is perfect ¹.

2. That hymn is composed by Vasukra. Verily, Vasukra is Brahman, and that day is Brahman. Thus he obtains Brahman by means of Brahman ².

3. Here they say: 'Why then is that Marutvatīya hymn completed by the hymn of Vasukra?' Surely because no other *Rishi* but Vasukra brought out a Marutvatīya hymn, or divided it properly ³. Therefore that Marutvatīya hymn is completed by the hymn of Vasukra.

4. That hymn, *asat su me*, is not definitely addressed to any deity, and is therefore supposed to be addressed to *Pragâpati*. Verily, *Pragâpati* is indefinite, and therefore the hymn serves to win *Pragâpati*.

5. Once in the hymn (Rv. X, 27, 22) he defines *Indra* (*indrâya sunvat*); therefore it does not fall off from its form, as connected with *Indra*.

6. He recites the hymn (Rv. VI, 17, 1) *pibâ somam abhi yam ugra tardo*.

7. In the verse *ûrvam gavyam mahi grinâna indra* the word *mahi*, great, occurs. Endowed with the word *mahat*, the form of this day is perfect.

8. That hymn is composed by *Bharadvâga*, and *Bharadvâga* was he who knew most, who lived longest, and performed the greatest austerities among the *Rishis*, and by this hymn he drove away evil. Therefore if he recites the hymn of *Bharadvâga*,

¹ The commentator endeavours to make the meaning more natural by taking in the word *prahantâ*, he who kills the destroyer of truth. But considering the general character of these remarks, this is hardly necessary.

² Cf. I, 1, 3, 3.

³ By separating the first *tri*ka from the second, and so forth.

then, after having driven away evil, he becomes learned, long-lived, and full of austerities.

9. He recites the hymn *kayâ subhâ savayasaḥ sanilâḥ* (Rv. I, 165, 1).

10. In the verse *â sâsate prati haryanty ukthâ* (Rv. I, 165, 4) the word *ukthâ* occurs. Verily, that day (the *mahâvrata*) is *uktha* (hymn). Endowed with the word *uktha*, the form of this day becomes perfect.

11. That hymn is called *Kayâsubhṭya*¹. Verily, that hymn, which is called *Kayâsubhṭya*, is mutual understanding and it is lasting. By means of it Indra, Agastya, and the Maruts came to a mutual understanding. Therefore, if he recites the *Kayâsubhṭya* hymn, it serves for mutual understanding.

12. The same hymn is also long life. Therefore, if the sacrificer is dear to the *Hotri*, let him recite the *Kayâsubhṭya* hymn for him.

13. He recites the hymn *marutvân indra vrîshabo ranâya* (Rv. III, 47, 1).

14. In it the words *indra vrîshabha* (powerful) occur. Verily, powerful is a form of Indra², this day belongs to Indra, and this is the perfect form of that day.

15. That hymn is composed by *Visvâmitra*. Verily, *Visvâmitra* was the friend (*mitra*) of all (*visva*).

16. Everybody is the friend of him who knows this, and for whom a *Hotri* priest who knows this, recites this hymn.

17. The next hymn, *ganishthâ ugraḥ sahasa turâya* (Rv. I, 73, 1), forms a *Nividdhâna*³, and,

¹ Cf. Ait. Brâhm. V, 16.

² Cf. Ait. Âr. II, 2, 1, 8.

³ The hymn consists of eleven verses. In the middle, after the sixth verse, *nivids* or invocations, such as *indro marutvân*, are inserted, and therefore it is called a *nividdhâna* hymn.

according to the one-day (ekâha) ceremonial, is perfect in form. On that day much is done now and then which has to be hidden, and has to be atoned for (by recitation of hymns). Atonement is rest, the one-day sacrifice. Therefore at the end of the year (on the last day but one of the sacrifice that lasts a whole year) the sacrificers rest on this atonement as their rest.

He who knows this rests firm, and they also for whom a Hotri priest who knows this, recites this hymn ¹.

18. These, if recited straight on, are ninety-seven verses². The ninety are three Virâg, each consisting of thirty, and then the seven verses which are over. Whatever is the praise of the seven, is the praise of ninety also.

¹ With this hymn the Marutvatîya-sastra is finished. All the hymns from â tvâ ratham to asat su me garitar are simply taken over from the *Katurvimsa* ceremonial, the rest are peculiar to the Mahâvrata day, the day preceding the Udayaniya or final day of the Gavâmayana sattra. All this is more fully described in the fifth Âranyaka (V, 1, 1, 8), containing the Sûtras or rules of Saunaka, while the earlier Âranyakas are reckoned as Brâhmanas, and are therefore mixed up with matters not actually required for the performance of the sacrifice.

² The first Stotriya and Ânurûpa

trikas = 6 (I, 2, 1, 1).

The six Pragâthas, each of 2 verses

raised to 3 (but the text gives

seven Pragâthas) = . . . 18 (I, 2, 1, 3; 4; 5; 6; 11; 12; 13).

Three Dhâyyâs = . . . 3 (I, 2, 1, 7; 8; 9).

Asat su = 24 (I, 2, 2, 1).

Pibâ somam = 15 (I, 2, 2, 6).

Kayâ subhâ = 15 (I, 2, 2, 9).

Marutvân indra = . . . 5 (I, 2, 2, 13).

Ganish/hâ ugra = . . . 11 (I, 2, 2, 17).

19. By repeating the first and last verses three times each, they become one hundred and one verses.

20. There are five fingers, of four joints each, two pits (in the elbow and the arm), the arm, the eye, the shoulder-blade; this makes twenty-five. The other three parts have likewise twenty-five each¹. That makes a hundred, and the trunk is the one hundred and first.

21. Hundred is life, health, strength, brightness. The sacrificer as the one hundred and first rests in life, health, strength, and brightness.

22. These verses become Trishṭubh², for the noonday-libation consists of Trishṭubh verses.

THIRD KHANDA³.

1. They say: 'What is the meaning of preṅkha, swing?' Verily, he is the swing, who blows (the wind). He indeed goes forward (pra + inkhate) in these worlds, and that is why the swing is called preṅkha.

2. Some say, that there should be one plank, because the wind blows in one way, and it should be like the wind.

3. That is not to be regarded.

4. Some say, there should be three planks, because there are these three threefold worlds, and it should be like them.

¹ The left side as well as the right, and then the left and right side of the lower body. Thus we have twenty joints of the five toes, a thigh, a leg, and three joints, making twenty-five on each side.

² Approach the Trishṭubh metre of the last hymn. Comm.

³ After having considered the Marutvatīya, he proceeds to consider the Nishkevalya. This has to be recited by the Hotri while sitting on a swing.

5. That is not to be regarded.
6. Let there be two, for these two worlds (the earth and heaven) are seen as if most real, while the ether (space) between the two is the sky (antariksha). Therefore let there be two planks.
7. Let them be made of Udumbara wood. Verily, the Udumbara tree is sap and eatable food, and thus it serves to obtain sap and eatable food.
8. Let them be elevated in the middle (between the earth and the cross-beam). Food, if placed in the middle, delights man, and thus he places the sacrificer in the middle of eatable food.
9. There are two kinds of rope, twisted towards the right and twisted towards the left. The right ropes serve for some animals, the left ropes for others. If there are both kinds of rope, they serve for the attainment of both kinds of cattle.
10. Let them be made of Darbha (Kusa grass), for among plants Darbha is free from evil, therefore they should be made of Darbha grass.

FOURTH KHANDA.

1. Some say: 'Let the swing be one ell (aratni) above the ground, for by that measure verily the Svarga worlds are measured.' That is not to be regarded.
2. Others say: 'Let it be one span (prâdesa), for by that measure verily the vital airs were measured.' That is not to be regarded¹.
3. Let it be one fist (mushî), for by that measure verily all eatable food is made, and by that measure

¹ They rise one span above the heart, and they proceed one span from out the mouth. Comm.

all eatable food is taken ; therefore let it be one fist above the ground.

4. They say: 'Let him mount the swing from east to west, like he who shines; for the sun mounts these worlds from east to west.' That is not to be regarded.

5. Others say: 'Let him mount the swing sideways, for people mount a horse sideways¹, thinking that thus they will obtain all desires.' That is not to be regarded.

6. They say: 'Let him mount the swing² from behind, for people mount a ship from behind, and this swing is a ship in which to go to heaven.' Therefore let him mount it from behind.

7. Let him touch the swing with his chin (*khubuka*). The parrot (*suka*) thus mounts a tree, and he is of all birds the one who eats most food. Therefore let him touch it with his chin.

8. Let him mount the swing with his arms³. The hawk swoops thus on birds and on trees, and he is of all birds the strongest. Therefore let him mount with his arms.

9. Let him not withdraw one foot (the right or left) from the earth, for fear that he may lose his hold.

10. The *Hotri* mounts the swing, the *Udgâtri* the seat made of *Udumbara* wood. The swing is masculine, the seat feminine, and they form a union. Thus he makes a union at the beginning of the *uktha* in order to get offspring.

¹ Here we have clearly riding on horseback.

² While the swing points to the east, let him stand west, and thus mount.

³ The fore-arms, from the elbow to the end, the *aratnî*. Comm.

11. He who knows this, gets offspring and cattle.

12. Next the swing is food, the seat fortune. Thus he mounts and obtains food and fortune.

13. The Hotrakas (the *Prasâstri*, *Brâhmanâ-kkham*sin, *Potri*, *Neshtri*, *Agnîdhra*, and *Akkhâvâka*) together with the Brahman sit down on cushions made of grass, reeds, leaves, &c.

14. Plants and trees, after they have grown up, bear fruit. Thus if the priests mount on that day altogether (on their seats), they mount on solid and fluid as their proper food. Therefore this serves for the attainment of solid as proper food ¹.

15. Some say: 'Let him descend after saying *vashat* ².' That is not to be regarded. For, verily, that respect is not shown which is shown to one who does not see it ³.

16. Others say: 'Let him descend after he has taken the food in his hand.' That is not to be regarded. For, verily, that respect is not shown which is shown to one after he has approached quite close.

17. Let him descend after he has seen the food. For, verily, that is real respect which is shown to one when he sees it. Only after having actually

¹ One expects *ishat* before *îrgah*, but it is wanting in both text and commentary, and in other MSS. also.

² The word by which the *Hotri* invites the *Adhvaryu* to offer the oblation to the gods. The descending from the swing belongs, of course, to a later part of the sacrifice.

³ It is supposed that the *Hotri* rises from the swing to show respect to the sacrificial food, when it is brought near. But as it is not brought near, immediately after the *Hotri* has finished his part with the word *vashat*, the food could not see the *Hotri* rise, and this mark of respect, intended for the food, would thus be lost.

seen the food (that is brought to the sacrifice), let him descend from the swing.

18. Let him descend turning towards the east, for in the east the seed of the gods springs up¹. Therefore let him rise turning towards the east, yea, turning towards the east.

THIRD ADHYÂYA.

FIRST KHANDA.

1. Let him begin this day² with singing 'Him,' thus they say.

2. Verily, the sound Him is Brahman, that day also is Brahman. He who knows this, obtains Brahman even by Brahman.

3. As he begins with the sound Him, surely that masculine sound of Him and the feminine *Rik* (the verse) make a couple. Thus he makes a couple at the beginning of the hymn in order to get offspring³. He who knows this, gets cattle and offspring.

4. Or, as he begins with the sound Him, surely like a wooden spade, so the sound Him serves to dig up Brahman (the sap of the Veda). And as a man wishes to dig up any, even the hardest soil, with a spade, thus he digs up Brahman.

5. He who knows this digs up, by means of the sound Him, everything he may desire.

6. If he begins with the sound Him, that sound is the holding apart of divine and human speech.

¹ Should it be *devareta* or *sampragâyate*, or *devaretasam pragâyate*?

² The *Nishkevalya-sastra*, of the noon-libation; cf. I, 2, 2, 1.

³ Cf. I, 2, 4, 10.

Therefore, he who begins, after having uttered the sound Him, holds apart divine and human speech¹.

SECOND KHANDA.

1. And here they ask: 'What is the beginning of this day?' Let him say: 'Mind and speech².'

2. All desires dwell in the one (mind), the other yields all desires.

3. All desires dwell in the mind, for with the mind he conceives all desires.

4. All desires come to him who knows this.

5. Speech yields all desires, for with speech he declares all his desires.

6. Speech yields all desires to him who knows this.

7. Here they say: 'Let him not begin this day with a *Rik*, a *Yagus*, or a *Sâman* verse (divine speech), for it is said, he should not start with a *Rik*, a *Yagus*, or a *Sâman*³.'

8. Therefore, let him say these *Vyâhr̥tis* (sacred interjections) first.

9. These interjections *Bhûs*, *Bhuvas*, *Svar* are the three Vedas, *Bhûs* the *R̥ig-veda*, *Bhuvas* the *Yagur-veda*, *Svar* the *Sâma-veda*. Therefore (by

¹ Human speech is the ordinary speech, divine speech that of the Veda. Thus between the hymns, or the divine speech, and the ordinary language of conversation the sound Him is interposed as a barrier.

² Mind, to think about the hymns which have to be recited; speech, to recite them without a flaw.

³ It is doubtful whether *neyâd rikah* and *apagakkhet* can have this meaning. However, what is intended is clear, viz. that the priest, even after having uttered the sound Him, should not immediately begin with verses from the Vedas, but should intercalate the three syllables *bhûr bhuvaḥ svar*, or, if taken singly, *bhûs*, *bhuvas*, *sva*.

intercalating these) he does not begin simply with a *Rik*, *Yagus*, or *Sâman* verse, he does not start with a *Rik*, *Yagus*, or *Sâman* verse.

THIRD KHANDA.

1. He begins with *tad*, this, (the first word of the first hymn, *tad id âsa*). Verily 'this, this' is food, and thus he obtains food.

2. *Pragâpati* indeed uttered this as the first word, consisting of one or two syllables, viz. *tata* and *tâta* (or *tat*)¹. And thus does a child, as soon as he begins to speak, utter the word, consisting of one or two syllables, viz. *tata* and *tâta* (or *tat*). With this very word, consisting of *tat* or *tatta*, he begins.

3. This has been said by a *Rîshi* (*Rv. X, 71, 1*)²:—

4. 'O *Bṛihaspati*, the first point of speech ;'—for this is the first and highest point of speech.

5. 'That which you have uttered, making it a name ;'—for names are made by speech.

¹ *Tata* and *tâta* are used both by children in addressing their parents, and by parents in addressing their children. If *tat* is called the very same word, *eva* is used in the sense of *iva*.

² The verse is cited to confirm the meaning of *tat*, the first word of the first hymn (*tad id âsa*), as explained before. It was said that *tat* was the first name applied to a child. Now, according to *Âsvalâyana Gṛihya-sûtra* I, 16, 8, a name is given to a child at the time of its birth, a name which no one knows except father and mother, till the time when he is initiated by a *Guru*. This is called the *abhivadanîya* name. In allusion to this custom it is said here that *tata* is the secret name of the child, which becomes publicly known at a later time only. Of course the interpretation of the verse in that sense is unnatural, but quite in keeping with the general character of the *Âranyaka*. I doubt whether even the commentator understood what was intended by the author, and whether the gods who enter the body are supposed to know the name, or whether the name refers to these gods, or, it may be, to *tad*, the *Brahman*.

6. 'That (name) which was the best and without a flaw;'—for this is the best and without a flaw.

7. 'That which was hidden by their love, is made manifest;'—for this was hidden in the body, viz. those deities (which enter the body, Agni as voice, entering the mouth, &c.); and that was manifest among the gods in heaven. This is what was intended by the verse.

FOURTH KHANDA¹.

1. He begins with: 'That indeed was the oldest in the worlds²;'—for that (the Brahman) is verily the oldest in the worlds.

2. 'Whence was born the fierce one, endowed with brilliant force;'—for from it was born the fierce one, who is endowed with brilliant force.

3. 'When born he at once destroys the enemies;'—for he at once when born struck down the evil one.

4. 'He after whom all friends rejoice;'—verily all friends are the creatures, and they rejoice after him, saying, 'He has risen, he has risen³.'

5. 'Growing by strength, the almighty⁴;'—for he (the sun) does grow by strength, the almighty.

6. 'He, as enemy, causes fear to the slave;'—for everything is afraid of him.

7. 'Taking the breathing and the not-breathing;'—this means the living and the lifeless.

8. 'Whatever has been offered at feasts came to thee;'—this means everything is in thy power.

9. 'All turn their thought also on thee⁵;'—this

¹ He now explains the first hymn of the Nishkevalya, which is called the Râgana.

² Rv. X, 120, 1.

⁴ Rv. X, 120, 2.

³ The sun and the fire.

⁵ Rv. X, 120, 3.

means all these beings, all minds, all thoughts also turn to thee.

10. 'When these two become three protectors;'—i. e. when these two united beget offspring.

11. He who knows this, gets offspring and cattle.

12. 'Join what is sweeter than sweet (offspring) with the sweet (the parents);'—for the couple (father and mother) is sweet, the offspring is sweet, and he thus joins the offspring with the couple.

13. 'And this (the son, when married) being very sweet, conquered through the sweet;'—i. e. the couple is sweet, the offspring is sweet, and thus through the couple he conquers offspring¹.

14. This is declared by a *Rishi*²: 'Because he (Pragâpati) raised his body (the hymn tad id âsa or the Veda in general) in the body (of the sacrificer)' (therefore that Nishkevalya hymn is praised);—i. e. this body, consisting of the Veda, in that corporeal form (of the sacrificer).

15. 'Then let this body indeed be the medicine of that body;'—i. e. this body, consisting of the Veda, of that corporeal form (of the sacrificer).

16. Of this (the first foot of Rv. X, 120, 1) the eight syllables are Gâyatrî, the eleven syllables are Trishûbh, the twelve syllables are Gagatrî, the ten syllables are Virâg. The Virâg, consisting of ten syllables, rests in these three metres³.

17. The word purusha, consisting of three syllables, that indeed goes into the Virâg⁴.

¹ All these are purely fanciful interpretations.

² Not to be found in our Sâkhâ of the Rig-veda.

³ These metres are obtained by a purely arbitrary counting of syllables in the hymn tadidâsa, which really consists of Trishûbh verses.

⁴ If we simply count syllables, the first and second feet of the

18. Verily, these are all metres, these (Gâyatri, Trishubh, Gâgati) having the Virâg as the fourth. In this manner this day is complete in all metres to him who knows this.

FIFTH KHANDA.

1. He extends these (verses) by (interpolating) the sound¹. Verily, the sound is purusha, man. Therefore every man when he speaks, sounds loud, as it were.

2. At the end of each foot of the first verse of the hymn tad id âsa, he inserts one foot of the second verse of hymn Rv. VIII, 69, nadam va odatinâm, &c. Thus the verse is to be recited as follows :

Tad id âsa bhuvaneshu gyesht^ham pu
 nadam va odatinâm,
 Yato gagña ugras tveshanrimno ru
 nadam yoyuvatinâm,
 Sadyo gagñâno ni rinâti satrûn
 patim vo aghnyânâm,
 Anu yam visve madanti ûmâh sho
 dhenûnâm ishudhyasi.

first verse consist of ten syllables only, the fourth of nine or ten. In order to bring them to the right number, the word purusha is to be added to what is a Virâg, i.e. to the first, the second, and fourth feet. We thus get :

tad id âsa bhuvaneshu gyesht^ham pu
 yato gagña ugras tveshanrimno ru
 sadyo gagñâno ni rinâti satrûn
 anu yam visve madanti ûmâh sha^h.

Cf. Ait. Âr. V, 1, 6.

¹ The sound, nada, is really a verse beginning with nadam, and which is interpolated after the syllables pu ru sha^h.

In nadam va odatinâm (Rv. VIII, 69, 2), odati¹ are the waters in heaven, for they water all this; and they are the waters in the mouth, for they water all good food.

3. In nadam yoyuvatnâm (Rv. VIII, 69, 2), yoyuvatî are the waters in the sky, for they seem to inundate; and they are the waters of perspiration, for they seem to run continually.

4. In patim vo aghnyânâm (Rv. VIII, 69, 2), aghnyâ are the waters which spring from the smoke of fire, and they are the waters which spring from the organ.

5. In dhenûnâm ishudhyasi (Rv. VIII, 69, 2), the dhenu (cows) are the waters, for they delight all this; and ishudhyasi means, thou art food.

6. He extends a Trishṭubh and an Anushṭubh². Trishṭubh is the man, Anushṭubh the wife, and they make a couple. Therefore does a man, after having found a wife, consider himself a more perfect man.

7. These verses, by repeating the first three times, become twenty-five. The trunk is the twenty-fifth, and Pragâpati is the twenty-fifth³. There are ten fingers on his hands, ten toes on his feet, two legs, two arms, and the trunk the twenty-fifth. He adorns that trunk as the twenty-fifth. Now this day consists of twenty-five, and the Stoma hymn of that day consists of twenty-five: it becomes the same

¹ The nasal pluta on iti is explained as pâdapratîkagrahaṇe 'tyantamâdarârthaḥ. Cf. Ait. Âr. II, 1, 4, 3.

² Tad id âsa is a Trishṭubh, nadam vaḥ an Anushṭubh.

³ Cf. I, 1, 2, 7; I, 1, 4, 21.

through the same. Therefore the two, the day and the hymn, are twenty-five¹.

SIXTH KHANDA.

This is an exact repetition of the third khanda. According to the commentator, the third khanda was intended for the glory of the first word *tad*, while the sixth is intended for the glory of the whole hymn.

SEVENTH KHANDA.

1. He begins with the hymn, *Tad id âsa bhuva-
neshu gyeshtha* (Rv. X, 120). Verily, *gyeshtha*,
the oldest, is mahat, great. Endowed with mahat
the form of this day is perfect.

2. Then follows the hymn, *Tâm su te kîrtim
maghavan mahitvâ* (Rv. X, 54), with the auspicious
word mahitvâ.

3. Then follows the hymn, *Bhûya id vavridhe
vîryâya* (Rv. VI, 30), with the auspicious word
vîrya.

4. Then follows the hymn, *Nrinâm u tvâ nri-
tamam gobhir ukthaiḥ* (Rv. I, 51, 4), with the aus-
picious word uktha.

5. He extends the first two pâdas, which are too
small, by one syllable (Rv. X, 120, 1 a, and Rv. VIII,
69, 2 a)². Into the small heart the vital spirits are
placed, into the small stomach food is placed. It

¹ The number is obtained as follows:

1. <i>Tad id âsa</i> (Rv. X, 120)=	.	.	9 verses
2. <i>Tâm su te kîrtim</i> (Rv. X, 54)=	.	.	6 "
3. <i>Bhûya id vavridhe</i> (Rv. VI, 30)=	.	.	5 "
4. <i>Nrinâm u tvâ</i> (Rv. I, 51, 4)=	.	.	3 "
			<u>23 + 2 = 25</u>

² Cf. I, 1, 2, 9.

serves for the attainment of these desires. He who knows this, obtains these desires.

6. The two feet, each consisting of ten syllables (Rv. X, 120, 1 a, b), serve for the gaining of both kinds of food¹, of what has feet (animal food), and what has no feet (vegetable food).

7. They come to be of eighteen syllables each². Of those which are ten, nine are the *prânas* (openings of the body)³, the tenth is the (vital) self. This is the perfection of the (vital) self. Eight syllables remain in each. He who knows them, obtains whatever he desires.

EIGHTH KHANDA.

1. He extends (these verses) by (interpolating) the sound⁴. Verily, breath (*prâna*) is sound. Therefore every breath when it sounds, sounds loud, as it were.

2. The verse (VIII, 69, 2) *nadam va odatnâm*, &c., is by its syllables an *Ushnih*⁵, by its feet an *Anushṭubh*⁶. *Ushnih* is life, *Anushṭubh*, speech. He thus places life and speech in him (the sacrificer.)

3. By repeating the first verse three times, they

¹ Because *Virâḡ*, a foot of ten syllables, is food.

²	Rv. X, 120, 1 a =	.	.	10
	Rv. VIII, 69, 2 a =	.	.	7
	Syllable pu =	.	.	1
				<u>18</u>

³ Seven in the head and two in the body; *sapta vai śrshanyâḥ prâṇâ dvâv avâñtâv iti*.

⁴ Cf. I, 3, 5, 1.

⁵ Each *pâda* has seven syllables, the third only six; but a seventh syllable is gained by pronouncing the *y* as *i*. Comm.

⁶ Because it has four *pâdas*.

become twenty-five. The trunk is the twenty-fifth, and Pragâpati is the twenty-fifth. There are ten fingers on his hands, ten toes on his feet, two legs, two arms, and the trunk the twenty-fifth. He adorns that trunk as the twenty-fifth. Now this day consists of twenty-five, and the Stoma hymn of that day consists of twenty-five: it becomes the same through the same. Therefore the two, the day and the hymn, are twenty-five. This is the twenty-fifth with regard to the body.

4. Next, with regard to the deities: The eye, the ear, the mind, speech, and breath, these five deities (powers) have entered into that person (purusha), and that person entered into the five deities. He is wholly pervaded there with his limbs to the very hairs and nails. Therefore all beings to the very insects are born as pervaded (by the deities or senses)¹.

5. This has been declared by a *Rishi* (Rv. X, 114, 8):—

6. 'A thousandfold are these fifteen hymns;—for five arise from ten².

7. 'As large as heaven and earth, so large is it;—verily, the self (*g'tvâtman*) is as large as heaven and earth.

8. 'A thousandfold are the thousand powers³;—

¹ The commentator takes this in a different sense, explaining atra, there, as the body pervaded by the person, yet afterwards stating that all beings are born, pervaded by the senses.

² The commentator explains ukthâ, hymns, as members or organs. They are the five, and they spring from the ten, i. e. from the five elements (earth, water, fire, wind, and ether), forming part of the father and mother each, and therefore called ten, or a decade. Daratah is explained by bhûtadarakât.

³ The application of the senses to a thousand different objects.

by saying this the poet pleases the hymns (the senses), and magnifies them.

9. 'As far as Brahman reaches, so far reaches speech;'—wherever there is Brahman, there is a word; and wherever there is a word, there is Brahman, this was intended.

10. The first of the hymns among all those hymns has nine verses. Verily, there are nine *prâṇas* (openings), and it serves for their benefit.

11. Then follows a hymn of six verses. Verily, the seasons are six, and it serves to obtain them.

12. Then follows a hymn of five verses. Verily, the *Paṅkti* consists of five feet. Verily, *Paṅkti* is food, and it serves for the gaining of proper food.

13. Then follows a tristich. Three are these threefold worlds, and it serves to conquer them.

14. These verses become *Bṛihatîs*¹, that metre being immortal, leading to the world of the Devas. That body of verses is the trunk (of the bird represented by the whole *sastra*), and thus it is. He who knows this comes by this way (by making the verses the trunk of the bird) near to the immortal Self, yea, to the immortal Self².

¹ Each foot of the *Trishûbh* has eleven syllables, to which seven are added from the *Nada* hymn. This gives eighteen syllables for each *pâda*. Two *pâdas* therefore give thirty-six syllables, and this is a *Bṛihatî*. In this manner the twenty-three verses of the hymns yield forty-six *Bṛihatîs*. Comm.

² He obtains a birth among the gods by means of this *Mahâ-vrata* ceremonial, if performed with meditation and a right understanding of its hidden meaning.

FOURTH ADHYÂYA.

FIRST KHANDA.

1. Next comes the Sûdadohas¹ verse. Sûdadohas is breath, and thereby he joins all joints with breath.

2. Next follow the neck verses. They recite them as Ushnih, according to their metre².

3. Next comes (again) the Sûdadohas verse. Sûdadohas is breath, and thereby he joins all joints with breath.

4. Next follows the head. That is in Gâyatri verses. The Gâyatri is the beginning of all metres³; the head the first of all members. It is in Arkavat verses (Rv. I, 7, 1-9)⁴. Arka is Agni. They are nine verses. The head consists of nine pieces. He recites the tenth verse, and that is the skin and the hairs on the head. It serves for reciting one verse more than (the nine verses contained in) the Stoma⁵.

¹ The Nishkevalya-sastra is represented in the shape of a bird, consisting of trunk, neck, head, vertebrae, wings, tail, and stomach. Before describing the hymns which form the neck, another hymn has to be mentioned, called Sûdadohas, which has to be recited at the end of the hymns, described before, which form the trunk. Sûdadohas is explained as 'yielding milk,' and because that word occurs in the verse, the verse is called Sûdadohas. It follows on the Nada verse, Rv. VIII, 69, 3. Cf. Ait. Âr. I, 5, 1, 7.

² They occur in another sâkhâ, and are to be recited such as they are, without any insertions. They are given by Saunaka, Ait. Âr. V, 2, 1.

³ It was created from the mouth of Pragâpati.

⁴ They are called so, because the word arka occurs in them.

⁵ The chanters of the Sâma-veda make a Trivrat Stoma of this hymn, without any repetitions, leaving out the tenth verse. The reciters of the Rig-veda excel them therefore by reciting a tenth verse. This is called atisamsanam (or -nâ).

These form the Trivṛit Stoma and the Gâyatri metre, and whatever there exists, all this is produced after the production of this Stoma and this metre. Therefore the recitation of these head-hymns serves for production.

5. He who knows this, gets offspring and cattle.

6. Next comes the Sûdadohas verse. Verily, Sûdadohas is breath, and thereby he joins all joints with breath.

7. Next follow the vertebrae¹ (of the bird). These verses are Virâḡ (shining). Therefore man says to man, 'Thou shinest above us;' or to a stiff and proud man, 'Thou carriest thy neck stiff.' Or because the (vertebrae of the neck) run close together, they are taken to be the best food. For Virâḡ is food, and food is strength.

8. Next comes the Sûdadohas verse. Sûdadohas is breath, and thereby he joins all joints with breath.

¹ Vigavas may be a singular, and the commentator seems to take it as such in his first explanation. The text, tâ virâḡo bhavanti, proves nothing, because it could not be sa virâḡo bhavanti, nor even sa virâḡ bhavati. Possibly the word may occur in both forms, vigu, plural vigavaḥ, and vigavaḥ. In a somewhat similar way we find grīvâ and grīvâḥ, folia and la feuille. On p. 109, the commentator speaks of vigavabhâga, and again, p. 110, pakshamûlarûpâ vigavâ abhihitâḥ. He, however, explains its meaning rightly, as the root of the wings, or rather the lower bones of the neck. Grīvâḥ, plural, were originally the vertebrae of the neck. The paragraph, though very empty, contains at least some interesting forms of language. First vigu, vertebrae, then the participles duta and sambâḥatama, and lastly the verb pratyakḥ, the last probably used in the sense of to bring near, to represent, with the superlative adverb annatamâm (Pân. V, 4, 11), i. e. they are represented as if they brought the best food.

SECOND KHANDA.

1. Next follows the right wing. It is this world (the earth), it is this Agni, it is speech, it is the Rathantara¹, it is Vasish/ha, it is a hundred². These are the six powers (of the right wing)³. The Sampâta hymn (Rv. IV, 20) serves indeed for obtaining desires and for firmness. The Pañkti verse (Rv. I, 80, 1) serves for proper food.

2. Next comes the Sûdadohas verse. Sûdadohas is breath, thereby he joins all joints with breath.

3. Next follows the left wing. It is that world (heaven), it is that sun, it is mind, it is the Br̥hat, it

¹ Rathantara is the name of the whole number of hymns to be recited at this part of the sacrifice. It was made by Vasish/ha, and consists of one hundred verses.

² 1. Stotriya, abhi tvâ sūra nonumaḥ (Rv. VII, 32, 22)	2 (3)
2. Anurūpa, abhi tvâ pūrvapītaye (Rv. VIII, 3, 7)	2 (3)
3. Indrasya nu (Rv. I, 32)	15
4. Tve ha (Rv. VII, 18, 1-15)	15
5. Yas tigma (Rv. VII, 19)	11
6. Ugro gagñe (Rv. VII, 20)	10
7. Ud u (Rv. VII, 23)	6
8. Â te mahaḥ (Rv. VII, 25)	6
9. Na somaḥ (Rv. VII, 26)	5
10. Indram naraḥ (Rv. VII, 27)	5
11. Brahmâ naḥ (Rv. VII, 28)	5
12. Ayam somaḥ (Rv. VII, 29)	5
13. Â na indraḥ (Rv. IV, 20)	11
	<hr/>
	98 (100)
14. Itthâ hi (Rv. I, 80, 1)	1
	<hr/>
	99 (101)

These hymns and verses are given Ait. Âr. V, 2, 2, 1. Here we also learn that hymn Rv. IV, 20, is called Sampâta, and that the last verse is a Pañkti.

³ The six powers are earth, Agni, speech, Rathantara, Vasish/ha, and a hundred.

is Bharadvâga, it is a hundred¹. These are the six powers (of the left wing). The Sampâta hymn (Rv. IV, 23) serves indeed for obtaining desires and for firmness. The Pañkti verse (Rv. I, 81, 1) serves for proper food.

4. These two (the right and the left wings) are deficient and excessive². The *Brîhat* (the left wing) is man, the *Rathantara* (the right wing) is woman. The excess belongs to the man, the deficiency to the woman. Therefore they are deficient and excessive.

5. Now the left wing of a bird is verily by one feather better, therefore the left wing is larger by one verse.

¹ The hundred verses are given Ait. Âr. V, 2, 2, 5.

1. Stotriya, tvâm id dhi (Rv. VI, 46, 1)	2 (3)
2. Anurûpa, tvam hy ehi (Rv. VIII, 61, 7)	2 (3)
3. Tam u shruhi (Rv. VI, 18)	15
4. Suta it tvam (Rv. VI, 23)	10
5. Vrishâ madaḥ (Rv. VI, 24)	10
6. Yâ ta ūtiḥ (Rv. VI, 25)	9
7. Abhûr ekaḥ (Rv. VI, 31)	5
8. Apûrvyâ (Rv. VI, 32)	5
9. Ya ogishṭhaḥ (Rv. VI, 33)	5
10. Sam ka tve (Rv. VI, 34)	5
11. Kadâ bhuvan (Rv. VI, 35)	5
12. Satrâ madâsaḥ (Rv. VI, 36)	5
13. Arvâg ratham (Rv. VI, 37)	5
14. Apâd (Rv. VI, 38)	5
15. Kathâ mahân (Rv. IV, 23)	11
	<hr/>
	99 (101)
16. Indro madâya (Rv. I, 81, 1)	1
	<hr/>
	100 (102)
	<hr/>

Though there are said to be 100 verses before the Pañkti (No. 16), I can get only 99 or 101. See the following note.

² The right wing is deficient by one verse, the left wing exceeds by one verse. I count 99 or 101 verses in the right, and 100 or 102 in the left wing.

6. Next comes the Sûdadohas verse. Sûdadohas is breath, and thereby he joins all joints with breath.

7. Next follows the tail. They are twenty-one Dvipadâ verses¹. For there are twenty-one backward feathers in a bird.

8. Then the Ekavimsa is the support of all Stomas, and the tail the support of all birds².

9. He recites a twenty-second verse. This is made the form of two supports. Therefore all birds support themselves on their tail, and having supported themselves on their tail, they fly up. For the tail is a support.

10. He (the bird and the hymn) is supported by two decades which are Virâg. The man (the sacrificer) is supported by the two Dvipadâs, the twenty-first and twenty-second. That which forms the bird serves for the attainment of all desires; that which forms the man, serves for his happiness, glory, proper food, and honour.

11. Next comes a Sûdadohas verse, then a Dhayyâ, then a Sûdadohas verse. The Sûdadohas is a man, the Dhayyâ a woman, therefore he recites the Dhayyâ as embraced on both sides by the Sûdadohas. Therefore does the seed of both, when it is effused, obtain oneness, and this with regard to the

¹ These verses are given Ait. Âr. V, 2, 2, 9.

1. Imâ nu kam (Rv. X, 157)	. . . . .	5
2. Â yâhi (Rv. X, 172)	. . . . .	4
3. Pra va indrâya &c. (not in the Sâkalya-samhitâ)		9
4. Esha brahmâ &c. (not in the Sâkalya-samhitâ)		3
		<u>21</u>

² The other Stomas of the Agnishoma are the Trivrit, Pañtadara, Saptadara, the Ekavimsa being the highest. Cf. I, 5, 1, 3.

woman only. Hence birth takes place in and from the woman. Therefore he recites that Dhayyâ in that place ¹.

THIRD KHANDA.

1. He recites the eighty tristichs of Gâyatrîs ². Verily, the eighty Gâyatrî tristichs are this world (earth). Whatever there is in this world of glory, greatness, wives, food, and honour, may I obtain it, may I win it, may it be mine.

2. Next comes the Sûdadohas verse. Sûdadohas verily is breath. He joins this world with breath.

3. He recites the eighty tristichs of Brîhatîs. Verily, the eighty Brîhatî tristichs are the world of the sky. Whatever there is in the world of the sky of glory, greatness, wives, food, and honour, may I obtain it, may I win it, may it be mine.

4. Next comes the Sûdadohas verse. Sûdadohas verily is breath. He joins the world of the sky with breath.

5. He recites the eighty tristichs of Ushnîh. Verily, the eighty Ushnîh tristichs are that world, the heaven. Whatever there is in that world of glory, greatness, wives, food, and honour, also the divine being of the Devas (Brahman), may I obtain it, may I win it, may it be mine.

6. Next comes the Sûdadohas verse. Sûdadohas verily is the breath. He joins that world with breath, yea, with breath.

¹ Asmin vigavabhâge. Comm.

² These and the following verses form the food of the bird. Comm. The verses themselves are given by Saunaka in the fifth Âranyaka.

FIFTH ADHYÂYA.

FIRST KHANDA.

1. He recites the Vasa hymn¹, wishing, May everything be in my power.

2. They (its verses) are twenty-one², for twenty-one are the parts (the lungs, spleen, &c.) in the belly.

3. Then the Ekavimsa is verily the support of all Stomas, and the belly the support of all food.

4. They consist of different metres. Verily, the intestines are confused, some small, some large.

5. He recites them with the prañava³, according to the metre⁴, and according to rule⁵. Verily, the intestines are according to rule, as it were; some shorter, some longer.

6. Next comes the Sûdadohas verse. Sûdadohas verily is breath. He joins the joints with breath.

7. After having recited that verse twelve times he

* ¹ Having recited the verses which form the body, neck, head, wings, and tail of the bird, also the food intended for the bird, he now describes the Vasa hymn, i.e. the hymn composed by Vasa, Rv. VIII, 46. That hymn takes the place of the stomach, which receives the food intended for the bird. Cf. Ait. Âr. V, 2, 5. In I, 5, 2, 4 it is called a Nivid.

² Verses 1-20 of the Vasa hymn, and one Sûdadohas.

³ Prañavam means 'with prañava,' i.e. inserting Om in the proper places.

⁴ According as the metres of the different verses are fixed by Saunaka, Ait. Âr. V, 2, 5, who says that verse 15 is Dvipadâ, and that the last four words, nūnam atha, form an Ekapadâ.

⁵ According to rule, i.e. so that they should come right as Ârvalâyana has prescribed the recitation of Dvipadâ and Ekapadâ verses. In a Dvipadâ there should be a stop after the first foot, and Om at the end of the second. In an Ekapadâ there should be Om at the beginning and at the end.

leaves it off there. These prâṇas are verily twelve-fold, seven in the head, two on the breast, three below. In these twelve places the prâṇas are contained, there they are perfect. Therefore he leaves it off there¹.

8. The hymn *indrâṅt yuvam su naḥ* (Rv. VIII, 40) forms the two thighs (of the bird) belonging to Indra and Agni, the two supports with broad bones.

9. These (verses) consist of six feet, so that they may stand firm. Man stands firm on two feet, animals on four. He thus places man (the sacrificer), standing on two feet, among four-footed cattle.

10. The second verse has seven feet, and he makes it into a Gâyatrî and Anushṭubh. Gâyatrî is Brahman, Anushṭubh is speech; and he thus puts together speech with Brahman.

11. He recites a Trishṭubh at the end. Trishṭubh is strength, and thus does he come round animals by strength. Therefore animals come near where there is strength (of command, &c.); they come to be roused and to rise up, (they obey the commands of a strong shepherd.)

SECOND KHANDA.

1. When he recites the Nishkevalya hymn addressed to Indra (Rv. X, 50), *pra vo mahe*, he inserts a Nivid² (between the fourth and fifth verses). Thus he clearly places strength in himself (in the *sastra*, in the bird, in himself).

2. They are Trishṭubhs and Gagatîs.

¹ He repeats the Sûdadohas verse no more. Comm.

² Sentences like *indro devaḥ somam pibatu*.

3. There they say: 'Why does he insert a Nivid among mixed Trishûbhs and Gagatts¹?' But surely one metre would never support the Nivid of this day, nor fill it: therefore he inserts the Nivid among mixed Trishûbhs and Gagatts.

4. Let him know that this day has three Nivids: the Vasa hymn is a Nivid, the Vâlakhilyas² are a Nivid, and the Nivid itself is a Nivid. Thus let him know that day as having three Nivids.

5. Then follow the hymns vane na vâ (Rv. X, 29) and yo gâta eva (Rv. II, 12). In the fourth verse of the former hymn occur the words anne samasya yad asan manîshâh, and they serve for the winning of proper food.

6. Then comes an insertion. As many Trishûbhs and Gagattî verses³, taken from the ten Mandâlas and addressed to Indra, as they insert (between the two above-mentioned hymns), after changing them into Brîhatts, so many years do they live beyond the (usual) age (of one hundred years). By this insertion age is obtained.

7. After that he recites the Sagantya hymn, wishing that cattle may always come to his offspring.

8. Then he recites the Târkshya hymn⁴. Târ-kshya is verily welfare, and the hymn leads to welfare. Thus (by reciting the hymn) he fares well⁵.

¹ According to the Prakṛiti of the Agnishôma they ought to be all Trishûbhs. Comm.

² These hymns occur in the eighty Brîhattî tristichs.

³ From the Samhitâ, which consists of ten thousand verses. Comm.

⁴ Rv. X, 178. Târksya Garuḍa being the deity of the hymn, it is called Târksya.

⁵ Cf. I, 5, 3, 13.

9. Then he recites the Ekapadâ (indro visvam vi râgati), wishing, May I be everything at once, and may I thus finish the whole work of metres¹.

10. In reciting the hymn indram visvâ avtvidhan (Rv. I, 11) he intertwines the first seven verses by intertwining their feet². There are seven prânas (openings) in the head, and he thus places seven prânas in the head. The eighth verse (half-verse) he does not intertwine³. The eighth is speech, and he thinks, May my speech never be intertwined with the other prânas. Speech therefore, though dwelling in the same abode as the other prânas, is not intertwined with them.

11. He recites the Virâg verses⁴. Verily, Virâg verses are food, and they thus serve for the gaining of food.

12. He ends with the hymn of Vasishtha⁵, wishing, May I be Vasishtha!

13. But let him end with the fifth verse, esha stomo maha ugrâya vâhe, which, possessing the word mahat, is auspicious.

14. In the second foot of the fifth verse the word dhuri occurs. Verily, dhurî (the place where the horse is fastened to the car) is the end (of the car). This day also is the end (of the sacrifice which lasts a whole year)⁶. Thus the verse is fit for the day.

¹ The Ekapadâ forms the last metre in this ceremony.

² The first and last half-verses of the hymn are not to be intertwined. Of the remaining fourteen half-verses he joins, for instance, the fourth foot of the first verse with the second foot of the second verse, and so on. Comm.

³ Because nothing more follows. Comm.

⁴ Rv. VII, 22, 1-6.

⁵ Rv. VII, 24.

⁶ The last day is the udayanyâtirâtra. Comm.

15. In the third foot the word *arka* is auspicious.

16. The last foot is: 'Make our glory high as heaven over heaven.' Thus wherever Brahmanic speech is uttered, there his glory will be, when he who knows this finishes with that verse. Therefore let a man who knows this, finish (the *Nishkevalya*) with that verse.

THIRD KHANDA¹.

1. *Tat savitur vṛitmahe* (Rv. V, 82, 1-3) and *adyâ no deva savitar* (Rv. V, 82, 4-6) are the beginning (*pratipad*) and the next step (*anukâra*) of the *Vaisvadeva* hymn, taken from the *Ekâha* ceremonial and therefore proper².

2. On that day³ much is done now and then which has to be hidden, and has to be atoned for. Atonement is rest, the one-day sacrifice. Therefore at the end of the year the sacrificers rest on this atonement as their rest. He who knows this rests firm, and they also for whom a *Hotri* priest who knows this, recites this hymn.

3. Then (follows) the hymn addressed to *Savitrî*, *tad devasya savitur vâryam mahat* (Rv. IV, 53). Verily, *mahat*, great, (in this foot) is the end⁴. This day too is the end. Thus the verse is fit for the day.

¹ After finishing the *Nishkevalya* of the noon-libation, he explains the *vaisvadevasastra* of the third libation.

² The norm of the *Mahâvrata* is the *Virvagit*, and the norm of that, the *Agnishoma Ekâha*. The verses to be used for the *Vaisvadeva* hymn are prescribed in those normal sacrifices, and are here adopted.

³ Cf. Ait. Âr. I, 2, 1, 2.

⁴ Nothing higher than the great can be wished for or obtained. Comm.

4. The hymn katarâ pûrvâ katarâ parâyo^h (Rv. I, 185), addressed to Dyâvâprithivî, is one in which many verses have the same ending. Verily, this day also (the mahâvrata) is one in which many receive the same reward¹. Thus it is fit for the day.

5. The hymn anasvo gâto anabhîsur ukthya^h (Rv. IV, 36) is addressed to the Rîbhus.

6. In the first verse the word tri (^kakra^h) occurs, and trivat² is verily the end. This day also is the end (of the sacrifice). Thus the verse is fit for the day.

7. The hymn asya vâmasya palitasya hotu^h (Rv. I, 164), addressed to the Visvedevas, is multiform. This day also is multiform³. Thus the verse is fit for the day.

8. He recites the end of it, beginning with gaurîr mimâya (Rv. I, 164, 41).

9. The hymn â no bhadrà^h kratavo yantu visvata^h (Rv. I, 89), addressed to the Visvedevas, forms the Nividdhâna, taken from the Ekâha ceremonial, and therefore proper.

10. On that day much is done now and then which has to be hidden, and has to be atoned for. Atonement is rest, the one-day sacrifice. Therefore at the end of the year the sacrificers rest on this atonement as their rest. He who knows this rests firm, and they also for whom a Hotri priest who knows this, recites this hymn.

11. The hymn vaisvânarâya dhishanzâm rita-

¹ All who perform the ceremony obtain Brahman. Cf. § 12.

² The third wheel, in addition to the usual two wheels, forms the end of a carriage, as before the dhu^h, cf. I, 5, 2, 14. This day also is the end.

³ Consisting of Vedic hymns and dances, &c. Comm.

vridhe (Rv. III, 2) forms the beginning of the Âgnimâruta. *Dhishanâ*, thought, is verily the end, this day also is the end. Thus it is fit for the day.

12. The hymn *prayagyavo maruto bhrâgadrishṭa-yaḥ* (Rv. V, 55), addressed to the Maruts, is one in which many verses have the same ending. Verily, this day also is one in which many receive the same reward. Thus it is fit for the day¹.

13. He recites the verse *gâtavedase sunavâma somam* (Rv. I, 99, 1), addressed to *Gâtavedas*, before the (next following) hymn. That verse addressed to *Gâtavedas* is verily welfare, and leads to welfare. Thus (by reciting it) he fares well².

14. The hymn *imam stomam arhate gâtavedase* (Rv. I, 94), addressed to *Gâtavedas*, is one in which many verses have the same ending. Verily, this day also (the *mahâvrata*) is one in which many receive the same reward. Thus it is fit for the day, yea, it is fit for the day.

¹ Cf. § 4.

² Cf. I, 5, 2, 8.

SECOND ÂRANYAKA.

FIRST ADHYÂYA.

FIRST KHANDA.

the Introduction,
p. XCVI!
1. 1. 1.
With the second Âranyaka the Upanishad begins. It comprises the second and third Âranyakas, and may be said to consist of three divisions, or three Upanishads. Their general title is *Bahvrika-upanishad*, sometimes *Mahaitareya-upanishad*, while the Upanishad generally known as *Aitareya-upanishad* comprises the 4th, 5th, and 6th adhyâyas only of the second Âranyaka.

The character of the three component portions of the Upanishad can best be described in Saṅkara's own words (Âr. III, 1, 1, *Introd.* p. 306): 'There are three classes of men who want to acquire knowledge. The highest consists of those who have turned away from the world, whose minds are fixed on one subject and collected, and who yearn to be free at once. For these a knowledge of Brahman is intended, as taught in the *Ait. Âr. II, 4-6*. The middle class are those who wish to become free gradually by attaining to the world of *Hiranyagarbha*. For them the knowledge and worship of *Prâṇa* (breath and life) is intended, as explained in the *Ait. Âr. II, 1-3*. The lowest class consists of those who do not care either for immediate or gradual freedom, but who desire nothing but offspring, cattle, &c. For these the meditative worship of the *Samhitâ* is intended, as explained in the third Âranyaka. They cling too strongly to the letter of the sacred text to be able to surrender it for a knowledge either of *Prâṇa* (life) or of Brahman.'

The connexion between the Upanishad or rather the three Upanishads and the first Âranyaka seems at first sight very slight. Still we soon perceive that it would be impossible to understand the first Upanishad, without a previous knowledge of the *Mahâ-vrata* ceremony as described in the first Âranyaka.

On this point too there are some pertinent remarks in Saṅkara's commentary on the Âranyaka II, 1, 2. 'Our first duty,' he says, 'consists in performing sacrifices, such as are described in the first portion of the Veda, the *Samhitâs*, *Brâhmanas*, and, to a certain extent, in the Âranyakas also. Afterwards arises a desire for knowledge, which cannot be satisfied except a man has first attained

complete concentration of thought (*ekâgratâ*). In order to acquire that concentration, the performance of certain upâsanas or meditations is enjoined, such as we find described in our Upanishad, viz. in Âr. II, 1-3.

This meditation or, as it is sometimes translated, worship is of two kinds, either brahmopâsana or pratîkopâsana. Brahmopâsana or meditation on Brahman consists in thinking of him as distinguished by certain qualities. Pratîkopâsana or meditation on symbols consists in looking upon certain worldly objects as if they were Brahman, in order thus to withdraw the mind from the too powerful influence of external objects.

These objects, thus lifted up into symbols of Brahman, are of two kinds, either connected with sacrifice or not. In our Upanishad we have to deal with the former class only, viz. with certain portions of the Mahâvrata, as described in the first Âranyaka. In order that the mind may not be entirely absorbed by the sacrifice, it is lifted up during the performance from the consideration of these sacrificial objects to a meditation on higher objects, leading up at last to Brahman as *prâna* or life.

This meditation is to be performed by the priests, and while they meditate they may meditate on a hymn or on a single word of it as meaning something else, such as the sun, the earth, or the sky, but not vice versâ. And if in one Sâkhâ, as in that of the Aitareyins, for instance, a certain hymn has been symbolically explained, the same explanation may be adopted by another Sâkhâ also, such as that of the Kaushîtakins. It is not necessary, however, that every part of the sacrifice should be accompanied by meditation, but it is left optional to the priest in what particular meditation he wishes to engage, nor is even the time of the sacrifice the only right time for him to engage in these meditations.

1. This is the path : this sacrifice, and this Brahman. This is the true¹.

2. Let no man swerve from it, let no man transgress it.

¹ Comm. The path is twofold, consisting of works and knowledge. Works or sacrifices have been described in the Samhitâ, the Brâhmana, and the first Âranyaka. Knowledge of Brahman forms the subject of the second and third Âranyakas. The true path is that of knowledge.

3. For the old (sages) did not transgress it, and those who did transgress, became lost.

4. This has been declared by a *Rishi* (Rv. VIII, 101, 14): 'Three (classes of) people transgressed, others settled down round about the venerable (Agni, fire); the great (sun) stood in the midst of the worlds, the blowing (Vâyu, air) entered the Harits (the dawns, or the ends of the earth).'

5. When he says: 'Three (classes of) people transgressed,' the three (classes of) people who transgressed are what we see here (on earth, born again) as birds, trees, herbs, and serpents¹.

6. When he says: 'Others settled down round about the venerable,' he means those who now sit down to worship Agni (fire).

7. When he says: 'The great stood in the midst of the worlds,' the great one in the midst of the world is meant for this Âditya, the sun.

8. When he says: 'The blowing entered the Harits,' he means that Vâyu, the air, the purifier, entered all the corners of the earth².

SECOND KHANDA.

1. People say: 'Uktha, uktha,' hymns, hymns! (without knowing what uktha, hymn³, means.) The

¹ *Vaṅgâḥ* is explained by *vanagatâ vṛikshâḥ*; *avagadhâḥ* is explained by *vṛīhiyavâdyâ oshadhayaḥ*; *īrapādâḥ* is explained by *urāḥ-pādâḥ sarpâḥ*. Possibly they are all old ethnic names, like *Vaṅga*, *Kera*, &c. In Ânandatīrtha's commentary *vayāmsi* are explained by *Pisāṭa*, *Vaṅgāvagadhas* by *Rākshasa*, and *īrapādas* by *Asuras*.

² Three classes of men go to *Naraka* (hell); the fourth class, full of faith and desirous of reaching the highest world, worships Agni, Vâyu, and other gods. Comm.

³ The Comm. explains *uktha* as that from whence the favour of the gods arises, *uttishṭaty anena devatâprasāda iti vyutpatteḥ*.

hymn is truly (to be considered as) the earth, for from it all whatsoever exists arises.

2. The object of its praise is Agni (fire), and the eighty verses (of the hymn) are food, for by means of food one obtains everything.

3. The hymn is truly the sky, for the birds fly along the sky, and men drive following the sky. The object of its praise is Vâyu (air), and the eighty verses (of the hymn) are food, for by means of food one obtains everything.

4. The hymn is truly the heaven, for from its gift (rain) all whatsoever exists arises. The object of its praise is Âditya (the sun), and the eighty verses are food, for by means of food one obtains everything.

5. So much with reference to the gods (mythological); now with reference to man (physiological).

6. The hymn is truly man. He is great, he is Pragâpati. Let him think, I am the hymn.

7. The hymn is his mouth, as before in the case of the earth.

8. The object of its praise is speech, and the eighty verses (of the hymn) are food, for by means of food he obtains everything.

9. The hymn is the nostrils, as before in the case of the sky.

10. The object of its praise is breath, and the eighty verses (of the hymn) are food, for by means of food he obtains everything.

11. The slight bent (at the root) of the nose is, as it were, the place of the brilliant (Âditya, the sun).

The object is now to show that the uktha or hymn used at the Mahâvrata ceremony has a deeper meaning than it seems to have, and that its highest aim is Brahman; not, however, the highest Brahman, but Brahman considered as life (prâna).

12. The hymn is the forehead, as before in the case of heaven. The object of its praise is the eye, and the eighty verses (of the hymn) are food, for by means of food he obtains everything.

13. The eighty verses (of the hymn) are alike food with reference to the gods as well as with reference to man. For all these beings breathe and live by means of food indeed. By food (given in alms, &c.) he conquers this world, by food (given in sacrifice) he conquers the other. Therefore the eighty verses (of the hymn) are alike food, with reference to the gods as well as with reference to man.

14. All this that is food, and all this that consumes food, is only the earth, for from the earth arises all whatever there is.

15. And all that goes hence (dies on earth), heaven consumes it all; and all that goes thence (returns from heaven to a new life) the earth consumes it all.

16. That earth is thus both food and consumer.

He also (the true worshipper who meditates on himself as being the uktha) is both consumer and consumed (subject and object¹). No one possesses that which he does not eat, or the things which do not eat him².

¹ As a master who lives by his servants, while his servants live by him. Comm.

² I have translated these paragraphs, as much as possible, according to the commentator. I doubt whether, either in the original or in the interpretation of the commentator, they yield any very definite sense. They are vague speculations, vague, at least, to us, though intended by the Brahmans to give a deeper meaning to certain ceremonial observances connected with the Mahâvrata. The uktha, or hymn, which is to be meditated on, as connected with the sacrifice, is part of the Mahâvrata, an important ceremony, to be

THIRD KHANDA.

1. Next follows the origin of seed. The seed of Pragâpati are the Devas (gods). The seed of the Devas is rain. The seed of rain are herbs. The seed of herbs is food. The seed of food is seed. The seed of seed are creatures. The seed of creatures is the heart. The seed of the heart is the mind. The seed of the mind is speech (Veda). The seed of speech is action (sacrifice). The action done (in a former state) is this man, the abode of Brahman.

2. He (man) consists of food (irâ), and because he consists of food (irâmaya), he consists of gold (hiraṇmaya¹). He who knows this becomes golden in the other world, and is seen as golden (as the sun) for the benefit of all beings.

performed on the last day but one (the twenty-fourth) of the Gavâmayana sacrifice. That sacrifice lasts a whole year, and its performance has been fully described in the Brâhmanas and Âranyakas. But while the ordinary performer of the Mahâvrata has simply to recite the uktha or nishkevalya-rastra, consisting of eighty verses (*triṣa*) in the Gâyatrî, Brîhatî, and Ushnih metres, the more advanced worshipper (or priest) is to know that this uktha has a deeper meaning, and is to meditate on it as being the earth, sky, heaven, also as the human body, mouth, nostrils, and forehead. The worshipper is in fact to identify himself by meditation with the uktha in all its senses, and thus to become the universal spirit or Hiranyagarbha. By this process he becomes the consumer and consumed, the subject and object, of everything, while another sacrificer, not knowing this, remains in his limited individual sphere, or, as the text expresses it, does not possess what he cannot eat (perceive), or what cannot eat him (perceive him). The last sentence is explained differently by the commentator, but in connexion with the whole passage it seems to me to become more intelligible, if interpreted as I have proposed to interpret it.

¹ Play on words. Comm.

FOURTH KHANDA.

1. Brahman (in the shape of *prāṇa*, breath) entered into that man by the tips of his feet, and because Brahman entered (*prāpadyata*) into that man by the tips of his feet, therefore people call them the tips of the feet (*prapada*), but hoofs and claws in other animals.

2. Then Brahman crept up higher, and therefore they were (called)¹ the thighs (*ūrū*).

3. Then he said: 'Grasp wide,' and that was (called) the belly (*udara*).

4. Then he said: 'Make room for me,' and that was (called) the chest (*uras*).

5. The *Sārkarākshya*s meditate on the belly as Brahman, the *Āruzi*s on the heart². Both (these places) are Brahman indeed³,

6. But Brahman crept upwards and came to the head, and because he came to the head, therefore the head is called head⁴.

7. Then these delights alighted in the head, sight, hearing, mind, speech, breath.

8. Delights alight on him who thus knows, why the head is called head.

9. These (five delights or senses) strove together, saying: 'I am the *uktha* (hymn), I am the *uktha*⁵.' 'Well,' they said, 'let us all go out from

¹ These are all plays on words. Comm.

² This does not appear to be the case either in the *Kā.* Up. V, 15; 17, or in the *Satapatha-brāhmaṇa* X, 6, 1.

³ The *pluti* in *tāgi* is explained as *sāstrīyaprasiddhyarthā*.

⁴ All puns, as if we were to say, because he hied up to the head, therefore the head was called head.

⁵ Each wished to be identified with the *uktha*, as it was said before that the human body, mouth, nostrils, forehead were to be identified with the *uktha*. Cf. *Kaush. Up.* III, 3.

this body ; then on whose departure this body shall fall, he shall be the uktha among us¹.’

10. Speech went out, yet the body without speaking remained, eating and drinking.

Sight went out, yet the body without seeing remained, eating and drinking.

Hearing went out, yet the body without hearing remained, eating and drinking.

Mind went out, yet the body, as if blinking, remained, eating and drinking.

Breath went out, then when breath was gone out, the body fell.

11. It was decayed, and because people said, it decayed, therefore it was (called) body (*sartra*). That is the reason of its name.

12. If a man knows this, then the evil enemy who hates him decays, or the evil enemy who hates him is defeated.

13. They strove again, saying : ‘ I am the uktha, I am the uktha.’ ‘ Well,’ they said, ‘ let us enter that body again ; then on whose entrance this body shall rise again, he shall be the uktha among us.’

14. Speech entered, but the body lay still. Sight entered, but the body lay still. Hearing entered, but the body lay still. Mind entered, but the body lay still. Breath entered, and when breath had entered, the body rose, and it became the uktha.

15. Therefore breath alone is the uktha.

16. Let people know that breath is the uktha indeed.

17. The Devas (the other senses) said to breath : ‘ Thou art the uktha, thou art all this, we are thine, thou art ours.’

¹ Cf. *Kh. Up.* V, 1; *Brh. Up.* VI, 1; *Kaush. Up.* II, 12-14; *III, 2*; *Prasna Up.* II, 1.

18. This has also been said by a *Rîshi* (Rv. VIII, 92, 32): 'Thou art ours, we are thine.'

FIFTH KHANDA.

1. Then the Devas carried him (the breath) forth, and being carried forth, he was stretched out, and when people said, 'He was stretched out,' then it was in the morning; when they said, 'He is gone to rest,' then it was in the evening. Day, therefore, is the breathing up, night the breathing down ¹.

2. Speech is Agni, sight that Âditya (sun), mind the moon, hearing the Dis (quarters): this is the *prahitâm samyoga* ², the union of the deities as sent forth. These deities (Agni, &c.) are thus in the body, but their (phenomenal) appearance yonder is among the deities—this was intended.

3. And *Hiranyadat Vaida* also, who knew this (and who by his knowledge had become *Hiranyagarbha* or the universal spirit), said: 'Whatever they do not give to me, they do not possess themselves.' I know the *prahitâm samyoga*, the union of the deities, as entered into the body ³. This is it.

¹ All these are plays on words, *prâtâr* being derived from *prâtâyi*, *sâyam* from *samâgât*. The real object, however, is to show that breath, which is the *uktha*, which is the worshipper, is endowed with certain qualities, viz. time, speech, &c.

² The meaning is, that the four deities, Agni, Âditya, Moon, and the Dis proceed from their own places to dwell together in the body of man, and that this is called the *prahitâm samyoga*. *Prahit* is explained as *prahita*, placed, sent. It is probably formed from *hi*, not from *dhâ*. *Prahito* *samyoganam* is the name of a *Sâman*, Ind. Stud. III, 225. As Devas or gods they appear each in its own place. The whole passage is very obscure.

³ All this is extremely obscure, possibly incorrect. For *yam*, unless it refers to some other word, we expect *yan*. For *dadyu* one expects *dadyât*. What is intended is that *Hiranyadat* had

4. To him who knows this all creatures, without being constrained, offer gifts.

5. That breath is (to be called) *sattya* (the true), for *sat* is breath, *ti* is food, *yam* is the sun¹. This is threefold, and threefold the eye also may be called, it being white, dark, and the pupil. He who knows why true is true (why *sattya* is *sattya*), even if he should speak falsely, yet what he says is true.

SIXTH KHANDA.

1. Speech is his (the breath's) rope, the names the knots². Thus by his speech as by a rope, and by his names as by knots, all this is bound. For all this are names indeed, and with speech he calls everything.

2. People carry him who knows this, as if they were bound by a rope.

3. Of the body of the breath thus meditated on, the *Ushnih* verse forms the hairs, the *Gâyatrî* the skin, the *Trishṭubh* the flesh, the *Anushṭubh* the muscles, the *Gagatî* the bone, the *Pañkti* the marrow, the *Bṛihatî* the breath³ (*prâna*). He is covered with the verses (*khandas*, metres). Because he is thus covered with verses, therefore they call them *khandas* (coverings, metres).

4. If a man knows the reason why *khandas* are called *khandas*, the verses cover him in whatever place he likes against any evil deed.

through meditation acquired identity with the universal spirit, and that therefore he might say that whatever was not surrendered to him did not really belong to anybody. On *Hiranyadat*, see *Ait. Brâhm.* III, 6.

¹ Cf. *Kh. Up.* VIII, 3, 5.

² The rope is supposed to be the chief rope to which various smaller ropes are attached for fastening animals.

³ Here conceived as the air breathed, not as the deity. Comm.

5. This is said by a *R̥ishi* (Rv. I, 164, 13):—

6. 'I saw (the breath) as a guardian, never tiring, coming and going on his ways (the arteries). That breath (in the body, being identified with the sun among the Devas), illuminating the principal and intermediate quarters of the sky, is returning constantly in the midst of the worlds.'

He says: 'I saw a guardian,' because he, the breath, is a guardian, for he guards everything.

7. He says: 'Never tiring,' because the breath never rests.

8. He says: 'Coming and going on his ways,' because the breath comes and goes on his ways.

9. He says: 'Illuminating the principal and intermediate,' because he illuminates these only, the principal and intermediate quarters of the sky.

10. He says: 'He is returning constantly in the midst of the worlds,' because he returns indeed constantly in the midst of the worlds.

11. And then, there is another verse (Rv. I, 55, 81): 'They are covered like caves by those who make them,'

12. For all this is covered indeed by breath.

13. This ether is supported by breath as *Bṛhatī*, and as this ether is supported by breath as *Bṛhatī*, so one should know that all things, not excepting ants, are supported by breath as *Bṛhatī*.

SEVENTH KHANDA.

1. Next follow the powers of that Person¹.

2. By his speech earth and fire were created.

¹ The *purusha*, as described before in the second chapter, is the *Pragāpati* or universal spirit with whom the worshipper is to identify himself by meditation. The manifestations of his power consist in creating the earth, fire, the sky, the air, heaven, the sun.

Herbs are produced on the earth, and Agni (fire) makes them ripe and sweet. 'Take this, take this,' thus saying do earth and fire serve their parent, speech.

3. As far as the earth reaches, as far as fire reaches, so far does his world extend, and as long as the world of the earth and fire does not decay, so long does his world not decay who thus knows this power of speech.

4. By breath (in the nose) the sky and the air were created. People follow the sky, and hear along the sky, while the air carries along pure scent. Thus do sky and air serve their parent, the breath.

As far as the sky reaches, as far as the air reaches, so far does his world extend, and as long as the world of the sky and the air does not decay, so long does his world not decay who thus knows this power of breath.

5. By his eye heaven and the sun were created. Heaven gives him rain and food, while the sun causes his light to shine. Thus do the heaven and the sun serve their parent, the eye.

As far as heaven reaches and as far as the sun reaches, so far does his world extend, and as long as the world of heaven and the sun does not decay, so long does his world not decay who thus knows the power of the eye.

6. By his ear the quarters and the moon were created. From all the quarters they come to him, and from all the quarters he hears, while the moon produces for him the bright and the dark halves for the sake of sacrificial work. Thus do the quarters and the moon serve their parent, the ear.

As far as the quarters reach and as far as the

moon reaches, so far does his world extend, and as long as the world of the quarters and the moon does not decay, so long does his world not decay who thus knows the power of the ear.

7. By his mind the water and Varuṇa were created. Water yields to him faith (being used for sacred acts), Varuṇa keeps his offspring within the law. Thus do water and Varuṇa serve their parent, the mind.

As far as water reaches and as far as Varuṇa reaches, so far does his world extend, and as long as the world of water and Varuṇa does not decay, so long does his world not decay who thus knows the power of the mind.

EIGHTH KHANDA¹.

1. Was it water really? Was it water? Yes, all this was water indeed. This (water) was the root (cause), that (the world) was the shoot (effect). He (the person) is the father, they (earth, fire, &c.) are the sons. Whatever there is belonging to the son, belongs to the father; whatever there is belonging to the father, belongs to the son. This was intended².

2. Mahidâsa Aitareya, who knew this, said: 'I know myself (reaching) as far as the gods, and I know the gods (reaching) as far as me. For these

¹ Having described how Prâṇa, the breath, and his companions or servants created the world, he now discusses the question of the material cause of the world out of which it was created. Water, which is said to be the material of the world, is explained by the commentator to mean here the five elements.

² Cause and effect are not entirely separated, therefore water, as the elementary cause, and earth, fire, &c., as its effect, are one; likewise the worshipper, as the father, and the earth, fire, &c. as his sons, as described above. Mûla and tûla, root and shoot, are evidently chosen for the sake of the rhyme, to signify cause and effect.

gods receive their gifts from hence, and are supported from hence.'

3. This is the mountain¹, viz. eye, ear, mind, speech, and breath. They call it the mountain of Brahman.

4. He who knows this, throws down the evil enemy who hates him; the evil enemy who hates him is defeated.

5. He (the *Prâna*, identified with Brahman) is the life, the breath; he is being (while the *ġtvâtman* remains), and not-being (when the *ġtvâtman* departs).

6. The Devas (speech, &c.) worshipped him (*prâna*) as *Bhûti* or being, and thus they became great beings. And therefore even now a man who sleeps, breathes like *bhûrbhu*.

7. The Asuras worshipped him as *Abhûti* or not-being, and thus they were defeated.

8. He who knows this, becomes great by himself, while the evil enemy who hates him, is defeated.

9. He (the breath) is death (when he departs), and immortality (while he abides).

10. And this has been said by a *Rishi* (Rv. I, 164, 38):—

11. 'Downwards and upwards he (the wind of the breath) goes, held by food;—for this up-breathing, being held back by the down-breathing, does not move forward (and leave the body altogether).

12. 'The immortal dwells with the mortal;—for through him (the breath) all this dwells together, the bodies being clearly mortal, but this being (the breath), being immortal.

¹ *Prâna* is called the *giri*, because it is swallowed or hidden by the other senses (*giranât*). Again a mere play of words, intended to show that Brahman under the form of *Prâna*, or life, is to be meditated on.

13. 'These two (body and breath) go for ever in different directions (the breath moving the senses of the body, the body supporting the senses of the breath : the former going upwards to another world, the body dying and remaining on earth). They increase the one (the body), but they do not increase the other,' i. e. they increase these bodies (by food), but this being (breath) is immortal.

14. He who knows this becomes immortal in that world (having become united with Hiranyagarbha), and is seen as immortal (in the sun) by all beings, yea, by all beings.

SECOND ADHYÂYA¹.

FIRST KHANDA.

1. He (the sun), who shines, honoured this world (the body of the worshipper, by entering into it), in the form of man² (the worshipper who meditates on breath). For he who shines (the sun) is (the same as) the breath. He honoured this (body of the worshipper) during a hundred years, therefore there are a hundred years in the life of a man. Because he honoured him during a hundred years, therefore there are (the poets of the first *Mandala* of the *Rig-veda*, called) the *Satarûin*, (having honour for a

¹ In the first adhyâya various forms of meditating on Uktha, conceived as *Prâna* (life), have been declared. In the second some other forms of meditation, all extremely fanciful, are added. They are of interest, however, as showing the existence of the hymns of the *Rig-veda*, divided and arranged as we now possess them, at the time when this *Âranyaka* was composed.

² The identity of the sun and of breath as living in man has been established before. It is the same power in both, conceived either *adhidaivatam* (mythological) or *adhyâtman* (physiological).

hundred years.) Therefore people call him who is really *Prâna* (breath), the *Satarêin* poets¹.

2. He (breath) placed himself in the midst of all whatsoever exists. Because he placed himself in the midst of all whatsoever exists, therefore there are (the poets of the second to the ninth *Mandala* of the *Rig-veda*, called) the *Mâdhyamas*. Therefore people call him who is really *Prâna* (breath), the *Mâdhyama* poets.

3. He as up-breathing is the swallower (*gritsa*), as down-breathing he is delight (*mada*). Because as up-breathing he is swallower (*gritsa*) and as down-breathing delight (*mada*), therefore there is (the poet of the second *Mandala* of the *Rig-veda*, called) *Gritsamada*. Therefore people call him who is really *Prâna* (breath), *Gritsamada*.

4. Of him (breath) all this whatsoever was a friend. Because of him all (*visvam*) this whatsoever was a friend (*mitram*), therefore there is (the poet of the third *Mandala* of the *Rig-veda*, called) *Visvâmitra*. Therefore people call him who is really *Prâna* (breath), *Visvâmitra*.

5. The *Devas* (speech, &c.) said to him (the breath): 'He is to be loved by all of us.' Because the *Devas* said of him, that he was to be loved (*vâma*) by all of them, therefore there is (the poet of the fourth *Mandala* of the *Rig-veda*, called) *Vâmadeva*. Therefore people call him who is really *Prâna* (breath), *Vâmadeva*.

6. He (breath) guarded all this whatsoever from evil. Because he guarded (*atrâyata*) all this whatso-

¹ The real ground for the name is that the poets of the first *Mandala* composed on an average each about a hundred *Rik* verses.

ever from evil, therefore there are (the poets of the fifth *Mandala* of the Rig-veda, called) *Atrayaḥ*. Therefore people call him who is really *Prâna* (breath), *Atrayaḥ*.

SECOND KHANDA.

1. He (breath) is likewise a *Bibhradvâga* (bringer of offspring). Offspring is *vâga*, and he (breath) supports offspring. Because he supports it, therefore there is (the poet of the sixth *Mandala* of the Rig-veda, called) *Bharadvâga*. Therefore people call him who is really *Prâna* (breath), *Bharadvâga*.

2. The *Devas* (speech, &c.) said to him: 'He it is who chiefly causes us to dwell on earth.' Because the *Devas* said of him, that he chiefly caused them to dwell on earth, therefore there is (the poet of the seventh *Mandala* of the Rig-veda, called) *Vasishtha*. Therefore people call him who is really *Prâna* (breath), *Vasishtha*¹.

3. He (breath) went forth towards² all this whatsoever. Because he went forth toward all this whatsoever, therefore there are (the poets of the eighth *Mandala* of the Rig-veda, called) the *Pragâthas*. Therefore people call him who is really *Prâna* (breath), the *Pragâthas*.

4. He (breath) purified all this whatsoever. Because he purified all this whatsoever, therefore there

¹ I translate in accordance with the commentator, and probably with the intention of the author. The same etymology is repeated in the commentary on II, 2, 4, 2. It would be more natural to take *vasishtha* in the sense of the richest.

² This is the interpretation of the commentator, and the preposition *abhi* seems to show that the author too took that view of the etymology of *pragâtha*.

are (the hymns and also the poets¹ of the ninth *Mandala* of the Rig-veda, called) the Pavamânts. Therefore people called him who is really *Prâna* (breath), the Pavamânts.

5. He (breath) said: 'Let me be everything whatsoever, small (kshudra) and great (mahat), and this became the Kshudrasûktas and Mahâsûktas.' Therefore there were (the hymns and also the poets of the tenth *Mandala* of the Rig-veda, called) the Kshudrasûktas (and Mahâsûktas). Therefore people call him who is really *Prâna* (breath), the Kshudrasûktas (and Mahâsûktas).

6. He (breath) said once: 'You have said what is well said (su-ukta) indeed. This became a Sûkta (hymn).' Therefore there was the Sûkta. Therefore people call him who is really *Prâna* (breath), Sûkta².

7. He (breath) is a *Rik* (verse), for he did honour³ to all beings (by entering into them). Because he did honour to all beings, therefore there was the *Rik* verse. Therefore people call him who is really *Prâna* (breath), *Rik*.

8. He (breath) is an *Ardharêka* (half-verse), for he did honour to all places (ardha)⁴. Because he did honour to all places, therefore there was the *Ardharêka*. Therefore people call him who is really *Prâna* (breath), *Ardharêka*.

¹ It seems, indeed, as if in the technical language of the Brahmins, the poets of the ninth *Mandala* were sometimes called Pavamânts, and the hymns of the tenth *Mandala* Kshudrasûktas and Mahâsûktas (masc.) Cf. Ârsheya-brâhmana, ed. Burnell, p. 42.

² The poet also is called Sûkta, taddrash/âpi sûktanâmako 'bhût. Comm.

³ I translate according to the commentator.

⁴ Ardha means both half and place.

9. He (breath) is a Pada (word)¹, for he got into all these beings. Because he got (pâdi) into all these beings, therefore there was the Pada (word). Therefore people call him who is really *Prâna* (breath), Pada.

10. He (breath) is an Akshara (syllable), for he pours out (ksharati) gifts to all these beings, and without him no one can pour out (atiksharati) gifts. Therefore there was the Akshara (syllable). Therefore people call him who is really *Prâna* (breath), Akshara².

11. Thus all these *Rik* verses, all Vedas, all sounds³ are one word, viz. *Prâna* (breath). Let him know that *Prâna* is all *Rik* verses.

THIRD KHANDA.

1. While Visvâmitra was going to repeat the hymns of this day (the mahâvrata), Indra sat down near him⁴. Visvâmitra (guessing that Indra wanted food) said to him, 'This (the verses of the hymn) is food,' and repeated the thousand *Bṛihatī* verses⁵.

¹ It may also be intended for pâda, foot of a verse.

² The *Prâna* (breath) is to be meditated on as all hymns, all poets, all words, &c. Comm.

³ All aspirated sonant consonants. Comm.

⁴ Upanishadasâda, instead of upanishasâda. The mistake is probably due to a correction, sa for sha; the commentator, however, considers it as a Vedic license. Sakâro 'dhikas *Âmândasa*h.

⁵ These are meant for the Nishkevalya hymn recited at the noon-libation of the Mahâvrata. That hymn consists of ten parts, corresponding, as we saw, to ten parts of a bird, viz. its body, neck, head, root of wings, right wing, left wing, tail, belly, chest, and thighs. The verses corresponding to these ten parts, beginning with tad id âsa bhuvaneshu *gyesh/ham*, are given in the first *Âranyaka*, and more fully in the fifth *Âranyaka* by Saunaka.

By means of this he went to the delightful home of Indra (Svarga).

2. Indra said to him : ' *Rîshi*, thou hast come to my delightful home. *Rîshi*, repeat a second hymn¹. ' Visvâmitra (guessing that Indra wanted food) said to him, ' This (the verses of the hymn) is food,' and repeated the thousand *Bṛihatî* verses. By means of this he went to the delightful home of Indra (Svarga).

3. Indra said to him : ' *Rîshi*, thou hast come to my delightful home. *Rîshi*, repeat a third hymn.' Visvâmitra (guessing that Indra wanted food) said to him, ' This (the verses of the hymn) is food,' and repeated the thousand *Bṛihatî* verses. By means of this he went to the delightful home of Indra (Svarga).

4. Indra said to him : ' *Rîshi*, thou hast come to my delightful home. I grant thee a boon.' Visvâmitra said : ' May I know thee.' Indra said : ' I am *Prâna* (breath), O *Rîshi*, thou art *Prâna*, all things are *Prâna*. For it is *Prâna* who shines as the sun, and I here pervade all regions under that form. This food of mine (the hymn) is my friend and my support (*dakshina*). This is the food prepared by Visvâmitra. I am verily he who shines (the sun).'

Though they consist of many metres, yet, when one counts the syllables, they give a thousand *Bṛihatî* verses, each consisting of thirty-six syllables.

¹ Although the *Nishkevalya* is but one hymn, consisting of eighty *trîṅkas*, yet as these eighty *trîṅkas* were represented as three kinds of food (see Ait. Âr. II, 1, 2, 2-4), the hymn is represented as three hymns, first as eighty *Gâyatrî* *trîṅkas*, then as eighty *Bṛihatî* *trîṅkas*, lastly as eighty *Ushnih* *trîṅkas*.

FOURTH KHANDA.

1. This then becomes perfect as a thousand of *Bṛihatī* verses. Its consonants¹ form its body, its voice² (vowels) the soul³, its sibilants⁴ the air of the breath.

2. He who knew this became *Vasishṭha*, he took this name from thence⁵.

3. Indra verily declared this to *Visvâmitra*, and Indra verily declared this to *Bharadvâga*. Therefore Indra is invoked by him as a friend⁶.

4. This becomes perfect as a thousand of *Bṛihatī* verses⁷, and of that hymn perfect with a thousand *Bṛihatī* verses, there are 36,000 syllables⁸. So many are also the thousands of days of a hundred years (36,000). With the consonants they fill the nights, with the vowels the days.

5. This becomes perfect as a thousand of *Bṛihatī* verses. He who knows this, after this thousand of *Bṛihatīs* thus accomplished, becomes full of knowledge, full of the gods, full of Brahman, full of the immortal, and then goes also to the gods.

6. What I am (the worshipper), that is he (sun); what he is, that am I.

¹ *Vyañjanâni*, explained by *kâdini*.

² *Ghosha*, explained by aspirated sonant consonants.

³ *Âtmâ*, explained by *madhyasarâram*.

⁴ *Sashasahâh*. Comm.

⁵ He became *Prâna*, and because *Prâna* causes all to dwell, or covers all (*vâsayati*), therefore the *Rishi* was called *Vasishṭha*. Comm. Cf. Ait. Âr. II, 2, 2, 2.

⁶ At the *Subrahmanyâ* ceremony in the Soma sacrifices, the invocations are, Indra â *gakkha*, hariva â *gakkha*.

⁷ Cf. Ait. Âr. II, 3, 8, 8.

⁸ Each *Bṛihatī* has thirty-six syllables.

7. This has been said by a *Rishi* (Rv. I, 115, 1):
 'The sun is the self of all that moves and rests.'
 8. Let him look to that, let him look to that!

THIRD ADHYÂYA¹.

FIRST KHANDA.

1. He who knows himself as the fivefold hymn (*uktha*), the emblem of *Prâna* (breath), from whence all this springs², he is clever. These five are the earth, air, ether, water, and fire (*gyotis*). This is the self, the fivefold *uktha*. For from him all this springs, and into him it enters again (at the dissolution of the world). He who knows this, becomes the refuge of his friends.

2. And to him who knows the food (object) and the feeder (subject) in that *uktha*, a strong son is born, and food is never wanting. Water and earth are food, for all food consists of these two. Fire and air are the feeder, for by means of them³ man eats all food. Ether is the bowl, for all this is poured into the ether. He who knows this, becomes the bowl or support of his friends.

3. To him who knows the food and the feeder in that *uktha*, a strong son is born, and food is never wanting. Herbs and trees are food, animals the feeder, for animals eat herbs and trees.

4. Of them again those who have teeth above

¹ In this *adhyâya* some more qualities are explained belonging to the *Mahâvrata* ceremonial and the hymns employed at it, which can be meditated on as referring to *Prâna*, life.

² Because the world is the result or reward for performing a meditation on the *uktha*. Comm.

³ The digestive fire is lighted by the air of the breath. Comm.

and below, shaped after the likeness of man, are feeders, the other animals are food. Therefore these overcome the other animals, for the eater is over the food.

5. He who knows this is over his friends.

SECOND KHANDA ¹.

1. He who knows the gradual development of the self in him (the man conceived as the uktha), obtains himself more development.

2. There are herbs and trees and all that is animated, and he knows the self gradually developing in them. For in herbs and trees sap only is seen ², but thought (*kitta*) in animated beings.

3. Among animated beings again the self develops gradually, for in some sap (blood) is seen (as well as thought), but in others thought is not seen.

4. And in man again the self develops gradually, for he is most endowed with knowledge. He says what he has known, he sees what he has known ³. He knows what is to happen to-morrow, he knows heaven and hell. By means of the mortal he desires the immortal—thus is he endowed.

5. With regard to the other animals' hunger and thirst only are a kind of understanding. But they do not say what they have known, nor do they see

¹ This treats of the gradual development of life in man, particularly of the development of a thinking soul (*âtitanya*).

² In stones there is not even sap, but only being, *sattâ*. Comm.

³ What he has known yesterday he remembers, and is able to say before men, I know this. And when he has known a thing he remembers it, and goes to the same place to see it again. Comm.

what they have known. They do not know what is to happen to-morrow, nor heaven and hell. They go so far and no further, for they are born according to their knowledge (in a former life).

THIRD KHANDA.

1. That man (conceived as uktha) is the sea, rising beyond the whole world¹. Whatever he reaches, he wishes to go beyond². If he reaches the sky, he wishes to go beyond.

2. If he should reach that (heavenly) world, he would wish to go beyond.

3. That man is fivefold. The heat in him is fire; the apertures (of the senses) are ether; blood, mucus, and seed are water; the body is earth; breath is air.

4. That air is fivefold, viz. up-breathing, down-breathing, back-breathing, out-breathing, on-breathing. The other powers (devatâs), viz. sight, hearing, mind, and speech, are comprised under up-breathing and down-breathing. For when breath departs, they also depart with it.

5. That man (conceived as uktha) is the sacrifice, which is a succession now of speech and now of thought. That sacrifice is fivefold, viz. the Agnihotra, the new and full moon sacrifices, the four-monthly sacrifices, the animal sacrifice, the Soma sacrifice. The Soma sacrifice is the most perfect of sacrifices, for in it these five kinds of ceremonies are seen: the first which precedes the libations (the Dîkshâ, &c.), then three libations, and what follows (the Avabhṛitha, &c.) is the fifth.

¹ Bhûloka. Comm.

² Should it not be aty enan manyate?

FOURTH KHANDA.

1. He who knows one sacrifice above another, one day above another, one deity above the others, he is clever. Now this great uktha (the nishkevalya-sastra) is the sacrifice above another, the day above another, the deity above others¹.

2. This uktha is fivefold. With regard to its being performed as a Stoma (chorus), it is Trivrit, Pañkadasa, Saptadasa, Ekavimsa, and Pañkavimsa. With regard to its being performed as a Sāman (song), it is Gāyatra, Rathantara, Brīhat, Bhadra, and Rāgana. With regard to metre, it is Gāyatrī, Ushnih, Brīhatī, Trishtubh, and Dvipadā. And the explanation (given before in the Āranyaka) is that it is the head, the right wing, the left wing, the tail, and the body of the bird².

¹ The uktha is to be conceived as prāṇa, breath or life, and this prāṇa was shown to be above the other powers (devatās), speech, hearing, seeing, mind. The uktha belongs to the Mahāvratā day, and that is the most important day of the Soma sacrifice. The Soma sacrifice, lastly, is above all other sacrifices.

² All these are technicalities connected with the singing and reciting of the uktha. The commentator says: The stoma is a collection of single *Rik* verses occurring in the *trikas* which have to be sung. The Trivrit stoma, as explained in the Sāmabrahmana, is as follows: There are three Suktas, each consisting of three verses, the first being upāsmāi gāyata, S. V. Uttarārṇika I, 1, 1=Rv. IX, 11. The Udgātri first sings the first three verses^a in each hymn. This is the first round. He then sings the three middle verses in each hymn. This is the second round. He lastly sings the last three verses in each hymn. This is the third round. This song is called Udyati.

The Pañkadasa stoma is formed out of one Sūkta only, consisting of three verses. In the first round he sings the first verse

^a Hīnkri with dative is explained as gai with accusative.

3. He performs the Prastâva in five ways, he performs the Udgîtha in five ways, he performs the

three times, the second and third once. In the second round he sings the middle verse three times, in the third round he sings the last verse three times. This song is called Vishvîti.

The Saptadâra stoma is formed in the same manner, only that in the first round he sings the first verse three times, in the second the middle verse three times, in the third round the middle and last verses three times. This song is called Darasapta.

The Ekavimsa stoma is formed in the same manner, only that in the first round he sings the last verse once, in the second the first verse once, in the third the middle verse once, while the other verses are each repeated three times. This song is called Saptasaptinî.

The Pañcavimsa stoma is formed in the same manner, only that in the first round he sings the first verse three times, the second four times, the last once; in the second round the first once, the second three times, the third four times; in the third round the first five times, the second once, the last three times; or he sings in the third round the first verse four times, the second twice, the last three times.

Sâyana in his commentary on the Ait. Âr. takes the Trivṛt stoma to be formed out of three hymns, each consisting of three verses, while he says that the other stomas are formed out of one hymn only. B. and R., s.v. trivṛt, state that this stoma consists of verses 1, 4, 7; 2, 5, 8; and 3, 6, 9 of the Rig-veda hymn IX, 11, but, according to Sâyana, the stoma consists (1) of the first verses of the three Sûktas, upâsmai gâyata, davidyutatyâ, and pavamânasya at the beginning of the Sâmâ-veda-Uttarârîka, (2) of the second, (3) of the third verses of the same three hymns. Mahîdhâra (Yv. X, 9) takes the same view, though the MSS. seem to have left out the description of the second paryâya, while Sâyana in his commentary to the Tândya-brâhmana seems to support the opinion of B. and R. There is an omission, however, in the printed text of the commentary, which makes it difficult to see the exact meaning of Sâyana.

The Pañcadâra stoma is well described by Sâyana, Tândya Br. II, 4. Taking the Sûkta agna â yâhi (Uttarârîka I, 1, 4=Rv. VI, 16, 10-12), he shows the stoma to consist of (1) verse 1 × 3, 2, 3; (2) verse 1, 2 × 3, 3; (3) verse 1, 2, 3 × 3.

The five Sâmans are explained by the commentator. The

Pratihâra in five ways, he performs the Upadrava in five ways, he performs the Nidhana in five ways¹. All this together forms one thousand Stobhas, or musical syllables².

4. Thus also are the *Rik* verses, contained in the Nishkevalya, recited (by the Hotri) in five orders. What precedes the eighty *trikas*, that is one order, then follow the three sets of eighty *trikas* each, and what comes after is the fifth order³.

Gâyatra is formed out of the *Rik* (III, 62, 10) tat savitur varenyam. The Rathantara is formed out of the *Rik* (VII, 32, 22) abhi tvâ sûra nonuma. The Brihat is formed out of the *Rik* (VI, 46, 1) tvâm id dhi havâmahe. The Bhadra is formed out of the *Rik* (X, 157, 1) imâ nu kam. The Râgana is formed out of the *Rik* (VII, 27, 1) indram naro nemadhitâ.

The metres require no explanation.

In identifying certain portions of the Nishkevalya hymn with a bird, the head of the bird corresponds to the hymns indram id gâthinah, &c.; the right wing to the hymns abhi tvâ sûra, &c.; the left wing to the hymns tvâm id dhi, &c.; the tail to the hymns imâ nu kam, &c.; the body to the hymns tad id âsa, &c. All this was explained in the first Âranyaka.

¹ The Sâmagas sing the Râgana at the Mahâvrata, and in that Sâmân there are, as usual, five parts, the Prastâva, Udgâtha, Pratihâra, Upadrava, and Nidhana. The Prastotri, when singing the Prastâva portions, sings them five times. The Udgâtri and Pratihatri sing their portions, the Udgâtha and Pratihâra, five times. The Udgâtri again sings the Upadrava five times. And all the Udgâtris together sing the Nidhana five times.

² The Stobha syllables are syllables without any meaning, added when verses have to be sung, in order to have a support for the music. See *Kh. Up.* I, 13. In singing the five Sâmans, each five times, one thousand of such Stobha syllables are required.

³ There are in the Nishkevalya hymn, which the Hotri has to recite, three sets of eighty *trikas* each. The first, consisting of Gâyatri's, begins with mahâñ indro ya ogasâ. The second, consisting of Brihatri's, begins with mâñid anyad. The third, consisting of Ushnâhi's, begins with ya indra somapâtama. These three sets form the food of the bird, as the emblem of the sastra. The hymns

5. This (the hymns of this Sastra) as a whole (if properly counted with the Stobha syllables) comes to one thousand (of *Bṛihatī* verses). That (thousand) is the whole, and ten, ten is called the whole. For number is such (measured by ten). Ten tens are a hundred, ten hundreds are a thousand, and that is the whole. These are the three metres (the tens, pervading everything). And this food also (the three sets of hymns being represented as food) is threefold, eating, drinking, and chewing. He obtains that food by those (three numbers, ten, hundred, and thousand, or by the three sets of eighty *trikas*).

FIFTH KHANDA.

1. This (*nishkevalya-sastra*) becomes perfect as a thousand of *Bṛihatī* verses.

2. Some teachers (belonging to a different *Sākhā*) recognise a thousand of different metres (not of *Bṛihatī*s only). They say: 'Is another thousand (a thousand of other verses) good? Let us say it is good.'

3. Some say, a thousand of *Trishūbh* verses, others a thousand of *Gagatī* verses, others a thousand of *Anushūbh* verses.

4. This has been said by a *Rishi* (Rv. X, 124, 9):—

5. 'Poets through their understanding discovered Indra dancing an *Anushūbh*.' This is meant to say: They discovered (and meditated) in speech (called *Anushūbh*)—at that time (when they wor-

which precede these, form the body, head, and wings of the bird. This is one order. Then follow the three sets of eighty *trikas* each; and lastly, the fifth order, consisting of the hymns which form the belly and the legs of the bird.

shipped the uktha)—the *Prâna* (breath) connected with Indra.

6. He (who takes the recited verses as *Anushṭubhs*) is able to become celebrated and of good report.

7. No! he says; rather is such a man liable to die before his time. For that self (consisting of *Anushṭubhs*) is incomplete. For if a man confines himself to speech, not to breath, then driven by his mind, he does not succeed with speech¹.

8. Let him work towards the *Bṛīhatī*, for the *Bṛīhatī* (breath) is the complete self.

9. That self (*gṛtvâtman*) is surrounded on all sides by members. And as that self is on all sides surrounded by members, the *Bṛīhatī* also is on all sides surrounded by metres².

10. For the self (in the heart) is the middle of these members, and the *Bṛīhatī* is the middle of the metres.

11. 'He is able to become celebrated and of good

¹ This passage is obscure, and probably corrupt. I have followed the commentator as much as possible. He says: 'If the *Hotri* priest proceeds with reciting the *sastra*, looking to the *Anushṭubh*, which is speech, and not to the thousand of *Bṛīhatīs* which are breath, then, neglecting the *Bṛīhatī* (breath), and driven by his mind to the *Anushṭubh* (speech), he does not by his speech obtain that *sastra*. For in speech without breath the *Hotri* cannot, through the mere wish of the mind, say the *sastra*, the activity of all the senses being dependent on breath.' The commentator therefore takes *vāgabhi* for *vâtam abhi*, or for some old locative case formed by *abhi*. He also would seem to have read *prâne na*. One might attempt another construction, though it is very doubtful. One might translate, 'For that self, which is speech, is incomplete, because he understands if driven to the mind by breath, not (if driven) by speech.'

² Either in the *sastra*, or in the list of metres, there being some that have more, others that have less syllables.

report, but (the other) able to die before his time,' thus he said. For the *Bṛīhatī* is the complete self, therefore let him work towards the *Bṛīhatī* (let him reckon the *sastra* recitation as a thousand *Bṛīhatīs*).

SIXTH KHANDA.

1. This (*nishkevalya-sastra*) becomes perfect as a thousand of *Bṛīhatī* verses. In this thousand of *Bṛīhatīs* there are one thousand one hundred and twenty-five *Anuṣṭubhs*. For the smaller is contained in the larger.

2. This has been said by a *Rishi* (*Rv.* VIII, 76, 12):—

3. 'A speech of eight feet;'—because there are eight feet of four syllables each in the *Anuṣṭubh*.

4. 'Of nine corners;'—because the *Bṛīhatī* becomes nine-cornered (having nine feet of four syllables each).

5. 'Touching the truth;'—because speech (*Anuṣṭubh*) is truth, touched by the verse (*Bṛīhatī*)¹.

6. 'He (the *Hotṛ*) makes the body out of *Indra*;'—for out of this thousand of *Bṛīhatī* verses turned into *Anuṣṭubhs*, and therefore out of *Prâṇa* as connected with *Indra*², and out of the *Bṛīhatī* (which is *Prâṇa*), he makes speech, that is *Anuṣṭubh*, as a body³.

7. This *Mahaduktha* is the highest development

¹ *Vâk*, speech, taking the form of *Anuṣṭubh*, and being joined with the *Rik*, or the *Bṛīhatī*, touches the true, i. e. *Prâṇa*, breath, which is to be meditated on under the form of the *Bṛīhatī*. Comm.

² Cf. Ait. Âr. II, 2, 3, 4.

³ Because the *Anuṣṭubh* is made out of the *Bṛīhatī*, the *Bṛīhatī* being breath, therefore the *Anuṣṭubh* is called its body.

of speech, and it is fivefold, viz. measured, not measured, music, true, and untrue.

8. A *Rik* verse, a gâthâ¹, a kumbyâ² are measured (metrical). A Yagus line, an invocation, and general remarks³, these are not measured (they are in prose). A Sâman, or any portion (parvan) of it, is music. Om is true, Na is untrue.

9. What is true (Om) is the flower and fruit of speech. He is able to become celebrated and of good report, for he speaks the true (Om), the flower and fruit of speech.

10. Now the untrue is the root⁴ of speech, and as a tree whose root is exposed dries up and perishes, thus a man who says what is untrue exposes his root, dries up and perishes. Therefore one should not say what is untrue, but guard oneself from it.

11. That syllable Om (yes) goes forward (to the first cause of the world) and is empty. Therefore if a man says Om (yes) to everything, then that (which he gives away) is wanting to him here⁵. If he says Om (yes) to everything, then he would empty himself, and would not be capable of any enjoyments.

12. That syllable Na (no) is full for oneself⁶. If a man says No to everything, then his reputation

¹ A gâthâ is likewise in verse, for instance, prâtaḥ prâtar anṛitam te vadanti.

² A kumbyâ is a metrical precept, such as, brahma-târyasyâpo-sânam karma kuru, divâ mâ svâpsîḥ, &c.

³ Such as arthavâdas, explanatory passages, also gossip, such as is common in the king's palace, laughing at people, &c.

⁴ As diametrically opposed to the flowers and fruits which represent the true. Comm.

⁵ Then that man is left empty here on earth for that enjoyment. Comm.

⁶ He who always says No, keeps everything to himself.

would become evil, and that would ruin him even here.

13. Therefore let a man give at the proper time only, not at the wrong time. Thus he unites the true and the untrue, and from the union of those two he grows, and becomes greater and greater.

14. He who knows this speech of which this (the mahaduktha) is a development, he is clever. A is the whole of speech, and manifested through different kinds of contact (mutes) and of wind (sibilants), it becomes manifold and different.

15. Speech if uttered in a whisper is breath, if spoken aloud, it is body. Therefore (if whispered) it is almost hidden, for what is incorporeal is almost hidden, and breath is incorporeal. But if spoken aloud, it is body, and therefore it is perceptible, for body is perceptible.

SEVENTH KHANDA.

1. This (nishkevalya-sastra) becomes perfect as a thousand of *Bṛihatī*. It is glory (the glorious Brahman, not the absolute Brahman), it is Indra. Indra is the lord of all beings. He who thus knows Indra as the lord of all beings, departs from this world by loosening the bonds of life¹—so said Mahidâsa Aitareya. Having departed he becomes Indra (or *Hiranyagarbha*) and shines in those worlds².

¹ The commentator explains *visrasâ* by 'merging his manhood in the identity with all,' and doing this while still alive. *Visras* is the gradual loosening of the body, the decay of old age, but here it has the meaning of *vairâgya* rather, the shaking off of all that ties the Self to this body or this life.

² The fourteen worlds in the egg of Brahman. Comm. Some hold that he who enters on this path, and becomes deity, does not

2. And with regard to this they say: 'If a man obtains the other world in this form (by meditating on the *prâṇa*, breath, which is the *uktha*, the hymn of the *mahâvrata*), then in what form does he obtain this world¹?'

3. Here the blood of the woman is a form of *Agni* (fire); therefore no one should despise it. And the seed of the man is a form of *Âditya* (sun); therefore no one should despise it. This self (the woman) gives her self (skin, blood, and flesh) to that self (fat, bone, and marrow), and that self (man) gives his self (fat, bone, and marrow) to this self (skin, blood, and flesh). Thus² these two grow together. In this form (belonging to the woman and to fire) he goes to that world (belonging to the man and the sun), and in that form (belonging to man and the sun) he goes to this world (belonging to the woman and to fire³).

EIGHTH KHANDA.

1. Here (with regard to obtaining *Hiranyagarbha*) there are these *Slokas* :

arrive at final liberation. Others, however, show that this identification with the *uktha*, and through it with the *prâṇa* (breath) and *Hiranyagarbha*, is provisional only, and intended to prepare the mind of the worshipper for the reception of the highest knowledge of *Brahman*.

¹ The last line on page 246 should, I think, be the penultimate line of page 247.

² The body consists of six elements, and is hence called *shâḥ-kausika*. Of these, three having a white appearance (fat, bone, and marrow), come from the sun and from man; three having a red appearance, come from fire and from the woman.

³ It is well therefore to shake off this body, and by meditating on the *uktha* to obtain identity with *Hiranyagarbha*. Comm.

2. The fivefold body into which the indestructible (prâna, breath) enters, that body which the harnessed horses (the senses) draw about, that body where the true of the true (the highest Brahman) follows after, in that body (of the worshipper) all gods¹ become one.

3. That body into which goes the indestructible (the breath) which we have joined (in meditation), proceeding from the indestructible (the highest Brahman), that body which the harnessed horses (the senses) draw about, that body where the true of the true follows after, in that body all gods become one.

4. After separating themselves from the Yes and No of language, and of all that is hard and cruel, poets have discovered (what they sought for); dependent on names they rejoiced in what had been revealed².

5. That in which the poets rejoiced (the revealed nature of prâna, breath), in it the gods exist all joined together. Having driven away evil by means of that Brahman (which is hidden in prâna), the enlightened man goes to the Svarga world (becomes one with Hiranyagarbha³, the universal spirit).

6. No one wishing to describe him (prâna, breath) by speech, describes him by calling him 'woman,' 'neither woman nor man,' or 'man' (all such names applying only to the material body, and not to prâna or breath).

¹ The worshipper identifies himself by meditation with prâna, breath, which comprehends all gods. These gods (Agni and the rest) appear in the forms of speech, &c. Comm.

² The prâna, breath, and their identity with it through meditation or worship. Comm.

³ Sarvâhammâni hiranyagarbha iti sruteh. Comm.

7. Brahman (as hidden beneath *prāna*) is called the A; and the I (ego) is gone there (the worshipper should know that he is *uktha* and *prāna*).

8. This becomes perfect as a thousand of *Bṛihati* verses, and of that hymn, perfect with a thousand *Bṛihati* verses, there are 36,000 syllables. So many are also the thousands of days of human life¹. By means of the syllable of life (the a) alone (which is contained in that thousand of hymns) does a man obtain the day of life (the *mahāvratā* day, which completes the number of the days in the *Gavāmayana* sacrifice), and by means of the day of life (he obtains) the syllable of life.

9. Now there is a chariot of the god (*prāna*) destroying all desires (for the worlds of Indra, the moon, the earth, all of which lie below the place of *Hiraṇyagarbha*). Its front part (the point of the two shafts of the carriage where the yoke is fastened) is speech, its wheels the ears, the horses the eyes, the driver the mind. *Prāna* (breath) mounts that chariot (and on it, i. e. by means of meditating on *Prāna*, he reaches *Hiraṇyagarbha*).

10. This has been said by a *Rishi* (Rv. X, 39, 12):—

11. 'Come hither on that which is quicker than mind,' and (Rv. VIII, 73, 2) 'Come hither on that which is quicker than the twinkling of an eye,' yea, the twinkling of an eye².

¹ Cf. II, 2, 4, 4.

² The commentator remarks that the worship and meditation on the *uktha* as *prāna*, as here taught, is different from the *prānavidyā*, the knowledge of *prāna*, taught in the *Khândogya*, the *Bṛihadāraṇyaka*, &c., where *prāna* or life is represented as the object of meditation, without any reference to the *uktha* or other portions of the *Mahāvratā* ceremony. He enjoins that the meditation on

the uktha as *prâna* should be continued till the desired result, the identification of the worshipper with *prâna*, is realised, and that it should afterwards be repeated until death, because otherwise the impression might vanish, and the reward of becoming a god, and going to the gods, be lost. Nor is the worship to be confined to the time of the sacrifice, the *Mahâvrata*, only, but it has to be repeated mentally during life. There are neither certain postures required for it, nor certain times and places. At the time of death, however, he who has become perfect in this meditation on uktha, as the emblem of *prâna*, will have his reward. Up to a certain point his fate will be the same as that of other people. The activity of the senses will be absorbed in the mind, the activity of the mind in breath, breath in the activity of life, life with breath in the five elements, fire, &c., and these five elements will be absorbed up to their seed in the *Paramâtman* or Highest Self. This ends the old birth. But then the subtle body, having been absorbed in the Highest Self, rises again in the lotus of the heart, and passing out by the channel of the head, reaches a ray of the sun, whether by day or by night, and goes at the northern or southern course of the sun to the road of *Arktis* or light. That *Arktis*, light, and other powers carry him on, and led by these he reaches the *Brahma-loka*, where he creates to himself every kind of enjoyment, according to his wish. He may create for himself a material body and enjoy all sorts of pleasures, as if in a state of waking, or he may, without such a body, enjoy all pleasures in mind only, as if in a dream. And as he creates these various bodies according to his wish, he creates also living souls in each, endowed with the internal organs of mind, and moves about in them, as he pleases. In fact this world is the same for the devotee (*yogin*) and for the Highest Self, except that creative power belongs truly to the latter only. At last the devotee gains the highest knowledge, that of the Highest Self in himself, and then, at the dissolution of the *Brahma-loka*, he obtains complete freedom with Brahman.

FOURTH ADHYÂYA.

FIRST KHANDA.

With this adhyâya begins the real Upanishad, best known under the name of the Aitareya-upanishad, and often separately edited, commented on, and translated. If treated separately, what we call the fourth adhyâya of the second Âranyaka, becomes the first adhyâya of the Upanishad, sometimes also, by counting all adhyâyas from the beginning of the Aitareya-âranyaka, the ninth. The divisions adopted by Sâyana, who explains the Upanishad as part of the Âranyaka, and by Saṅkara, who explains it independently, vary, though Sâyana states that he follows in his commentary on the Upanishad the earlier commentary of Saṅkara. I have given the divisions adopted by Sâyana, and have marked those of Saṅkara's by figures in parentheses, placed at the end of each paragraph. The difference between this Upanishad and the three preceding adhyâyas is easily perceived. Hitherto the answer to the question, Whence this world? had been, From Prâna, prâna meaning breath and life, which was looked upon for a time as a sufficient explanation of all that is. From a psychological point of view this prâna is the conscious self (pragñâtman); in a more mythological form it appears as Hiranyagarbha, 'the golden germ,' sometimes even as Indra. It is one of the chief objects of the prânavidyâ, or life-knowledge, to show that the living principle in us is the same as the living principle in the sun, and that by a recognition of their identity and of the true nature of prâna, the devotee, or he who has rightly meditated on prâna during his life, enters after death into the world of Hiranyagarbha.

This is well expressed in the Kaushîtaki-upanishad III, 2, where Indra says to Pratarana: 'I am Prâna; meditate on me as the conscious self (pragñâtman), as life, as immortality. Life is prâna, prâna is life. Immortality is prâna, prâna is immortality. By prâna he obtains immortality in the other world, by knowledge (pragñâ) true conception. Prâna is consciousness (pragñâ), consciousness is prâna.'

This, however, though it may have satisfied the mind of the Brahmins for a time, was not a final solution. That final solution of the problem not simply of life, but of existence, is given in the Upanishad which teaches that Âtman, the Self, and not Prâna, Life, is the last and only cause of everything. In some places this

doctrine is laid down in all its simplicity. Our true self, it is said, has its true being in the Highest Self only. In other passages, however, and nearly in the whole of this Upanishad, this simple doctrine is mixed up with much that is mythological, fanciful, and absurd, arthavâda, as the commentators call it, but as it might often be more truly called, anarthavâda, and it is only towards the end that the identity of the self-conscious self with the Highest Self or Brahman is clearly enuntiated.

Adoration to the Highest Self. Hari, Om !

1. Verily, in the beginning¹ all this was Self, one only; there was nothing else blinking² whatsoever.

2. He thought : 'Shall I send forth worlds?' (1)
He sent forth these worlds,

3. Ambhas (water), Martîi (light), Mara (mortal), and Ap (water).

4. That Ambhas (water) is above the heaven, and it is heaven, the support. The Martîis (the lights) are the sky. The Mara (mortal) is the earth, and the waters under the earth are the Ap world³. (2)

¹ Before the creation. Comm.

² Blinking, mishat, i. e. living; cf. Rv. X, 190, 2, visvasya mishato vaś, the lord of all living. Sâyana seems to take mishat as a 3rd pers. sing.

³ The names of the four worlds are peculiar. Ambhas means water, and is the name given to the highest world, the waters above the heaven, and heaven itself. Martîis are rays, here used as a name of the sky, antariksha. Mara means dying, and the earth is called so, because all creatures living there must die. Ap is water, here explained as the waters under the earth. The usual division of the world is threefold, earth, sky, and heaven. Here it is fourfold, the fourth division being the water round the earth, or, as the commentator says, under the earth. Ambhas was probably intended for the highest heaven (dyaus), and was then explained both as what is above the heaven and as heaven itself, the support. If we translate, like Sâṅkara and Colebrooke, 'the water is the region above the heaven which heaven upholds,' we should lose heaven altogether, yet heaven, as the third with sky and earth, is essential in the Indian view of the world.

5. He thought: 'There are these worlds ; shall I send forth guardians of the worlds ?'

He then formed the Purusha (the person)¹, taking him forth from the water². (3)

6. He brooded on him³, and when that person had thus been brooded on, a mouth burst forth⁴ like an egg. From the mouth proceeded speech, from speech Agni (fire)⁵.

Nostrils burst forth. From the nostrils proceeded scent (*prâna*)⁶, from scent Vâyu (air).

Eyes burst forth. From the eyes proceeded sight, from sight Âditya (sun).

Ears burst forth. From the ears proceeded hearing, from hearing the Dis (quarters of the world).

Skin burst forth. From the skin proceeded hairs (sense of touch), from the hairs shrubs and trees.

The heart burst forth. From the heart proceeded mind, from mind *Kandramas* (moon).

The navel burst forth. From the navel proceeded the *Apâna* (the down-breathing)⁷, from *Apâna* death.

¹ Purusha ; an embodied being, Colebrooke ; a being of human shape, Rœr ; *purushâkâram virâṣṭindam, Sâyana*.

² According to the commentator, from the five elements, beginning with water. That person is meant for the *Virâg*.

³ Tap, as the commentator observes, does not mean here and in similar passages to perform austerities (*tapas*), such as the *Krikkhra*, the *Kândrâyana*, &c., but to conceive and to will and to create by mere will. I have translated it by brooding, though this expresses a part only of the meaning expressed by tap.

⁴ Literally, was opened.

⁵ Three things are always distinguished here—the place of each sense, the instrument of the sense, and the presiding deity of the sense.

⁶ *Prâna*, i. e. *ghrâṇendriya*, must be distinguished from the *prâna*, the up-breathing, one of the five *prânas*, and likewise from the *prâna* as the principle of life.

⁷ The *Apâna*, down-breathing, is generally one of the five vital airs

The generative organ burst forth. From the organ proceeded seed, from seed water. (4)

SECOND KHANDA.

1. Those deities (devatâ), Agni and the rest, after they had been sent forth, fell into this great ocean¹.

Then he (the Self) besieged him, (the person) with hunger and thirst.

2. The deities then (tormented by hunger and thirst) spoke to him (the Self): 'Allow us a place in which we may rest and eat food².' (1)

He led a cow towards them (the deities). They said: 'This is not enough.' He led a horse towards them. They said: 'This is not enough.' (2)

He led man³ towards them. Then they said: 'Well done⁴, indeed.' Therefore man is well done.

3. He said to them: 'Enter, each according to his place.' (3)

4. Then Agni (fire), having become speech, entered the mouth. Vâyû (air), having become scent, entered the nostrils. Âditya (sun), having become sight, entered the eyes. The Dis (regions), having become hearing, entered the ears. The shrubs and trees, having become hairs, entered the skin. Kandramas (the moon), having become mind, entered

which are supposed to keep the body alive. In our place, however, apâna is deglutition and digestion, as we shall see in II, 4, 3, 10.

¹ They fell back into that universal being from whence they had sprung, the first created person, the Virâg. Or they fell into the world, the last cause of which is ignorance.

² To eat food is explained to mean to perceive the objects which correspond to the senses, presided over by the various deities.

³ Here purusha is different from the first purusha, the universal person. It can only be intended for intelligent man.

⁴ Sukrita, well done, virtue; or, if taken for svakrita, self-made.

the heart. Death, having become down-breathing, entered the navel. The waters, having become seed, entered the generative organ. (4)

5. Then Hunger and Thirst spoke to him (the Self): 'Allow us two (a place).' He said to them: 'I assign you to those very deities there, I make you co-partners with them.' Therefore to whatever deity an oblation is offered, hunger and thirst are co-partners in it. (5)

THIRD KHANDA.

1. He thought: 'There are these worlds and the guardians of the worlds. Let me send forth food for them.' (1)

He brooded over the water¹. From the water thus brooded on, matter² (mûrti) was born. And that matter which was born, that verily was food³. (2)

2. When this food (the object matter) had thus been sent forth, it wished to flee⁴, crying and turning away. He (the subject) tried to grasp it by speech. He could not grasp it by speech. If he had grasped it by speech, man would be satisfied by naming food. (3)

He tried to grasp it by scent (breath). He could not grasp it by scent. If he had grasped it by scent, man would be satisfied by smelling food. (4)

He tried to grasp it by the eye. He could not

¹ The water, as mentioned before, or the five elements.

² Mûrti, for mûrtti, form, Colebrooke; a being of organised form, Rôer; vrîhiyavâdirûpâ mûshakâdirûpâ *ka* mûrti^h, i. e. vegetable food for men, animal food for cats, &c.

³ Offered food, i. e. objects for the Devatâs and the senses in the body.

⁴ Atyagighâmsat, atisayena hantum gantum aikṣhat. Sâyana.

grasp it by the eye. If he had grasped it by the eye, man would be satisfied by seeing food. (5)

He tried to grasp it by the ear. He could not grasp it by the ear. If he had grasped it by the ear, man would be satisfied by hearing food. (6)

He tried to grasp it by the skin. He could not grasp it by the skin. If he had grasped it by the skin, man would be satisfied by touching food. (7)

He tried to grasp it by the mind. He could not grasp it by the mind. If he had grasped it by the mind, man would be satisfied by thinking food. (8)

He tried to grasp it by the generative organ. He could not grasp it by the organ. If he had grasped it by the organ, man would be satisfied by sending forth food. (9)

He tried to grasp it by the down-breathing (the breath which helps to swallow food through the mouth and to carry it off through the rectum, the pâyvindriya). He got it.

3. Thus it is Vâyu (the getter¹) who lays hold of food, and the Vâyu is verily Annâyu (he who gives life or who lives by food). (10)

4. He thought : 'How can all this be without me ?'

5. And then he thought : 'By what way shall I get there ?'

6. And then he thought : 'If speech names, if scent smells, if the eye sees, if the ear hears, if the skin feels, if the mind thinks, if the off-breathing digests, if the organ sends forth, then what am I ?' (11)

¹ An attempt to derive vâyu from vî, to get.

² Or, by which of the two ways shall I get in, the one way being from the top of the foot (cf. Ait. Âr. II, 1, 4, 1), the other from the skull? Comm.

7. Then opening the suture of the skull, he got in by that door.

8. That door is called the *Vidṛiti* (tearing asunder), the *Nândana* (the place of bliss).

9. There are three dwelling-places for him, three dreams; this dwelling-place (the eye), this dwelling-place (the throat), this dwelling-place (the heart)¹. (12)

10. When born (when the Highest Self had entered the body) he looked through all things, in order to see whether anything wished to proclaim here another (Self). He saw this person only (himself) as the widely spread Brahman. 'I saw it,' thus he said²; (13)

Therefore he was *Idam-dra* (seeing this).

11. Being *Idam-dra* by name, they call him *Indra* mysteriously. For the *Devas* love mystery, yea, they love mystery. (14)

¹ Passages like this must always have required an oral interpretation, but it is by no means certain that the explanation given in the commentaries represents really the old traditional interpretation. *Sâyana* explains the three dwelling-places as the right eye, in a state of waking; as the throat, in a state of dreaming; as the heart, in a state of profound sleep. *Saṅkara* explains them as the right eye; the inner mind, and the ether in the heart. *Sâyana* allows another interpretation of the three dwelling-places being the body of the father, the body of the mother, and one's own body. The three dreams or sleeps he explains by waking, dreaming, and profound sleep, and he remarks that waking too is called a dream as compared with the true awakening, which is the knowledge of Brahman. In the last sentence the speaker, when repeating three times 'this dwelling-place,' is supposed to point to his right eye, the throat, and the heart. This interpretation is supported by a passage in the *Brahma-upanishad*, *Netre gâgaritam vidyât kanthe svapnam samâdiset, sushuptam hrîdayasya tu*.

² In this passage, which is very obscure, *Saṅkara* fails us, either because, as *Ânandagiri* says, he thought the text was too easy to require any explanation, or because the writers of the MSS. left out

FIFTH ADHYÂYA.

FIRST KHANDA.

1. Let the women who are with child move away!¹
2. Verily, from the beginning he (the self) is in man as a germ, which is called seed.
3. This (seed), which is strength gathered from all the limbs of the body, he (the man) bears as self in his self (body). When he commits the seed to the woman, then he (the father) causes it to be born. That is his first birth. (1)
4. That seed becomes the self of the woman, as

the passage. Ânandagñâna explains: 'He looked through all creatures, he identified himself with them, and thought he was a man, blind, happy, &c.; or, as it is elsewhere expressed, he developed forms and names. And how did this mistake arise? Because he did not see the other, the true Self;' or literally, 'Did he see the other Self?' which is only a figure of speech to convey the meaning that he did not see it. The particle *iti* is then to be taken in a causal sense, (i.e. he did so, because what else could he have wished to proclaim?) But he allows another explanation, viz. 'He considered all beings, whether they existed by themselves or not, and after having considered, he arrived at the conclusion, What shall I call different from the true Self?' The real difficulties, however, are not removed by these explanations. First of all, we expect *vâvadisham* before *iti*, and secondly, unless *anyam* refers to *âtmanam*, we expect *anyad*. My own translation is literal, but I am not certain that it conveys the true meaning. One might understand it as implying that the Self looked about through all things, in order to find out, 'What does wish to proclaim here another Self?' And when he saw there was nothing which did not come from himself, then he recognised that the Purusha, the person he had sent forth, or, as we should say, the person he had created, was the developed Brahman, was the Âtman, was himself. Sâyana explains *vâvadishat* by *vadishyâmi*, but before *iti* the third person cannot well refer to the subject of *vyaikshat*.

¹ Some MSS. begin this *adhyâya* with the sentence *apakrâmantu garbhinîyaḥ*, may the women who are with child walk away! It is counted as a paragraph.

if one of her own limbs. Therefore it does not injure her.

5. She nourishes his (her husband's) self (the son) within her. (2) She who nourishes, is to be nourished.

6. The woman bears the germ. He (the father) elevates the child even before the birth, and immediately after¹.

7. When he thus elevates the child both before and after his birth, he really elevates his own self,

8. For the continuation of these worlds (men). For thus are these worlds continued.

9. This is his second birth. (3)

10. He (the son), being his self, is then placed in his stead for (the performance of) all good works.

11. But his other self (the father), having done all he has to do, and having reached the full measure of his life, departs.

12. And departing from hence he is born again. That is his third birth.

13. And this has been declared by a *Rîshi* (Rv. IV, 27, 1): (4)

14. 'While dwelling in the womb, I discovered all the births of these Devas. A hundred iron strongholds kept me, but I escaped quickly down like a falcon.'

15. Vâmadeva, lying in the womb, has thus declared this. (5)

And having this knowledge he stepped forth, after this dissolution of the body, and having obtained all his desires in that heavenly world, became immortal, yea, he became immortal. (6)

¹ By nourishing the mother, and by performing certain ceremonies both before and after the birth of a child.

SIXTH ADHYÂYA.

FIRST KHANDA.

1. Let the women go back to their place.
2. Who is he whom¹ we meditate on as the Self? Which² is the Self?

3. That by which we see (form), that by which we hear (sound), that by which we perceive smells, that by which we utter speech, that by which we distinguish sweet and not sweet, (1) and what comes from the heart and the mind, namely, perception, command, understanding, knowledge, wisdom, seeing, holding, thinking, considering, readiness (or suffering), remembering, conceiving, willing, breathing, loving, desiring?

4. No, all these are various names only of knowledge (the true Self). (2)

5. And that Self, consisting of (knowledge), is Brahman (m.)³, it is Indra, it is Pragâpati⁴. All these Devas, these five great elements, earth, air, ether, water, fire, these and those which are, as it were, small and mixed⁵, and seeds of this kind and that kind, born from eggs, born from the womb, born from heat, born from germs⁶, horses, cows, men, elephants, and whatsoever breathes, whether walking or flying, and what is immoveable—all that is led (produced) by knowledge (the Self).

6. It rests on knowledge (the Self). The world

¹ I read ko yam instead of ko'yam.

² Or, Which of the two, the real or the phenomenal, the nirupâdhika or sopâdhika?

³ Hiraṇyagarbha. Comm.

⁴ Virâg. Comm.

⁵ Serpents, &c., says the commentary.

⁶ Cf. Kā. Up. VI, 3, 1, where the svedaga, born from heat or perspiration, are not mentioned.

is led (produced) by knowledge (the Self). Knowledge is its cause¹.

7. Knowledge is Brahman. (3)

8. He (Vâmadeva), having by this conscious self stepped forth from this world, and having obtained all desires in that heavenly world, became immortal, yea, he became immortal. Thus it is, Om. (4)

SEVENTH ADHYÂYA².

FIRST KHANDA.

1. My speech rests in the mind, my mind rests in speech³. Appear to me (thou, the Highest Self)! You (speech and mind) are the two pins⁴ (that hold the wheels) of the Veda. May what I have learnt not forsake me⁵. I join day and night with what I have learnt⁶. I shall speak of the real, I shall speak the true. May this protect me, may this protect the teacher! May it protect me, may it protect the teacher, yea, the teacher!

¹ We have no words to distinguish between *pragñâ*, state of knowing, and *pragñâna*, act of knowing. Both are names of the Highest Brahman, which is the beginning and end (*pratish/hâ*) of everything that exists or seems to exist.

² This seventh adhyâya contains a propitiatory prayer (*sântikaro mantra*). It is frequently left out in the MSS. which contain the Aitareya-upanishad with Sâṅkara's commentary, and Dr. Rœr has omitted it in his edition. Sâyana explains it in his commentary on the Aitareya-âraṇyaka; and in one MS. of Sâṅkara's commentary on the Aitareya-upanishad, which is in my possession, the seventh adhyâya is added with the commentary of Mâdhavâtmâya, the Âgñâpâla of Virabukka-mahârâga.

³ The two depend on each other.

⁴ *Âṇi*, explained by the commentator as *ânayanasamartha*.

⁵ Cf. *Kh. Up.* IV, 2, 5.

⁶ I repeat it day and night so that I may not forget it.

THIRD ÂRANYAKA¹.

FIRST ADHYÂYA.

FIRST KHANDA.

1. Next follows the Upanishad of the *Samhitâ* ².
2. The former half is the earth, the latter half the heaven, their union the air ³, thus says *Mândukeya*; their union is the ether, thus did *Mâkshavya* teach it.
3. That air is not considered ⁴ independent ⁵, therefore I do not agree with his (*Mandûka*'s) son.
4. Verily, the two are the same, therefore air is

¹ This last portion of the Upanishad is found in the MS. discovered by Dr. Bühler in Kashmir, and described by him in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1877, p. 36. I have collated it, so far as it was possible to read it, many lines being either broken off altogether, or almost entirely obliterated.

² *Samhitâ* is the sacred text in which all letters are closely joined. The joining together of two letters is called their *samhitâ*; the first letter of a joined group the *pûrvarûpa* (n.), the second the *uttararûpa*. For instance, in *agnim* i/e the *m* is *pûrvarûpa*, the *i* *uttararûpa*, and *mî* their *samhitâ* or union.

³ As in worshipping the *Sâlagrâma* stone, we really worship *Vishnu*, so we ought to perceive the earth, the heaven, and the air when we pronounce the first and the second letters of a group, and that group itself.

⁴ *Mene* has here been taken as 3rd pers. sing. perf. passive. The commentator, however, explains it as an active verb, *niskritavân*.

⁵ Because it is included in the ether, not the ether in the air. Comm.

considered independent, thus says Āgastya. For it is the same, whether they say air or ether ¹.

5. So far with reference to deities (mythologically); now with reference to the body (physiologically):

6. The former half is speech, the latter half is mind, their union breath (prāṇa), thus says Sûravîra ² Māṇdukeya.

7. But his eldest son said: The former half is mind, the latter half speech. For we first conceive with the mind indeed ³, and then we utter with speech. Therefore the former half is indeed mind, the latter half speech, but their union is really breath.

8. Verily, it is the same with both, the father (Māṇdukeya) and the son ⁴.

9. This (meditation as here described), joined ⁵ with mind, speech, and breath, is (like) a chariot drawn by two horses and one horse between them (prashāvāhana).

10. And he who thus knows this union, becomes united with offspring, cattle, fame, glory of countenance, and the world of Svarga. He lives his full age.

11. Now all this comes from the Māṇdukeyas.

SECOND KHANDA.

1. Next comes the meditation as taught by Sākalya.

¹ Both views are tenable, for it is not the actual air and ether which are meditated on, but their names, as declared and explained in this peculiar act of worship. We should read ākāśaṅketi, a reading confirmed both by the commentary and by the Kashmir MS.

² The man among heroes. Comm.

³ The Kashmir MS. reads manasaivāgre.

⁴ Both views are admissible. Comm.

⁵ Prāṇasamhitā, Kashmir MS.

2. The first half is the earth, the second half heaven, their uniting the rain, the uniter Parganya ¹.

3. And so it is when he (Parganya) rains thus strongly, without ceasing, day and night ²,

4. Then they say also (in ordinary language), 'Heaven and earth have come together.'

5. So much with regard to the deities; now with regard to the body:—

6. Every man is indeed like an egg ³. There are two halves ⁴ (of him), thus they say: 'This half is the earth, that half heaven.' And there between them is the ether (the space of the mouth), like the ether between heaven and earth. In this ether there (in the mouth) the breath is fixed, as in that other ether the air is fixed. And as there are those three luminaries (in heaven), there are these three luminaries in man.

7. As there is that sun in heaven, there is this eye in the head. As there is that lightning in the sky, there is this heart in the body; as there is that fire on earth, there is this seed in the member.

8. Having thus represented the self (body) as the whole world, Sâkalya said: This half is the earth, that half heaven.

9. He who thus knows this union, becomes united with offspring, cattle, fame, glory of coun-

¹ If i is followed by a, the i is changed to y, and both are united as ya. Here a is the cause which changes i into y. Thus Parganya, the god of rain, is the cause which unites earth and heaven into rain. Comm.

² When it rains incessantly, heaven and earth seem to be one in rain.

³ Âdam, *andasadrîsam*. Comm.

⁴ The one half from the feet to the lower jaw, the other half from the upper jaw to the skull. Comm.

tenance, and the world of Svarga. He lives his full age.

THIRD KHANDA¹.

1. Next come the reciters of the Nirbhuga².
2. Nirbhuga abides on earth, *Pratrinna* in heaven, the Ubhayamantarena in the sky.
3. Now, if any one should chide him who recites the Nirbhuga, let him answer : 'Thou art fallen from the two lower places³.' If any one should chide him who recites the *Pratrinna*, let him answer : 'Thou art fallen from the two higher places⁴.' But he who recites the Ubhayamantarena, there is no chiding him.
4. For when he turns out the Sandhi (the union of words), that is the form of Nirbhuga⁵; and when he pronounces two syllables pure (without modification), that is the form of *Pratrinna*⁶. This comes

¹ Cf. Rig-veda-prâtisâkhya, ed. Max Müller, p. iii, and Nachträge, p. ii.

² Nirbhuga(n) is the recitation of the Veda without intervals, therefore the same as *Samhitâ*. *Pratrinna* is the recitation of each word by itself (pada-pâṭha); Ubhayamantarena, the between the two, is the intertwining of *Samhitâ* and Pada-pâṭha, the so-called *Krama-pâṭha*. By reciting the *Samhitâ* inattentively, one may use forms which belong to the Pada-text; and by reciting the Pada inattentively, one may use forms which belong to the *Samhitâ*-text. But in reciting the *Krama* both the *Samhitâ* and Pada forms are used together, and therefore mistakes are less likely to happen.

³ From earth and sky. Cf. *Kh. Up.* II, 22, 3.

⁴ From the sky and from heaven.

⁵ Nirbhuga may mean without arms, as if the arms of the words were taken away, or with two arms stretched out, the two words forming, as it were, two arms to one body.

⁶ *Pratrinna* means cut asunder, every word being separated from the others.

first¹. By the Ubhayamantara (what is between the two) both are fulfilled (both the sandhi and the pada).

5. Let him who wishes for proper food say the Nirbhuga; let him who wishes for Svarga, say the Pratrinnā; let him who wishes for both say the Ubhayamantarena.

6. Now if another man (an enemy) should chide him who says the Nirbhuga, let him say to him: 'Thou hast offended the earth, the deity; the earth, the deity, will strike thee.'

If another man should chide him who says the Pratrinnā, let him say to him: 'Thou hast offended heaven, the deity; heaven, the deity, will strike thee.'

If another man should chide him who says the Ubhayamantarena, let him say to him: 'Thou hast offended the sky, the deity; the sky, the deity, will strike thee.'

7. And whatever the reciter shall say to one who speaks to him or does not speak to him, depend upon it, it will come to pass.

8. But to a Brāhmaṇa let him not say anything except what is auspicious.

9. Only he may curse a Brāhmaṇa in excessive wealth².

10. Nay, not even in excessive wealth should he curse a Brāhmaṇa, but he should say, 'I bow before Brāhmaṇas,'—thus says Śûravîra Mândûkeya.

¹ The words were first each separate, before they were united according to the laws of Sandhi.

² He may curse him, if he is exceeding rich; or he may wish him the curse of excessive wealth; or he may curse him, if something great depends on it.

FOURTH KHANDA.

1. Next follow the imprecations¹.
2. Let him know that breath² is the beam (on which the whole house of the body rests).
3. If any one (a Brāhmaṇa or another man) should chide him, who by meditation has become that breath as beam³, then, if he thinks himself strong, he says: 'I grasped the breath, the beam, well; thou dost not prevail against me who have grasped the breath as the beam.' Let him say to him: 'Breath, the beam, will forsake thee.'
4. But if he thinks himself not strong, let him say to him: 'Thou couldst not grasp him who wishes to grasp the breath as the beam. Breath, the beam, will forsake thee.'
5. And whatever the reciter shall say to one who speaks to him or does not speak to him, depend upon it, it will come to pass. But to a Brāhmaṇa let him not say anything except what is auspicious. Only he may curse a Brāhmaṇa in excessive wealth. Nay, not even in excessive wealth should he curse a Brāhmaṇa, but he should say, 'I bow before Brāhmaṇas,'—thus says Śūravira Māṇḍūkeya.

¹ The commentator explains anuvyāhāra, not as imprecations, but as referring to those who teach or use the imprecations, such imprecations being necessary to guard against the loss of the benefits accruing from the meditation and worship here described; such teachers say what follows.

² Breath, the union of mind and speech, as explained before. This is the opinion of Sthavira Śākalya, cf. III, 2, 1, 1.

³ If he should tell him that he did not meditate on breath properly.

FIFTH KHANDA.

1. Now those who repeat the Nirbhuga say:
2. 'The former half¹ is the first syllable, the latter half the second syllable, and the space between the first and second halves is the *Samhitâ* (union).'
3. He who thus knows this *Samhitâ* (union), becomes united with offspring, cattle, fame, glory of countenance, and the world of Svarga. He lives his full age.
4. Now Hrasva *Mândûkeya* says: 'We reciters of Nirbhuga say, "Yes, the former half is the first syllable, and the latter half the second syllable, but the *Samhitâ* is the space between the first and second halves in so far as by it one turns out the union (sandhi), and knows what is the accent and what is not², and distinguishes what is the mora and what is not."'
5. He who thus knows this *Samhitâ* (union), becomes united with offspring, cattle, fame, glory of countenance, and the world of Svarga. He lives his full age.
6. Now his middle son, the child of his mother *Prâtibodhî*³, says: 'One pronounces these two syllables letter by letter, without entirely separating

¹ As spoken of before, III, 1, 1, 1.

² In agnim *îe*, *îe* by itself has no accent, but as joined by sandhi with agnim, its first syllable becomes svarita, its second *prakîta*. In tava it, the vowel *i* is a short mora or *mâtrâ*; but if joined with va, it vanishes, and becomes long e, tavet. .Comm.

³ *Prâtibodhîputra*, the son of *Prâtibodhî*, she being probably one out of several wives of Hrasva. Another instance of this metonymic nomenclature occurred in *Krishna Devakîputra*, *Kh. Up. III, 7, 6*. The Kashmir MS. reads *Prâtibodhî*, but *Pratibodha* is a recognised name in *Gana Vidâdi*, and the right reading is probably *Prâtibodhî*. The same MS. leaves out *putra âha*.

them, and without entirely uniting them¹. Then that mora between the first and second halves, which indicates the union, that is the Sâman (evenness, sliding). I therefore hold Sâman only to be the Samhitâ (union).

7. This has also been declared by a *Rîshi* (Rv. II, 23, 16):—

8. 'O *Brîhaspati*, they know nothing higher than Sâman.'

9. He who thus knows this Samhitâ (union), becomes united with offspring, cattle, fame, glory of countenance, and the world of Svarga. He lives his full age.

SIXTH KHANDA.

1. Târukshya² said: 'The Samhitâ (union) is formed by means of the *Brîhat* and *Rathantara*³ Sâmans.'

2. Verily, the *Rathantara* Sâman is speech, the *Brîhat* Sâman is breath. By both, by speech and breath, the Samhitâ is formed⁴.

3. For this Upanishad (for acquiring from his teacher the knowledge of this Samhitâ of speech and breath) Târukshya guards (his teacher's) cows a whole year.

4. For it alone Târukshya guards the cows a whole year.

¹ So that the ê in tavet should neither be one letter e, nor two letters a+i, but something between the two, enabling us to hear a+i in the pronunciation of ê.

² The Kashmir MS. reads Târkshtya, a name used before as the title of a hymn (Ait. Âr. I, 5, 2, 8). Here Târukshya seems preferable, see Pân. IV, 1, 105.

³ See Ait. Âr. I, 4, 2, 1-4.

⁴ These two, the *Brîhat* and *Rathantara*, are required for the *Prîshthastotra* in the *Agnishôma*, and they are to remind the worshipper that speech and breath are required for all actions.

5. This has also been declared by a *Rishi* (Rv. X, 181, 1; and Rv. X, 181, 2):—

6. ‘*Vasishtha* carried hither the *Rathantara*; ‘*Bharadvâga* brought hither the *Bṛihat* of *Agni*.’

7. He who thus knows this *Samhitâ* (union), becomes united with offspring, cattle, fame, glory of countenance, and the world of *Svarga*. He lives his full age.

8. *Kauntharavya* said: ‘Speech is united with breath, breath with the blowing air, the blowing air with the *Visvedevas*, the *Visvedevas* with the heavenly world, the heavenly world with *Brahman*. That *Samhitâ* is called the gradual *Samhitâ*.’

9. He who knows this gradual *Samhitâ* (union), becomes united with offspring, cattle, fame, glory of countenance, and the world of *Svarga*, in exactly the same manner as this *Samhitâ*, i.e. gradually.

10. If that worshipper, whether for his own sake or for that of another, recites (the *Samhitâ*), let him know when he is going to recite, that this *Samhitâ* went up to heaven, and that it will be even so with those who by knowing it become *Devas*. May it always be so!

11. He who thus knows this *Samhitâ* (union), becomes united with offspring, cattle, fame, glory of countenance, and the world of *Svarga*. He lives his full age.

12. *Pañtâlakanda* said: ‘The *Samhitâ* (union, composition) is speech.’

13. Verily, by speech the *Vedas*, by speech the metres are composed. Friends unite through speech, all beings unite through speech; therefore speech is everything here¹.

¹ Everything can be obtained by speech in this life and in the next. Comm.

14. With regard to this (view of speech being more than breath), it should be borne in mind that when we thus repeat (the Veda) or speak, breath is (absorbed) in speech; speech swallows breath. And when we are silent or sleep, speech is (absorbed) in breath; breath swallows speech. The two swallow each other. Verily, speech is the mother, breath the son.

15. This has been declared also by a *Rîshi* (Rv. X, 114, 4):—

16. 'There is one bird; (as wind) he has entered the sky; (as breath or living soul) he saw this whole world. With my ripe mind I saw him close to me (in the heart); the mother (licks or) absorbs him (breath), and he absorbs the mother (speech).'

17. He who thus knows this *Samhitâ* (union), becomes united with offspring, cattle, fame, glory of countenance, and the world of Svarga. He lives his full age.

18. Next follows the *Pragâpati-Samhitâ*.

19. The former half is the wife, the latter half the man; the result of their union the son; the act of their union the begetting; that *Samhitâ* is *Aditi* (indestructible).

20. For *Aditi* (indestructible) is all this whatever there is, father, mother, son, and begetting.

21. This has also been declared by a *Rîshi* (Rv. I, 189, 10):—

22. 'Aditi is mother, is father, is son.'

23. He who thus knows this *Samhitâ* (union), becomes united with offspring, cattle, fame, glory of countenance, and the world of Svarga. He lives his full age.

SECOND ADHYÂYA¹.

FIRST KHANDA.

1. Sthavira Sâkalya said that breath is the beam², and as the other beams rest on the house-beam, thus the eye, the ear, the mind, the speech, the senses, the body, the whole self rests on this³ breath.

2. Of that self the breathing is like the sibilants, the bones like the mutes, the marrow like the vowels, and the fourth part, flesh, blood, and the rest, like the semivowels⁴,—so said Hrasva Mândûkeya.

3. To us it was said to be a triad only⁵.

4. Of that triad, viz. bones, marrow, and joints, there are 360 (parts) on this side (the right), and 360 on that side (the left). They make 720 together, and 720⁶ are the days and nights of the year. Thus that self which consists of sight, hearing, metre, mind, and speech is like unto the days.

5. He who thus knows this self, which consists of sight, hearing, metre, mind, and speech, as like unto the days, obtains union, likeness, or nearness with the days, has sons and cattle, and lives his full age.

¹ In the first adhyâya meditations suggested by *samhitâ*, *pada*, and *krama* have been discussed. Now follow meditations suggested by certain classes of letters.

² Ait. Âr. III, 1, 4.

³ The Kashmir MS. reads *etasmin prâne*. The self here is meant for the body, and yet it seems to be different from *satâra*.

⁴ The Kashmir MS. writes *antastha* without *visarga*, while it is otherwise most careful in writing all sibilants.

⁵ Sâkalya, as we saw, told his disciples that there were three classes only, not four. Comm. The Kashmir MS. reads *trayam tv eva na ityetat proktam*.

⁶ The Kashmir MS. reads *sapta vimśatis ka satâni*.

SECOND KHANDA.

1. Next comes *Kauntharavya* :
2. There are 360 syllables (vowels), 360 sibilants (consonants), 360 groups.
3. What we called syllables are the days, what we called sibilants are the nights, what we called groups are the junctions of days and nights. So far with regard to the gods (the days).
4. Now with regard to the body. The syllables which we explained mythologically, are physiologically the bones; the sibilants which we explained mythologically, are physiologically the marrow.
5. Marrow is the real breath (life), for marrow is seed, and without breath (life) seed is not sown. Or when it is sown without breath (life), it will decay, it will not grow.
6. The groups which we explained mythologically, are physiologically the joints.
7. Of that triad, viz. bones, marrow, and joints, there are 540 (parts) on this side (the right), and 540 on that side (the left). They make 1080 together, and 1080 are the rays of the sun. They make the *Bṛihatī* verses and the day (of the *Mahāvratā*)¹.
8. Thus that self which consists of sight, hearing, metre, mind, and speech is like unto the syllables.
9. He who knows this self which consists of sight, hearing, metre, mind, and speech, as like unto syllables, obtains union, likeness, or nearness with the syllables, has sons and cattle, and lives his full age.

¹ There are in the *Mahāvratā* eighty tristichs of *Bṛhatī*s, and as each *Bṛhatī* is decreed to consist of thirty-six syllables, ten would give 360 syllables, and three times ten, 1080. Comm.

THIRD KHANDA.

1. Bâdhva¹ says, there are four persons (to be meditated on and worshipped).

2. The person of the body, the person of the metres, the person of the Veda, and the Great person.

3. What we call the person of the body is this corporeal self. Its essence is the incorporeal conscious self.

4. What we call the person of the metres is this collection of letters (the Veda). Its essence is the vowel a.

5. What we call the person of the Veda is (the mind) by which we know the Vedas, the *Rig-veda*, *Yagur-veda*, and *Sâma-veda*. Its essence is Brahman² (m.)

6. Therefore let one chose a Brahman-priest who is full of Brahman (the Veda), and is able to see any flaw in the sacrifice.

7. What we call the Great person is the year, which causes some beings to fall together, and causes others to grow up. Its essence is yonder sun.

8. One should know that the incorporeal conscious self and yonder sun are both one and the same. Therefore the sun appears to every man singly (and differently).

9. This has also been declared by a *Rishi* (Rv. I, 115, 1):—

10. 'The bright face of the gods arose, the eye of Mitra, Varuṇa, and Agni; it filled heaven and earth

¹ Instead of Bâdhya, the commentary and the Kashmir MS, read Bâdhva.

² *Hiranyagarbha*, with whom he who knows the Veda becomes identified. Comm.

and the sky,—the sun is the self of all that rests and moves.'

11. 'This I think to be the regular *Samhitâ* as conceived by me,' thus said Bâdhva.

12. For the *Bahvrikas* consider him (the self) in the great hymn (*mahad uktha*), the *Adhvaryus* in the sacrificial fire, the *Khandogas* in the *Mahâvrata* ceremony. Him they see in this earth, in heaven, in the air, in the ether, in the water, in herbs, in trees, in the moon, in the stars, in all beings. Him alone they call *Brahman*.

13. That self which consists of sight, hearing, metre, mind, and speech is like unto the year.

14. He who recites to another that self which consists of sight, hearing, metre, mind, and speech, and is like unto the year,

FOURTH KHANDA.

1. To him the *Vedas* yield no more milk, he has no luck in what he has learnt (from his *Guru*); he does not know the path of virtue.

2. This has also been declared by a *Rishi* (*Rv. X, 71, 6*):—

3. 'He who has forsaken the friend (the *Veda*), that knows his friends, in his speech there is no luck. Though he hears, he hears in vain, for he does not know the path of virtue.'

4. Here it is clearly said that he has no luck in what he has learnt, and that he does not know the path of virtue.

5. Therefore let no one who knows this, lay the sacrificial fire (belonging to the *Mahâvrata*) for another, let him not sing the *Sâmans* of the *Mahâvrata*

for another, let him not recite the Sastras of that day for another.

6. However, let him willingly do this for a father or for an Âkârya; for that is done really for himself.

7. We have said that the incorporeal conscious self and the sun are one¹. When these two become separated², the sun is seen as if it were the moon³; no rays spring from it; the sky is red like madder; the patient cannot retain the wind, his head smells bad like a raven's nest:—let him know then that his self (in the body) is gone, and that he will not live very long⁴.

8. Then whatever he thinks he has to do, let him do it, and let him recite the following hymns : Yad anti ya^k ka dûrake (Rv. IX, 67, 21-27); Âd it pratnasya retasa^k (Rv. VIII, 6, 30); Yatra brahmâ pavamâna (Rv. IX, 113, 6-11); Ud vayam^m tamasas pari (Rv. I, 50, 10).

9. Next, when the sun is seen pierced, and seems like the nave of a cart-wheel, when he sees his own shadow pierced, let him know then that it is so (as stated before, i. e. that he is going to die soon).

10. Next, when he sees himself in a mirror or in the water with a crooked head, or without a head⁵, or when his pupils are seen inverted⁶ or not straight, let him know then that it is so.

¹ Ait. Âr. III, 2, 3, 8.

² This separation of the self of the sun and the conscious self within us is taken as a sign of approaching death, and therefore a number of premonitory symptoms are considered in this place.

³ ἥλιος μηνουειδής, Xen. Hist. gr. 4, 3, 10.

⁴ The Kashmir MS. reads gîvayishyati.

⁵ The Kashmir MS. reads gihmasirasam^m vâsarîfram âtmânam.

⁶ A white pupil in a black eye-ball. Comm.

11. Next, let him cover his eyes and watch, then threads are seen as if falling together¹. But if he does not see them, let him know then that it is so.

12. Next, let him cover his ears and listen, and there will be a sound as if of a burning fire or of a carriage². But if he does not hear it, let him know then that it is so.

13. Next, when fire looks blue like the neck of a peacock³, or when he sees lightning in a cloudless sky, or no lightning in a clouded sky, or when he sees as it were bright rays in a dark cloud, let him know then that it is so.

14. Next, when he sees the ground as if it were burning, let him know that it is so.

15. These are the visible signs (from 7-14).

16. Next come the dreams⁴.

17. If he sees a black man with black teeth, and that man kills him; or a boar kills him; a monkey jumps on⁵ him; the wind carries him along quickly; having swallowed gold he spits it out⁶; he eats honey; he chews stalks; he carries a red lotus; he drives with asses and boars; wearing a wreath of red flowers (naladas) he drives a black cow with a black calf, facing the south⁷,

18. If a man sees any one of these (dreams), let

¹ The Kashmir MS. reads *baṭṛakâṇi sampatantīva*.

² See *Kṛ. Up.* III, 13, 8. The Kashmir MS. and the commentary give the words *rathasyevopabdis*, which are left out in the printed text.

³ The Kashmir MS. reads *mayūragrīvā ameghe*.

⁴ The Kashmir MS. reads *svapnaḥ*.

⁵ The Kashmir MS. reads *āskandati*.

⁶ The Kashmir MS. reads *avagirati*.

⁷ The commentator separates the last dream, so as to bring their number to ten.

him fast, and cook a pot of milk, sacrifice it, accompanying each oblation with a verse of the Râtri hymn (Rv. X, 127), and then, after having fed the Brâhmanas, with other food (prepared at his house) eat himself the (rest of the) oblation.

19. Let him know that the person within all beings, not heard here ¹, not reached, not thought, not subdued, not seen, not understood, not classed, but hearing, thinking, seeing, classing, sounding, understanding, knowing, is his Self.

FIFTH KHANDA ².

1. Now next the Upanishad of the whole speech. True all these are Upanishads of the whole speech, but this they call so (chiefly).

2. The mute consonants represent the earth, the sibilants the sky, the vowels heaven.

The mute consonants represent Agni (fire), the sibilants air, the vowels the sun.

The mute consonants represent the *Rig*-veda, the sibilants the *Yagur*-veda, the vowels the *Sâma*-veda.

The mute consonants represent the eye, the sibilants the ear, the vowels the mind.

The mute consonants represent the up-breathing, the sibilants the down-breathing, the vowels the back-breathing.

3. Next comes this divine lute (the human body, made by the gods). The lute made by man is an imitation of it.

4. As there is a head of this, so there is a head of that (lute, made by man). As there is a stomach

¹ The Kashmir MS. reads *sa yatas sruto*.

² After having inserted the preceding chapter on omîna and the concluding paragraph on the highest knowledge, he now returns to the meditation on the letters.

of this, so there is the cavity¹ (in the board) of that. As there is a tongue of this, so there is a tongue² in that. As there are fingers of this, so there are strings of that³. As there are vowels of this, so there are tones of that. As there are consonants of this, so there are touches of that. As this is endowed with sound and firmly strung, so that is endowed with sound and firmly strung. As this is covered with a hairy skin, so that is covered with a hairy skin.

5. Verily, in former times they covered a lute with a hairy skin.

6. He who knows this lute made by the Devas (and meditates on it), is willingly listened to, his glory fills the earth, and wherever they speak Âryan languages, there they know him.

7. Next follows the verse, called vâgrasa, the essence of speech. When a man reciting or speaking in an assembly does not please, let him say this verse :

8. 'May the queen of all speech, who is covered, as it were, by the lips, surrounded by teeth, as if by spears, who is a thunderbolt, help me to speak well.' This is the vâgrasa, the essence of speech.

SIXTH KHANDA.

1. Next *Krishna-Hârîta*⁴ confided this *Brâhmana*⁵ concerning speech to him (his pupil) :

¹ The Kashmir MS. reads udara evam, &c.

² Vâdanam, what makes the instrument speak, hastena. Comm.

³ Here the order is inverted in the text.

⁴ One of the sons of Harita, who was dark. Comm.

⁵ *Brâhmana*, in the sense of Upanishad, this secret doctrine or explanation. It forms an appendix, like the *svishakṛit* at the end of a sacrifice. 'Iva,' which the commentator explains as restrictive or useless, may mean, something like a *Brâhmana*.

2. Pragâpati, the year, after having sent forth all creatures, burst. He put himself together again by means of *khandas* (Vedas). Because he put himself together again by means of *khandas*, therefore (the text of the Veda) is called *Samhitâ* (put together).

3. Of that *Samhitâ* the letter *n* is the strength, the letter *sh* the breath and self (*âtman*).

4. He who knows the *Rik* verses and the letters *n* and *sh* for every *Samhitâ*, he knows the *Samhitâ* with strength and breath. Let him know that this is the life of the *Samhitâ*.

5. If the pupil asks, 'Shall I say it with the letter *n* or without it?' let the teacher say, 'With the letter *n*.' And if he asks, 'Shall I say it with the letter *sh* or without it?' let the teacher say, 'With the letter *sh*!'

6. Hrasva Mândûkeya said: 'If we here recite the verses according to the *Samhitâ* (attending to the necessary changes of *n* and *s* into *n* and *sh*²), and if we say the *adhyâya* of Mândûkeya (Ait. Âr. III, 1), then the letters *n* and *sh* (strength and breath) have by this been obtained for us.'

7. Sthavira Sâkalya said: 'If we recite the verses according to the *Samhitâ*, and if we say the *adhyâya* of Mândûkeya, then the letters *n* and *sh* have by this been obtained for us.'

8. Here the *Rishis*, the Kâvasheyas³, knowing

¹ The letters *n* and *sh* refer most likely to the rules of *natva* and *shatva*, i. e. the changing of *n* and *s* into *n* and *sh*.

² If we know whenever *n* and *s* should be changed to *n* and *sh* in the *Samhitâ*.

³ The Kâvasheyas said that, after they had arrived at the highest knowledge of Brahman (through the various forms of meditation and worship that lead to it and that have been described in the Upanishad) no further meditation and no further sacrifice could be

this, said: 'Why should we repeat (the Veda), why should we sacrifice? We offer as a sacrifice breath in speech, or speech in breath. What is the beginning (of one), that is the end (of the other).'

9. Let no one tell these *Samhitās* (Ait. Ār. III, 1-III, 2) to one who is not a resident pupil, who has not been with his teacher at least one year, and who is not himself to become an instructor¹. Thus say the teachers, yea, thus say the teachers.

required. Instead of the morning and evening stoma they offer breath in speech, whenever they speak, or speech in breath, when they are silent or asleep. When speech begins, breathing ceases; when breathing begins, speech ceases.

¹ The strict prohibition uttered at the end of the third *Āranyaka*, not to divulge a knowledge of the *Samhitā*-upanishad (Ait. Ār. III, 1-2), as here explained, is peculiar. It would have seemed self-evident that, like the rest of the *śruti* or sacred literature, the *Āranyaka* too, and every portion of it, could have been learnt from the mouth of a teacher only, and according to rule (*niyamena*), i. e. by a pupil performing all the duties of a student (*brahmačārin*²), so that no one except a regular pupil (*antevāsin*) could possibly gain access to it. Nor can there be any doubt that we ought to take the words *asamvatsaravāsin* and *apravaktri* as limitations, and to translate, 'Let no one tell these *Samhitās* to any pupil who has not at least been a year with his master, and who does not mean to become a teacher in turn.'

That this is the right view is confirmed by similar injunctions given at the end of the fifth *Āranyaka*. Here we have first some rules as to who is qualified to recite the *Mahāvratā*. No one is permitted to do so, who has not passed through the *Dikshā*, the initiation for the *Agnishōma*. If the *Mahāvratā* is performed as a *Sattra*, the sacrificer is a *Hotri* priest, and he naturally has passed through that ceremony. But if the *Mahāvratā* is performed as an *Ekāha* or *Ahīna* ceremony, anybody might be the sacrificer, and therefore it was necessary to say that no one who is *adikshita*, uninitiated, should recite it for another person; nor should he do so,

² *Āpastamba-sūtras*, translated by Bühler, p. 18.

when the Mahâvrata is performed without (or with) an altar, or if it does not last one year. In saying, however, that one should not recite the Mahâvrata for another person, parents and teachers are not to be understood as included, because what is done for them, is done for ourselves.

After these restrictions as to the recitation of the Mahâvrata, follow other restrictions as to the teaching of it, and here we read, as at the end of the Upanishad :

4. 'Let no one teach this day, the Mahâvrata, to one who is not a regular pupil (antevâsin), and has been so for one year, certainly not to one who has not been so for one year; nor to one who is not a brahmaçârin and does not study the same Veda¹, certainly not to one who does not study the same Veda; nor to one who does not come to him.

5. 'Let the teaching not be more than saying it once or twice, twice only.

6. 'One man should tell it to one man, so says Gâtukarṇya.

7. 'Not to a child, nor to a man in his third stage of life.

8. 'The teacher and pupil should not stand, nor walk, nor lie down, nor sit on a couch; but they should both sit on the ground.

9. 'The pupil should not lean backward while learning, nor lean forward. He should not be covered with too much clothing, nor assume the postures of a devotee, but without using any of the apparel of a devotee, simply elevate his knees. Nor should he learn, when he has eaten flesh, when he has seen blood, or a corpse, or when he has done an unlawful thing²; when he has anointed his eyes, oiled or rubbed his body, when he has been shaved or bathed, put colour on, or ornamented himself with flower-wreaths, when he has been writing or effacing his writing³.

10. 'Nor should he finish the reading in one day, so says Gâtukarṇya, while according to Gâlava, he should finish it in one day. Âgnivesyâyana holds that he should finish all before the Trîkâṣṭis⁴, and then rest in another place finishing it.

11. 'And in the place where he reads this, he should not read

¹ See Gautama-sûtras XIV, 21, and Bühler's note.

² Nâvratyam âkramya is explained by the commentator by ukkîṣish/âdyâkramana.

³ This, if rightly translated, would seem to be the earliest mention of actual writing in Sanskrit literature.

⁴ See Ait. Âr. I, 4, 3, 1-4.

anything else, though he may read this (the Mahâvrata) where he has read something else.

12. 'No one should bathe and become a snâtaka¹ who does not read this. Even if he has read many other things, he should not become a snâtaka if he has not read this.

13. 'Nor should he forget it, and even if he should forget anything else, he should not forget this.

14. 'No, he should never forget this.

15. 'If he does not forget this, it will be enough for himself (or for acquiring a knowledge of the Self).

16. 'It is enough, let him know this to be true.

17. 'Let him who knows this not communicate, nor dine, nor amuse himself with any one who does not know it.'

Then follow some more rules as to the reading of the Veda in general:

18. 'When the old water that stood round the roots of trees is dried up (after about the month of Pausa, January to February²) he should not read; nor (at any time) in the morning or in the afternoon, when the shadows meet (he should begin at sunrise so soon as the shadows divide, and end in the evening before they fall together). Nor should he read³ when a cloud has risen; and when there is an unseasonable rain (after the months of Srâvâna and Bhâdrapada, August and September⁴) he should stop his Vedic reading for three nights. Nor should he at that time tell stories, not even during the night, nor should he glory in his knowledge.

19. 'This (the Veda thus learnt and studied) is the name of that Great Being; and he who thus knows the name of that Great Being, he becomes Brahman, yea, he becomes Brahman.'

¹ Âpastamba-sûtras, translated by Bühler, p. 92 (I, 2, 30, 4).

² Âpastamba-sûtras, translated by Bühler, p. 33 (I, 3, 9, 2).

³ Âpastamba-sûtras, translated by Bühler, p. 44 (I, 3, 11, 31).

⁴ Âpastamba-sûtras, translated by Bühler, p. 33 (I, 3, 9, 1).

KAUSHÎTAKI-BRÂHMANA-
UPANISHAD.

KAUSHÎTAKI-UPANISHAD.

FIRST ADHYÂYA.

1. *KÎTRA* Gângyâyani¹, forsooth, wishing to perform a sacrifice, chose *Âruzi* (Uddâlaka², to be his chief priest). But *Âruzi* sent his son, *Svetaketu*, and said: 'Perform the sacrifice for him.' When *Svetaketu*³ had arrived, *Kitra* asked him: 'Son of *Gautama*⁴, is there a hidden place in the world where you are able to place me, or is it the other way, and are you going to place me in the world to which it (that other way) leads⁵?''

¹ It is difficult to determine whether *Kîtra*'s name was Gângyâyani or Gârgyâyani. Professor Weber adopted first Gârgyâyani (*Indische Studien* I, p. 395), afterwards Gângyâyani (*ibid.* II, 395). Professor Cowell adopts Gângyâyani, but he tells us that the Telugu MS. reads Gârgyâyani throughout, and the other MSS. B, C do so occasionally. The commentator explains Gângyâyani as the descendant (*yuvâpatyam*) of Gângya. I confess a preference for Gârgyâyani, because both Gaṅgā and Gângya are names of rare occurrence in ancient Vedic literature, but I admit that for that very reason the transition of Gângyâyani into Gârgyâyani is perhaps more intelligible than that of Gârgyâyani into Gângyâyani.

² Cf. *Kh. Up.* V, 11, 2; *Brîh. Âr.* VI, 2, 1.

³ Cf. *Kh. Up.* V, 3; VI, 1.

⁴ *Brîh. Âr.* VI, 2, 4.

⁵ The question put by *Kîtra* to *Svetaketu* is very obscure, and was probably from the first intended to be obscure in its very wording. What *Kîtra* wished to ask we can gather from other passages in the Upanishads, where we see another royal sage, *Pravâhara Gaivali* (*Kh. Up.* V, 3; *Brîh. Âr.* VI, 2), enlightening *Svetaketu* on the future life. That future life is reached by two roads;

He answered and said: 'I do not know this. But, let me ask the master.' Having approached his father, he asked: 'Thus has Kītra asked me; how shall I answer?'

one, the Devapatha, leading to the world of Brahman (the conditioned), beyond which there lies one other stage only, represented by knowledge of and identity with the unconditioned Brahman; the other leading to the world of the fathers, and from thence, after the reward of good works has been consumed, back to a new round of mundane existence. There is a third road for creatures which live and die, worms, insects, and creeping things, but they are of little consequence. Now it is quite clear that the knowledge which king Kītra possesses, and which Svetaketu does not possess, is that of the two roads after death, sometimes called the right and the left, or the southern and northern roads. These roads are fully described in the *Khândogya-upanishad* and in the *Bṛhad-āraṇyaka*, with certain variations, yet on the whole with the same purpose. The northern or left road, called also the path of the Devas, passes on from light and day to the bright half of the moon; the southern or right road, called also the path of the fathers, passes on from smoke and night to the dark half of the moon. Both roads therefore meet in the moon, but diverge afterwards. While the northern road passes by the six months when the sun moves towards the north, through the sun, (moon,) and the lightning to the world of Brahman, the southern passes by the six months when the sun moves towards the south, to the world of the fathers, the ether, and the moon. The great difference, however, between the two roads is, that while those who travel on the former do not return again to a new life on earth, but reach in the end a true knowledge of the unconditioned Brahman, those who pass on to the world of the fathers and the moon return to earth to be born again and again.

The question therefore which Kītra addresses to Svetaketu can refer to these two roads only, and though the text is very corrupt, and was so evidently even at the time when the commentary was written, we must try to restore it in accordance with the teaching imparted by Kītra in what follows. I propose to read: *Gautamasya putra, asti samvṛitam loke yasmin mā dhāsyasy anyatamo vādhvā tasya (or yasya) mā loke dhāsyasi*, 'Is there a hidden place in the world where you (by your sacrificing and teaching) are able to

Âruzi said : ' I also do not know this. Only after having learnt the proper portion of the Veda in Kîtra's own dwelling, shall we obtain what others give us (knowledge). Come, we will both go.'

Having said this he took fuel in his hand (like a pupil), and approached Kîtra Gângyâyani, saying : ' May I come near to you ?' He replied : ' You are worthy of Brahman¹, O Gautama, because you were not led away by pride. Come hither, I shall make you know clearly.'

2. And Kîtra said : All who depart from this world (or this body) go to the moon². In the former, (the bright) half, the moon delights in their spirits; in the other, (the dark) half, the moon sends them on

place me, or is it the other way, and will you place me in the world to which it leads?' Even thus the text is by no means satisfactory, but it is better than anyam aho vâdhvâ, adopted by the commentator and explained by him : Is there a hidden place in that world in which you will place me as another, i. e. as different from the whole world or identical with the whole world, and, if as different, then having bound me (vâdhvâ=baddhvâ) and made me a different person? We may read anyataro for anyatamo vâdhvâ. The commentator sums up the question as referring to a hidden or not hidden place, where Kîtra should be placed as another person or not another person, as bound or not bound; or, as Professor Cowell renders it, ' O son of Gautama, is there any secret place in the world where thou canst set me unconnected, having fixed me there (as wood united with glue); or is there some other place where thou canst set me?' The speculations on the fate of the soul after death seem to have been peculiar to the royal families of India, while the Brahmans dwelt more on what may be called the shorter cut, a knowledge of Brahman as the true Self. To know, with them, was to be, and, after the dissolution of the body, they looked forward to immediate emancipation, without any further wanderings.

¹ Worthy to know Brahman, or, as the commentator, who reads brahmârgha, thinks, to be honoured like Brahman.

² Both roads lead to the moon, and diverge afterwards.

to be born again¹. Verily, the moon is the door of the Svarga world (the heavenly world). Now, if a man objects to the moon (if one is not satisfied with life there) the moon sets him free². But if a man does not object, then the moon sends him down as rain upon this earth. And according to his deeds and according to his knowledge he is born again here as a worm, or as an insect, or as a fish, or as a bird, or as a lion, or as a boar, or as a serpent³, or as a tiger, or as a man, or as something else in different places⁴. When he has thus returned to the earth, some one (a sage) asks: 'Who art thou?' And he should answer: 'From the wise moon, who orders the seasons⁵, when it is born consisting of fifteen parts, from the moon who is the home of our ancestors, the seed was brought. This seed, even me, they (the gods mentioned in the Pañcāgnividyā⁶) gathered up in an active man, and through an active

¹ I should like to read *aparapakshe praganayati*, instead of *aparapaksheṇa*, or *aparapakshe na*. The negative is out of the question, for *praganayati*, he sends into a new life, is exactly what the moon does to those who do not proceed on the *Devapatha* to the *Brahmaloka*. Therefore if the reading *aparapaksheṇa* must be retained, it should be rendered by 'the moon with the dark half sends them into a new life.'

² This is supposed to be the hidden place, or rather the way to it, when the departed leave the moon, and pass on to lightning and to the world of Brahman. This is in fact the *Devayāna*, as opposed to the *Pitriyāna*, described in the *Khândogya-upanishad*.

³ *Parasvā, dandaśūkavireśhaḥ*. There is no authority for translating it by dog; cf. *Indische Studien* I, 396.

⁴ This might even include *naraka* or hell.

⁵ If *ṛitavaḥ* is here the genitive of *ṛitu*, its meaning would be the ordainer of the seasons; cf. *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 247. *Vitakṣhaṇa* is applied to the moon again, II, 9, and the throne of Brahman also is called *vitakṣhaṇā*, I, 3.

⁶ *Kh. Up.* V, 4-8.

man they brought me to a mother. Then I, growing up to be born, a being living by months, whether twelve or thirteen, was together with my father, who also lived by (years of) twelve or thirteen months, that I might either know it (the true Brahman) or not know it. Therefore, O ye seasons¹, grant that I may attain immortality (knowledge of Brahman). By this my true saying, by this my toil (beginning with the dwelling in the moon and ending with my birth on earth) I am (like) a season, and the child of the seasons.' 'Who art thou?' the sage asks again. 'I am thou,' he replies. Then he sets him free² (to proceed onward).

3. He (at the time of death), having reached the path of the gods, comes to the world of Agni (fire), to the world of Vāyu (air), to the world of Varuṇa, to the world of Indra, to the world of Pragâpati (Virâḡ), to the world of Brahman (Hiranyagarbha). In that world there is the lake Āra³, the moments called Yeshîha⁴, the river Vigarâ (age-less), the tree Ilya⁵, the city Sâlagya, the palace Aparâgita (unconquerable), the door-keepers Indra

¹ The commentator takes *ritavaḥ* as an accusative. I take it as a vocative, and as used in a sense analogous to the Zend *ratu*, an epithet of Ahura. Darmesteter, *Ormazd*, p. 12, n. 3.

² If a person fears heaven (*svarga*) as much as hell, because neither gives final liberation, then he is fit to proceed to a knowledge of Brahman. It would seem that after this, this person is in the same position as the other who, objecting to remain in the moon, was set free at once.

³ Consisting of ari's, enemies, such as love, anger, &c. In the *Kh. Up.* VIII, 5, 3, it is called *Ara*.

⁴ Explained to mean, killing the sacrifice, which consists in a desire for Brahman.

⁵ The same as the *arvatthaḥ somasavanaḥ* in *Kh. Up.* VIII, 5, 3.

and Pragâpati, the hall of Brahman, called Vibhu¹ (built by vibhu, egoism), the throne *Vikakshanâ* (buddhi, perception), the couch *Amitaugas* (endless splendour), and the beloved *Mânasi* (mind) and her image *Kâkshusht* (eye), who, as if taking flowers, are weaving the worlds, and the *Apsaras*, the *Ambâs* (śruti, sacred scriptures), and *Ambâyavts* (buddhi, understanding), and the rivers *Ambayâs* (leading to the knowledge of Brahman). To this world he who knows this (who knows the *Paryāṅka-vidyā*) approaches. Brahman says to him: 'Run towards him (servants) with such worship as is due to myself. He has reached the river *Vigārâ* (age-less), he will never age.'

4. Then five hundred *Apsaras* go towards him, one hundred with garlands in their hands, one hundred with ointments in their hands, one hundred with perfumes in their hands, one hundred with garments in their hands, one hundred with fruit² in their hands. They adorn him with an adornment worthy of Brahman, and when thus adorned with the adornment of Brahman, the knower of Brahman moves towards Brahman (neut.)³ He comes to the lake *Āra*, and he crosses it by the mind, while those who come to it without knowing the truth⁴, are drowned. He comes to the moments called *Yeshîha*, they flee from him.

¹ *Vibhunâmakam pramitam sabbhâsthalam.*

² Some MSS. read *pharâhastâh*, and the commentator explains *phara* by *âbharana*.

³ Though *brahman* is used here as a neuter, it refers to the conditioned Brahman.

⁴ *Samprativid* is here explained as *brahmavidyâśûnya*, ignorant, while in other places (*Ait. Ār. II, 3, 1*) it stands for *samyagabhigñā*. If the latter is the true meaning, we might read here *tam itvâsamprativido*.

He comes to the river Vigarā, and crosses it by the mind alone, and there shakes off his good and evil deeds. His beloved relatives obtain the good, his unbeloved relatives the evil he has done. And as a man, driving in a chariot, might look at the two wheels (without being touched by them), thus he will look at day and night, thus at good and evil deeds, and at all pairs (at all correlative things, such as light and darkness, heat and cold, &c.) Being freed from good and freed from evil he, the knower of Brahman (neut.), moves towards Brahman.

5. He approaches the tree Ilya, and the odour of Brahman reaches him. He approaches the city Sâlagya, and the flavour of Brahman reaches him. He approaches the palace Aparâgita, and the splendour of Brahman reaches him. He approaches the door-keepers Indra and Pragâpati, and they run away from him. He approaches the hall Vibhu, and the glory of Brahman reaches him (he thinks, I am Brahman). He approaches the throne Viçakṣaṇâ. The Sâman verses, *Bṛihad* and *Rathantara*, are the eastern feet of that throne¹; the Sâman verses, *Syaita* and *Naudhasa*, its western feet; the Sâman verses, *Vairûpa* and *Vairâga*, its sides lengthways (south and north); the Sâman verses, *Sâkvara* and *Raivata*, its sides crossways (east and west). That throne is *Pragñâ*, knowledge, for by knowledge (self-knowledge) he sees clearly. He approaches the couch *Amitaugas*. That is *Prâna* (speech). The past and the future are its eastern feet; prosperity and earth its western feet; the Sâman verses, *Bṛihad* and *Rathantara*, are the two sides lengthways of the couch (south and north);

¹ Cf. *Atharva-veda* XV; Aufrecht, in *Indische Studien* I, p. 122.

the Sāman verses, Bhadra and Yagñâyagñīya, are its cross-sides at the head and feet (east and west); the *Rik* and Sāman are the long sheets¹ (east and west); the Yagus the cross-sheets (south and north); the moon-beam the cushion; the Udgītha the (white) coverlet; prosperity the pillow². On this couch sits Brahman, and he who knows this (who knows himself one with Brahman sitting on the couch) mounts it first with one foot only. Then Brahman says to him: 'Who art thou?' and he shall answer:

6. 'I am (like) a season, and the child of the seasons, sprung from the womb of endless space, from the light (from the luminous Brahman). The light, the origin of the year, which is the past, which is the present, which is all living things, and all elements, is the Self³. Thou art the Self. What thou art, that am I.'

Brahman says to him: 'Who am I?' He shall answer: 'That which is, the true' (Sat-tyam).

Brahman asks: 'What is the true?' He says to him: 'What is different from the gods and from the senses (*prāṇa*) that is Sat, but the gods and the

¹ Sheets or coverings seem more applicable here than mere threads forming the woof and warp; cf. Aufrecht, *Indische Studien* I, p. 131.

² I read *udgītha upasrīḥ*, *srīr upabarhaṇam*. The Atharva text has *udgītho 'pasrayaḥ*.

³ This passage is corrupt, and the various readings and various interpretations of the commentators do not help us much. One view, which I have followed, as far as possible, is that it had to be explained how the same being could be the child of the seasons, or living from year to year, and, at the same time, born of the light. The answer is, Because light is the seed or cause of the year, and the year the cause of everything else. I take no responsibility for this view, and I see no way of discovering the original reading and the original meaning of these sentences.

senses are Tyam. Therefore by that name Sat-tya (true) is called all this whatever there is. All this thou art.'

7. This is also declared by a verse : ' This great *Rishi*, whose belly is the *Yagus*, the head the *Sâman*, the form the *Rik*, is to be known as being imperishable, as being Brahman.'

Brahman says to him : 'How dost thou obtain my male names?' He should answer : 'By breath (*prâṇa*).'

Brahman asks : 'How my female names?' He should answer : 'By speech (*vâk*).'

Brahman asks : 'How my neuter names?' He should answer : 'By mind (*manas*).'

'How smells?' 'By the nose.' 'How forms?' 'By the eye.' 'How sounds?' 'By the ear.' 'How flavours of food?' 'By the tongue.' 'How actions?' 'By the hands.' 'How pleasures and pain?' 'By the body.' 'How joy, delight, and offspring?' 'By the organ.' 'How journeyings?' 'By the feet.' 'How thoughts, and what is to be known and desired?' 'By knowledge (*pragñā*) alone.'

Brahman says to him : 'Water indeed is this my world¹, the whole Brahman world, and it is thine.'

Whatever victory, whatever might belongs to Brahman, that victory and that might he obtains who knows this, yea, who knows this².

¹ It sprang from water and the other elements. Comm. Professor Weber proposes to translate *âpa* by *Erlangungen*, acquisitions, with reference to *apnoshi*, 'how dost thou acquire my names?' in what precedes.

² Who knows the conditioned and mythological form of Brahman as here described, sitting on the couch.

SECOND ADHYĀYA.

1. *Prāna* (breath)¹ is Brahman, thus says Kauśhītaki. Of this *prāna*, which is Brahman, the mind (*manas*) is the messenger, speech the housekeeper, the eye the guard, the ear the informant. He who knows mind as the messenger of *prāna*, which is Brahman, becomes possessed of the messenger. He who knows speech as the housekeeper, becomes possessed of the housekeeper. He who knows the eye as the guard, becomes possessed of the guard. He who knows the ear as the informant, becomes possessed of the informant.

Now to that *prāna*, which is Brahman, all these deities (mind, speech, eye, ear) bring an offering, though he asks not for it, and thus to him who knows this all creatures bring an offering, though he asks not for it. For him who knows this, there is this Upanishad (secret vow), 'Beg not!' As a man who has begged through a village and got nothing sits down and says, 'I shall never eat anything given by those people,' and as then those who formerly refused him press him (to accept their alms), thus is the rule for him who begs not, but the charitable will press him and say, 'Let us give to thee.'

2. *Prāna* (breath) is Brahman, thus says Paiṅgya. And in that *prāna*, which is Brahman, the eye

¹ In the first chapter it was said, 'He approaches the couch Amitaugas, that is *prāna*, breath, spirit, life. Therefore having explained in the first adhyāya the knowledge of the couch (of Brahman), the next subject to be explained is the knowledge of *prāna*, the living spirit, taken for a time as Brahman, or the last cause of everything.'

stands firm behind speech, the ear stands firm behind the eye, the mind stands firm behind the ear, and the spirit stands firm behind the mind¹. To that *prâna*, which is Brahman, all these deities bring an offering, though he asks not for it, and thus to him who knows this, all creatures bring an offering, though he asks not for it. For him who knows this, there is this Upanishad (secret vow), 'Beg not!' As a man who has begged through a village and got nothing sits down and says, 'I shall never eat anything given by those people,' and as then those who formerly refused him press him (to accept their alms), thus is the rule for him who begs not, but the charitable will press him and say, 'Let us give to thee.'

3. Now follows the attainment of the highest treasure (scil. *prâna*, spirit²). If a man meditates on that highest treasure, let him on a full moon or a new moon, or in the bright fortnight, under an auspicious Nakshatra, at one of these proper times, bending his right knee, offer oblations of ghee with a ladle (*sruva*), after having placed the fire, swept the ground³, strewn the sacred grass, and sprinkled water. Let him say: 'The deity called Speech is

¹ I translate *vâkparastât*, *ākshuḥparastât*, *manaḥparastât* as compounds, and read *śrotraparastât*. The commentator requires this. He says that speech is uncertain, and has to be checked by the eye. The eye is uncertain, taking mother of pearl for silver, and must be checked by the ear. The ear is uncertain, and must be checked by the mind, for unless the mind is attentive, the ear hears not. The mind, lastly, depends on the spirit, for without spirit there is no mind. The commentator is right in reading *rundhe* or *runddhe* instead of *rundhate*.

² The vital spirits are called the highest treasure, because a man surrenders everything to preserve his vital spirits or his life.

³ Cf. *Brîh. Âr. VI, 3, 1*.

the attainer, may it attain this for me from him (who possesses and can bestow what I wish for). Svâhâ to it!’

‘The deity called *prâṇa* (breath) is the attainer, may it attain this for me from him. Svâhâ to it!’

‘The deity called the eye is the attainer, may it attain this for me from him. Svâhâ to it!’

‘The deity called the ear is the attainer, may it attain this for me from him. Svâhâ to it!’

‘The deity called mind (*manas*) is the attainer of it, may it attain this for me from him. Svâhâ to it.’

‘The deity called *pragñâ* (knowledge) is the attainer of it, may it attain this for me from him. Svâhâ to it!’

Then having inhaled the smell of the smoke, and having rubbed his limbs with the ointment of ghee, walking on in silence, let him declare his wish, or let him send a messenger. He will surely obtain his wish.

4. Now follows the *Daiva Smara*, the desire to be accomplished by the gods. If a man desires to become dear ¹ to any man or woman, or to any men or women, then at one of the (fore-mentioned) proper times he offers, in exactly the same manner (as before), oblations of ghee, saying: ‘I offer thy speech in myself, I (this one here ²), Svâhâ.’ ‘I offer thy ear in myself, I (this one here), Svâhâ.’ ‘I offer thy

¹ As dear as *prâṇa* or life.

² The commentator explains these mysterious utterances by: ‘I offer, I throw, in the fire, which is lit by the fuel of thy indifference or dislike, in myself, being the object of thy love, speech, the organ of speech, of thee, who art going to love me. This one, i.e. I myself, or my love, may prosper. Svâhâ, my speech, may grant approval to the oblation of me, the lover.’

mind in myself, I (this one here), Svâhâ.' 'I offer thy *pragñâ* (knowledge) in myself, I (this one here), Svâhâ.' Then having inhaled the smell of the smoke, and having rubbed his limbs with the ointment of ghee, walking on in silence, let him try to come in contact or let him stand speaking in the wind, (so that the wind may carry his words to the person by whom he desires to be loved). Surely he becomes dear, and they think of him.

5. Now follows the restraint (*saṃyamana*) instituted by Pratardana (the son of Divodâsa): they call it the inner Agni-hotra. So long as a man speaks, he cannot breathe, he offers all the while his *prâna* (breath) in his speech. And so long as a man breathes, he cannot speak, he offers all the while his speech in his breath. These two endless and immortal oblations he offers always, whether waking or sleeping. Whatever other oblations there are (those, e.g. of the ordinary Agnihotra, consisting of milk and other things), they have an end, for they consist of works (which, like all works, have an end). The ancients, knowing this (the best Agnihotra), did not offer the (ordinary) Agnihotra.

6. Uktha¹ is Brahman, thus said Sushkabhrîṅgâra. Let him meditate on it (the uktha) as the same with the *Rik*, and all beings will praise him as the best. Let him meditate on it as the same with the Yagus, and all beings will join before him

¹ Uktha, a Vedic hymn, has been identified with *prâna*, breath, in the *Kânva* and other *Sâkhâs* (*Brîh. Âr. V, 13, 1*; *Ait. Âr. II, 1, 2*). Here uktha, i.e. the *prâna* of the uktha, is further identified with Brahman. As uktha (the hymn) is *prâna*, and as the sacrifice is performed with hymns, the sacrifice, too, is uktha, and therefore *prâna*, and therefore Brahman. Comm.

as the best. Let him meditate on it as the same with the Sâman, and all beings will bow before him as the best¹. Let him meditate on it as the same with might, let him meditate on it as the same with glory, let him meditate on it as the same with splendour. For as the bow is among weapons the mightiest, the most glorious, the most splendid, thus is he who knows this among all beings the mightiest, the most glorious, the most splendid. The Adhvaryu conceives the fire of the altar, which is used for the sacrifice, to be himself. In it he (the Adhvaryu) weaves the Yagus portion of the sacrifice. And in the Yagus portion the Hotri weaves the Rik portion of the sacrifice. And in the Rik portion the Ud-gâtri weaves the Sâman portion of the sacrifice. He (the Adhvaryu or prâna) is the self of the threefold knowledge; he indeed is the self of it (of prâna). He who knows this is the self of it (becomes prâna²).

¹ The verbs *ark*, *yug*, and *sannam* are not used idiomatically, but with reference to the words *rik*, *yagus*, and *sâman*.

² The commentator explains this somewhat differently. He takes it to be the object of the last paragraph to show that the Prâna-vidyâ can ultimately produce final liberation, and not only temporal rewards. The Adhvaryu priest, he says, takes what is called *uktha*, and has been identified with *Rik*, *Yagus*, and *Sâman* hymns, all contained in the mouth, as being outwardly the sacrificial fire of the altar, because that fire cannot be lighted without such hymns. Thus the self of the Adhvaryu priest becomes identified, not only with the *uktha*, the hymns, but also with the sacrificial fire, and he meditates on himself as fire, as hymn (*uktha*), and as breath (*prâna*). I read *sa esha sarvasyai trayyai vidyâyâ âtmâ, esha u evâsyâtmâ. Etadâtmâ bhavati ya evam veda*. But if we read *asyâtmâ*, we cannot with the commentator explain it by *asyâ uktâyâs trayyâ âtmâ*, but must refer *asya* to *prâna*, breath, life, which is here to be identified with Brahman.

7. Next follow the three kinds of meditation of the all-conquering (sarvagit) Kaushîtaki. The all-conquering Kaushîtaki adores the sun when rising, having put on the sacrificial cord¹, having brought water, and having thrice sprinkled the water-cup, saying: 'Thou art the deliverer, deliver me from sin.' In the same manner he adores the sun when in the zenith, saying: 'Thou art the highest deliverer, deliver me highly from sin.' In the same manner he adores the sun when setting, saying: 'Thou art the full deliverer, deliver me fully from sin.' Thus he fully removes whatever sin he committed by day and by night. And in the same manner he who knows this, likewise adores the sun, and fully removes whatever sin he committed by day and by night.

8. Then (secondly) let him worship every month (in the year) at the time of the new moon, the moon as it is seen in the west in the same manner (as before described with regard to the sun), or let him send forth his speech toward the moon with two green blades of grass, saying: 'O thou who art mistress of immortal joy, through that gentle heart of mine which abides in the moon, may I never weep for misfortune concerning my children.'

The children of him (who thus adores the moon) do not indeed die before him. Thus it is with a man to whom a son is already born.

Now for one to whom no son is born as yet. He mutters the three *Rik* verses. 'Increase, O Soma! may vigour come to thee' (Rv. I, 91, 16; IX, 31, 4).

¹ This is one of the earliest, if not the earliest mention of the yagñopavîta, the sacred cord as worn over the left shoulder for sacrificial purposes; cf. Taitt. Brâhm. III, 10, 19, 12.

'May milk, may food go to thee' (Rv. I, 91, 18);
'That ray which the Ādityas gladden.'

Having muttered these three *Rik* verses, he says :
'Do not increase by our breath (*prāṇa*), by our offspring, by our cattle; he who hates us and whom we hate, increase by his breath, by his offspring, by his cattle. Thus I turn the turn of the god, I return the turn of Āditya¹.' After these words, having raised the right arm (toward Soma), he lets it go again².

¹ This refers to movements of the arm, following the moon and the sun.

² It is extremely difficult to translate the Vedic verses which are quoted in the Upanishads. They are sometimes slightly changed on purpose (see § 11), frequently turned from their original purport by the authors of the Upanishads themselves, and then again subjected to the most fanciful interpretations by the various commentators on the Upanishads. In our paragraph (§ 8) the text followed by the commentator differs from the printed text. The commentator seems to have read : *Yat te susṭmāṃ hrīdayam adhi kandra-masi śṛṣṭam, tenāmṛitatvasyesāṇe māham pautram agham rudam*. I have translated according to the commentator, at least up to a certain point, for, as Professor Cowell remarks, there is an undercurrent in the commentator's explanation, implying a comparison between the husband as the sun or fire, and the wife as the moon, which it would be difficult to render in an English translation. The same or a very similar verse occurs in § 10, while other modifications of it may be seen in Āsval. Gr̥hya-sūtras I, 13, 7, and elsewhere. The translation of the verses in full, of three of which the Upanishad gives the beginnings only, would be according to the commentator : '(O goddess of the moon) who hast obtained immortal joy through that which is a beautiful (portion of the sun) placed in the moon, and filling thy heart (with pleasure), may I never weep for misfortune concerning my children.'

Rv. I, 91, 16; IX, 31, 4. 'O goddess of the moon, increase ! may the vigour from everywhere (from every limb of the fire or the sun) go to thee ! Help us in the attainment of food.' Rv. I, 91, 18. 'O goddess of the moon, may the streams of thy milk go well to our sons, those streams of milk which are invigorating, and

9. Then (thirdly) let him worship on the day of the full moon the moon as it is seen in the east in the same manner, saying: 'Thou art Soma, the king, the wise, the five-mouthed, the lord of creatures. The Brâhmaṇa is one of thy mouths; with that mouth thou eatest the kings (Kshatriyas); make me an eater of food by that mouth! The king is one of thy mouths; with that mouth thou eatest the people (Vaisyas); make me an eater of food by that mouth! The hawk is one of thy mouths; with that mouth thou eatest the birds; make me an eater of food by that mouth! Fire is one of thy mouths; with that mouth thou eatest this world; make me an eater of food by that mouth! In thee there is the fifth mouth; with that mouth thou eatest all beings; make me an eater of food by that mouth! Do not decrease by our life, by our offspring, by our cattle; he who hates us and whom we hate, decrease by his life, by his offspring, by his cattle. Thus I turn the turn of the god, I return the turn of Âditya.' After these words, having raised the right arm, he lets it go again.

10. Next (having addressed these prayers to Soma) when being with his wife, let him stroke her

help to conquer the enemy. O Soma-goddess, increasing for immortal happiness (for the birth of a son), do thou place the highest glory (the streams of thy milk) in the sky.' 'That ray (sushumâ) which (as a woman) the Âdityas gladden, that Soma which as imperishable the imperishable Âdityas drink, may the guardian of the world (Pragâpati), Brîhaspati, and king Varuṇa gladden us by it.'

The translations are made by the commentator regardless of grammar and sense: yet they command a certain authority, and must be taken into account as throwing light on the latest development of Indian mysticism.

heart, saying : ' O fair one, who hast obtained immortal joy by that which has entered thy heart through Pragâpati, mayest thou never fall into sorrow about thy children ¹. ' Her children then do not die before her.

11. Next, if a man has been absent and returns home, let him smell (kiss) his son's head, saying : ' Thou springest from every limb, thou art born from the heart, thou, my son, art my self indeed, live thou a hundred harvests.' He gives him his name, saying : ' Be thou a stone, be thou an axe, be thou solid ² gold; thou, my son, art light indeed, live thou a hundred harvests.' He pronounces his name. Then he embraces him, saying : ' As Pragâpati (the lord of creatures) embraced his creatures for their welfare, thus I embrace thee,' (pronouncing his name.) Then he mutters into his right ear, saying : ' O thou, quick Maghavan, give to him ' (Rv. III, 36, 10³). ' O Indra, bestow the best wishes ' (Rv. II, 21, 6), thus he whispers into his left ear. Let him then thrice smell (kiss) his head, saying : ' Do not cut off (the line of our race), do not suffer. Live a hundred harvests of life; I kiss thy head, O son, with thy name.' He then thrice makes a lowing sound over his head, saying : ' I low over thee with the lowing sound of cows.'

12. Next follows the Daiva Parimara ⁴, the dying around of the gods (the absorption of the two

¹ Cf. *Ārvalāyana Gr̥hya-sūtras* I, 13, 7.

² Widely scattered, everywhere desired. Comm. Professor Cowell proposes unscattered, hoarded, or unconcealed.

³ The original has *asme*, to us, not *asmai*, to him.

⁴ Cf. *Taitt. Up.* III, 10, 4; *Ait. Brāhm.* V, 28; Colebrooke, *Miscellaneous Essays* (1873), II, p. 39.

classes of gods, mentioned before, into *prâna* or Brahman). This Brahman shines forth indeed when the fire burns, and it dies when it burns not. Its splendour goes to the sun alone, the life (*prâna*, the moving principle) to the air.

This Brahman shines forth indeed when the sun is seen, and it dies when it is not seen. Its splendour goes to the moon alone, the life (*prâna*) to the air.

This Brahman shines forth indeed when the moon is seen, and it dies when it is not seen. Its splendour goes to the lightning alone, its life (*prâna*) to the air.

This Brahman shines forth indeed when the lightning flashes, and it dies when it flashes not. Its splendour goes to the air, and the life (*prâna*) to the air.

Thus all these deities (i. e. fire, sun, moon, lightning), having entered the air, though dead, do not vanish ; and out of the very air they rise again. So much with reference to the deities (mythological). Now then with reference to the body (physiological).

13. This Brahman shines forth indeed when one speaks with speech, and it dies when one does not speak. His splendour goes to the eye alone, the life (*prâna*) to breath (*prâna*).

This Brahman shines forth indeed when one sees with the eye, and it dies when one does not see. Its splendour goes to the ear alone, the life (*prâna*) to breath (*prâna*).

This Brahman shines forth indeed when one hears with the ear, and it dies when one does not hear. Its splendour goes to the mind alone, the life (*prâna*) to breath (*prâna*).

This Brahman shines forth indeed when one thinks with the mind, and it dies when one does not think. Its splendour goes to the breath (*prâna*) alone, and the life (*prâna*) to breath (*prâna*).

Thus all these deities (the senses, &c.), having entered breath or life (*prâna*) alone, though dead, do not vanish ; and out of very breath (*prâna*) they rise again. And if two mountains, the southern and northern, were to move forward trying to crush him who knows this, they would not crush him. But those who hate him and those whom he hates, they die around him.

14. Next follows the *Nihsreyasâdâna*¹ (the accepting of the pre-eminence of *prâna* (breath or life) by the other gods). The deities (speech, eye, ear, mind), contending with each for who was the best, went out of this body, and the body lay without breathing, withered, like a log of wood. Then speech went into it, but speaking by speech, it lay still. Then the eye went into it, but speaking by speech, and seeing by the eye, it lay still. Then the ear went into it, but speaking by speech, seeing by the eye, hearing by the ear, it lay still. Then mind went into it, but speaking by speech, seeing by the eye, hearing by the ear, thinking by the mind, it lay still. Then breath (*prâna*, life) went into it, and thence it rose at once. All these deities, having recognised the pre-eminence in *prâna*, and having comprehended *prâna* alone as the conscious self (*pragñâtman*)², went out of this body with all these (five different kinds of

¹ For other versions of this story see *Kh. Up.* V, 1, note 2 ; *Ait. Âr.* II, 1, 4, 9 ; *Brh. Âr.* VI, 1, 1-14 ; and *Kaush. Up.* III, 3.

² Cf. *Kh. Up.* VII, 15, note.

prāṇa), and resting in the air (knowing that prāṇa had entered the air), and merged in the ether (ākāśa), they went to heaven. And in the same manner he who knows this, having recognised the pre-eminence in prāṇa, and having comprehended prāṇa alone as the conscious self (pragñātman), goes out of this body with all these (does no longer believe in this body), and resting in the air, and merged in the ether, he goes to heaven, he goes to where those gods (speech, &c.) are. And having reached this he, who knows this, becomes immortal with that immortality which those gods enjoy.

15. Next follows the father's tradition to the son, and thus they explain it¹. The father, when going to depart, calls his son, after having strewn the house with fresh grass, and having laid the sacrificial fire, and having placed near it a pot of water with a jug (full of rice), himself covered with a new cloth, and dressed in white. He places himself above his son, touching his organs with his own organs, or he may deliver the tradition to him while he sits before him. Then he delivers it to him. The father says: 'Let me place my speech in thee.' The son says: 'I take thy speech in me.' The father says: 'Let me place my scent (prāṇa) in thee.' The son says: 'I take thy scent in me.' The father says: 'Let me place my eye in thee.' The son says: 'I take thy eye in me.' The father says: 'Let me place my ear in thee.' The son says: 'I take thy ear in me.' The father says: 'Let me place my tastes of food in thee.' The son says: 'I take thy tastes of food in me.' The father says: 'Let me place my actions

¹ Cf. *Bṛihad-āraṇyaka* I, 5, 17.

in thee.' The son says: 'I take thy actions in me.' The father says: 'Let me place my pleasure and pain in thee.' The son says: 'I take thy pleasure and pain in me.' The father says: 'Let me place happiness, joy, and offspring in thee.' The son says: 'I take thy happiness, joy, and offspring in me.' The father says: 'Let me place my walking in thee.' The son says: 'I take thy walking in me¹.' The father says: 'Let me place my mind in thee.' The son says: 'I take thy mind in me.' The father says: 'Let me place my knowledge (pragñā) in thee.' The son says: 'I take thy knowledge in me.' But if the father is very ill, he may say shortly: 'Let me place my spirits (prāṇas) in thee,' and the son: 'I take thy spirits in me.'

Then the son walks round his father keeping his right side towards him, and goes away. The father calls after him: 'May fame, glory of countenance, and honour always follow thee.' Then the other looks back over his left shoulder, covering himself with his hand or the hem of his garment, saying: 'Obtain the heavenly worlds (svarga) and all desires.'

If the father recovers, let him be under the authority of his son, or let him wander about (as an ascetic). But if he departs, then let them despatch him, as he ought to be despatched, yea, as he ought to be despatched².

¹ Another sâkhâ adds here dhiyaḥ, the thoughts (active), vigñâtavyam, their object, and kāmâḥ, desires.

² I have taken samâpayati in the sense of performing the last duties towards a dead person, though I confess I know of no parallel passage in which samâpayati occurs in that sense. Professor Cowell translates: 'If he dies, then let them cause the son duly to receive the tradition, as the tradition is to be given.' The text itself varies, for the reading presupposed by the commentator is enaṁ (putram) samâpayati, instead of enaṁ samâpayeyuḥ.

THIRD ADHYÂYA¹.

1. Pratardana, forsooth, the son of Divodâsa (king of Kâśī), came by means of fighting and strength to the beloved abode of Indra. Indra said to him: 'Pratardana, let me give you a boon to choose.' And Pratardana answered: 'Do you yourself choose that boon for me which you deem most beneficial for a man.' Indra said to him: 'No one who chooses, chooses for another; choose thyself.' Then Pratardana replied: 'Then that boon to choose is no boon for me.'

Then, however, Indra did not swerve from the truth, for Indra is truth. Indra said to him: 'Know me only; that is what I deem most beneficial for man, that he should know me. I slew the three-headed son of Tvashtri; I delivered the Arunmukhas, the devotees, to the wolves (sâlâvrika); breaking many treaties, I killed the people of Prahlâda in heaven, the people of Puloma in the sky, the people of Kâla-kaṅga on earth². And not one hair of me was harmed there. And he who knows me thus, by no deed of his is his life harmed, not by the murder of

¹ The object now is to explain the true Brahma-vidyâ, while the first and second chapters are only introductory, treating of the worship of the couch (paryāṅkopâsanâ) and of the worship of prâṇa.

² This refers to heroic deeds performed by Indra, as represented in the hymns of the Rig-veda. See Rig-veda V, 34, 4, and Sâyana's commentary; Ait. Brâhm. VII, 28. Weber, Indische Studien I, 410-418, has tried to discover an original physical meaning in the heroic deeds ascribed to Indra. A curious remark is made by the commentator, who says that the skulls of the Arunmukhas were turned into the thorns of the desert (karîra) which remain to this day,—a very common phase in popular tradition.

his mother, not by the murder of his father, not by theft, not by the killing of a Brahman. If he is going to commit a sin, the bloom¹ does not depart from his face.'

2. Indra said: 'I am *prâna*, meditate on me as the conscious self (*pragñâtman*), as life, as immortality. Life is *prâna*, *prâna* is life. Immortality is *prâna*, *prâna* is immortality. As long as *prâna* dwells in this body, so long surely there is life. By *prâna* he obtains immortality in the other world, by knowledge true conception. He who meditates on me as life and immortality, gains his full life in this world, and obtains in the Svarga world immortality and indestructibility.'

(Pratardana said): 'Some maintain here, that the *prânas* become one, for (otherwise) no one could at the same time make known a name by speech, see a form with the eye, hear a sound with the ear, think a thought with the mind. After having become one, the *prânas* perceive all these together, one by one. While speech speaks, all *prânas* speak after it. While the eye sees, all *prânas* see after it. While the ear hears, all *prânas* hear after it. While the mind thinks, all *prânas* think after it. While the *prâna* breathes, all *prânas* breathe after it.'

'Thus it is indeed,' said Indra, 'but nevertheless there is a pre-eminence among the *prânas* ².

3. Man lives deprived of speech, for we see dumb people. Man lives deprived of sight, for we see

¹ Professor Cowell compares Taittiriya-Samhitâ III, 1, 1, *nâsya nîtam na haro vyeti*.

² *Prânâs*, in the plural, is supposed to stand for the five senses as modifications of breath. It would be better if we could read *prânasya nihsreyasam*. See before, II, 14.

blind people. Man lives deprived of hearing, for we see deaf people. Man lives deprived of mind, for we see infants. Man lives deprived of his arms, deprived of his legs, for we see it thus. But *prâna* alone is the conscious self (*pragñâtman*), and having laid hold of this body, it makes it rise up. Therefore it is said, Let man worship it alone as *uktha*¹. What is *prâna*, that is *pragñâ* (self-consciousness); what is *pragñâ* (self-consciousness), that is *prâna*, for together they (*pragñâ* and *prâna*) live in this body, and together they go out of it. Of that, this is the evidence, this is the understanding. When a man, being thus asleep, sees no dream whatever, he becomes one with that *prâna* alone². Then speech goes to him (when he is absorbed in *prâna*) with all names, the eye with all forms, the ear with all sounds, the mind with all thoughts. And when he awakes, then, as from a burning fire sparks proceed in all directions, thus from that self the *prânas* (speech, &c.) proceed, each towards its place; from the *prânas* the gods (*Agni*, &c.), from the gods the worlds.

Of this, this is the proof, this is the understanding. When a man is thus sick, going to die, falling into weakness and faintness, they say: 'His thought has departed, he hears not, he sees not, he speaks not, he thinks not.' Then he becomes one with that *prâna* alone. Then speech goes to him (who is absorbed in *prâna*) with all names, the eye with all

¹ *Uktha*, hymn, is artificially derived from *ut-thâpayati*, to raise up, and hence *uktha*, hymn, is to be meditated on as *prâna*, breath, which likewise raises up the body. See *Ait. Âr.* II, 1, 15.

² He is absorbed in *prâna*. Or should it be *prânaḥ* as nominative?

forms, the ear with all sounds, the mind with all thoughts. And when he departs from this body, he departs together with all these ¹.

4. Speech gives up to him (who is absorbed in *prāṇa*) all names, so that by speech he obtains all names. The nose gives up to him all odours, so that by scent he obtains all odours. The eye gives up to him all forms, so that by the eye he obtains all forms. The ear gives up to him all sounds, so that by the ear he obtains all sounds. The mind gives up to him all thoughts, so that by the mind he obtains all thoughts. This is the complete absorption in *prāṇa*. And what is *prāṇa* is *pragñā* (self-consciousness), what is *pragñā* (self-consciousness) is *prāṇa*. For together do these two live in the body, and together do they depart.

Now we shall explain how all things become one in that *pragñā* (self-consciousness).

5. Speech is one portion taken out ² of *pragñā* (self-conscious knowledge), the word is its object, placed outside. The nose is one portion taken out of it, the odour is its object, placed outside. The eye is one portion taken out of it, the form is its object, placed outside. The ear is one portion taken out of it, the sound is its object, placed outside. The tongue is one portion taken out of it, the taste of food is its object, placed outside. The two hands

¹ According to another reading we might translate, 'Speech takes away all names from that body; and *prāṇa*, in which speech is absorbed, thus obtains all names.'

² I read *udûḥam* or *udûḥam*, instead of *adûḥam*, explained by the commentator as *adûḥat*. Professor Cowell translates, 'Speech verily milked one portion thereof,' which may have been the original purport of the writer.

are one portion taken out of it, their action is their object, placed outside. The body is one portion taken out of it, its pleasure and pain are its object, placed outside. The organ is one portion taken out of it, happiness, joy, and offspring are its object, placed outside. The two feet are one portion taken out of it, movements are their object, placed outside. Mind is one portion taken out of it, thoughts and desires are its object, placed outside.

6. Having by *pragñā* (self-conscious knowledge) taken possession of speech, he obtains by speech all words. Having by *pragñā* taken possession of the nose, he obtains all odours. Having by *pragñā* taken possession of the eye, he obtains all forms. Having by *pragñā* taken possession of the ear, he obtains all sounds. Having by *pragñā* taken possession of the tongue, he obtains all tastes of food. Having by *pragñā* taken possession of the two hands, he obtains all actions. Having by *pragñā* taken possession of the body, he obtains pleasure and pain. Having by *pragñā* taken possession of the organ, he obtains happiness, joy, and offspring. Having by *pragñā* taken possession of the two feet, he obtains all movements. Having by *pragñā* taken possession of mind, he obtains all thoughts.

7. For without *pragñā* (self-consciousness) speech does not make known (to the self) any word¹. 'My

¹ Professor Cowell has translated a passage from the commentary which is interesting as showing that its author and the author of the Upanishad too had a clear conception of the correlative nature of knowledge. 'The organ of sense,' he says, 'cannot exist without *pragñā* (self-consciousness), nor the objects of sense be obtained without the organ, therefore—on the principle, that when one thing cannot exist without another, that thing is said to be identical with the other—as the cloth, for instance, being

mind was absent,' he says, 'I did not perceive that word.' Without *pragñā* the nose does not make known any odour. 'My mind was absent,' he says, 'I did not perceive that odour.' Without *pragñā* the eye does not make known any form. 'My mind was absent,' he says, 'I did not perceive that form.' Without *pragñā* the ear does not make known any sound. 'My mind was absent,' he says, 'I did not perceive that sound.' Without *pragñā* the tongue does not make known any taste. 'My mind was absent,' he says, 'I did not perceive that taste.' Without *pragñā* the two hands do not make known any act. 'Our mind was absent,' they say, 'we did not perceive any act.' Without *pragñā* the body does not make known pleasure or pain. 'My mind was absent,' he says, 'I did not perceive that pleasure or pain.' Without *pragñā* the organ does not make known happiness, joy, or offspring. 'My mind was absent,' he says, 'I did not perceive that happiness, joy, or offspring.' Without *pragñā* the two feet do not make known any movement. 'Our mind was absent,' they say, 'we did not perceive that movement.' Without *pragñā* no thought succeeds, nothing can be known that is to be known.

8. Let no man try to find out what speech is, let him know the speaker. Let no man try to find out what odour is, let him know him who smells. Let no man try to find out what form is, let him know the seer. Let no man try to find out what sound is, let

never perceived without the threads, is identical with them, or the (false perception of) silver being never found without the mother of pearl is identical with it, so the objects of sense being never found without the organs are identical with them, and the organs being never found without *pragñā* (self-consciousness) are identical with it.

him know the hearer. Let no man try to find out the tastes of food, let him know the knower of tastes. Let no man try to find out what action is, let him know the agent. Let no man try to find out what pleasure and pain are, let him know the knower of pleasure and pain. Let no man try to find out what happiness, joy, and offspring are, let him know the knower of happiness, joy, and offspring. Let no man try to find out what movement is, let him know the mover. Let no man try to find out what mind is, let him know the thinker. These ten objects (what is spoken, smelled, seen, &c.) have reference to *pragñā* (self-consciousness), the ten subjects (speech, the senses, mind) have reference to objects. If there were no objects, there would be no subjects; and if there were no subjects, there would be no objects. For on either side alone nothing could be achieved. But that (the self of *pragñā*, consciousness, and *prāṇa*, life) is not many, (but one.) For as in a car the circumference of a wheel is placed on the spokes, and the spokes on the nave, thus are these objects (circumference) placed on the subjects (spokes), and the subjects on the *prāṇa*. And that *prāṇa* (breath, the living and breathing power) indeed is the self of *pragñā* (the self-conscious self), blessed, imperishable, immortal. He does not increase by a good action, nor decrease by a bad action. For he (the self of *prāṇa* and *pragñā*) makes him, whom he wishes to lead up from these worlds, do a good deed; and the same makes him, whom he wishes to lead down from these worlds, do a bad deed¹. And he is the guardian of the world, he is

¹ The other text says, 'whom he wishes to draw after him; and whom he wishes to draw away from these worlds.' Rāmāṭīrtha, in

the king of the world, he is the lord of the universe,—and he is my (Indra's) self, thus let it be known, ye, thus let it be known!

FOURTH ADHYÂYA ¹.

1. There was formerly Gârgya Bâlâki ², famous as a man of great reading; for it was said of him that he lived among the Ustnaras, among the Satvat-Matsyas, the Kuru-Pañchâlas, the Kâst-Videhas ³. Having gone to Agâtasatru, (the king) of Kâst, he said to him: 'Shall I tell you Brahman?' Agâtasatru said to him: 'We give a thousand (cows) for that speech (of yours), for verily all people run away, saying, "Ganaka (the king of Mithilâ) is our father (patron)."'

2.⁴ BRÎHAD-ÂRANYAKA-
UPANISHAD.

KAUSHÎTAKI-BRÂHMANA-
UPANISHAD.

i. Âditye purushaḥ.
atishṭhâḥ sarveshâm

i. Id.
brîhat pândaravâsâ

his commentary on the Mait. Up. 3, 2, quotes the text as translated above.

¹ Prâna, breath or life, has been explained in the preceding chapter. But this prâna is not yet the highest point that has to be reached. Prâna, life, even as united with pragnâ, consciousness, is only a covering of something else, viz. the Self, and this Highest Self has now to be explained.

² The same story is told in the Brîhad-âraryaka II, 1 seq., but with important variations.

³ I take iti to depend on samspashṭa, and read satvanmatsyeshu, though the commentary seems to have read so 'vasan, or sa vasan, for savasan. See Introduction, p. lxxvii.

⁴ The second paragraph forms a kind of table of contents for the discussion which is to follow. I have given instead a fuller table of contents, taken from the Brîhad-âraryaka II, as compared with the Kaushîtaki-upanishad in its two texts. The variations of text A are given in small letters. In text B, the table of contents is given at the end of the discussion, in § 18.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>bhûtânâm mûrdhâ
râgâ.</p> <p>ii. <i>Kandre purushah.</i>
<i>brihat pândaravâsâh</i>
somo râgâ. (Nâ-
syânnam kshtyate,
is the reward.)</p> <p>iii. <i>Vidyuti purushah.</i>
tegasvî.</p> <p>iv. <i>Âkâse purushah.</i>
pûrnam apravarti.</p> <p>v. <i>Vâyau purushah.</i>
indro vaikunt^{ho} 'pa-
râgitâ senâ.</p> <p>vi. <i>Agnau purushah.</i>
vishâsahî.</p> <p>vii. <i>Apsu purushah.</i>
pratirûpah.</p> <p>viii. <i>Âdarse purushah.</i>
rokishnuh.</p> <p>ix. <i>Yantam paskâk khab-</i>
<i>dah.</i>
asuh.</p> | <p>(<i>pânduravâsâ</i>) atish-
<i>thâh</i> sarveshâm
bhûtânâm mûrdhâ.</p> <p>ii. <i>Kandramasi.</i>
somo râgâ, annasyâ-
tmâ. <i>Only annasyâtmâ.</i></p> <p>iii. Id.
tegasy âtmâ. <i>satya-</i>
<i>syâtmâ.</i></p> <p>iiib. stanayitnau puru-
shah.
sabdasyâtmâ.</p> <p>iv. Id. (5)
pûrnam apravarti
brahma. <i>appravrittî.</i></p> <p>v. Id. (4)
Id.</p> <p>vi. Id.
Id.</p> <p>vii. Id.
nâmnasyâtmâ. <i>tegasa</i>
<i>âtmâ.</i></p> <p>viii. Id.
pratirûpah.</p> <p>viiib. pratisrutkâyâm pu-
rushah. (9)
dvittyo 'napagah. <i>a-</i>
<i>suh.</i></p> <p>ix. <i>Yah sabdah purus-</i>
<i>ham anveti.</i> (10) <i>sabde.</i>
Id. <i>mrityuh.</i></p> |
|---|---|

- | | |
|---|---|
| x. Dikshu purushaḥ.
dvitīyo 'napagaḥ. | x. Deest. |
| xi. Kḥâyâmayah puru-
shah.
mrityuh. | x. Kḥâyâpurushah. (8 ^b)
khâyâydm.
Id. dvitīyo 'napagaḥ. |
| xii. Âtmani purushah.
âtmanvi. | xi. Sârîrah purushah.
(12) sarîre purushah.
pragâpatiḥ. |
| | xii. Yah prâgñâ âtmâ,
yenaitat suptaḥ
svapnayâ karati.
Yamo râgâ. (11) puru-
shah svapnayâ karati
yamo râgâ. |
| | xiii. Dakshine 'kshan pu-
rushah.
nâmnâ (vâka) âtmâ,
agner âtmâ, gyo-
ti-sha âtmâ. |
| | xiv. Savye 'kshan puru-
shah.
satyasyâtmâ, vidyuta
âtmâ, tegasa âtmâ. |

3. Bâlâki said : ' The person that is in the sun, on him I meditate (as Brahman). '

Agâtasatru said to him : ' No, no ! do not chal-
lenge me (to a disputation) on this ¹. I meditate on
him who is called great, clad in white raiment ², the
supreme, the head of all beings. Whoso meditates

¹ The king means to say that he knows this already, and that he can mention not only the predicates of the person in the sun thus meditated on as Brahman, but also the rewards of such meditation.

² This is properly a predicate of the moon, and used as such in the *Bṛihad-âraṇyaka-upanishad*, in the second paragraph of the dialogue.

on him thus, becomes supreme, and the head of all beings.'

4. Bālâki said: 'The person that is in the moon, on him I meditate.'

Agâtasatru said to him: 'Do not challenge me on this. I meditate on him as Soma, the king, the self, (source) of all food. Whoso meditates on him thus, becomes the self, (source) of all food.'

5. Bâlâki said: 'The person that is in the lightning, on him I meditate.'

Agâtasatru said to him: 'Do not challenge me on this. I meditate on him as the self in light. Whoso meditates on him thus, becomes the self in light.'

6. Bâlâki said: 'The person that is in the thunder, on him I meditate.'

Agâtasatru said to him: 'Do not challenge me on this. I meditate on him as the self of sound¹. Whoso meditates on him thus, becomes the self of sound.'

7. Bâlâki said: 'The person that is in the ether, on him I meditate.'

Agâtasatru said to him: 'Do not challenge me on this. I meditate on him as the full, quiescent Brahman. Whoso meditates on him thus, is filled with offspring and cattle. Neither he himself nor his offspring dies before the time.'

8. Bâlâki said: 'The person that is in the air, on him I meditate.'

Agâtasatru said to him: 'Do not challenge me on this. I meditate on him as Indra Vaikuntha, as the unconquerable army. Whoso meditates on him thus, becomes victorious, unconquerable, conquering his enemies.'

¹ This is not mentioned in the *Bṛihad-âraṇyaka*.

9. Bālāki said: 'The person that is in the fire, on him I meditate.'

Agātasatru said to him: 'Do not challenge me on this. I meditate on him as powerful. Whoso meditates on him thus, becomes powerful among others¹.'

10. Bālāki said: 'The person that is in the water, on him I meditate.'

Agātasatru said to him: 'Do not challenge me on this. I meditate on him as the self of the name. Whoso meditates on him thus, becomes the self of the name.' So far with regard to deities (mythological); now with regard to the body (physiological).

11. Bālāki said: 'The person that is in the mirror, on him I meditate.'

Agātasatru said to him: 'Do not challenge me on this. I meditate on him as the likeness. Whoso meditates on him thus, to him a son is born in his family who is his likeness, not one who is not his likeness.'

12. Bālāki said: 'The person that is in the echo, on him I meditate.'

Agātasatru said to him: 'Do not challenge me on this. I meditate on him as the second, who never goes away. Whoso meditates on him thus, he gets a second from his second (his wife), he becomes doubled².'

13. Bālāki said: 'The sound that follows a man, on that I meditate.'

Agātasatru said to him: 'Do not challenge me on

¹ Instead of anyeshu, the second text, as printed by Professor Cowell, has anv esha.

² This paragraph does not occur in the *Bṛihad-Āraṇyaka*.

this. I meditate on him as life. Whoso meditates on him thus, neither he himself nor his offspring will faint before the time.'

14. Bâlâki said: 'The person that is in the shadow, on him I meditate.'

Agâtasatru said to him: 'Do not challenge me on this. I meditate on him as death. Whoso meditates on him thus, neither he himself nor his offspring will die before the time.'

15. Bâlâki said: 'The person that is embodied, on him I meditate.'

Agâtasatru said to him: 'Do not challenge me on this. I meditate on him as Lord of creatures. Whoso meditates on him thus, is multiplied in offspring and cattle.'

16. Bâlâki said: 'The Self which is conscious (prâgña), and by whom he who sleeps here, walks about in sleep, on him I meditate.'

Agâtasatru said to him: 'Do not challenge me on this. I meditate on him as Yama the king. Whoso meditates on him thus, everything is subdued for his excellencies.'

17. Bâlâki said: 'The person that is in the right eye, on him I meditate.'

Agâtasatru said to him: 'Do not challenge me on this. I meditate on him as the self of the name, as the self of fire, as the self of splendour. Whoso meditates on him thus, he becomes the self of these.'

18. Bâlâki said: 'The person that is in the left eye, on him I meditate.'

Agâtasatru said to him: 'Do not challenge me on this. I meditate on him as the self of the true, as the self of lightning, as the self of light. Whoso

meditates on him thus, he becomes the self of these.'

19. After this Bâlâki became silent. Agâtasatru said to him: 'Thus far only (do you know), O Bâlâki?' 'Thus far only,' replied Bâlâki.

Then Agâtasatru said to him: 'Vainly did you challenge me, saying: 'Shall I tell you Brahman? O Bâlâki, he who is the maker of those persons (whom you mentioned), he of whom all this is the work, he alone is to be known.'

Thereupon Bâlâki came, carrying fuel in his hand, saying: 'May I come to you as a pupil?' Agâtasatru said to him: 'I deem it improper that a Kshatriya should initiate a Brâhmaṇa. Come, I shall make you know clearly.' Then taking him by the hand, he went forth. And the two together came to a person who was asleep. And Agâtasatru called him, saying: 'Thou great one, clad in white raiment, Soma, King¹.' But he remained lying. Then he pushed him with a stick, and he rose at once. Then said Agâtasatru to him: 'Bâlâki, where did this person here sleep? Where was he? Whence came he thus back?' Bâlâki did not know.

20. And Agâtasatru said to him: 'Where this person here slept, where he was, whence he thus came back, is this: The arteries of the heart called Hita extend from the heart of the person towards the surrounding body. Small as a hair divided a thousand times, they stand full of a thin fluid of various colours, white, black, yellow, red. In these the person is when sleeping he sees no dream.

¹ See § 3 init.

Then he becomes one with that *prâna* alone. Then speech goes to him with all names, the eye with all forms, the ear with all sounds, the mind with all thoughts. And when he awakes, then, as from a burning fire, sparks proceed in all directions, thus from that self the *prânas* (speech, &c.) proceed, each towards its place, from the *prânas* the gods, from the gods the worlds. And as a razor might be fitted in a razor-case, or as fire in the fire-place (the *arâni* on the altar), even thus this conscious self enters the self of the body (considers the body as himself) to the very hairs and nails. And the other selves (such as speech, &c.) follow that self, as his people follow the master of the house. And as the master feeds with his people, nay, as his people feed on the master, thus does this conscious self feed with the other selves, as a master with his people, and the other selves follow him, as his people follow the master. So long as Indra did not understand that self, the Asuras conquered him. When he understood it, he conquered the Asuras and obtained the pre-eminence among all gods, sovereignty, supremacy. And thus also he who knows this obtains pre-eminence among all beings, sovereignty, supremacy,—yea, he who knows this.

VÂGASANĒYI-SAMHITÂ-
UPANISHAD,

SOMETIMES CALLED

ÎSÂVÂSYA OR ÎSÂ-
UPANISHAD.

VÂGASANĒYI-SAMHITÂ- UPANISHAD.

1. ALL this, whatsoever moves on earth, is to be hidden in the Lord (the Self). When thou hast surrendered all this, then thou mayest enjoy. Do not covet the wealth of any man!

2. Though a man may wish to live a hundred years, performing works, it will be thus with him; but not in any other way: work will thus not cling to a man.

3. There are the worlds of the Asuras¹ covered with blind darkness. Those who have destroyed their self (who perform works, without having arrived at a knowledge of the true Self), go after death to those worlds.

4. That one (the Self), though never stirring, is swifter than thought. The Devas (senses) never reached it, it walked² before them. Though standing still, it overtakes the others who are running. Mâtariśvan (the wind, the moving spirit) bestows powers³ on it.

¹ Asuryâ, Vâg. Samhitâ; asûryâ, Upan. Asuryâ in the Upanishads in the sense of belonging to the Asuras, i. e. gods, is exceptional. I should prefer asûryâ, sunless, as we find asûryé tâmasi in the Rig-veda, V, 32, 6.

² Pûrvam arsat, Vâg. Samh.; pûrvam arshat, Upan. Mahîdhara suggests also arsat as a contraction of a-risat, not perishing.

³ Apas is explained by karmâni, acts, in which case it would be meant for âpas, opus. But the Vâg. Samhitâ accentuates âpas, i. e.

5. It stirs and it stirs not ; it is far, and likewise near¹. It is inside of all this, and it is outside of all this.

6. And he who beholds all beings in the Self, and the Self in all beings, he never turns away from it².

7. When to a man who understands, the Self has become all things, what sorrow, what trouble can there be to him who once beheld that unity?

8. He³ (the Self) encircled all, bright, incorporeal, scatheless, without muscles, pure, untouched by evil ; a seer, wise, omnipresent, self-existent, he disposed all things rightly for eternal years.

9. All who worship what is not real knowledge (good works), enter into blind darkness : those who delight in real knowledge, enter, as it were, into greater darkness.

10. One thing, they say, is obtained from real knowledge ; another, they say, from what is not knowledge. Thus we have heard from the wise who taught us this⁴.

11. He who knows at the same time both knowledge and not-knowledge, overcomes death through not-knowledge, and obtains immortality through knowledge.

12. All who worship what is not the true cause,

aquas, and Ānandagiri explains that water stands for acts, because most sacrificial acts are performed with water.

¹ Tad v antike, Vāg. Samh. ; tadvad antike, Upan.

² Viñikitsati, Vāg. Samh. ; vigugupsate, Upan.

³ Saṅkara takes the subject to be the Self, and explains the neuter adjectives as masculines. Mahādhara takes the subject to be the man who has acquired a knowledge of the Self, and who reaches the bright, incorporeal Brahman, &c. Mahādhara, however, likewise allows the former explanation.

⁴ Cf. Tālavak. Up. I, 4 ; vidyâyâh, avidyâyâh, Vāg. Samh. ; vidyayâ, avidyayâ, Upan.

enter into blind darkness : those who delight in the true cause, enter, as it were, into greater darkness.

13. One thing, they say, is obtained from (knowledge of) the cause ; another, they say, from (knowledge of) what is not the cause. Thus we have heard from the wise who taught us this.

14. He who knows at the same time both the cause and the destruction (the perishable body), overcomes death by destruction (the perishable body), and obtains immortality through (knowledge of) the true cause.

15. The door of the True is covered with a golden disk¹. Open that, O Pûshan, that we may see the nature of the True².

16. O Pûshan, only seer, Yama (judge), Sûrya (sun), son of Pragâpati, spread thy rays and gather them ! The light which is thy fairest form, I see it. I am what He is (viz. the person in the sun)³.

17. Breath⁴ to air, and to the immortal ! Then this my body ends in ashes. Om ! Mind, remember ! Remember thy deeds ! Mind, remember ! Remember thy deeds⁵ !

18. Agni, lead us on to wealth (beatitude) by a good path, thou, O God, who knowest all things !

¹ Mahîdhara on verse 17 : 'The face of the true (purusha in the sun) is covered by a golden disk.'

² Cf. Maitr. Up. VI, 35.

³ Asau purusha^h should probably be omitted.

⁴ These lines are supposed to be uttered by a man in the hour of death.

⁵ The Vâgasaneyi-samhitâ reads : Om, krato smara, kîbe smara, *krîtam* smara. Uvâta holds that Agni, fire, who has been worshipped in youth and manhood, is here invoked in the form of mind, or that kratu is meant for sacrifice. 'Agni, remember me ! Think of the world ! Remember my deeds !'

Keep far from us crooked evil, and we shall offer thee the fullest praise! (Rv. I, 189, 1.)

This Upanishad, though apparently simple and intelligible, is in reality one of the most difficult to understand properly. Coming at the end of the Vâgasaneyi-samhitâ, in which the sacrifices and the hymns to be used by the officiating priests have been described, it begins by declaring that all has to be surrendered to the Lord. The name *is, lord*, is peculiar, as having a far more personal colouring than *Âtman*, *Self*, or *Brahman*, the usual names given by the Upanishads to what is the object of the highest knowledge.

Next follows a permission to continue the performance of sacrifices, provided that all desires have been surrendered. And here occurs our first difficulty, which has perplexed ancient as well as modern commentators.

I shall try, first of all, to justify my own translation. I hold that the Upanishad wishes to teach the uselessness by themselves of all good works, whether we call them sacrificial, legal, or moral, and yet, at the same time, to recognise, if not the necessity, at least the harmlessness of good works, provided they are performed without any selfish motives, without any desire of reward, but simply as a preparation for higher knowledge, as a means, in fact, of subduing all passions, and producing that serenity of mind without which man is incapable of receiving the highest knowledge. From that point of view the Upanishad may well say, Let a man wish to live here his appointed time, let him even perform all works. If only he knows that all must be surrendered to the Lord, then the work done by him will not cling to him. It will not work on and produce effect after effect, nor will it involve him in a succession of new births in which to enjoy the reward of his works, but it will leave him free to enjoy the blessings of the highest knowledge. It will have served as a preparation for that higher knowledge which the Upanishad imparts, and which secures freedom from further births.

The expression '*na karma lipyate nare*' seems to me to admit of this one explanation only, viz. that work done does not cling to man, provided he has acquired the highest knowledge. Similar expressions occur again and again. *Lip* was, no doubt, used originally of evil deeds which became, as it were, engrained in man; but afterwards of all work, even of good work, if done with a desire of reward. The doctrine of the Upanishads is throughout that orthodoxy and sacrifice can procure a limited beatitude only,

and that they are a hindrance to real salvation, which can be obtained by knowledge alone. In our passage therefore we can recognise one meaning only, viz. that work does not cling to man or stain him, if only he knows, i. e. if he has been enlightened by the Upanishad.

Saṅkara, in his commentary on the Vedānta-sūtras III, 4, 7; 13; 14, takes the same view of this passage. The opponent of Bādarāyana, in this case, Gaimini himself, maintains that karma, work, is indispensable to knowledge, and among other arguments, he says, III, 4, 7, that it is so 'Niyamāt,' 'Because it is so laid down by the law.' The passage here referred to is, according to Saṅkara, our very verse, which, he thinks, should be translated as follows: 'Let a man wish to live a hundred years here (in this body) performing works; thus will an evil deed not cling to thee, while thou art a man; there is no other way but this by which to escape the influence of works.' In answer to this, Bādarāyana says, first of all, III, 4, 13, that this rule may refer to all men in general, and not to one who knows; or, III, 4, 14, if it refers to a man who knows, that then the permission to perform works is only intended to exalt the value of knowledge, the meaning being that even to a man who performs sacrifices all his life, work does not cling, if only he knows;—such being the power of knowledge.

The same Saṅkara, however, who here sees quite clearly that this verse refers to a man who knows, explains it in the Upanishad as referring to a man who does not know (*itarasyānātmaḡṇatayāt-magrahaṇāśaktasya*). It would then mean: 'Let such a one, while performing works here on earth, wish to live a hundred years. In this manner there is no other way for him but this (the performance of sacrifices), so that an evil deed should not be engrained, or so that he should not be stained by such a deed.' The first and second verses of the Upanishad would thus represent the two paths of life, that of knowledge and that of works, and the following verses would explain the rewards assigned to each.

Mahādhara, in his commentary on the Vāgasaneyi-samhitā, steers at first a middle course. He would translate: 'Let one who performs the Agnihotra and other sacrifices, without any desire of reward, wish to live here a hundred years. If thou do so, there will be salvation for thee, not otherwise. There are many roads that lead to heaven, but one only leading to salvation, namely, performance of good works, without any desire of reward, which produces a pure heart. Work thus done, merely as a preparation for salvation, does not cling to man, i. e. it produces a pure heart, but does not

entail any further consequences.' So far he agrees with Uvata's explanation¹. He allows, however, another explanation also, so that the second line would convey the meaning: 'If a man lives thus (performing good works), then there is no other way by which an evil deed should not be engrained; i. e. in order to escape the power of sin, he must all his life perform sacred acts.'

Next follows a description of the lot of those who, immersed in works, have not arrived at the highest knowledge, and have not recovered their true self in the Highest Self, or Brahman. That Brahman, though the name is not used here, is then described, and salvation is promised to the man who beholds all things in the Self and the Self in all things.

The verses 9-14 are again full of difficulty, not so much in themselves as in their relation to the general system of thought which prevails in the Upanishads, and forms the foundation of the Vedânta philosophy. The commentators vary considerably in their interpretations. Sankara explains avidyâ, not-knowledge, by good works, particularly sacrifice, performed with a hope of reward; vidyâ, or knowledge, by a knowledge of the gods, but not, as yet, of the highest Brahman. The former is generally supposed to lead the sacrificer to the *pitṛloka*, the world of the fathers, from whence he returns to a series of new births; the latter to the *devaloka*, the world of the gods, from whence he may either proceed to Brahman, or enter upon a new round of existences. The question then arises, how in our passage the former could be said to lead to blind darkness, the latter to still greater darkness. But for that statement, I have no doubt that all the commentators would, as usual, have taken vidyâ for the knowledge of the Highest Brahman, and avidyâ for orthodox belief in the gods and good works, the former securing immortality in the sense of freedom from new births, while the reward of the latter is blessedness in heaven for a limited period, but without freedom from new births.

This antithesis between vidyâ and avidyâ seems to me so firmly established that I cannot bring myself to surrender it here. Though this Upanishad has its own very peculiar character, yet its object is, after all, to impart a knowledge of the Highest Self, and not to inculcate merely a difference between faith in the ordinary gods and good works. It was distinctly said before (ver. 3), that those who have destroyed their self, i. e. who perform works only,

¹ Uvata explains *gigîshvisheḥ* for *gigîvishet* as a *purusha-vyatayaḥ*.

and have not arrived at a knowledge of the true Self, go to the worlds of the Asuras, which are covered with blind darkness. If then the same blind darkness is said in verse 9 to be the lot of those who worship not-knowledge, this can only mean those who have not discovered the true Self, but are satisfied with the performance of good works. And if those who perform good works are opposed to others who delight in true knowledge, that knowledge can be the knowledge of the true Self only.

The difficulty therefore which has perplexed Śaṅkara is this, how, while the orthodox believer is said to enter into blind darkness, the true disciple, who has acquired a knowledge of the true Self, could be said to enter into still greater darkness. While Śaṅkara in this case seems hardly to have caught the drift of the Upanishad, Uvāṇa and Mahīdhara propose an explanation which is far more satisfactory. They perceive that the chief stress must be laid on the words *ubhayam saha*, 'both together,' in verses 11 and 14. The doctrine of certain Vedānta philosophers was that works, though they cannot by themselves lead to salvation, are useful as a preparation for the highest knowledge, and that those who imagine that they can attain the highest knowledge without such previous preparation, are utterly mistaken. From this point of view therefore the author of the Upanishad might well say that those who give themselves to what is not knowledge, i.e. to sacrificial and other good works, enter into darkness, but that those who delight altogether in knowledge, despising the previous discipline of works, deceive themselves and enter into still greater darkness.

Then follows the next verse, simply stating that, according to the teaching of wise people, the reward of knowledge is one thing, the reward of ignorance, i.e. trust in sacrifice, another. Here Mahīdhara is right again by assigning the *pitṛloka*, the world of the fathers, as the reward of the ignorant; the *devaloka*, the world of the gods, as the reward of the enlightened, provided that from the world of the gods they pass on to the knowledge of the Highest Self or Brahman.

The third verse contains the strongest confirmation of Mahīdhara's view. Here it is laid down distinctly that he only who knows both together, both what is called ignorance and what is called knowledge, can be saved, because by good works he overcomes death, here explained by natural works, and by knowledge he obtains the Immortal, here explained by oneness with the gods, the last step that leads on to oneness with Brahman.

Uvāṇa, who takes the same view of these verses, explains at once,

and even more boldly than Mahîdhara¹, vidyâ, or knowledge, by brahmavignâna, knowledge of Brahman, which by itself, and if not preceded by works, leads to even greater darkness than what is called ignorance, i. e. sacrifice and orthodoxy without knowledge.

The three corresponding verses, treating of sambhûti and asambhûti instead of vidyâ and avidyâ, stand first in the Vâgasaneyi-samhitâ. They must necessarily be explained in accordance with our explanation of the former verses, i. e. sambhûti must correspond to vidyâ, it must be meant for the true cause, i. e. for Brahman, while asambhûti must correspond with avidyâ, as a name of what is not real, but phenomenal only and perishable.

Mahîdhara thinks that these verses refer to the Bauddhas, which can hardly be admitted, unless we take Buddhist in a very general sense. Uvâta puts the Lokâyatas in their place². It is curious also to observe that Mahîdhara, following Uvâta, explains asambhûti at first by the denial of the resurrection of the body, while he takes sambhûti rightly for Brahman. I have chiefly followed Uvâta's commentary, except in his first explanation of asambhûti, resurrection³. In what follows Uvâta explains sambhûti rightly by the only cause of the origin of the whole world, i. e. Brahman⁴, while he takes vinâsa, destruction, as a name of the perishable body⁵.

Saṅkara sees much more in these three verses than Uvâta. He takes asambhûti as a name of Prakṛiti, the undeveloped cause, sambhûti as a name of the phenomenal Brahman or Hiranyagarbha. From a worship of the latter a man obtains supernatural powers, from devotion to the former, absorption in Prakṛiti.

Mahîdhara also takes a similar view, and he allows, like Saṅkara, another reading, viz. sambhûtim avinâsam ka, and avinâsena mṛityum tîrtvâ. In this case the sense would be: 'He who knows the worship both of the developed and the undeveloped, overcomes

¹ Mahîdhara decides in the end that vidyâ and amṛitam must here be taken in a limited or relative sense, tasmâd vidyopâsanâ-mṛitam lâpekshikam iti dik, and so agrees on the whole with Saṅkara, pp. 25-27.

² Shaḍ anushubhaḥ, lokâyatikâḥ prastûyante yeshâm etad darsanam.

³ Mṛitasya sataḥ punaḥ sambhavo nâsti, ataḥ sarîragrahanâd asmâkam muktir eva.

⁴ Samastasya gagataḥ sambhavaikahetu brahma.

⁵ Vinâsam vinâsi ka vapuḥ sarîram.

death, i. e. such evil as sin, passion, &c., through worship of the undeveloped, while he obtains through worship of the developed, i. e. of Hiraṇyagarbha, immortality, absorption in Prakṛti.'

All these forced explanations to which the commentators have recourse, arise from the shifting views held by various authorities with regard to the value of works. Our Upanishad seems to me to propound the doctrine that works, though in themselves useless, or even mischievous, if performed with a view to any present or future rewards, are necessary as a preparatory discipline. This is or was for a long time the orthodox view. Each man was required to pass through the āśramas, or stages of student and householder, before he was admitted to the freedom of a Sannyâsin. As on a ladder, no step was to be skipped. Those who attempted to do so, were considered to have broken the old law, and in some respects they may indeed be looked upon as the true precursors of the Buddhists.

Nevertheless the opposite doctrine, that a man whose mind had become enlightened, might at once drop the fetters of the law, without performing all the tedious duties of student and householder, had strong supporters too among orthodox philosophers. Cases of such rapid conversion occur in the ancient traditions, and Bâdarâyana himself was obliged to admit the possibility of freedom and salvation without works, though maintaining the superiority of the usual course, which led on gradually from works to enlightenment and salvation¹. It was from an unwillingness to assent to the decided teaching of the Īśa-upanishad that Saṅkara attempted to explain vidyâ, knowledge, in a limited sense, as knowledge of the gods, and not yet knowledge of Brahman. He would not admit that knowledge without works could lead to darkness, and even to greater darkness than works without knowledge. Our Upanishad seems to have dreaded libertinism, knowledge without works, more even than ritualism, works without knowledge, and its true object was to show that orthodoxy and sacrifice, though useless in themselves, must always form the preparation for higher enlightenment.

How misleading Saṅkara's explanation may prove, we can see from the translation of this Upanishad by Rammohun Roy. He followed Saṅkara implicitly, and this is the sense which he drew from the text:—

'9. Those observers of religious rites that perform only the worship of the sacred fire, and oblations to sages, to ancestors,

¹ Vedânta-sûtras III, 4, 36-39.

to men, and to other creatures, without regarding the worship of celestial gods, shall enter into the dark region : and those practisers of religious ceremonies who habitually worship the celestial gods only, disregarding the worship of the sacred fire, and oblations to sages, to ancestors, to men, and to other creatures, shall enter into a region still darker than the former.

‘10. It is said that adoration of the celestial gods produces one consequence ; and that the performance of the worship of sacred fire, and oblations to sages, to ancestors, to men, and to other creatures, produce another : thus have we heard from learned men, who have distinctly explained the subject to us.

‘11. Of those observers of ceremonies whosoever, knowing that adoration of celestial gods, as well as the worship of the sacred fire, and oblation to sages, to ancestors, to men, and to other creatures, should be observed alike by the same individual, performs them both, will, by means of the latter, surmount the obstacles presented by natural temptations, and will attain the state of the celestial gods through the practice of the former.

‘12. Those observers of religious rites who worship Prakṛti alone (Prakṛti or nature, who, though insensible, influenced by the Supreme Spirit, operates throughout the universe) shall enter into the dark region : and those practisers of religious ceremonies that are devoted to worship solely the prior operating sensitive particle, allegorically called Brahmá, shall enter into a region much more dark than the former.

‘13. It is said that one consequence may be attained by the worship of Brahmá, and another by the adoration of Prakṛti. Thus have we heard from learned men, who have distinctly explained the subject to us.

‘14. Of those observers of ceremonies, whatever person, knowing that the adoration of Prakṛti and that of Brahmá should be together observed by the same individual, performs them both, will by means of the latter overcome indigence, and will attain the state of Prakṛti, through the practice of the former.’

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The Sacred Books of the East: The institutes of Vishnu

Friedrich Max
Müller

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THE
SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST

TRANSLATED

BY VARIOUS ORIENTAL SCHOLARS

AND EDITED BY

F. MAX MÜLLER

VOL. VII

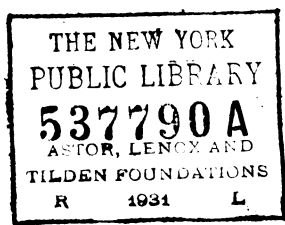
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1919
1919

THE
INSTITUTES OF VISHNU

TRANSLATED BY

JULIUS JOLLY

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LIST OF THE MORE IMPORTANT ABBREVIATIONS.

- Âpast. — Âpastamba's Dharma-sûtra, ed. Bühler.
 Âsv. — Âsvalâyana's *Grîhya-sûtra*, ed. Stenzler.
 Gaut. — Gautama's Dharmasâstra, ed. Stenzler.
 Gobh. — Gobhila's *Grîhya-sûtra*, in the *Bibl. Ind.*
 M. — Mânava Dharmasâstra, Calcutta edition, with the Com-
 mentary of Kullûka.
 Nand. — Nandapandita, the commentator of the Vishnu-sûtra.
 Pâr. — Pâraskara's *Grîhya-sûtra*, ed. Stenzler.
 Sâñkh. — Sâñkhâyana's *Grîhya-sûtra*, ed. Oldenberg, in the
 fifteenth volume of the *Indische Studien*.
 Y. — Yâgñavalkya's Dharmasâstra, ed. Stenzler.
 Âpast. and Gaut. refer also to Dr. Bühler's translation of these
 two works in the second volume of the Sacred Books of the East.

INTRODUCTION.

THE *Vishṇu-smṛiti* or *Vaiṣṇava Dharmaśāstra* or *Vishṇu-sūtra* is in the main a collection of ancient aphorisms on the sacred laws of India, and as such it ranks with the other ancient works of this class which have come down to our time¹. It may be styled a *Dharma-sūtra*, though this ancient title of the *Sūtra* works on law has been preserved in the MSS. of those *Smṛitis* only, which have been handed down, like the *Dharma-sūtras* of *Āpastamba*, *Baudhāyana*, and *Hiranyakesin*, as parts of the respective *Kalpa-sūtras*, to which they belong. The size of the *Vishṇu-sūtra*, and the great variety of the subjects treated in it, would suffice to entitle it to a conspicuous place among the five or six existing *Dharma-sūtras*; but it possesses a peculiar claim to interest, which is founded on its close connection with one of the oldest Vedic schools, the *Kaṭhas*, on the one hand, and with the famous code of *Manu* and some other ancient law-codes, on the other hand. To discuss these two principal points, and some minor points connected with them, as fully as the limits of an introduction admit of, will be the more necessary, because such a discussion can afford the only safe basis for a conjecture not altogether unsupported regarding the time and place of the original composition of this work, and may even tend to throw some new light on the vexed question as to the origin of the code of *Manu*. Further on I shall have to speak of the numerous interpolations traceable in the *Vishṇu-sūtra*, and a few remarks regarding the materials

¹ This was first pointed out by Professor Max Müller, *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 134. His results were confirmed and expanded by the subsequent researches of Dr. Bühler, *Introduction to Bombay Digest*, I, p. xxii; *Indian Antiquary*, V, p. 30; *Kasmîr Report*, p. 36.

used for this translation, and the principles of interpretation that have been followed in it, may be fitly reserved for the last.

There is no surer way for ascertaining the particular Vedic school by which an ancient Sanskrit law-book of unknown or uncertain origin was composed, than by examining the quotations from, and analogies with, Vedic works which it contains. Thus the Gautama Dharma-sâstra might have originated in any one among the divers Gautama *Karanas* with which Indian tradition acquaints us. But the comparatively numerous passages which its author has borrowed from the *Samhitâ* and from one *Brâhmaṇa* of the *Sâma-veda* prove that it must belong to one of those Gautama *Karanas* who studied the *Sâma-veda*¹. Regarding the code of Yâgñavalkya we learn from tradition that a Vedic teacher of that name was the reputed author of the White Yagur-veda. But this coincidence might be looked upon as casual, if the Yâgñavalkya-smṛiti did not contain a number of Mantras from that Vedic *Samhitâ*, and a number of very striking analogies, in the section on funeral ceremonies particularly, with the *Grîhya-sûtra* of the Vâgasaneyins, the Kâtiya *Grîhya-sûtra* of Pâraskara². In the case of the Vishnu-sûtra an enquiry of this kind is specially called for, because tradition leaves us entirely in the dark as to its real author. The fiction that the laws promulgated in Chapters II–XCVII were communicated by the god Vishnu to the goddess of the earth, is of course utterly worthless for historical purposes; and all that it can be made to show is that those parts of this work in which it is started or kept up cannot rival the laws themselves in antiquity.

Now as regards, first, the Vedic Mantras and Pratîkas (beginnings of Mantras) quoted in this work, it is necessary to leave aside, as being of no moment for the present purpose, 1. very well-known Mantras, or, speaking more

¹ See Bühler, Introduction to Gautama (Vol. II of the Sacred Books of the East), pp. xlv–xlvi.

² Bühler, Introduction to Digest, p. xxxii; Stenzler, on Pâraskara's *Grîhya-sûtra*, in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, VII, p. 527 seq.

precisely, all such Mantras as are frequently quoted in Vedic works of divers Sâkhâs; 2. the purificatory texts enumerated under the title of *Sarva-veda-pavitrâni* in LVI. The latter can afford us no help in determining the particular Sâkhâ to which this work belongs, because they are actually taken, as they profess to be, from all the Vedas indiscriminately, and because nearly the whole of Chapter LVI is found in the *Vâsishtha-smṛiti* as well (see further on), which probably does not belong to the same Veda as this work. Among the former class of Mantras may be included, particularly, the *Gâyatrî*, the *Purushasûkta*, the *Aghamarshana*, the *Kûshmândîs*, the *Vyâhrîtis*, the *Gyeshtha Sâmans*, the *Rudras*, the *Trinâdiketa*, the *Trisuparna*, the *Vaishnava*, *Sâkra*, and *Bârhaspatya* Mantras mentioned in XC, 3, and the Mantra quoted in XXVIII, 51 (= Gautama's 'Retasya'). Among the twenty-two Mantras quoted in Chapters XLVIII, LXIV, LXV (including repetitions, but excluding the *Purushasûkta*, *Gâyatrî*, *Aghamarshana*) there are also some which may be referred to this class, and the great majority of them occur in more than one Veda at the same time. But it is worthy of note that no less than twelve, besides occurring in at least one other Sâkhâ, are either actually found in the *Samhitâ* of the *Kârâyanîya-kathas*, the *Kâthaka*¹ (or *Kâraka-sâkhâ*?), or stated to belong to it in the Commentary, while one is found in the *Kâthaka* alone, a second in the *Atharva-veda* alone, a third in the *Taittirîya Brâhmaṇa* alone, and a fourth does not occur in any Vedic work hitherto known². A far greater number of Mantras occurs in Chapters XXI, LXVII, LXXIII, LXXIV, LXXXVI, which treat of daily oblations, *Srâddhas*, and the ceremony of setting a bull at liberty. Of all these Mantras, which,—including the *Purushasûkta* and other such well-known Mantras as well as the short invocations addressed to Soma, Agni, and other deities, but excluding the invocations addressed to Vishnu in the spurious *Sûtra*, LXVII, 2,—are more than a hundred in number, no more than forty or so are found in Vedic

¹ In speaking of this work I always refer to the Berlin MS.

² XLVIII, 10. Cf., however, *Vâgas. Samh.* IV, 12.

works hitherto printed, and in the law-books of Manu, Yâgñavalkya, and others; but nearly all are quoted, exactly in the same order as in this work, in the *Kârâyanîya-kâthaka Grîhya-sûtra*, while some of them have been traced in the *Kâthaka* as well. And what is even more important, the *Kâthaka Grîhya* does not contain those Mantras alone, but nearly all the Sûtras in which they occur; and it may be stated therefore, secondly, that the *Vishnu-sûtra* has four long sections, viz. Chapter LXXIII, and Chapters XXI, LXVII, LXXXVI, excepting the final parts, in common with that work, while the substance of Chapter LXXIV may also be traced in it. The agreement between both works is very close, and where they differ it is generally due to false readings or to enlargements on the part of the *Vishnu-sûtra*. However, there are a few cases, in which the version of the latter work is evidently more genuine than that of the former, and it follows, therefore, that the author of the *Vishnu-sûtra* cannot have borrowed his rules for the performance of *Srâddhas* &c. from the *Kâthaka Grîhya-sûtra*, but that both must have drawn from a common source, i. e. no doubt from the traditions current in the *Katka* school, to which this work is indebted for so many of its Mantras as well.

For these reasons¹ I fully concur in the view advanced by Dr. Bühler, that the bulk of the so-called *Vishnu-smṛiti* is really the ancient *Dharma-sûtra* of the *Kârâyanîya-kâthaka Sâkhâ* of the Black *Yagur-veda*. It ranks, like other *Dharma-sûtras*, with the *Grîhya* and *Srauta-sûtras* of its school; the latter of which, though apparently lost now, is distinctly referred to in the *Grîhya-sûtra* in several places, and must have been in existence at the time when the Commentaries on *Kâtyâyana's Srauta-sûtras* were composed, in which it is frequently quoted by the name

¹ For details I may refer the reader to my German paper, *Das Dharmasûtra des Vishnu und das Kâthakagrîhyasûtra*, in the Transactions of the Royal Bavarian Academy of Science for 1879, where the sections corresponding in both works have been printed in parallel columns, the texts from the *Kâthaka Grîhya-sûtra* having been prepared from two of the MSS. of Devapâla's Commentary discovered by Dr. Bühler (*Kasmîr Report*, Nos. 11, 12), one in *Devanâgarî*, and the other in *Sârādâ* characters.

of *Kāṭha*-sūtra on divers questions concerning *Srauta* offerings, and at the time, when the Kasmīrian Devapāla wrote his Commentary on the *Kāṭhaka Gr̥hya*-sūtra, which was, according to the Kasmīrian tradition, as explored by Dr. Bühler, before the conquest of Kasmīr by the Mahomedans. Devapāla, in the Introduction to his work, refers to 'thirty-nine Adhyāyas treating of the *Vaitānika* (= *Srauta*) ceremonies,' by which the *Gr̥hya*-sūtra was preceded, from which statement it may be inferred that the *Kāṭhaka* *Srauta*-sūtras must have been a very voluminous work indeed, as the *Gr̥hya*-sūtra, which is at least equal if not superior in extent to other works of the same class, forms but one Adhyāya, the fortieth, of the whole *Kalpa*-sūtra, which, according to Devapāla, was composed by one author. It does not seem likely that the *Vishṇu*-sūtra was composed by the same man, or that it ever formed part of the *Kāṭhaka* *Kalpa*-sūtra, as the *Dharma*-sūtras of Baudhāyana, Āpastamba, and *Hiranyakesin* form part of the *Kalpa*-sūtras of the respective schools to which they belong. If that were the case, it would agree with the *Gr̥hya*-sūtra on all those points which are treated in both works, such as e.g. the terms for the performance of the *Samskāras* or sacraments, the rules for a student and for a *Snātaka*, the enumeration and definition of the *Krikkhṛas* or 'hard penances,' the forms of marriage, &c. Now though the two works have on those subjects a number of such rules in common as occur in other works also, they disagree for the most part in the choice of expressions, and on a few points lay down exactly opposite rules, such as the *Vishṇu*-sūtra (XXVIII, 28) giving permission to a student to ascend his spiritual teacher's carriage after him, whereas the other work prescribes, that he shall do so on no account. Moreover, if both works had been destined from the first to supplement one another, they would, instead of having several entire sections in common, exhibit such cross-references as are found e.g. between the *Āpastamba Gr̥hya* and *Dharma*-sūtras¹; though the absence of such

¹ Bühler, Introduction to *Āpastamba*, Sacred Books, II, pp. xi-xiv.

references might be explained, in the case of the *Vishnu-sûtra*, by the activity of those who brought it into its present shape, and who seem to have carefully removed all such references to other works as the original *Dharma-sûtra* may have contained. Whatever the precise nature of the relations between this work and the other *Sûtra* works of the *Kârâyanîya-kâthaka* school may have been, there is no reason for assigning to it a later date than to the *Kâthaka Srauta* and *Grihya-sûtras*, with the latter of which it has so much in common, and it may therefore claim a considerable antiquity, especially if it is assumed, with Dr. Bühler, that the beginning of the *Sûtra* period differed for each Veda. The Veda of the *Katthas*, the *Kâthaka*, is not separated from the *Sûtra* literature of this school by an intermediate *Brâhmana* stage; yet its high antiquity is testified by several of the most eminent grammarians of India from *Yâska* down to *Kaiyata*¹. Thus the *Kâthaka* is the only existing work of its kind, which is quoted by the former grammarian (*Nirukta* X, 5; another clear quotation from the *Kâthaka*, XXVII, 9, though not by name, may be found, *Nirukta* III, 4), and the latter places the *Katthas* at the head of all Vedic schools, while *Patañgali*, the author of the *Mahâbhâshya*, assigns to the ancient sage *Kattha*, the reputed founder of the *Kattha* or *Kâthaka* school of the Black *Yagur-veda*, the dignified position of an immediate pupil of *Vaisampâyana*, the fountain-head of all schools of the older or Black *Yagur-veda*, and mentions, in accordance with a similar statement preserved in the *Râmâyana* (II, 32, 18, 19 ed. Schlegel), that in his own time the '*Kâlâpaka* and the *Kâthaka*' were 'proclaimed in every village'². The priority of the *Katthas* before all other existing schools of the *Yagur-veda* may be deduced from the statements of the *Karanavyûha*³, which work assigns to them one of the first places among the divers branches of

¹ See Weber, *Indische Studien* XIII, p. 437 seq.

² *Mahâbhâshya*, Benares edition, IV, fols. 82 b, 75 b.

³ See Weber, *Ind. Stud.* III, p. 256 seq.; Max Müller, *Hist. Anc. Sansk. Lit.*, p. 369. I have consulted, besides, two Munich MSS. of the *Karanavyûha* (cod. Haug 45).

the *Karakas*, whom it places at the head of all schools of the *Yagur-veda*. Another argument in favour of the high antiquity of the *Kat̥has* may be derived from their geographical position¹. Though the statements of the *Mahābhāshya* and *Rāmāyana* regarding the wide-spread and influential position of the *Kat̥has* in ancient times are borne out by the fact that the *Karanavyūha* mentions three subdivisions of the *Kat̥has*, viz. the *Kat̥has* proper, the *Prākya Kat̥has*, and the *Kapishthala Kat̥has*, to which the *Kārāyanīyas* may be added as a fourth, and by the seeming identity of their name with the name of the *Καθαῖοι* in the *Pañgāb* on the one hand, and with the first part of the name of the peninsula of *Kattivar* on the other hand, it seems very likely nevertheless that the original home of the *Kat̥has* was situated in the north-west, i. e. in those regions where the earliest parts of the *Vedas* were composed. Not only the *Καθαῖοι*, but the *Καμβίσθολοι* as well, who have been identified with the *Kapishthala Kat̥has*², are mentioned by Greek writers as a nation living in the *Pañgāb*; and while the *Prākya Kat̥has* are shown by their name ('Eastern *Kat̥has*') to have lived to the east of the two other branches of the *Kat̥has*, it is a significant fact that adherents of the *Kārāyanīya-kāthaka* school survive nowhere but in *Kasmīr*, where all *Brāhmanas* perform their domestic rites according to the rules laid down in the *Gr̥hya-sūtra* of this school³. *Kasmīr* is moreover the country where nearly all the yet existing works of the *Kāthaka* school have turned up, including the *Berlin MS.* of the *Kāthaka*, which was probably written by a *Kasmīrian*⁴. It is true that some of the geographical and historical data contained in that work, especially the way in which it mentions the *Pañkālās*, whose ancient name, as shown by the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* (XIII, 5, 4, 7) and *Rig-*

¹ See Weber, *Über das Rāmāyana*, p. 9; *Ind. Stud.* I, p. 189 seq.; III, p. 469 seq.; XIII, pp. 375, 439; *Ind. Litteraturgeschichte*, pp. 99, 332; Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 102 seq.

² See, however, Max Müller, *Hist. Anc. Sansk. Lit.*, p. 333.

³ Bühler, *Kasmīr Report*, p. 20 seq.

⁴ This was pointed out to me by Dr. Bühler.

veda (VIII, 20, 24 ; VIII, 22, 12), was Krivi, take us far off from the north-west, the earliest seat of Āryan civilization, into the country of the Kuru-Pañkâlas in Hindostân proper. But it must be borne in mind that the *Kâthaka*, if it may be identified with the '*Karaka-sâkhâ*,' must have been the Veda of all the *Karakas* except perhaps the *Maitrâya-nîyas* and *Kapishthâlas*, and may have been altered and enlarged, after the *Katthas* and *Karakas* had spread themselves across Hindostân. The *Sûtras* of a *Sâkhâ* which appears to have sprung up near the primitive home of Āryan civilization in India, which was probably the original home of the *Katthas* at the same time, may be far older than those of mere *Sûtra* schools of the Black Yagur-veda, which have sprung up, like the *Āpastamba* school, in South India, i. e. far older than the fourth or fifth century B. C.¹

But sufficient space has been assigned to these attempts at fixing the age of the *Kâthaka-sûtras* which, besides remaining only too uncertain in themselves, can apply with their full force to those parts of the *Vishnu-sûtra* only, which have been traced in the *Kâthaka Grîhya-sûtra*. It will be seen afterwards that even these sections, however closely connected with the sacred literature of the *Katthas*, have been tampered with in several places, and it might be argued, therefore, that the whole remainder of the *Vishnu-sûtra*, to which the *Kâthaka* literature offers no parallel, may be a subsequent addition. But the antiquity of the great majority of its laws can be proved by independent arguments, which are furnished by a comparison of the *Vishnu-sûtra* with other works of the same class, whose antiquity is not doubted.

In the foot-notes to my translation I have endeavoured to give as complete references as possible to the analogous passages in the *Smritis* of Manu, Yâgñavalkya, Āpastamba, and Gautama, and in the four *Grîhya-sûtras* hitherto printed. A large number of analogous passages might have been traced in the *Dharma-sûtras* of Vâsishtha²

¹ See Bühler, *Introd. to Āpastamba*, p. xliii.

² See the Benares edition (1878), which is accompanied with a Commentary by *Krishnapandita Dharmâdhikârin*. I should have given references to this

and Baudhâyana as well, not to mention Hiranyakesin's Dharma-sûtra, which, according to Dr. Bühler, is nearly identical with the Dharma-sûtra of Âpastamba. Two facts may be established at once by glancing at these analogies, viz. the close agreement of this work with the other Sûtra works in point of form, and with all the above-mentioned works in point of contents. As regards the first point, the Sûtras or prose rules of which the bulk of the Vishnu-sûtra is composed, show throughout that characteristic laconism of the Sûtra style, which renders it impossible in many cases to make out the real meaning of a Sûtra without the help of a Commentary; and in the choice of terms they agree as closely as possible with the other ancient law-books, and in some cases with the Grîhya-sûtras as well. Numerous verses, generally in the Sloka metre, and occasionally designed as 'Gâthâs,' are added at the end of most chapters, and interspersed between the Sûtras in some; but in this particular also the Vishnu-sûtra agrees with at least one other Dharma-sûtra, the Vâsishtha-smṛiti, and it contains in its law part, like the latter work, a number of verses in the ancient Trishṭubh metre¹. Four of these Trishṭubhs are found in the Vâsishtha-smṛiti, and three in Yaska's Nirukta as well, and the majority of the Slokas has been traced in the former work and the other above-mentioned law-books, and in other Smṛitis. In point of contents the great majority both of the metrical and prose rules of the Vishnu-sûtra agrees with one, or some, or all of the works named above. The Grîhya-sûtras, excepting the Kâthaka Grîhya-sûtra, naturally offer a far smaller number of analogies with it than the Smṛitis, still they exhibit several rules, in the Snâtaka-dharmas and otherwise, that have not been traced in any other Smṛiti except the work here translated. Among the Smṛitis again, each single one may be seen

work, the first complete and reliable edition of the Vâsishtha-smṛiti, in the footnotes to my translation, but for the fact that it did not come into my hands till the former had gone to the press. For Baudhâyana I have consulted a Munich MS. containing the text only of his Sûtras (cod. Haug 163).

¹ XIX, 23, 24; XXIII, 61; XXIX, 9, 10; XXX, 47 (see Nirukta II, 4; Vâsishtha II, 8-10); LVI, 27 (see Vâsishtha XXVIII, 15); LIX, 30; LXXII, 7; LXXXVI, 16.

from the references to contain a number of such rules, as are only met with in this work, which is a very important fact because, if the laws of the *Vishnu-sûtra* were found either in all other *Smritis*, or in one of them only, its author might be suspected of having borrowed them from one of those works. As it is, meeting with analogous passages now in one work, and then in another, one cannot but suppose that the author of this work has everywhere drawn from the same source as the other *Sûtrakâras*, viz. from ancient traditions that were common to all Vedic schools.

There are, moreover, a number of cases in which this work, instead of having borrowed from other works of the same class, can be shown to have been, directly or indirectly, the source from which they drew, and this fact constitutes a third reason in favour of the high antiquity of its laws. The clearest case of this kind is furnished by the *Vâsishtha-smṛiti*, with which this work has two entire chapters in common, which are not found elsewhere. I subjoin in a note the text of *Vâsishtha* XXVIII, 10-15, with an asterisk to those words which contain palpable mistakes (not including blunders in point of metre), for comparison with Chapter LVI of this work in the Calcutta edition, which is exceptionally correct in this chapter and in Chapter LXXXVII, which latter corresponds to *Vâsishtha* XXVIII, 18-22¹. In both

¹ सवैवेदपवित्राणि वक्ष्याम्यहमतः परम् ।

येषां जपैश्च होमैश्च पूयन्ते नात्र संशयः ॥१०॥

अघमर्षणं देवकृतं शुद्धवत्य*स्तरत्समाः ।

कूष्माण्डानि पाषमान्यो दुर्गौसाविद्विरेष (?) च ॥११॥

*अभिषङ्गाः पदस्तोभाः सामानि व्याहृतीस्तथा (?) ।

*भारद्वजानि सामानि गायत्रं देवतं तथा ॥१२॥

पुरुषव्रतं च भासं च तथा देवव्रतानि च ।

अतिविं (?) बार्हस्पत्यं वाक्सूक्तं मध्वचस्तथा ॥१३॥

शतरुद्रियमथर्वशिखिस्त्रिषुपर्णी महाव्रतम् ।

गोसूक्तं चाश्वसूक्तं च इन्द्रशुद्धे (?) च सामनी ॥१४॥

क्षीरान्यदोहानि रथनारं च

अग्नेर्व्रतं वामदेव्यं बृहच्च ।

chapters Vishṇu has mainly prose Sūtras and throughout a perfectly correct text, whereas Vāsishṭha has bad Slokas which, supported as they are by the Commentary or by the metre or by both, can only be accounted for by carelessness or clerical mistakes in some cases, and by a clumsy versification of the original prose version preserved in this work in others. Another chapter of the Vishṇu-sūtra, the forty-eighth, nowhere meets with a parallel except in the third Prasna of the Dharma-sūtra of Baudhāyana, where it recurs almost word for word. An examination of the various readings in both works shows that in some of the Slokas Baudhāyana has better readings, while in one or two others the readings of Vishṇu seem preferable, though the unsatisfactory condition of the MS. consulted renders it unsafe to pronounce a definitive judgment on the character of Baudhāyana's readings. At all events he has a few Vedic Mantras more than Vishṇu, which however seem to be very well-known Mantras and are quoted by their Pratikas only. But he omits the two important Sūtras 9 and 10 of Vishṇu, the latter of which contains a Mantra quoted at full, which, although corrupted (see Vāgas. Samh. IV, 12) and hardly intelligible, is truly Vedic in point of language; and he adds on his part a clause at the end of the whole chapter¹, which inculcates the worship of Ganesa or Siva or both, and would be quite sufficient in itself to cast a doubt on the genuineness and originality of his version. It is far from improbable that both Vāsishṭha and Baudhāyana may have borrowed

इतानि *जप्तानि (= गीतानि Vishṇu LVI, 27) पुनर्नि जनून्
जातिस्मरत्वं लभते यदीच्छेत् ॥१५॥

Vishṇu LVI, 15, 16, the best MSS. read पुरुषव्रते सामनी ॥१५॥ अश्लिङ्गम् ॥१६॥ but the Calc. ed. and one London MS. have पुरुषव्रते । भासम् । like Vāsishṭha. Of Vishṇu LXXXVII the latter has an abridged version, which contains the faulty readings कृष्णमार्गजम् ('the skin of a black antelope,' Comm.) and षतुर्वेक्ता (as an epithet of the earth = षतुरन्ता Vishṇu LXXXVII, 9).

¹ गयान्यश्यति गयाधिपतिं पश्यति विद्यां पश्यति विद्याधिपतिं पश्यति ।
इत्याह भगवान्बोधायनः ।

the sections referred to directly from an old recension of this work, as Baudhâya has borrowed another chapter of his work from Gautama, while Vâsishṭha in his turn has borrowed the same chapter from Baudhâya¹. It may be added in confirmation of this view, that as far as Vâsishṭha is concerned, his work is the only *Smṛiti*, as far as I know, which contains a quotation from the 'Kâṭhaka' (in XXIX, 18). The Dharma-sûtras of Âpastamba and Gautama have nowhere a large number of consecutive Sûtras in common with the Vishṇu-sûtra, but it is curious to note that the rule, which the latter (X, 45) quotes as the opinion of 'some' (eke), that a non-Brahmanical finder of a treasure, who announces his find to the king, shall obtain one-sixth of the value, is found in no other law-book except in this, which states (III, 61) that a Sûdra shall divide a treasure-trove into twelve parts, two of which he may keep for himself. Of the metrical law-books, one, the Yâgñavalkya-smṛiti, has been shown by Professor Max Müller² to have borrowed the whole anatomical section (III, 84-104), including the simile of the soul which dwells in the heart like a lamp (III, 109, 111, 201), from this work (XCVI, 43-96; XCVII, 9); and it has been pointed out by the same scholar, that the verse in which the author of the former work speaks of the Âraṇyaka and of the Yoga-sâstra as of his own works (III, 110) does not occur in the Vishṇu-sûtra, and must have been added by the versificator, who brought the Yâgñavalkya-smṛiti into its present metrical form. Several other Slokas in Yâgñavalkya's description of the human body (III, 99, 105-108), and nearly the whole section on Yoga (Y. III, 111-203, excepting those Slokas, the substance of which is found in this work and in the code of Manu, viz. 131-140, 177-182, 190, 198-201) may be traced to the same source, as may be also the omission of Vishṇu's enumeration of the 'six limbs' (XCVI, 90) in the Yâgñavalkya-smṛiti, and probably all the minor points on which it differs from this work. Generally speaking, those

¹ See Bühler, Introduction to Gautama, pp. l-liv.

² Hist. Anc. Sansk. Lit., p. 331.

passages which have been justly noticed as marking the comparatively late period in which that law-book must have been composed¹: such as the allusions to the astrology and astronomy of the Greeks (Y. I, 80, 295), which render it necessary to refer the metrical redaction of the *Yāgñavalkya-smṛiti* to a later time than the second century A. D.; the whole passage on the worship of *Gaṇesa* and of the planets (I, 270–307), in which, moreover, a heterodox sect is mentioned, that has been identified with the Buddhists; the philosophical doctrines propounded in I, 349, 350; the injunctions regarding the foundation and endowment of monasteries (II, 185 seq.)—all these passages have no parallel in this work, while it is not overstating the case to say that nearly all the other subjects mentioned in the *Yāgñavalkya-smṛiti* are treated in a similar way, and very often in the same terms, in the *Vishṇu-sūtra* as well. Some of those rules, in which the posteriority of the *Yāgñavalkya-smṛiti* to other law-books exhibits itself, do occur in the *Vishṇu-sūtra*, but without the same marks of modern age. Thus the former has two *Slokas* concerning the punishment of forgery (II, 240, 241), in which coined money is referred to by the term *nānaka*; the *Vishṇu-sūtra* has the identical rule (V, 122, 123; cf. V, 9), but the word *nānaka* does not occur in it. *Yāgñavalkya*, in speaking of the number of wives which a member of the three higher castes may marry (I, 57), advocates the Puritan view, that no *Sūdra* wife must be among these; this work has analogous rules (XXIV, 1–4), in which, however, such marriages are expressly allowed. The comparative priority of all those *Sūtras* of *Vishṇu*, to which similar *Slokas* of *Yāgñavalkya* correspond, appears probable on general grounds, which are furnished by the course of development in this as in other branches of Indian literature; and to this it may be added,

¹ See Stenzler, in the Preface to his edition of *Yāgñavalkya*; Jacobi, on Indian Chronology, in the *Journal of the German Oriental Society*, XXX, 305 seq. &c. *Vishṇu*'s rules (III, 82) concerning the wording &c. of royal grants, which agree with the rules of *Yāgñavalkya* and other authors, must be allowed a considerable antiquity, as the very oldest grants found in South India conform to those rules. See Burnell, *South Indian Palæography*, 2nd ed., p. 95.

as far as the civil and criminal laws are concerned, that the former enumerates them quite promiscuously, just like the other Dharma-sûtras, with which he agrees besides in separating the law of inheritance from the body of the laws, whereas Yâgñavalkya enumerates all the laws in the order of the eighteen 'titles of law' of Manu and the more recent law-books, though he does not mention the titles of law by name.

However much the Vishnu-sûtra may have in common with the Yâgñavalkya-smṛiti, there is no other law-book with which it agrees so closely as with the code of Manu. This fact may be established by a mere glance at the references in the foot-notes to this translation, in which Manu makes his appearance far more frequently and constantly than any other author, and the case becomes the stronger, the more the nature of these analogies is inquired into. Of Slokas alone Vishnu has upwards of 160 in common with Manu, and in a far greater number of cases still his Sûtras agree nearly word for word with the corresponding rules of Manu. The latter also, though he concurs in a very great number of points with the other law authors as well, agrees with none of them so thoroughly as with Vishnu. All the Smṛitis of Âpastamba, Baudhâyana, Vâsishtâ, Yâgñavalkya, and Nârada contain, according to an approximate calculation, no more than about 130 Slokas, that are found in the code of Manu as well. The latter author and Vishnu differ of course on a great many minor points, and an exhaustive discussion of this subject would fill a treatise; I must therefore confine myself to notice some of those differences, which are particularly important for deciding the relative priority of the one work before the other. In a number of Slokas Manu's readings are decidedly older and better than Vishnu's. Thus the latter (XXX, 7) compares the three 'Atigurus' to the 'three gods,' i.e. to the post-Vedic Trimûrti of 'Brahman, Vishnu, and Siva,' as the commentator expressly states, whereas Manu in an analogous Sloka (II, 230) refers to the 'three orders' instead. At the end of the section on inheritance (XVIII, 44) Vishnu mentions among other

indivisible objects 'a book,' *pustakam*; *Manu* (IX, 219) has the same *Sloka*, but for *pustakam* he reads *prakāshate*. Now *pustaka* is a modern word¹, and *Varāhamihira*, who lived in the sixth century A.D., appears to be the first author, with a known date, by whom it is used. It occurs again, *Vishṇu-sūtra* XXIII, 56 (*prokshanena ka pustakam*), and here also *Manu* (V, 122) has a different reading (*punaḥpākena mrinmayam*). The only difference between *Vishṇu-sūtra* XXII, 93 and *Manu* V, 110 consists in the use of singular forms (*te*, *srinu*) in the former work, and of plural forms (*vaḥ*, *srinuta*) in the latter. Now there are a great many other *Smṛitis* besides the *Manu-smṛiti*, such as e.g. the *Yāgñavalkya* and *Parāśara Smṛitis*, in which the fiction is kept up, that the laws contained in them are promulgated to an assembly of *Rishis*; but there are very few *Smṛitis* of the least notoriety or importance besides the *Vishṇu-sūtra*, in which they are proclaimed to a single person. Other instances in which *Manu*'s readings appear preferable to *Vishṇu*'s may be found, LI, 60 (*pretya keha kṛā nishkrītim*) = *Manu* V, 38 (*pretya ganmani ganmani*); LI, 64 (*iti kathaṇkāna*) = *M. V.*, 41 (*ity abravīnmanuḥ*); LI, 76 (*tasya*) = *M. V.*, 53 (*tayoh*); LIV, 27 (*brāhmanyāt*) = *M. XI*, 193 (*brahmanā*); LVII, 11 (*purastād anukoditām*) = *M. IV*, 248; *Vāsishṭha* XIV, 16; *Āpastamba* I, 6, 19, 14 (*purastād aprakoditām*); LXVII, 45 (*sāyamprātas tvatithaye*) = *M. III*, 99 (*samprāptāya tvatithaye*), &c. But these instances do not prove much, as all the passages in question may have been tampered with by the *Vishṇu*itic editor, and as in some other cases the version of *Vishṇu* seems preferable. Thus 'practised by the virtuous' (*sādhubhisṭha nishevitam*, LXXI, 90) is a very common epithet of 'Ātāra,' and reads better than *Manu*'s *nibaddham sveshu karmasu* (IV, 155); and *krikkhrātikrikkhram* (LIV, 30) seems preferable to *Baudhāyana*'s and *Manu*'s *krikkhrātikrikkhrau* (XI, 209). What is more important, the *Vishṇu-sūtra* does not only contain a number of verses in the ancient *Trishṭubh* metre, whereas *Manu* has none, but it shows those identical three *Trishṭubhs* of *Vāsishṭha* and *Yāska*, which Dr. Bühler

¹ See Max Müller, *Hist. Anc. Sansk. Lit.*, p. 512.

has proved to have been converted into Anushṭubh Slokas by Manu (II, 114, 115, 144)¹; and Manu seems to have taken the substance of his three Slokas from this work more immediately, because both he (II, 144) and Vishṇu (XXX, 47) have the reading *āvrinoti* for *ātrinatti*, which truly Vedic form is employed both by Vāsishtṛa and Yāska. The relative antiquity of Vishṇu's prose rules, as compared to the numerous corresponding Slokas of Manu, may be proved by arguments precisely similar to those which I have adduced above in speaking of the Yāgñavalkya-smṛiti. As regards those points in the code of Manu, which are usually considered as marks of the comparatively late date of its composition, it will suffice to mention, that the Vishṇu-sūtra nowhere refers to South Indian nations such as the Dravīdas and Andhras, or to the Yavanas; that it shows no distinct traces of an acquaintance with the tenets of any other school of philosophy except the Yoga and Sāṅkhya systems; that it does not mention female ascetics disparagingly, and in particular does not contain Manu's rule (VIII, 363) regarding the comparatively light punishment to be inflicted for violation of (Buddhist and other) female ascetics; and that it does not inveigh (see XV, 3), like Manu (IX, 64-68), against the custom of Niyoga or appointment of a widow to raise offspring to her deceased husband. It is true, on the other hand, that in many cases Vishṇu's rules have a less archaic character than the corresponding precepts of Manu, not only in the Slokas, but in the Sūtra part as well. Thus written documents and ordeals are barely mentioned in the code of Manu (VIII, 114, 115, 168; IX, 232); Vishṇu on the other hand, besides referring in divers places to royal grants and edicts, to written receipts and other private documents, and to books, devotes to writings (*lekhyā*) an entire chapter, in which he makes mention of the caste of Kāyasthas, 'scribes,' and he lays down elaborate rules for the performance of five species of ordeals, to which recourse should be had, according to him, in all suits of some importance. But in nearly all such cases the antiquity of Vishṇu's

¹ Introduction to Bombay Digest, I, p. xxviii seq.

rules is warranted to a certain extent by corresponding rules occurring in the *Smṛitis* of Yāgñavalkya and Nārada ; and the evidence for the modifications and entire transformations, which the code of Manu must have undergone in a number of successive periods, is so abundant, that the archaic character of many of its rules cannot be considered to constitute a sufficient proof of the priority of the whole code before other codes which contain some rules of a comparatively modern character. To this it must be added that the Nārada-smṛiti, though taken as a whole it is decidedly posterior to the code of Manu¹, is designated by tradition as an epitome from another and more bulky recension of the code of Manu than the one which we now possess ; and if this statement may be credited, which is indeed rather doubtful, the very particular resemblance between both works in the law of evidence and in the rules regarding property (see LVIII) can only tend to corroborate the assumption that the Vishnu-sūtra and the Manu-smṛiti must have been closely connected from the first.

This view is capable of further confirmation still by a different set of arguments. The so-called code of Manu is universally assumed now to be an improved metrical edition of the ancient Dharma-sūtra of the (Maitrāyaṇīya-) Mānavas, a school studying the Black Yagur-veda ; and it has been shown above that the ancient stock of the Vishnu-sūtra, in which all the parts hitherto discussed may be included, represents in the main the Dharma-sūtra of the Kârâyāṇīya-kathas, another school studying the Black Yagur-veda. Now these two schools do not only belong both to that Veda, but to the same branch of it, as may be seen from the *Karāṇavyūha*, which work classes both the *Kathas* and *Kârâyāṇīyas* on the one hand, and the Mānavas

¹ See the evidence collected in the Preface to my *Institutes of Nārada* (London, 1876), to which the important fact may be added that Nārada uses the word *dīnāra*, the Roman denarius. It occurs in a large fragment discovered by Dr. Bühler of a more bulky and apparently older recension of that work than the one which I have translated ; and I may be allowed to mention, incidentally, that this discovery has caused me to abandon my design of publishing the Sanskrit text of the shorter recension, as it may be hoped that the whole text of the original work will soon come to light.

together with the six or five other sections of the *Maitrāyaṇīyas* on the other hand, as subdivisions of the *Kāraka Sakhā* of the Black *Yagur-veda*. What is more, there exists a thorough-going parallelism between the literature of those two schools, as far as it is known. To begin with their respective *Samhitās*, it has been shown by L. Schröder¹ that the *Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā* has more in common with the *Kāthaka*, the *Samhitā* of the *Kāthas*, than with any other *Veda*. As the *Kāthas* are constantly named, in the *Mahābhāshya* and other old works, by the side of the *Kālāpas*, whereas the name of the *Maitrāyaṇīyas* does not occur in any Sanskrit work of uncontested antiquity, it has been suggested by the same scholar that the *Maitrāyaṇīyas* may be the *Kālāpas* of old, and may not have assumed the former name till Buddhism began to prevail in India. However this may be, the principal *Sūtra* works of both schools stand in a similar relation to one another as their *Samhitās*. Some of those Mantras, which have been stated above to be common to the *Vishṇu-sūtra* and *Kāthaka Gṛihya* only, and to occur in no other Vedic work hitherto printed, have been traced in the *Mānava Srauta-sūtra*, in the chapter on *Pinda-pitriyagña* (I, 2 of the section on *Prāk-soma*)², and the conclusion is, that if the *Srauta-sūtra* of the *Kāthaka* school were still in existence, it would be found to exhibit a far greater number of analogies with the *Srauta-sūtra* of the *Mānavas*. The *Gṛihya-sūtra* of this school³ agrees with the *Kāthaka Gṛihya-sūtra* even more closely than the latter agrees with the *Vishṇu-sūtra*, as both works have not only several entire chapters in common (the chapter on the *Vaisvadeva* sacrifice among others, which is found in the *Vishṇu-sūtra* also), but concur everywhere in the arrangement of the subject-matter and in the choice of expressions and Mantras. The *Brāhmaṇa* stage of Vedic literature is not represented by a separate work in either of the two schools, but a further argument in

¹ On the *Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā*, *Journal of the German Oriental Society*, XXXIII, 177 seq.

² Cod. Haug 53 of the Munich Library.

³ Cod. Haug 55 and 56 of the Munich Library. For details, see my German paper above referred to.

favour of their alleged historical connection may be derived from their respective geographical position. If it has been rightly conjectured above, that the original seats of the *Kāthas* were in the north-west, whence they spread themselves over Hindostān, the *Maitrāyanīyas*, though now surviving nowhere except in some villages 'near the Sāt-puḍa mountain, which is included in the Vindhya¹,' must have been anciently their neighbours, as the territory occupied by them extended 'from the Mayūra mountain into Gugarāt,' and reached 'as far as the north-western country' (vāyavyadesa)². Considering all this evidence regarding the original connection between the *Kāthas* and *Mānavas*, it may be said without exaggeration, that it would be far more surprising to find no traces of resemblance between their respective Dharma-sūtras, such as we possess them, than to find, as is actually the case, the contrary; and it may be argued, vice versâ, that the supposed connection of the two works with the Vedic schools of the *Kāthas* and *Mānavas*³ respectively, is confirmed by the kinship existing between these two schools.

In turning now from the ancient parts of the *Vishnu-sūtra* to its more recent ingredients, I may again begin by quoting Professor Max Müller's remarks on this work, which contain the statement, that it is 'enlarged by modern additions written in Slokas⁴.' After him, Dr. Bühler pointed out⁵ that the whole work appears to have been recast by an adherent of *Vishnu*, and that the final and introductory chapters in particular are shown by their very style to have been composed by another author than the body of the

¹ Bhāt Dājī, Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, X, 40.

² See a passage from the *Mahārāva*, as quoted by Dr. Bühler, Introduction to *Āpastamba*, p. xxx seq. The same readings are found in a Munich MS. of the *Karavyūtha-vyākhyā* (cod. Haug 45). With the above somewhat unclear statement Manu's definition of the limits of *Brahmāvarta* (II, 17) may not unreasonably be compared.

³ The code of Manu has very little in common with the *Mānava Grhya-sūtra*, both in the Mantras and otherwise. Both *Vishnu* and Manu agree with the *Kāthaka* in the use of the curious term *abhinimrukta* or *abhinirmukta*; but the same term is used by *Āpastamba*, *Vāsishṭha*, and others.

⁴ Hist. Anc. Sansk. Lit., p. 134.

⁵ Introduction to Bombay Digest, p. xxii.

work. If the latter remark were in need of further confirmation, it might be urged that the description of Vishnu as 'the boar of the sacrifice' (*yagñavarāha*) in the first chapter is bodily taken from the *Harivamśa* (2226-2237), while most of the epithets given to Vishnu in I, 49-61 and XCVIII, 7-100 may be found in another section of the *Mahābhārata*, the so-called *Vishnu-sahasranāma*. Along with the introductory and final chapters, all those passages generally are distinctly traceable to the activity of the Vishnuistic editor, in which Vishnu (*Purusha*, *Bhagavat*, *Vāsudeva*, &c.) is mentioned, or his dialogue with the goddess of the earth carried on, viz. I; V, 193; XIX, 24; XX, 16-21; XXII, 93; XXIII, 46; XXIV, 35; XLVII, 10; XLIX; LXIV, 28, 29; LXV; LXVI; LXVII, 2; XC, 3-5, 17-23; XCVI, 97, 98; XCVII, 7-21; XCVIII-C. The short invocation addressed to Vishnu in LXVII, 12 is proved to be ancient by its recurrence in the corresponding chapter of the *Kāthaka Gṛhya-sūtra*, and Chapter LXV contains genuine *Kāthaka* Mantras transferred to a Vishnuistic ceremony. Chapter LXVI, on the other hand, though it does not refer to Vishnu by name, seems to be connected with the same Vishnuistic rite, and becomes further suspected by the recurrence of several of its rules in the genuine Chapter LXXIX. The contents of Chapter XCVII, in which it is attempted to reconcile some of the main tenets of the Sāṅkhya system, as propounded in the *Sāṅkhya-kārikā*, *Sāṅkhya-pravākanabhāṣya*, and other works, with the *Vaiṣṇava* creed and with the *Yoga*; the fact that the two Slokas in XCVI (97, 98) and part of the Slokas in XCVII (15-21) have their parallel in similar Slokas of the *Bhagavad-gītā* and of the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*; the terms *Mahatpati*, *Kapila*, and *Sāṅkhyâkârya*, used as epithets of Vishnu (XCVIII, 26, 85, 86); and some other passages in the Vishnuistic chapters seem to favour the supposition that the editor may have been one of those members of the Vishnuistic sect of the *Bhāgavatas*, who were conspicuous for their leaning towards the Sāṅkhya and *Yoga* systems of philosophy. The arrangement of the *Vishnu-sūtra* in a hundred chapters is no doubt due to the same person, as the Commentary points out that the num-

ber of the epithets given to Vishnu in XCVIII is precisely equal to the number of chapters into which the laws promulgated by him are divided (II-XCVII); though the number ninety-six is received only by including the introductory and final invocations (XCVIII, 6, 101) among the epithets of Vishnu. It seems quite possible, that some chapters were inserted mainly in order to bring up the whole figure to the round number of a hundred chapters, and it is for this reason chiefly that the majority of the following additions, which show no Vishnuitic tendencies, may also be attributed to the Vishnuitic editor.

1. Most or all of the Slokas added at the end of Chapters XX (22-53) and XLIII (32-45) cannot be genuine; the former on account of their great extent and partial recurrence in the Bhagavad-gîtâ¹, Mahâbhârata, and other works of general note, and because they refer to the self-immolation of widows and to Kâla, whom the commentator is probably right in identifying with Vishnu; the latter on account of their rather extravagant character and decidedly Purânic style, though the Gârûḍa-purâṇa, in its very long description of the hells, offers no strict parallel to the details given here. The verses in which the Brâhmanas and cows are celebrated (XIX, 22, 23; XXIII, 57-61) are also rather extravagant; however, some of them are Trishṭubhs, and the verses in XIX are closely connected with the preceding Sûtras. The two final Slokas in LXXXVI (19, 20) may also be suspected as to their genuineness, because they are wanting in the corresponding chapter of the Kâthaka Gṛhya-sûtra; and a number of other verses in divers places, because they have no parallel in the Smṛiti literature, or because they have been traced in comparatively modern works, such as the Bhagavad-gîtâ, the Pañkatantra, &c. 2. The week of the later Romans and Greeks, and of modern Europe (LXXVIII, 1-7), the self-immolation of widows (XXV, 14; cf. XX, 39), and the Buddhists and Pâsupatas (LXIII, 36) are not mentioned in any ancient Sanskrit work. Besides, the passages in question may be easily removed, especially the Sûtras referring to the seven days of the week, which

¹ Besides the passages quoted in the notes, 50-53 nearly = Bhag.-gîtâ II, 22-25.

form clearly a subsequent addition to the enumeration of the Nakshatras and Tithis immediately following (LXXVIII, 8-50), and the rule concerning the burning of widows (XXV, 14), which is in direct opposition to the law concerning the widow's right to inherit (XVII, 4) and to other precepts regarding widows. That the three terms *kâshâyin*, *pravragita*, *malina* in LXIII, 36 refer to members of religious orders seems clear, but it may be doubted whether *malina* denotes the *Pâsupatas*, and even whether *kâshâyin* (cf. *pravragitâ* XXXVI, 7) denotes the Buddhists, as dresses dyed with *Kashâya* are worn by Brahmanical sects also, and prescribed for students, and for ascetics likewise, by some of the *Grihya*- and *Dharma-sûtras*. Still the antiquity of the *Sûtra* in question can hardly be defended, because the acquaintance of the Vishnuitic editor with the Buddhistic system of faith is proved by two other *Sûtras* (XCVIII, 40, 41), and because the whole subject of good and evil omens is not treated in any other ancient *Smṛiti*. On the other hand, such terms as *vedanindâ* and *nâstikatâ* (XXXVII, 4, 31, &c.) recur in most *Smṛitis*, and can hardly be referred to the Buddhists in particular.

3. The *Tîrthas* enumerated in LXXXV, some of which are sacred to Vishnu and Siva, belong to all parts of India, and many of them are situated in the Dekhan, which was certainly not included within the limits of the 'Âryâvarta' of the ancient *Dharma-sûtra* (LXXXIV, 4). As no other *Smṛiti* contains a list of this kind, the whole chapter may be viewed as a later addition.

4. The ceremonies described in XC are not mentioned in other *Smṛitis*, while some of them are decidedly Vishnuitic, or traceable in modern works; and as all the *Sûtras* in XC hang closely together, this entire chapter seems also to be spurious.

5. The repetitions in the list of articles forbidden to sell (LIV, 18-22); the addition of the two categories of *atipâtakâni*, 'crimes in the highest degree,' and *prakîrṇakam*, 'miscellaneous crimes' (XXXIII, 3, 5; XXXIV; XLII), to Manu's list of crimes; the frequent references to the Ganges river; and other such passages, which show a modern character, without being traceable in the *Smṛitis* of Yâgñavalkya and Nârada, may have been added by the Vish-

nuitic editor from modern *Smṛitis*, either for the sake of completeness, or in order to make up the required number of chapters. 6. All the passages hitherto mentioned are such as have no parallel in other ancient *Smṛitis*. But the Vishnuitic editor did evidently not confine himself to the introduction of new matter into the ancient *Dharma-sūtra*. That he did not refrain, occasionally, from altering the original text, has been conjectured above with regard to his readings of some of those *Slokas*, which are found in the code of *Manu* as well ; and it can be proved quite clearly by comparing his version of the *Vṛishotsarga* ceremony (LXXXVI) with the analogous chapter of the *Kāthaka Gr̥hya-sūtra*. In one case (LI, 64 ; cf. XXIII, 50 = M. V, 131) he has replaced the words, which refer the authorship of the *Sloka* in question to *Manu*, by an unmeaning term. The superior antiquity of *Manu's* reading (V, 41) is vouched for by the recurrence of the same passage in the *Gr̥hya-sūtra* of *Sāṅkhāyana* (II, 16, 1) and in the *Vāsishtasmṛiti* (IV, 6), and the reference to *Manu* has no doubt been removed by the Vishnuitic editor, because it would have been out of place in a speech of *Vishṇu*. References to sayings of *Manu* and other teachers and direct quotations from Vedic works are more or less common in all *Dharma-sūtras*, and their entire absence in this work is apparently due to their systematical removal by the editor. On the other hand, the lists of Vedic and other works to be studied or recited may have been enlarged in one or two cases by him or by another interpolator, namely, XXX, 37 (cf. V, 191), where the *Atharva-veda* is mentioned after the other *Vedas* by the name of 'Ātharvaṇa' (not *Atharvāṅgirasas*, as in the code of *Manu* and most other ancient works), and LXXXIII, 7, where *Vyākaraṇa*, 'Grammar,' i. e. according to the Commentary the grammars of *Pāṇini* and others, is mentioned as distinct from the *Vedāṅgas*. The antiquity of the former passage might indeed be defended by the example of *Āpastamba*, who, though referring like this work to the 'three *Vedas*' both separately and collectively, mentions in another place the 'Ātharvaṇa-veda'.¹ Besides the above works,

¹ See Bühler, Introduction to *Āpastamba*, p. xxiv.

and those referred to in LVI, the laws of Vishnu name no other work except the Purāṇas, Itihāsas, and Dharmasāstras. 7. As the Vishnuitic editor did not scruple to alter the import of a certain number of passages, the modernisation of the language of the whole work, which was probably as rich in archaic forms and curious old terms as the Kātaka Grihya-sūtra and as the Dharma-sūtra of Āpastamba, may be likewise attributed to him. As it is, the Vishnu-sūtra agrees in style and expressions more closely with the Smṛitis of Manu and Yāgñavalkya than with any other work, and it is at least not inferior to the former work in the preservation of archaic forms. Thus the code of Manu has seven aorist forms¹, while the Vishnu-sūtra contains six, not including those occurring in Vedic Mantras which are quoted by their Pratīkas only. Of new words and meanings of words the Vishnu-sūtra contains also a certain number; they have lately been communicated by me to Dr. von Böhtlingk for insertion in his new Dictionary.

All the points noticed render it necessary to assign a comparatively recent date to the Vishnuitic editor; and if the introduction of the week of the Greeks into the ancient Dharma-sūtra has been justly attributed to him, he cannot be placed earlier than the third or fourth century A.D.² The lower limit must be put before the eleventh century, in which the Vishnu-sūtra is quoted in the Mitāksharā of Viṣṇānesvara. From that time downwards it is quoted in nearly every law digest, and a particularly large number of quotations occurs in Aparārka's Commentary on Yāgñavalkya, which was composed in the twelfth century³. Nearly all those quotations, as far as they have been examined, are actually found in the Vishnu-sūtra; but the whole text is vouched for only by Nandapandita's Commentary, called Vaigayantī, which was composed in the

¹ Whitney, Indische Grammatik, § 826.

² See Jacobi, Journal of the German Oriental Society. XXX, 306. The first author with a known date, who shows an acquaintance with the week of the Greeks, is Varāhamihira (sixth century A. D.)

³ See Bühler, Kasmīr Report, p. 52. The MSS. used are from the Dekhan College, Poona.

first quarter of the seventeenth century. The subscriptions in the London MSS. of the *Vaigayantî* contain the statement, which is borne out by the Introduction, that it was composed by *Nandapandita*, the son of *Râmapandita Dharmâdhikârin*, an inhabitant of Benares, at the instigation of the *Mahârâga Kesavanâyaka*, also called *Tammasânâyaka*, the son of *Kodapanâyaka*; and a passage added at the end of the work states, more accurately, that *Nandasarman* (*Nandapandita*) wrote it at *Kâsî* (Benares) in the year 1679 of the era of *Vikramabhâsvara* (=A. D. 1622), by command of *Kesavanâyaka*, his own king. These statements regarding the time and place of the composition of the *Vaigayantî* are corroborated by the fact that it refers in several cases to the opinions of *Haradatta*, who appears to have lived in the sixteenth century¹, while *Nandapandita* is not among the numerous authors quoted in the *Vîramitrodaya* of *Mitramisra*, who lived in the beginning of the seventeenth century², and who was consequently a contemporary of *Nandapandita*, if the above statement is correct; and that he attacks in a number of cases the views of the 'Eastern Commentators' (*Prâkyas*), and quotes a term from the dialect of *Madhyadesa*.

The subjoined translation is based upon the text handed down by *Nandapandita* nearly everywhere except in some of the *Mantras*, which have been rendered according to the better readings preserved in the *Kâthaka Grihya-sûtra*. The two *Calcutta* editions of the *Vishnu-sûtra*, the second of which is a mere reprint of the first, will be found to agree in the main with the text here translated. They are doubtless based upon the *Vaigayantî*, as they contain several passages in which portions of *Nandapandita's* Commentary have crept into the text of the *Sûtras*. But the MS. used for the first *Calcutta* edition must have been a very faulty one, as both *Calcutta* editions, besides differing from the best MSS. of the *Vaigayantî* on a very great number of minor points, entirely omit the greater part of Chapter *LXXXI*

¹ Bühler, Introduction to *Âpastamba*, p. xliii.

² Bühler loc. cit.

(3-22), the genuineness of which is proved by analogous passages in the other *Smṛitis*¹. An excellent copy of the *Vaigayantī* in possession of Dr. Bühler has, together with three London MSS. of that work and one London MS. containing the text only, enabled me to establish quite positively nearly in every case the readings sanctioned by *Nandapandita*. I had hoped to publish a new edition of the text prepared from those MSS., and long ready for the press, before publishing my English version. This expectation has not been fulfilled, but it is hoped that in the mean time this attempt at a translation will be welcome to the students of Indian antiquity, and will facilitate the understanding of the text printed in *Givānanda Vidyāsāgara's* cheap edition, which is probably in the hands of most Sanskrit scholars. The precise nature of the relation in which the text of my forthcoming edition stands to the Calcutta editions may be gathered from the large specimens of the text as given in the best MSS., that have been edited by Dr. Bühler in the *Bombay Digest*, and by myself in two papers published in the *Transactions of the Royal Bavarian Academy of Science*.

Nandapandita has composed, besides the *Vaigayantī*, a treatise on the law of adoption, called *Dattaka-mīmāṃsā*², a commentary on the code of *Parāśara*, a work called *Vidvanmanoharā-smṛtisindhu*, one called *Srāddhakalpa-latā*, and commentaries on the *Mitāksharā* and on *Ādityākārya's Āsaukanirnaya*. All these works belong to the province of Hindu law, and both his fertility as a writer in that branch of Indian science, and the reputation enjoyed by some of his works even nowadays, must raise a strong presumption in favour of his knowledge of the subject. The

¹ The first edition of the 'Vaishnava Dharmasāstra' was published in Bengali type by *Bhavānīkaraṇa*; the second, in *Devanāgarī* type, is contained in *Givānanda Vidyāsāgara's Dharmashāstrasangraha* (1876).

² This work has been published repeatedly at Calcutta and Madras, and translated into English by *Sutherland* (1821), which translation has been reprinted in *Stokes' Hindu Law Books*. The rest of the above list is made up from an enumeration of *Nandapandita's Tīkāś* at the end of Dr. Bühler's copy of the *Vaigayantī*, from an occasional remark in the latter work itself (XV, 9), and from Professor *Weber's Catalogue of the Berlin Sanskrit MSS.*

general trustworthiness of his Commentary on the *Vishnu-sûtra* is further confirmed by the frequent references which it contains to the opinions of earlier commentators of that work; and the wide extent of his reading, though he often makes an unnecessary display of it, has been eminently serviceable to him in tracing the connection of certain chapters and Mantras with the *Kâthaka* literature¹. On the other hand, his very learning, combined with a strict adherence to the well-known theory of Hindu commentators regarding the absolute identity between the teaching of all *Smritis*, has frequently misled him into a too extensive method of interpretation. Even in commenting the *Slokas* he assigns in many cases an important hidden meaning to such particles as *kā*, *vā*, *tathā*, and others, and to unpretending epithets and the like, which have clearly been added for metrical reasons only². This practice, besides being contrary to common sense, is nowhere countenanced by the authority of *Kullûka*, in his remarks on the numerous identical *Slokas* found in the code of *Manu*. With the *Sûtras* generally speaking the case is different: many of them would be nearly or quite unintelligible without the explanatory remarks added in brackets from *Nandapandita's* Commentary³, and in a number of those cases even, where his method jars upon a European mind, the clauses supplied by him are probably correct⁴. The same may be said of his interpretations of the epithets of *Vishnu*, excepting those which are based on utterly fanciful etymologies⁵.

¹ See the notes on LXV, 2 seq.; LXXIII, 5-9; LXXXVI, 13. In his Commentary on LXVII also *Nandapandita* states expressly that the description of the *Vaisvadeva* is according to the rites of the *Kâthaka-sâkhâ*.

² For instances, see the notes on XX, 45; LXIV, 40.

³ See e. g. Chapter V *passim*.

⁴ Thus nearly all the 'intentionally's' and 'unintentionally's,' &c., as supplied in the section on penances might seem superfluous, or even wrong; but as in several places involuntary crimes are expressly distinguished from those intentionally committed (see e. g. XXVIII, 48, 51; XXXVIII, 7), and as in other cases a clause of this kind must needs be supplied (see XXXIX, 2; LII, 3; LIII, 5, &c.), *Nandapandita* is probably right in supplying it from other *Smritis* in most remaining cases as well. This method has occasionally carried him too far, when his explanations have not been given in the text.

⁵ See I, 51, 55; XCVIII, 40, 41, 46, &c.

as the style of the introductory and final chapters is as artificial, though in another way, as the Sûtra style. Though, however, in works composed in the latter style, every *ka*, *vâ*, or *iti*, &c., which is not absolutely required by the sense, was probably intended by their authors to convey a special meaning¹, it is a question of evidence in every single case, whether those meanings which Nandapandita assigns to these and other such particles and expletive words are the correct ones. In several cases of this or of a similar kind he is palpably wrong², and in many others the interpretations proposed by him are at least improbable, because the authoritative passages he quotes in support of them are taken from modern works, which cannot have been known to the author of the Vishnu-sûtra. Interpretations of this class have, therefore, been given in the notes only; and they have been omitted altogether in a number of cases where they appeared quite frivolous, or became too numerous, or could not be deciphered completely, owing to clerical mistakes in the MSS. But though it is impossible to agree with some of his general principles of interpretation, or with his application of them, Nandapandita's interpretations of difficult terms and Sûtras are invaluable, and I have never deviated from them in my translation without strong reasons to the contrary, which have in most cases been stated in the notes³. Besides the extracts given in the notes, a few other passages from the Commentary and several other additions will be given in p. 312; and I must apologize to my readers for having to note along with the Addenda a number of Corrigenda, which will be found in the same page. In compiling the Index of Sanskrit words occurring in this work, which it has been thought necessary to add to the General Index, I have not aimed at completeness except as regards

¹ For instances of this in the Dharma-sûtras of Âpastamba and Gautama, see Bühler, Âpast. I, 2, 7, 24; 8, 5; Gaut. V, 5, 14, 17; IX, 44; XIV, 45; XIX, 13-15, 20; XXI, 9, &c.; and see also Dr. Bühler's remarks on Gñâpaka-sûtras, Âpast. I, 3, 11, 7; Gaut. I, 31, notes.

² See V, 117; VII, 7; XXVII, 10; LI, 26; LXXI, 88; LXXIII, 9; LXXIV, 1, 2, 7, &c.

³ See e.g. XVII, 22; XVIII, 44; XXIV, 40; XXVIII, 5, 11; LV, 20; LIX, 27, 29; LXIII, 36; LXIV, 18; LXVII, 6-8; XCII, 4; XCVII, 7.

the names of deities and of penances. My forthcoming edition of the Sanskrit text will be accompanied by a full Index of words.

In conclusion I have to express my thanks in the most cordial manner to Dr. Bühler, who has constantly assisted me with his advice in the preparing of this translation, and has kindly lent me his excellent copy of the *Vaigayanti*; and to Dr. von Böhtlingk and Professor Max Müller, who have favoured me with valuable hints on divers points connected with this work. My acknowledgments are due, in the second place, to K. M. Chatfield, Esq., Director of Public Instruction, Bombay, to Dr. von Halm, Chief Librarian of the Royal Library, Munich, to Professor R. Lepsius, Chief Librarian of the Royal Library of Berlin, and to Dr. R. Rost, Chief Librarian of the India Office Library, London, for the valuable aid received from these gentlemen and the great liberality with which they have placed Sanskrit MSS. under their care at my disposal.

V I S H N U.

VISHNU.

I.

1. THE night of Brahman being over, and the God sprung from the lotus (Brahman) having woke from his slumber, Vishnu purposing to create living beings, and perceiving the earth covered with water,

2. Assumed the shape of a boar, delighting to sport in water, as at the beginning of each former Kalpa, and raised up the earth (from the water).

3. His feet were the Vedas ; his tusks the sacrificial stakes ; in his teeth were the offerings ; his mouth was the pyre ; his tongue was the fire ; his hair was the sacrificial grass ; the sacred texts were his head ; and he was (endowed with the miraculous power of) a great ascetic.

4. His eyes were day and night ; he was of superhuman nature ; his ears were the two bundles of Kusa grass (for the Ishṭis, or smaller sacrifices, and for the animal offerings) ; his ear-rings were the ends of those bundles of Kusa grass (used for wiping

L. 1. Regarding the duration of a night of Brahman, see XX, 14. 'Bhūtāni' means living beings of all the four kinds, born from the womb and the rest. (Nand.) The three other kinds consist of those produced from an egg, from sweat, and from a shoot or germ ; see Manu I, 43-46.

2. A Kalpa=a day of Brahman ; see XX, 13.

the ladle and other sacrificial implements); his nose (the vessel containing) the clarified butter; his snout was the ladle of oblations; his voice was similar in sound to the chanting of the Sâma-veda; and he was of huge size.

5. He was full of piety and veracity; beautiful; his strides and his strength were immense (like those of Vishnu); his large nostrils were penances; his knees the victim; and his figure colossal.

6. His entrails were the (three) chanters of the Sâma-veda¹; his member was the burnt-oblation; his scrotum was the sacrificial seeds and grains; his mind was the altar (in the hut for the wives and domestic uses of the sacrificer); the hindparts (of Vishnu) in his transformation were the Mantras; his blood was the Soma juice.

7. His shoulders were the (great) altar; his smell was that of the (sacrificial cake and other) oblations; his speed was the oblations to the gods and to the manes and other oblations; his body was the hut for the wives and domestic uses of the sacrificer; he was majestic; and instructed with the initiatory ceremonies for manifold sacrifices (lasting one, or two, three, or twelve years, and others).

8. His heart was the sacrificial fee; he was possessed of the (sacrificial and other) great Mantras employed in order to effect the union of the mind with the Supreme; he was of enormous size (like the long sacrifices lasting more than one day); his lovely lips were the beginnings of the two

6. ¹ 'This is because the vital breaths, by which the sound of the voice is effected, pass through them, it having been said (in 4) that the sound of his voice was like the chanting of the Sâma-veda.' (Nand.)

hymns recited at the beginning of the animal sacrifice; his ornaments were the whirlpool of the milk poured into the heated vessel (at the Pravargya ceremony introductory to the Soma-sacrifice).

9. All sorts of sacred texts (the *Gâyatri* and others) were his path in marching; the mysterious Upanishads (the *Vedânta*) were his couch; he was accompanied by his consort *Khâyâ* (*Lakshmi*); he was in size like the *Manisringa* mountain.

10. The lord, the creator, the great Yogin, plunging into the one ocean from love of the world,

11. Raised up, with the edge of his tusks, the earth bounded by the sea together with its mountains, forests, and groves, which was immersed in the water of (the seven oceans now become) one ocean, and created the universe anew.

12. Thus the whole earth, after having sunk into (the lower region called) *Rasâtala*, was in the first place raised in the boar-incarnation by Vishnu, who took compassion upon the living beings.

13, 14. Then, after having raised the earth, the destroyer of *Madhu* placed and fixed it upon its own (former) seat (upon the oceans) and distributed the waters upon it according to their own (former) station, conducting the floods of the oceans into the oceans, the water of the rivers into the rivers, the water of the tanks into the tanks, and the water of the lakes into the lakes.

15. He created the seven (lower regions called) *Pâtâlas*¹ and the seven worlds, the seven *Dvîpas*

15.¹ The seven *Pâtâlas* are, *Atala*, *Vitala*, *Sutala*, *Mahâtala*, *Rasâtala*, *Talâtala*, and *Pâtâla*; the seven worlds are, *Bhûr-loka*, *Bhuvark*, *Svar-loka*, *Mahar-loka*, *Ganar-loka*, *Tapar-loka*, and *Satya-*

and the seven oceans, and fixed their several limits².

16. (He created) the rulers of the (seven) Dvîpas and the (eight) guardians of the world (Indra and the rest), the rivers, mountains, and trees, the seven *Rîshis*, who know (and practise) the law, the Vedas together with their *Ângas*, the *Suras*, and the *Asuras*.

17. (He created) *Pisâkas* (ogres), *Uragas* (serpents), *Gandharvas* (celestial singers), *Yakshas* (keepers of Kubera's treasures), *Rakshasas* (goblins), and men, cattle, birds, deer and other animals, (in short) all the four kinds of living beings¹, and clouds, rainbows, lightnings, and other celestial phenomena or bodies (such as the planets and the asterisms), and all kinds of sacrifices.

18. Bhagavat, after having thus created, in the

loka; the seven Dvîpas or divisions of the terrestrial world are, Gambu, Plaksha, Sâlmâlî, Kusa, Krauñçâ, Sâka, and Pushkara; each Dvîpa is encircled by one of the seven oceans, viz. the seas of *Lavana* (salt-water), *Ikshu* (syrup), *Sarpih* (butter), *Dadhi* (sour milk), *Dugdha* (milk), *Svâdhu* (treacle), and *Udaka* (water), (Nand.) The enumerations contained in the *Vishnu-purâna* and other works differ on two or three points only from that given by Nand.—² Besides the interpretation followed in the text, Nand. proposes a second explanation of the term 'sthânâni,' as denoting *Bhârata-varsha* (India) and the other eight plains situated between the principal mountains.

16. The eight 'guardians of the world' (*Lokapâlas*) are, Indra, Agni, Yama, Sûrya, Varuna, Pavana, Kubera, and Soma (M.V, 96). The seven *Rîshis*, according to the *Satapatha-brâhmaṇa*, are, Gotama, Bharadvâga, Visvâmitra, Gamadagni, Vasishtha, Kasyapa, and Atri. The six *Vedâṅgas* are, *Sikshâ* (pronunciation), *Khandas* (metre), *Vyâkarana* (grammar), *Nirukta* (etymology), *Kalpa* (ceremonial), and *Gyotisha* (astronomy). See Max Müller, *Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 108, &c.

17.¹ See 1.

shape of a boar, this world together with all animate and inanimate things in it, went away into a place hidden from the world.

19. *Ganârdana*, the chief of the gods, having become invisible, the goddess of the earth began to consider, 'How shall I be able to sustain myself (henceforth)?'

20. 'I will go to *Kasyapa* to ask: he will tell me the truth. The great Muni has my welfare under constant consideration.'

21. Having thus decided upon her course, the goddess, assuming the shape of a woman, went to see *Kasyapa*, and *Kasyapa* saw her.

22. Her eyes were similar to the leaves of the blue lotus (of which the bow of *Kâma*, the god of love, is made); her face was radiant like the moon in the autumn season; her locks were as dark as a swarm of black bees; she was radiant; her lip was (red) like the *Bandhugtva* flower; and she was lovely to behold.

23. Her eyebrows were fine; her teeth exceedingly small; her nose handsome; her brows bent; her neck shaped like a shell; her thighs were constantly touching each other; and they were fleshy thighs, which adorned her loins.

24. Her breasts were shining white, firm¹, plump, very close to each other, (decorated with continuous strings of pearls) like the projections on the forehead of *Indra's* elephant, and radiant like the gold (of the two golden jars used at the consecration of a king).

24. ¹ Or 'equal in size,' according to the second of the two explanations which *Nand.* proposes of the term '*samau*.'

25. Her arms were as delicate as lotus fibres; her hands were similar to young shoots; her thighs were resplendent like golden pillars; and her knees were hidden (under the flesh), and closely touching each other.

26. Her legs were smooth and exquisitely proportioned; her feet exceedingly graceful; her loins fleshy; and her waist like that of a lion's cub.

27. Her reddish nails shone (like rubies); her beauty was the delight of every looker-on; and with her glances she filled at every step all the quarters of the sky as it were with lotus-flowers.

28. Radiant with divine lustre, she illuminated all the quarters of the sky with it; her clothing was most exquisite and perfectly white; and she was decorated with the most precious gems.

29. With her steps she covered the earth as it were with lotuses; she was endowed with beauty and youthful charms; and made her approach with modest bearing.

30. Having seen her come near, Kasyapa saluted her reverentially, and said, 'O handsome lady, O earth, radiant with divine lustre, I am acquainted with thy thoughts.'

31. 'Go to visit *Ganârdana*, O large-eyed lady; he will tell thee accurately, how thou shalt henceforth sustain thyself.'

32. 'For thy sake, O (goddess), whose face is lovely and whose limbs are beautiful, I have found out, by profound meditation, that his residence is in the *Kshîroda* (milk-ocean).'

33. The goddess of the earth answered, 'Yes, (I shall do as you bid me),' saluted Kasyapa rever-

entially, and proceeded to the Kshīroda sea, in order to see Kesava (Vishnu).

34. She beheld (then) the ocean, from which the Amrita arose. It was lovely, like the rays of the moon, and agitated by hundreds of waves produced by stormy blasts of wind.

35. (With its waves) towering like a hundred Himālayas it seemed another terrestrial globe, calling near as it were the earth with its hands, the rolling waves.

36. With those hands it was as it were constantly producing the radiancy of the moon; and every stain of guilt was removed from it by Hari's (Vishnu's) residence within its limits.

37. Because (it was entirely free from sin) therefore it was possessed of a pure and shining frame; its colour was white; it was inaccessible to birds; and its seat was in the lower regions.

38. It was rich in blue and tawny gems (sapphires, coral, and others), and looking therefore as if the atmosphere had descended upon the earth, and as if a number of forests adorned with a multitude of fruits had descended upon its surface.

39. Its size was immense, like that of the skin of (Vishnu's) serpent Sesha. After having seen the milk-ocean, the goddess of the earth beheld the dwelling of Kesava (Vishnu) which was in it:

40. (His dwelling), the size of which cannot be expressed in words, and the sublimity of which is also beyond the power of utterance. In it she saw the destroyer of Madhu seated upon Sesha.

41. The lotus of his face was hardly visible on

37. See 15, note.

account of the lustre of the gems decorating the neck of the snake Sesha; he was shining like a hundred moons; and his splendour was equal to the rays of a myriad of suns.

42. He was clad in a yellow robe (radiant like gold); imperturbable; decorated with all kinds of gems; and shining with the lustre of a diadem resembling the sun in colour, and with (splendid) ear-rings.

43. Lakshmi was stroking his feet with her soft palms; and his attributes (the shell, the discus, the mace, and the lotus-flower) wearing bodies were attending upon him on all sides.

44. Having espied the lotus-eyed slayer of Madhu, she knelt down upon the ground and addressed him as follows:

45. 'When formerly I was sunk into the region of Rasātala, I was raised by thee, O God, and restored to my ancient seat, O Vishnu, thanks to thy benevolence towards living beings.

46. 'Being there, how am I to maintain myself upon it, O lord of the gods?' Having been thus addressed by the goddess, the god enunciated the following answer:

47. 'Those who practise the duties ordained for each caste and for each order, and who act up strictly to the holy law, will sustain thee, O earth; to them is thy care committed.'

48. Having received this answer, the goddess of the earth said to the chief of the gods, 'Communicate to me the eternal laws of the castes and of the orders.'

47. Regarding the four castes and the four orders, see II, 1; III, 3.

49. 'I desire to learn them from thee; for thou art my chief stay. Adoration be to thee, O brilliant¹ chief of the gods, who annihilatest the power of the (Daityas and other) enemies of the gods.

50. 'O Nârâyana (son of Nara), O Gagannâtha (sovereign of the world); thou holdest the shell, the discus, and the mace (in thy hands); thou hast a lotus (Brahman) springing from thy navel; thou art the lord of the senses; thou art most powerful and endowed with conquering strength.

51. 'Thou art beyond the cognisance of the senses; thy end is most difficult to know; thou art brilliant; thou holdest the bow Sârnga; thou art the boar¹; thou art terrible; thou art Govinda² (the herdsman); thou art of old; thou art Purushottama (the spirit supreme).

52. 'Thy hair is golden; thy eyes are everywhere; thy body is the sacrifice; thou art free from stain; thou art the "field" (the corporeal frame); thou art the principle of life; thou art the ruler

49. ¹ This is Nand.'s interpretation of the term 'deva,' but it may also be taken in its usual acceptance of 'god.'

51. ¹ This is the third of the three interpretations of the term varâha, which Nand. proposes. According to the first, it would mean 'one who kills his worst or most prominent foes;' according to the second, 'one who gratifies his own desires.' But these two interpretations are based upon a fanciful derivation of varâha from vara and â-han. Of many others among the epithets Nand. proposes equally fanciful etymologies, which I shall pass over unnoticed.—

² This epithet, which literally means 'he who finds or wins cows,' is usually referred to Vishnu's recovering the 'cow,' i.e. the earth, when it was lost in the waters: see Mahâbh. XII, 13228, which verse is quoted both by Nand. and by Saṅkara in his Commentary on the Vishnu-sahasranâma. It originally refers, no doubt, to Vishnu or Krishna as the pastoral god.

of the world; thou art lying on the bed of the ocean.

53. 'Thou art Mantra (prayer); thou knowest the Mantras; thou surpassest all conception; thy frame is composed of the Vedas and Vedâṅgas; the creation and destruction of this whole world is effected through thee.

54. 'Thou knowest right and wrong; thy body is law; law springs from thee; desires are gratified by thee; thy powers are everywhere; thou art (imperishable like) Amṛita (ambrosia); thou art heaven; thou art the destroyer of Madhu and Kaiṭasa.

55. 'Thou causest the increase of the great; thou art inscrutable; thou art all; thou givest shelter to all; thou art the chief one; thou art free from sin; thou art Gîmûta; thou art inexhaustible; thou art the creator.

56. 'Thou increasest the welfare (of the world); the waters spring from thee; thou art the seat of intelligence; action is not found in thee; thou presidest over seven chief things¹; thou art the teacher of religious rites; thou art of old; thou art Puru-shottama.

57. 'Thou art not to be shaken; thou art unde-

55. 'The great (brîhat) means time, space, and the like. . . . He is called "all" because he is capable of assuming any shape.' (Nand.) The sense of the term 'gîmûta,' as an epithet of divine beings, is uncertain. According to Nand., it would mean 'he who sprinkles living beings;' but this interpretation is based upon a fanciful derivation, from gîva and mûtrayati.

56. ¹ This refers either to the seven divisions of a Sâman; or to the seven species, of which each of the three kinds of sacrifices, domestic offerings, burnt-offerings, and Soma-sacrifices, consists (cf. Gaut. VIII, 18-20); or to the seven worlds (see 15, note), Bhûr and the rest. (Nand.)

caying; thou art the producer of the atoms; thou art kind to faithful attendants; thou art the purifier (of sinners); thou art the protector of all the gods; thou art the protector of the pious.

58. 'Thou art also the protector of those who know the Veda, O Purushottama. I have come, O Gagannâtha, to the immovable Vâkaspati (the lord of holy speech), the lord;

59. 'To him, who is very pious; invincible; Vasushetza (who has treasures for his armies); who bestows largesses upon his followers; who is endowed with the power of intense devotion; who is the germ of the ether; from whom the rays (of the sun and moon) proceed;

60. 'To Vâsudeva; the great soul of the universe; whose eyes are like lotuses; who is eternal; the preceptor of the Suras and of the Asuras; brilliant; omnipresent; the great lord of all creatures;

61. 'Who has one body and four faces; who is the producer of (the five grosser elements, ether, air, fire, water, and earth), the producers of the world. Teach me concisely, O Bhagavat, the eternal laws ordained for the aggregate of the four castes,

62. 'Together with the customs to be observed by each order and with the secret ordinances.' The chief of the gods, thus addressed by the goddess of the earth, replied to her as follows:

62. According to Nand., the term rahasya, 'secret ordinances or doctrines,' has to be referred either to the laws regarding the occupations lawful for each caste in times of distress (âpaddharma, see II, 15), or to the penances (XLVI seq.) The latter interpretation seems to be the more plausible one, with the limitation, however, that rahasya is only used to denote the penances for secret faults, which are termed rahasya in LV, 1.

63. 'Learn from me, in a concise form, O radiant goddess of the earth, the eternal laws for the aggregate of the four castes, together with the customs to be observed by each order, and with the secret ordinances,

64. 'Which will effect the final liberation of the virtuous persons, who will support thee. Be seated upon this splendid golden seat, O handsome-thighed goddess.

65. 'Seated at ease, listen to me proclaiming the sacred laws.' The goddess of the earth, thereupon, seated at ease, listened to the sacred precepts as they came from the mouth of Vishnu.

II.

1. Brâhmanas, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, and Sûdras are the four castes.

2. The first three of these are (called) twice-born.

3. For them the whole number of ceremonies, which begin with the impregnation and end with the ceremony of burning the dead body, have to be performed with (the recitation of) Mantras.

4. Their duties are :

5. For a Brâhmana, to teach (the Veda);

6. For a Kshatriya, constant practice in arms ;

7. For a Vaisya, the tending of cattle ;

8. For a Sûdra, to serve the twice-born ;

II. 1. Âpast. I, 1, 1, 3. — 1, 2. M. X, 4 ; Y. I, 10. — 3. M. II, 26 ; Y. I, 10. — 4-9. M. I, 88-91 ; VIII, 410 ; IX, 326-335 ; X, 75-79 ; Y. I, 118-120 ; Âpast. I, 1, 1, 5, 6 ; II, 5, 10, 4-7 ; Gaut. X, 2, 7, 49, 56. — 15. M. X, 81 ; Y. III, 35 ; Gaut. VII, 6. — 16, 17. Gaut. VIII, 23 ; X, 51. 'This chapter treats of the four castes.' (Nand.)

9. For all the twice-born, to sacrifice and to study (the Veda).

10. Again, their modes of livelihood are :

11. For a Brâhmaṇa, to sacrifice for others and to receive alms ;

12. For a Kshatriya, to protect the world (and receive due reward, in form of taxes) ;

13. For a Vaisya, tillage, keeping cows (and other cattle), traffic, lending money upon interest, and growing seeds ;

14. For a Sûdra, all branches of art (such as painting and the other fine arts) ;

15. In times of distress, each caste may follow the occupation of that next (below) to it in rank.

16. Forbearance, veracity, restraint, purity, liberality, self-control, not to kill (any living being), obedience towards one's Gurus, visiting places of pilgrimage, sympathy (with the afflicted),

17. Straightforwardness, freedom from covetousness, reverence towards gods and Brâhmaṇas, and freedom from anger are duties common (to all castes).

III.

1. Now the duties of a king are :

2. To protect his people,

14. According to Nand., the use of the term sarva, 'all,' implies that Sûdras may also follow the occupations of a Vaisya, tillage and the rest, as ordained by Devala.

16. The term Guru, 'superior,' generally denotes the parents and the teacher, or Guru in the narrower sense of the term ; see XXXI, 1, 2. It may also include all those who are one's elders or betters ; see XXXII, 1-3.

III. 2, 3. M. VII, 35, 144 ; Gaut. X, 7 ; XI, 9. — 4, 5. M. VII, 69 ; Y. I, 320. — 6. M. VII, 70 ; Y. I, 320 ; Âpast. II, 10, 25, 2. —

3. And to keep the four castes and the four orders¹ in the practice of their several duties.

4. Let the king fix his abode in a district containing open plains, fit for cattle, and abounding in grain;

5. And inhabited by many Vaisyas and Sûdras.

6. There let him reside in a stronghold (the strength of which consists) either in (its being surrounded by) a desert, or in (a throng of) armed

7-10. M. VII, 115; Âpast. II, 10, 26, 4, 5. — 11-15. M. VII, 116, 117. — 16-21. M. VII, 61, 62; Y. I, 321. — 22-25. M. VII, 130-132; Y. I, 327; Âpast. II, 10, 26, 9; Gaut. X, 24, 25. — 26. M. VII, 133; Âpast. II, 10, 26, 10. — 28. M. VIII, 304; Y. I, 334; Gaut. XI, 11. — 29, 30. M. VII, 128; VIII, 398; Y. II, 161; Gaut. X, 26. — 31. M. VIII, 400; Y. II, 262. — 32. M. VII, 138; Gaut. X, 31-33. — 33. M. IX, 294; Y. I, 352. — 35. M. VII, 122, 184; Y. I, 331, 337. — 36, 37. Y. I, 337. — 38-41. M. VII, 158-161, 182, 183; Y. I, 344-347. — 42. M. VII, 203; Y. I, 342. — 43. M. VII, 215. — 44. M. VII, 88. — 45. M. VII, 89; Y. I, 324; Âpast. II, 10, 26, 2, 3. — 47. M. VII, 202. — 50-52. M. VII, 50, 51. — 55. M. VII, 62; VIII, 39. — 56-58. M. VIII, 37, 38; Y. II, 34; Gaut. X, 43, 44. — 61. Gaut. X, 45. — 62. Y. II, 35. — 63. M. VIII, 35. — 64. M. VIII, 36. — 65. M. VIII, 27, 28; Gaut. X, 48. — 66, 67. M. VIII, 40; Y. II, 36; Âpast. II, 10, 26, 8; Gaut. X, 46, 47. — 68. Gaut. X, 17. — 70. M. VII, 78; Y. I, 312; Gaut. XI, 12. — 71. M. VII, 54, 60; Y. I, 311. — 72. M. VIII, 1; Y. II, 1. — 73. M. VIII, 9; Y. II, 3; Gaut. XIII, 96. — 74. M. VIII, 12-19; Y. II, 2; Âpast. II, 11, 29, 5. — 75. Gaut. XI, 15. — 76, 77. M. VII, 38. — 79, 80. M. VII, 134; Y. I, 338; Âpast. II, 10, 25, 11; Gaut. X, 9, 10. — 81. Âpast. II, 10, 26, 1. — 81, 82. Y. I, 317-319. — 84. M. VII, 82; Y. I, 314. — 85. M. VII, 220. — 87, 88. M. VII, 217, 218. — 89. M. VII, 146. — 91, 92. M. VII, 16; VIII, 126; Y. I, 367; Gaut. X, 8. — 94. M. VIII, 335; Y. I, 357; Âpast. II, 11, 28, 13. — 95. M. VII, 25. — 96. M. VII, 32; Y. I, 333. — 97. M. VII, 33. Chapters III-XVIII contain the section on vyavahâra, 'jurisprudence.' (Nand.)

3.¹ Of student, householder, hermit, and ascetic.

5. 'And there should be many virtuous men in it, as stated by Manu, VII, 69.' (Nand.)

men, or in fortifications (of stone, brick, or others), or in water (enclosing it on all sides), or in trees, or in mountains (sheltering it against a foreign invasion).

7. (While he resides) there, let him appoint chiefs (or governors) in every village;

8. Also, lords of every ten villages;

9. And lords of every hundred villages;

10. And lords of a whole district.

11. If any offence has been committed in a village, let the lord of that village suppress the evil (and give redress to those that have been wronged).

12. If he is unable to do so, let him announce it to the lord of ten villages;

13. If he too is unable, let him announce it to the lord of a hundred villages;

14. If he too is unable, let him announce it to the lord of the whole district.

15. The lord of the whole district must eradicate the evil to the best of his power.

16. Let the king appoint able officials for the working of his mines, for the levying of taxes and of the fares to be paid at ferries, and for his elephants and forests.

17. (Let him appoint) pious persons for performing acts of piety (such as bestowing gifts on the indigent, and the like);

18. Skilled men for financial business (such as examining gold and other precious metals);

11. See 67 and Dr. Bühler's note on Âpast. II, 10, 26, 8.

16. The term *nâgavana*, which has been translated as a *Dvandva* compound, denoting elephants and forests, may also be taken to mean 'forests in which there are elephants;' or *nâga* may mean 'situated in the mountains' or 'a mountain fort.' (Nand.)

18. Or, 'he must appoint men skilled in logic as his advisers in knotty points of argument.' (Nand.)

19. Brave men for fighting ;
20. Stern men for acts of rigour (such as beating and killing) ;
21. Eunuchs for his wives (as their guardians).
22. He must take from his subjects as taxes a sixth part every year of the grain ;
23. And (a sixth part) of all (other) seeds ;
24. Two in the hundred, of cattle, gold, and clothes ;
25. A sixth part of flesh, honey, clarified butter, herbs, perfumes, flowers, roots, fruits, liquids and condiments, wood, leaves (of the Palmyra tree and others), skins, earthen pots, stone vessels, and anything made of split bamboo.
26. Let him not levy any tax upon Brâhmanas.
27. For they pay taxes to him in the shape of their pious acts.
28. A sixth part both of the virtuous deeds and of the iniquitous acts committed by his subjects goes to the king.
29. Let him take a tenth part of (the price of) marketable commodities (sold) in his own country ;
30. And a twentieth part of (the price of) goods (sold) in another country.
31. Any (seller or buyer) who (fraudulently) avoids a toll-house (situated on his road), shall lose all his goods.

23. This rule relates to Syâmâka grain and other sorts of grain produced in the rainy season. (Nand.)

25. 'Haradatta says that "a sixth part" means "a sixtieth part:" But this is wrong, as shown by M.VII, 131.' (Nand.) Haradatta's false interpretation was most likely called forth by Gaut. X, 27.

32. Artizans (such as blacksmiths), manual labourers (such as carpenters), and Sûdras shall do work for the king for a day in each month.

33. The monarch, his council, his fortress, his treasure, his army, his realm, and his ally are the seven constituent elements of a state.

34. (The king) must punish those who try to subvert any one among them.

35. He must explore, by means of spies, both the state of his own kingdom and of his foe's.

36. Let him show honour to the righteous ;

37. And let him punish the unrighteous.

38. Towards his (neighbour and natural) enemy, his ally (or the power next beyond his enemy), a neutral power (situated beyond the latter), and a power situated between (his natural enemy and an aggressive power)¹ let him adopt (alternately), as the occasion and the time require, (the four modes of obtaining success, viz.) negotiation, division, presents, and force of arms.

39. Let him have resort, as the time demands, to (the six measures of a military monarch, viz.) making alliance and waging war, marching to battle and sitting encamped, seeking the protection (of a more powerful king) and distributing his forces.

32. According to Nand., the particle *ka*, 'and,' implies that servile persons, who get their substance from their employers, are also implied. See Manu VII, 138.

35. The particle *ka*, according to Nand., is used in order to include the kingdoms of an ally and of a neutral prince.

38.¹ The term *madhyama* has been rendered according to Nand.'s and Kullûka's (on M. VII, 155) interpretation of it. Kullûka, however, adds, as a further characteristic, that it denotes a prince, who is equal in strength to one foe, but no match for two when allied.

40. Let him set out on an expedition in the months of *Kaitra* or *Mârgasīrsha*;

41. Or when some calamity has befallen his foe.

42. Having conquered the country of his foe, let him not abolish (or disregard) the laws of that country.

43. And when he has been attacked by his foe, let him protect his own realm to the best of his power.

44. There is no higher duty for men of the military caste, than to risk their life in battle.

45. Those who have been killed in protecting a cow, or a *Brâhmaṇa*, or a king, or a friend, or their own property, or their own wedded wife, or their own life, go to heaven.

46. Likewise, those (who have been killed) in trying to prevent mixture of castes (caused by adulterous connections).

47. A king having conquered the capital of his foe, should invest there a prince of the royal race of that country with the royal dignity.

48. Let him not extirpate the royal race ;

49. Unless the royal race be of ignoble descent.

50. He must not take delight in hunting, dice, women, and drinking ;

51. Nor in defamation and battery.

52. And let him not injure his own property (by bootless expenses).

53. He must not demolish (whether in his own town, or in the town of his foe conquered by him,

40. The particle *vā* indicates, according to Nand., that he may also set out in the month *Phālguna*.

or in a fort) doors which had been built there before his time (by a former king).

54. He must not bestow largesses upon unworthy persons (such as dancers, eulogists, bards, and the like).

55. Of mines let him take the whole produce.

56. Of a treasure-trove he must give one half to the Brâhmanas;

57. He may deposit the other half in his own treasury.

58. A Brâhmana who has found a treasure may keep it entire.

59. A Kshatriya (who has found a treasure) must give one fourth of it to the king, another fourth to the Brâhmanas, and keep half of it to himself.

60. A Vaisya (who has found a treasure) must give a fourth part of it to the king, one half to the Brâhmanas, and keep the (remaining fourth) part to himself.

61. A Sûdra who has found a treasure must divide it into twelve parts, and give five parts to the king, five parts to the Brâhmanas, and keep two parts to himself.

62. Let the king compel him who (having found a treasure) does not announce it (to the king) and is found out afterwards, to give up the whole.

63. Of a treasure anciently hidden by themselves let (members of) all castes, excepting Brâhmanas, give a twelfth part to the king.

64. The man who falsely claims property hidden by another to have been hidden by himself, shall be

63. This rule refers to a treasure, which has been found by some one and announced to the king. The original owner is bound to prove his ownership. (Nand.) See M.VIII, 35.

condemned to pay a fine equal in amount to the property falsely claimed by him.

65. The king must protect the property of minors, of (blind, lame or other) helpless persons (who have no guide), and of women (without a guardian).

66. Having recovered goods stolen by thieves, let him restore them entire to their owners, to whatever caste they may belong.

67. If he has been unable to recover them, he must pay (their value) out of his own treasury.

68. Let him appease the onsets of fate by ceremonies averting evil omens and propitiatory ceremonies ;

69. And the onsets of his foe (let him repel) by force of arms.

70. Let him appoint as Purohita (domestic priest) a man conversant with the Vedas, Epics, the Institutes of Sacred Law, and (the science of) what is useful in life, of a good family, not deficient in limb, and persistent in the practice of austerities.

71. And (let him appoint) ministers (to help and advise him) in all his affairs, who are pure, free from covetousness, attentive, and able.

72. Let him try causes himself, accompanied by well-instructed Brâhmanas.

73. Or let him entrust a Brâhmana with the judicial business.

74. Let the king appoint as judges men of good

70. 'The science of what is useful in life' comprises the fine arts, except music, and all technical knowledge.

74. According to Nand., the particle *ka* indicates that the judges should be well acquainted, likewise, with the sacred revelation,

families, for whom the ceremonies (of initiation and so forth) have been performed, and who are eager in keeping religious vows, impartial towards friend and foe, and not likely to be corrupted by litigants either by (ministering to their) lustful desires or by (stimulating them to) wrath or by (exciting their) avarice or by other (such practices).

75. Let the king in all matters listen to (the advice of) his astrologers.

76. Let him constantly show reverence to the gods and to the Brâhmaṇas.

77. Let him honour the aged ;

78. And let him offer sacrifices ;

79. And he must not suffer any Brâhmaṇa in his realm to perish with want ;

80. Nor any other man leading a pious life.

81. Let him bestow landed property upon Brâhmaṇas.

82. To those upon whom he has bestowed (land) he must give a document, destined for the information of a future ruler, which must be written upon a piece of (cotton) cloth, or a copper-plate, and must contain the names of his (three) immediate ancestors, a declaration of the extent of the land, and an imprecation against him who should appropriate the

and intent upon performing their daily study of the Veda, as ordained by Yâgñavalkya, II, 2.

75. According to Nand., the particle *ka* indicates that the king's ministers should also consult the astrologers.

76. 'The particle *ka* is used here in order to imply that the king should bestow presents upon the Brâhmaṇas, as ordained by Manu, VII, 79.' (Nand.) See Introduction.

82. The repeated use of the particle *ka* in this Sûtra signifies that the document in question should also contain the name of the

donation to himself, and should be signed with his own seal.

83. Let him not appropriate to himself landed property bestowed (upon Brâhmanas) by other (rulers).

84. Let him present the Brâhmanas with gifts of every kind.

85. Let him be on his guard, whatever he may be about.

86. Let him be splendid (in apparel and ornaments).

87. Let him be conversant with incantations dispelling the effects of poison and sickness.

88. Let him not test any aliments, that have not been tried before (by his attendants, by certain experiments).

89. Let him smile before he speaks to any one.

90. Let him not frown even upon (criminals) doomed to capital punishment.

91. Let him inflict punishments, corresponding to the nature of their offences, upon evil-doers.

donor, the date of the donation, and the words, written in the donor's own hand, 'What has been written above, by that is my own will declared.' The term *dânakkkhedopavarmanam*, 'containing a declaration of the punishment awaiting the robber of a grant,' may also mean, 'indicating the boundaries (such as fields and the like) of the grant.' The seal must contain the figure of a flamingo, boar, or other animal. (Nand.) Numerous grants on copper-plates, exactly corresponding to the above description, have been actually found in divers parts of India. See, particularly, Dr. Burnell's *Elements of South Indian Palaeography*.

83. According to Nand., the particle *ka* is used in order to include in this prohibition a grant made by himself.

86. Nand. proposes a second interpretation of the term *sudar-sana* besides the one given above, 'he shall often show himself before those desirous of seeing him.'

92. Let him inflict punishments according to justice (either personally or through his attendants).

93. Let him pardon no one for having offended twice.

94. He who deviates from his duty must certainly not be left unpunished by the king.

95. Where punishment with a black hue and a red eye advances with irresistible might, the king deciding causes justly, there the people will prosper.

96. Let a king in his own domain inflict punishments according to justice, chastise foreign foes with rigour, behave without duplicity to his affectionate friends, and with lenity to Brâhmanas.

97. Of a king thus disposed, even though he subsist by gleaning, the fame is far spread in the world, like a drop of oil in the water.

98. That king who is pleased when his subjects are joyful, and grieved when they are in grief, will obtain fame in this world, and will be raised to a high station in heaven after his death.

IV.

1. The (very small mote of) dust which may be discerned in a sun-beam passing through a lattice is called *trasarenu* (trembling dust).

2. Eight of these (*trasarenus*) are equal to a nit.

3. Three of the latter are equal to a black mustard-seed.

4. Three of these last are equal to a white mustard-seed.

5. Six of these are equal to a barley-corn.

6. Three of these equal a *Krishnala*.

IV. 1-14. M. VIII, 132-138; Y. I, 361-365.

6. *Krishnala* (literally, 'seed of the Guṅgâ creeper') is another

7. Five of these equal a Mâsha.
8. Twelve of these are equal to half an Aksha.
9. The weight of half an Aksha, with four Mâshas added to it, is called a Suvarna.
10. Four Suvarnas make a Nishka.
11. Two *Krishnalas* of equal weight are equal to one Mâshaka of silver.
12. Sixteen of these are equal to a Dharana (of silver).
13. A Karsha (or eighty Raktikâs) of copper is called Kârshâpana.
14. Two hundred and fifty (copper) *Panas* are declared to be the first (or lowest) amercement, five hundred are considered as the middlemost, and a thousand as the highest.

V.

1. Great criminals should all be put to death.

name for Raktikâ or Ratî, the lowest denomination in general use. According to Prinsep (*Useful Tables*, p. 97) it equals 1.875 grains = 0.122 grammes of the metrical system. According to Thomas (see *Colebrooke's Essays*, ed: by Cowell, I, p. 529, note) it equals 1.75 grains.

7-10. These names refer to weights of gold.

V. 2, 3. M. VIII, 124; IX, 239, 241; Gaut. XII, 46, 47. — 3-7. M. IX, 237. — 8. M. IX, 241; VIII, 380. — 9, 11. M. IX, 232. — 12, 13. M. VIII, 320, 321. — 18. M. VIII, 371. — 19. M. VIII, 279; Y. II, 215; Âpast. II, 10, 27, 14; Gaut. XII, 1. — 20-22. M. VIII, 281, 282; Âpast. II, 10, 27, 15; Gaut. XII, 7. — 23. M. VIII, 270; Âpast. II, 10, 27, 14. — 24. M. VIII, 272. — 25. M. VIII, 271. — 26-28. M. VIII, 273-275. — 27. Y. II, 204. — 29, 30. Y. II, 210. — 31-33. Y. II, 211. — 35. M. VIII, 269. — 36. M. VIII, 268; Gaut. XII, 12. — 40, 41. M. VIII, 382-385. — 40, 44. Y. II, 286, 289. — 45. M. VIII, 224. — 47. M. VIII, 225. — 49. Y. II, 297. — 50, 52. M. VIII, 296-298; Y. II, 225, 226. — 55-58. M. VIII, 285; Y. II, 227-229. — 60, 61. M. VIII, 280. — 60-73. Y. II, 216-221. — 66-68. M. VIII, 283, 284. — 74. M. IX, 274. —

2. In the case of a Brâhmana no corporal punishment must be inflicted.

3. A Brâhmana must be banished from his own country, his body having been branded.

75. M.VIII, 287; Y. II, 222. — 77. M.VIII, 325. — 79. M.VIII, 320. — 81, 82. M.VIII, 322. — 83, 84. M.VIII, 326-329. — 85, 86. M.VIII, 330; Gaut. XII, 18. — 89, 90. Y. II, 270. — 94. M. VIII, 392; Y. II, 263. — 96, 97. M.VIII, 393. — 98-103. Y. II, 296. — 104. Y. II, 234. — 106, 107. M. IX, 282. — 108. Y. II, 223. — 110. Y. II, 224. — 111. Y. II, 236. — 113. M.VIII, 389; Y. II, 237. — 115-123. Y. II, 232, 235, 236, 239-241. — 124-126. Y. II, 246, 250. — 127. Y. II, 254. — 128. Colebrooke, Dig. III, 3, XXII. — 129. Y. II, 255. — 130. M.VIII, 399; Y. II, 261. — 131. Y. II, 263. — 132. M.VIII, 407. — 134, 135. Y. II, 202. — 136. M. IX, 277; Y. II, 274. — 137, 138. M.VIII, 235; Y. II, 164. — 137-139. Colebrooke, Dig. III, 4, XIV. — 140. Y. II, 159. — 141. Gaut. XII, 19. — 142-145. Y. II, 159, 160. — 142-144. Gaut. XII, 22-25. — 140-146. Colebrooke, Dig. III, 4, XLV, 4. — 146. M.VIII, 241; Y. II, 161; Gaut. XII, 19. — 147, 148. M.VIII, 238, 240; Y. II, 162; Gaut. XII, 21. — 147-149. Colebrooke, Dig. III, 4, XXI. — 150. M. VIII, 242; Y. II, 163. — 151. M.VIII, 412; Y. II, 183; Colebrooke, Dig. III, 1, LVIII. — 152. Y. II, 183. — 153, 154. M.VIII, 215; Y. II, 193; Âpast. II, 11, 28, 2, 3. — 153-159. Colebrooke, Dig. III, 1, LXXX. — 155, 156. Y. II, 197. — 160. M. IX, 71; Y. I, 65. — 162. M. IX, 72; Y. I, 66. — 163. M.VIII, 389. — 162, 163. Colebrooke, Dig. IV, 1, LX. — 164, 165. M.VIII, 202; Y. II, 170. — 166. Y. II, 168. — 167, 168. Y. II, 187. — 169-171. M.VIII, 191. — 172. M. IX, 291; Y. II, 155. — 174. M. IX, 285; Y. II, 297. — 175-177. M. IX, 284; Y. II, 242. — 178. Y. II, 232. — 179. M. VIII, 123; Y. II, 81; Âpast. II, 11, 29, 8; Gaut. XIII, 23. — 180. Y. I, 338. — 183. Colebrooke, Dig. I, 3, CXXX. — 189. M. VIII, 350. — 190. M.VIII, 351. — 194. M.VIII, 126; Y. I, 367. — 195. M.VIII, 128; Y. II, 243, 305.

1. The crimes by the commission of which a man becomes a Mahâpatakin, 'mortal sinner,' will be enumerated below, XXXV.

2. The use of the particle *kā* implies, according to Nand. and a passage of Yama quoted by him, that, besides branding him, the criminal should be shorn, his deed publicly proclaimed, and himself mounted upon an ass and led about the town.

4. For murdering another Brâhmaṇa, let (the figure of) a headless corpse be impressed on his forehead;

5. For drinking spirits, the flag of a seller of spirituous liquor;

6. For stealing (gold), a dog's foot;

7. For incest, (the mark of) a female part.

8. If he has committed any other capital crime, he shall be banished, taking with him all his property, and unhurt.

9. Let the king put to death those who forge royal edicts;

10. And those who forge (private) documents;

11. Likewise poisoners, incendiaries, robbers, and killers of women, children, or men;

12. And such as steal more than ten Kumbhas of grain,

13. Or more than a hundred Mâshas of such things as are usually sold by weight (such as gold and silver);

14. Such also as aspire to sovereignty, though being of low birth;

15. Breakers of dikes;

10. The use of the particle *ka* indicates that this rule includes those who corrupt the king's ministers, as stated by Manu, IX, 232. (Nand.)

11. Nand. infers from the use of the particle *ka*, and from a passage of Kâtâyâna, that false witnesses are also intended here.

12. Nand. here refers *ka* to women who have committed a capital offence, as mentioned by Yâgñavalkya (II, 278). A Kumbha is a measure of grain equal to twenty Droṇas, or a little more than three bushels and three gallons. Nand. mentions, as the opinion of some, that 1 Kumbha = 2 Droṇas. For other computations of the amount of a Kumbha, see Colebrooke's Essays, I, 533 seq.

13. Regarding the value of a Mâsha, see IV, 7, 11.

15. Nand. infers from the use of the particle *ka* and from a

16. And such as give shelter and food to robbers,
 17. Unless the king be unable (to protect his subjects against robbers);

18. And a woman who violates the duty which she owes to her lord, the latter being unable to restrain her.

19. With whatever limb an inferior insults or hurts his superior in caste, of that limb the king shall cause him to be deprived.

20. If he places himself on the same seat with his superior, he shall be banished with a mark on his buttocks.

21. If he spits on him, he shall lose both lips;

22. If he breaks wind against him, his hindparts;

23. If he uses abusive language, his tongue.

24. If a (low-born) man through pride give instruction (to a member of the highest caste) concerning his duty, let the king order hot oil to be dropped into his mouth.

25. If a (low-born man) mentions the name or caste of a superior revilingly, an iron pin, ten inches long, shall be thrust into his mouth (red hot).

26. He who falsely denies the sacred knowledge, the country, or the caste (of such), or who says

passage of Manu (IX, 280), that robbers who forcibly enter the king's treasury, or the arsenal, or a temple, are likewise intended here.

17. In the case to which this Sûtra refers, the villagers may satisfy the demands of the robbers with impunity, as they are obliged to do so out of regard for their own safety. (Nand.)

20. The particle *ka* indicates here that if he urines against a superior his organ shall be cut off. (Nand.) See M. VIII, 282.

26. This Sûtra has been rendered in accordance with Kullûka's gloss on M. VIII, 273, Nand.'s interpretation of it being palpably wrong.

that his religious duties have not been fulfilled by (or that the initiatory and other sacramental rites have not been performed for) him, shall be fined two hundred *Panas*.

27. If a man is blind with one eye, or lame, or defective in any similar way, and another calls him so, he shall be fined two *Kârshâpanas*, though he speaks the truth.

28. He shall be fined a hundred *Kârshâpanas* for defaming a Guru.

29. He shall pay the highest amercement for imputing to another (a great crime) entailing loss of caste;

30. The second amercement for (imputing to another) a minor offence (such as the slaughter of a cow);

31. The same for reviling a *Brâhmaṇa* versed in the three Vedas, or an old man, or a (whole) caste or corporation (of judges or others);

32. For reviling a village or district, the lowest amercement;

33. For using insulting language (such as 'I shall visit your sister,' or 'I shall visit your daughter'), a hundred *Kârshâpanas*;

34. For insulting a man by using bad language regarding his mother (such as 'I shall visit your mother' or the like speeches), the highest amercement.

35. For abusing a man of his own caste, he shall be fined twelve *Panas*.

36. For abusing a man of a lower caste, he shall be fined six (*Panas*).

32. Nand. infers from the use of the particle *ka* that 'a family' is also intended here.

37. For insulting a member of the highest caste or of his own caste (he having been insulted by him) at the same time, the same fine is ordained ;

38. Or (if he only returns his insult, a fine amounting to) three Kârshâpanas.

39. The same (punishment is ordained) if he calls him bad names.

40. An adulterer shall be made to pay the highest amercement if he has had connection with a woman of his own caste ;

41. For adultery with women of a lower caste, the second amercement ;

42. The same (fine is ordained) for a bestial crime committed with a cow.

43. He who has had connection with a woman of one of the lowest castes, shall be put to death.

44. For a bestial crime committed with cattle (other than cows) he shall be fined a hundred Kârshâpanas.

45. (The same fine is ordained) for giving a (blemished) damsel in marriage, without indicating her blemish (whether the bride be sick, or no longer a maid, or otherwise faulty) ;

46. And he shall have to support her.

47. He who says of an unblemished damsel, that she has a blemish (shall pay) the highest amercement.

48. For killing an elephant, or a horse, or a camel, or a cow, (the criminal) shall have one hand, or one foot, lopped off.

43. The lowest castes (antyâh), according to Âṅgiras, are the following seven, *Kandâlas*, *Svapâkas*, *Kshattris*, *Sûtas*, *Vaidehakas*, *Mâgadhas*, and *Âyogavas*.

49. A seller of forbidden meat (such as pork, shall be punished in the same way).

50. He who kills domestic animals, shall pay a hundred Kârshâpanas.

51. He shall make good their value to the owner of those animals.

52. He who kills wild animals, shall pay five hundred Kârshâpanas.

53. A killer of birds, or of fish, (shall pay) ten Kârshâpanas.

54. A killer of insects shall pay one Kârshâpana.

55. A feller of trees yielding fruit (shall pay) the highest amercement.

56. A feller of trees yielding blossoms only (shall pay) the second amercement.

57. He who cuts creepers, shrubs, or climbing plants (shall pay) a hundred Kârshâpanas.

58. He who cuts grass (shall pay) one Kârshâpana.

59. And all such offenders (shall make good) to the owners (of the trees or plants cut down by them) the revenue which they yield.

60. If any man raises his hand (against his equal in caste, with intent to strike him, he shall pay) ten Kârshâpanas;

61. If he raises his foot, twenty;

62. If he raises a piece of wood, the first amercement;

63. If he raises a stone, the second amercement;

64. If he raises a weapon, the highest amercement.

65. If he seizes him by his feet, by his hair, by

53. Nand. infers from a passage of Kâtyâyana that the particle *ka* is used here in order to include serpents.

his garment, or by his hand, he shall pay ten *Panas* as a fine.

66. If he causes pain to him, without fetching blood from him, (he shall pay) thirty-two *Panas* ;

67. For fetching blood from him, sixty-four.

68. For mutilating or injuring a hand, or a foot, or a tooth, and for slitting an ear, or the nose, the second amercement (is ordained).

69. For rendering a man unable to move about, or to eat, or to speak, or for striking him (violently, the same punishment is ordained).

70. For wounding or breaking an eye, or the neck, or an arm, or a bone, or a shoulder, the highest amercement (is ordained).

71. For striking out both eyes of a man, the king shall (confine him and) not dismiss him from jail as long as he lives ;

72. Or he shall order him to be mutilated in the same way (i. e. deprived of his eyes).

73. Where one is attacked by many, the punishment for each shall be the double of that which has been ordained for (attacks by) a single person.

74. (The double punishment is) likewise (ordained) for those who do not give assistance to one calling for help, though they happen to be on the spot, or (who run away) after having approached it.

75. All those who have hurt a man, shall pay the expense of his cure.

76. Those who have hurt a domestic animal (shall also pay the expense of his cure).

77. He who has stolen a cow, or a horse, or a camel, or an elephant, shall have one hand, or one foot, cut off ;

78. He who has stolen a goat, or a sheep, (shall have) one hand (cut off).

79. He who steals grain (of those sorts which grow in the rainy season), shall pay eleven times its value as a fine ;

80. Likewise, he who steals grain (of those sorts, which grow in winter and spring, such as rice and barley).

81. A stealer of gold, silver, or clothes, at a value of more than fifty Mâshas, shall lose both hands.

82. He who steals a less amount than that, shall pay eleven times its value as a fine.

83. A stealer of thread, cotton, cow-dung, sugar, sour milk, milk, butter-milk, grass, salt, clay, ashes, birds, fish, clarified butter, oil, meat, honey, basket-work, canes of bamboo, earthenware, or iron pots, shall pay three times their value as a fine.

84. (The same fine is ordained for stealing) dressed food.

85. For stealing flowers, green (grain), shrubs, creepers, climbing plants or leaves, (he shall pay) five *Krishṇālas*.

86. For stealing pot-herbs, roots, or fruits (the same punishment is ordained).

87. He who steals gems, (shall pay) the highest amercement.

88. He who steals anything not mentioned above, (shall make good) its value (to the owner).

89. Thieves shall be compelled to restore all stolen goods to the owners.

90. After that, they shall suffer the punishment that has been ordained for them.

91. He who does not make way for one for

whom way ought to be made, shall be fined twenty-five Kârshâpanas.

92. (The same fine is ordained) for omitting to offer a seat to (a guest or others) to whom it ought to be offered.

93. For neglecting to worship such as have a claim to be worshipped, (the same fine is ordained);

94. Likewise, for neglecting to invite (at a Srâdha) a Brâhmaṇa, one's neighbour;

95. And for offering him no food, after having invited him.

96. He who does not eat, though he has received and accepted an invitation, shall give a gold Mâshaka as a fine;

97. And the double amount of food to his host.

98. He who insults a Brâhmaṇa by offering him uneatable food (such as excrements and the like, or forbidden food, such as garlic, must pay) sixteen Suvarṇas (as a fine).

99. (If he insults him by offering him) such food as would cause him to be degraded (were he to taste it, he must pay) a hundred Suvarṇas.

100. (If he offers him) spirituous liquor, he shall be put to death.

101. If he insults a Kshatriya (in the same way), he shall have to pay half of the above amercement;

102. If he insults a Vaisya, half of that again;

103. If he insults a Sûdra, the first amercement.

104. If one who (being a member of the *Kandâla* or some other low caste) must not be touched, inten-

93. Those persons 'have a claim to be worshipped' who are worthy to receive the Madhuparka or honey-mixture. (Nand.) See M. III, 119, 120; Y. I, 110; Âpast. II, 4, 8, 5-9; Gaut. V, 27; Weber, Ind. Stud. X, 125.

tionally defiles by his touch one who (as a member of a twice-born caste) may be touched (by other twice-born persons only), he shall be put to death.

105. If a woman in her courses (touches such a person), she shall be lashed with a whip.

106. If one defiles the highway, or a garden, or the water (by voiding excrements) near them (or in any other way), he shall be fined a hundred *Paṇas*;

107. And he must remove the filth.

108. If he demolishes a house, or a piece of ground (a court-yard or the like), or a wall or the like, he shall have to pay the second amercement;

109. And he shall have it repaired (at his own cost).

110. If he throws into another man's house (thorns, spells, or other) such things as might hurt some one, he shall pay a hundred *Paṇas*.

111. (The same punishment is ordained) for falsely denying the possession of common property;

112. And for not delivering what has been sent (for a god or for a *Brāhmaṇa*).

113. (The same punishment is) also (ordained) for father and son, teacher (and pupil), sacrificer and officiating priest, if one should forsake the other, provided that he has not been expelled from caste.

114. And he must return to them (to the parents and the rest).

115. (The same punishment is) also (ordained) for hospitably entertaining a *Sūdra* or religious ascetic at an oblation to the gods or to the manes;

116. And for following an unlawful occupation

115. According to Nand., the particle *ka* indicates here, that the same punishment is ordained for him who visits a widow by his own accord, as mentioned by *Yāgyavalkya* (II, 234).

(such as studying the Vedas without having been initiated);

117. And for breaking open a house on which (the king's) seal is laid;

118. And for making an oath without having been asked to do so (by the king or a judge);

119. And for depriving cattle of their virility.

120. The fine for the witnesses in a dispute between father and son shall be ten *Panas*.

121. For him who acts as surety for either of the two parties in such a contest, the highest amercement (is ordained).

122. (The same punishment is ordained) for forging a balance, or a measure;

123. Also, for pronouncing them incorrect, although they are correct.

124. (The same punishment is) also (ordained) for selling adulterated commodities;

125. And for a company of merchants who prevent the sale of a commodity (which happens to be abroad) by selling it under its price.

126. (The same punishment is ordained) for those (members of such a company) who sell (an article belonging to the whole company for more than it is worth) on their own account.

127. He who does not deliver to the purchaser a commodity (sold), after its price has been paid to him, shall be compelled to deliver it to him with interest;

117. Nand. considers the particle *ka* to imply that the exchange of sealed goods for others shall be punished in the same way. But this assertion rests upon a false reading (*samudraparivarta* for *samudgaparivarta*) of Y. II, 247, which passage Nand. quotes in support of his view.

128. And he shall be fined a hundred *Panas* by the king.

129. If there should be a loss upon a commodity purchased, which the purchaser refuses to accept (though it has been tendered to him), the loss shall fall upon the purchaser.

130. He who sells a commodity on which the king has laid an embargo, shall have it confiscated.

131. A ferry-man who takes a toll payable (for commodities conveyed) by land shall be fined ten *Panas*.

132. Likewise, a ferry-man, or an official at a toll-office, who takes a fare or toll from a student, or *Vânaprastha* (hermit), or a *Bhikshu* (ascetic or religious mendicant), or a pregnant woman, or one about to visit a place of pilgrimage;

133. And he shall restore it to them.

134. Those who use false dice in gaming shall lose one hand.

135. Those who resort to (other) fraudulent practices in gaming shall lose two fingers (the thumb and the index).

136. Cutpurses shall lose one hand.

137. Cattle being attacked, during day-time, by wolves or other ferocious animals, and the keeper not going (to repel the attack), the blame shall fall upon him;

138. And he shall make good to the owner the value of the cattle that has perished.

139. If he milks a cow without permission, (he shall pay) twenty-five *Kârshâpanas* (as a fine).

131. The toll mentioned here is the duty on marketable commodities mentioned above, III, 29, 30. (Nand.)

140. If a female buffalo damages grain, her keeper shall be fined eight Mâshas.

141. If she has been without a keeper, her owner (shall pay that fine).

142. (For mischief done by) a horse, or a camel, or an ass (the fine shall be the same).

143. (For damage done by) a cow, it shall be half.

144. (For damage done by) a goat, or a sheep, (it shall be) half of that again.

145. For cattle abiding (in the field), after having eaten (grain), the fine shall be double.

146. And in every case the owner (of the field) shall receive the value of the grain that has been destroyed.

147. There is no offence if the damage has been done near a highway, near a village, or (in a field adjacent to) the common pasture-ground for cattle ;

148. Or (if it has been done) in an uninclosed field ;

149. Or if the cattle did not abide long ;

150. Or if the damage has been done by bulls that have been set at liberty, or by a cow shortly after her calving.

151. He who commits members of the highest (or Brâhmaṇa) caste to slavery, shall pay the highest amercement.

152. An apostate from religious mendicity shall become the king's slave.

153. A hired workman who abandons his work before the term has expired shall pay the whole amount (of the stipulated wages) to his employer ;

154. And he shall pay a hundred Paṇas to the king.

155. What has been destroyed through his want of care, (he must make good) to the owner ;

156. Unless the damage have been caused by an accident.

157. If an employer dismisses a workman (whom he has hired) before the expiration of the term, he shall pay him his entire wages ;

158. And (he shall pay) a hundred *Panas* to the king ;

159. Unless the workman have been at fault.

160. He who, having promised his daughter to one suitor, gives her in marriage to another, shall be punished as a thief ;

161. Unless the (first) suitor have a blemish.

162. The same (punishment is ordained for a suitor) who abandons a faultless girl ;

163. (And for a husband who forsakes) a (blameless) wife.

164. He who buys unawares in open market the property of another man (from one not authorised to sell it) is not to blame ;

165. (But) the owner shall recover his property.

166. If he has bought it in secret and under its price, the purchaser and the vendor shall be punished as thieves.

167. He who embezzles goods belonging to a corporation (of *Brâhmaṇas*, and which have been sent to them by the king or by private persons), shall be banished.

168. He who violates their established rule (shall) also (be banished).

169. He who retains a deposit shall restore the commodity deposited to the owner, with interest.

170. The king shall punish him as a thief.

171. (The same punishment is ordained for him) who claims as a deposit what he never deposited.

172. A destroyer of landmarks shall be compelled to pay the highest amercement and to mark the boundary anew with landmarks.

173. He who (knowingly) eats forbidden food effecting loss of caste shall be banished.

174. He who sells forbidden food (such as spirituous liquor and the like), or food which must not be sold, and he who breaks an image of a deity, shall pay the highest amercement ;

175. Also, a physician who adopts a wrong method of cure in the case of a patient of high rank (such as a relative of the king's) ;

176. The second amercement in the case of another patient ;

177. The lowest amercement in the case of an animal.

178. He who does not give what he has promised, shall be compelled to give it and to pay the first amercement.

179. To a false witness his entire property shall be confiscated.

180. (The same punishment is ordained) for a judge who lives by bribes.

181. He who has mortgaged more than a bull's hide of land to one creditor, and without having redeemed it mortgages it to another, shall be corporally punished (by whipping or imprisonment).

171. According to Nand., the particle *kā* indicates that those who state the nature or amount of a deposit wrongly are also intended here.

173. Thus according to Nand., who says expressly that the causative form cannot here mean causing to eat, because the punishment for the latter offence has been mentioned in Sûtra 98.-

182. If the quantity be less, he shall pay a fine of sixteen *Suvarnas*.

183. That land, whether little or much, on the produce of which one man can subsist for a year, is called the quantity of a bull's hide.

184. If a dispute should arise between two (creditors) concerning (a field or other immovable property) which has been mortgaged to both at the same time, that mortgagee shall enjoy its produce who holds it in his possession, without having obtained it by force.

185. What has been possessed in order and with a legitimate title (such as purchase, donation, and the like), the possessor may keep; it can never be taken from him.

186. Where (land or other) property has been held in legitimate possession by the father (or grandfather), the son's right to it, after his death, cannot be contested; for it has become his own by force of possession.

187. If possession has been held of an estate by three (successive) generations in due course, the fourth in descent shall keep it as his property, even without a written title.

188. He who kills (in his own defence a tiger or other) animal with sharp nails and claws, or a (goat or other) horned animal (excepting cows), or a (boar or other) animal with sharp teeth, or an assassin, or an elephant, or a horse, or any other (ferocious animal by whom he has been attacked), commits no crime.

189. Any one may unhesitatingly slay a man who attacks him with intent to murder him, whether his spiritual teacher, young or old, or a *Brāhmaṇa*,

or even (a Brâhmana) versed in many branches of sacred knowledge.

190. By killing an assassin who attempts to kill, whether in public or in private, no crime is committed by the slayer : fury recoils upon fury.

191. Assassins should be known to be of seven kinds : such as try to kill with the sword, or with poison, or with fire, such as raise their hand in order to pronounce a curse, such as recite a deadly incantation from the Atharva-veda, such as raise a false accusation which reaches the ears of the king,

192. And such as have illicit intercourse with another man's wife. The same designation is given to other (evil-doers) who deprive others of their worldly fame or of their wealth, or who destroy religious merit (by ruining pools, or other such acts), or property (such as houses or fields).

193. Thus I have declared to thee fully, O Earth, the criminal laws, enumerating at full length the punishments ordained for all sorts of offences.

194. Let the king dictate due punishments for other offences also, after having ascertained the class and the age (of the criminal) and the amount (of the damage done or sum claimed), and after having consulted the Brâhmaṇas (his advisers).

195. That detestable judge who dismisses without punishment such as deserve it, and punishes such as deserve it not, shall incur twice as heavy a penalty as the criminal himself.

196. A king in whose dominion there exists neither thief, nor adulterer, nor calumniator, nor robber, nor murderer, attains the world of Indra.

VI.

1. A creditor shall receive his principal back from his debtor exactly as he had lent it to him.

2. (As regards the interest to be paid), he shall take in the direct order of the castes two, three, four, or five in the hundred by the month (if no pledge has been given).

3. Or let debtors of any caste pay as much interest as has been promised by themselves.

4. After the lapse of one year let them pay interest according to the above rule, even though it have not been agreed on.

5. By the use of a pledge (to be kept only) interest is forfeited.

VI. 2. M. VIII, 142; Y. II, 37. — 1, 2. Colebrooke, Dig. I, 2, XXXI. — 3. M. VIII, 157; Y. II, 38. — 4. Colebrooke, Dig. I, 2, LII. — 5. M. VIII, 143; Y. II, 59; Gaut. XII, 32; Colebrooke, Dig. I, 2, LXXVIII. — 6. Y. II, 59; Colebrooke, Dig. I, 3, LXXXII. — 7. M. VIII, 151; Gaut. XII, 31; Colebrooke, Dig. I, 3, CX. — 8. Colebrooke loc. cit. — 9. Colebrooke, Dig. I, 3, CVII. — 10. Y. II, 44; Colebrooke, Dig. I, 2, LXXVII. — 11-15. M. VIII, 151; Y. II, 39; Gaut. XII, 36; Colebrooke, Dig. I, 2, LXIV. — 16, 17. Colebrooke, Dig. I, 2, LXX. — 18, 19. M. VIII, 50, 176; Y. II, 40; Colebrooke, Dig. I, 6, CCLII. — 20, 21. M. VIII, 139; Y. II, 42; Colebrooke, Dig. I, 6, CCLXXVII. — 22. Y. II, 20. — 24, 25. Y. II, 94; Colebrooke, Dig. I, 6, CCLXXXIII. — 26. Y. II, 93; Colebrooke, Dig. I, 6, CCLXXXVI. — 27. Y. II, 50; Colebrooke, Dig. I, 5, CLXVIII. — 28. Colebrooke, Dig. I, 5, CLXVIII. — 29. Gaut. XII, 40. — 29, 30. Y. II, 51; Colebrooke, Dig. I, 5, CCXX. — 31-33. Y. II, 46; Colebrooke, Dig. I, 5, CCVIII. — 34-36. M. VIII, 166; Y. II, 45. — 38, 39. M. VIII, 166, 167; Y. II, 45; Colebrooke, Dig. I, 5, CXCI. — 41. M. VIII, 158, 160; Y. II, 53; Colebrooke, Dig. I, 4, CXLIV. — 42, 43. Y. II, 55, 56; Colebrooke, Dig. I, 4, CLVI, CLXI.

1, 2. Colebrooke loc. cit. seems to have translated a different reading.

6. The creditor must make good the loss of a pledge, unless it was caused by fate or by the king.

7. (The pledge must) also (be restored to the debtor) when the interest has reached its maximum amount (on becoming equal to the principal, and has all been paid).

8. But he must not restore an immovable pledge without special agreement (till the principal itself has been paid).

9. That immovable property which has been delivered, restorable when the sum borrowed is made good, (the creditor) must restore when the sum borrowed has been made good.

10. Property lent bears no further interest after it has been tendered, but refused by the creditor.

11. On gold the interest shall rise no higher than to make the debt double;

12. On grain, (no higher than to make it) three-fold;

13. On cloth, (no higher than to make it) four-fold;

14. On liquids, (no higher than to make it) eight-fold;

15. Of female slaves and cattle, the offspring (shall be taken as interest).

16. On substances from which spirituous liquor

7. Colebrooke loc. cit. connects this Sûtra with the next. My rendering rests on Nand.'s interpretation.

8. Nand. cites as an instance of an agreement of this kind one made in the following form, 'You shall have the enjoyment of this or that mango grove as long as interest on the principal lent to me has not ceased to accrue.'

is extracted, on cotton, thread, leather, weapons, bricks, and charcoal, the interest is unlimited.

17. On such objects as have not been mentioned it may be double.

18. A creditor recovering the sum lent by any (lawful) means shall not be reproved by the king.

19. If the debtor, so forced to discharge the debt, complains to the king, he shall be fined in an equal sum.

20. If a creditor sues before the king and fully proves his demand, the debtor shall pay as a fine to the king a tenth part of the sum proved ;

21. And the creditor, having received the sum due, shall pay a twentieth part of it.

22. If the whole demand has been contested by the debtor, and even a part of it only has been proved against him, he must pay the whole.

23. There are three means of proof in case of a demand having been contested, viz. a writing, witnesses, and proof by ordeal.

24. A debt contracted before witnesses should be discharged in the presence of witnesses.

25. A written contract having been fulfilled, the writing should be torn.

26. Part only being paid, and the writing not being at hand, let the creditor give an acquittance.

27. If he who contracted the debt should die, or

17. Nand. infers from a passage of Kâtyâyana that this rule refers to gems, pearls, coral, gold, silver, cotton, silk, and wool.

18. The 'lawful means' are mediation of friends and the four other modes of compelling payment of an unliquidated demand. (Nand.) See M. VIII, 49.

22. 'The particle *api* indicates that he must pay a fine to the king besides, as ordained by Yâgñavalkya II, 11.' (Nand.)

become a religious ascetic, or remain abroad for twenty years, that debt shall be discharged by his sons or grandsons ;

28. But not by remoter descendants against their will.

29. He who takes the assets of a man, leaving or not leaving male issue, must pay the sum due (by him) ;

30. And (so must) he who has the care of the widow left by one who had no assets.

31. A woman (shall) not (be compelled to pay) the debt of her husband or son ;

32. Nor the husband or son (to pay) the debt of a woman (who is his wife or mother) ;

33. Nor a father to pay the debt of his son.

34. A debt contracted by parceners shall be paid by any one of them who is present.

35. And so shall the debt of the father (be paid) by (any one of) the brothers (or of their sons) before partition.

36. But after partition they shall severally pay according to their shares of the inheritance.

37. A debt contracted by the wife of a herdsman, distiller of spirits, public dancer, washer, or hunter shall be discharged by the husband (because he is supported by his wife).

38. (A debt of which payment has been previously) promised must be paid by the householder ;

39. And (so must he pay that debt) which was

38, 39. Regarding these two Sûtras see Jolly, *Indisches Schuldrecht*, in the *Transactions of the Royal Bavarian Academy of Sciences*, 1877, p. 309, note.

contracted by any person for the behoof of the family.

40. He who on receiving the whole amount of a loan, promises to repay the principal on the following day (or some other date near at hand), but from covetousness does not repay it, shall give interest for it.

41. Suretiship is ordained for appearance, for honesty, and for payment; the first two (sureties, and not their sons), must pay the debt on failure of their engagements, but even the sons of the last (may be compelled to pay it).

42. When there are several sureties (jointly bound), they shall pay their proportionate shares of the debt; but when they are bound severally, the payment shall be made (by any of them), as the creditor pleases.

43. If the surety, being harassed by the creditor, discharges the debt, the debtor shall pay twice as much to the surety.

VII.

1. Documents are of three kinds:

2. Attested by the king, or by (other) witnesses, or unattested.

3. A document is (said to be) attested by the king when it has been executed (in a court of judicature), on the king ordering it, by a scribe, his

42. In the first case the agreement is made in the following form, 'I shall pay so and so much to you, in the way agreed on.' In the second case the sum is not divided between the sureties, and each of them liable for the whole debt therefore. (Nand.)

VII. 4. Y. II, 84-88. — 5-7. Y. II, 89. — 6. M.VIII, 168. — 12. Y. II, 92.

servant, and has been signed by his chief judge, with his own hand.

4. It is (said to be) attested by witnesses when, having been written anywhere, and by any one, it is signed by witnesses in their own hands.

5. It is (said to be) unattested when it has been written (by the party himself) with his own hand.

6. Such a document, if it has been caused to be written by force, makes no evidence.

7. Neither does any fraudulent document (make evidence);

8. Nor a document (which), though attested, (is vitiated) by the signature of a witness bribed (by one party) or of bad character;

9. Nor one written by a scribe of the same description;

10. Nor one executed by a woman, or a child, or a dependant person, or one intoxicated or insane, or one in danger or in bodily fear.

11. (That instrument is termed) proof which is not adverse to peculiar local usages, which defines clearly the nature of the pledge given¹, and is free from confusion in the arrangement of the subject matter and (in the succession of) the syllables.

12. If the authenticity of a document is contested, it should be ascertained by (comparing with it other)

7. According to Nand., the particle *kā* is used here in order to include documents that have been executed by a person intoxicated, by one under duress, by a female, by a child, by force, and by intimidation (see Nārada IV, 61). Most of these categories are, however, mentioned in Sūtra 10.

11. ¹ I have translated the reading *vyaktādhividhilaṣṭhaṇam*, which, though not occurring in the text of any MS., is mentioned by Nand., and is found in an identical passage of the Institutes of Nārada (see Nārada IV, 60, and Appendix, p. 123).

letters or signs (such as the flourish denoting the word *Srī* and the like) or documents executed by the same man, by (enquiring into) the probabilities of the case, and by (finding out such writings as show) a mode of writing similar (to that contained in the disputed document).

13. Should the debtor, or creditor, or witness, or scribe be dead, the authenticity of the document has to be ascertained by (comparing with it other) specimens of their handwriting.

VIII.

1. Now follow (the laws regarding) witnesses.

2. The king cannot be (made a witness); nor a learned *Brâhmaṇa*; nor an ascetic; nor a gamester; nor a thief; nor a person not his own master; nor a woman; nor a child; nor a perpetrator of the acts called *sâhasa*¹ (violence); nor one over-aged (or more than eighty years old); nor one intoxicated or insane; nor a man of bad fame; nor an outcast;

VIII. 2, 3, 5. M.VIII, 64-67; Y. II, 70, 71. — 4, 5. Gaut. XIII, 5. — 6. M.VIII, 72; Y. II, 72; Gaut. XIII, 9. — 8. M. VIII, 62, 63; Y. II, 68, 69; Âpast. II, 11, 29, 7; Gaut. XIII, 2. — 9. M.VIII, 77; Y. II, 72. — 10, 11. Y. II, 17. — 14. M.VIII, 81; Âpast. II, 11, 29, 10; Gaut. XIII, 7. — 15, 16. M.VIII, 104-106; Y. II, 83. — 15. Gaut. XIII, 24. — 18. M. VIII, 25, 26; Y. II, 13-15. — 19. M.VIII, 87; Y. II, 73; Âpast. II, 11, 29, 7; Gaut. XIII, 12. — 20-23. M.VIII, 88. — 24-26. M.VIII, 89, 90; Y. II, 73-75. — 37. M.VIII, 107; Y. II, 77; Gaut. XIII, 6. — 38. Y. II, 79. — 39. M.VIII, 73; Y. II, 78. — 40. M.VIII, 117.

2. ¹ There are three kinds of *sâhasa*. (Nand.) They are, in the enumeration of *Nârada*, 1. spoiling fruits or the like; 2. injuring more valuable articles; 3. offences directed against the life of a human being, and approaching another man's wife. See *Nârada* XIV, 4-6.

nor one tormented by hunger or thirst; nor one oppressed by a (sudden) calamity (such as the death of his father or the like), or wholly absorbed in evil passions;

3. Nor an enemy or a friend; nor one interested in the subject matter; nor one who does forbidden acts; nor one formerly perjured; nor an attendant;

4. Nor one who, without having been appointed, comes and offers his evidence;

5. Nor can one man alone be made a witness.

6. In cases of theft, of violence, of abuse and assault, and of adultery the competence of witnesses must not be examined too strictly.

7. Now (those who are fit to be) witnesses (shall be enumerated):

8. Descendants of a noble race, who are virtuous and wealthy, sacrificers, zealous in the practice of religious austerities, having male issue, well versed in the holy law, studious, veracious, acquainted with the three Vedas, and aged (shall be witnesses).

9. If he is endowed with the qualities just mentioned, one man alone can also be made a witness.

10. In a dispute between two litigants, the witnesses of that party have to be examined from which the plaint has proceeded.

11. Where the claim has been refuted as not agreeing with the facts (as e. g. the sum claimed

5. According to Nand., who argues from a passage of Nārada (5, 37), the use of the particle *ka* implies here, that two witnesses are also not sufficient. But the MSS. of Nārada exhibit a different reading of the passage in question, which reading is supported by the *Vīramitrodaya*.

8. The particle *ka* is used here, according to Nand., who argues from a passage of Yāgyavalkya (II, 68), in order to include liberality among the qualities required in a witness.

having been repaid by the debtor), there the witnesses of the defendant have to be examined as well.

12. An appointed witness having died or gone abroad, those who have heard his deposition may give evidence.

13. (The evidence of) witnesses is (of two kinds): either of what was seen, or of what was heard.

14. Witnesses are free from blame if they give true evidence.

15. Whenever the death of a member of any of the four castes (would be occasioned by true evidence, they are free from blame) if they give false evidence.

16. In order to expiate the sin thus committed, (such a witness), if he belongs to a twice-born caste, must pour an oblation in the fire, consecrating it with the texts called *Kûshmândî*.

17. If he is a *Sûdra*, he must feed ten cows for one day.

18. A false witness may be known by his altered looks, by his countenance changing colour, and by his talk wandering from the subject.

19. Let the judge summon the witnesses, at the time of sunrise, and examine them after having bound them by an oath.

20. A *Brâhmana* he must address thus, 'Declare.'

21. A *Kshatriya* he must address thus, 'Declare the truth.'

16. *Vâgasan. Samh.* XX, 14-16, or *Taitt. Ârany.* X, 3-5. Nand. considers the term *Kûshmândî* to be used in a general sense here, so as to include all the other texts mentioned in an analogous passage of *Manu* (VIII, 106).

22. A Vaisya he must address thus, 'Thy kine, grain, and gold (shall yield thee no fruit, if thou wert to give false evidence).'

23. A Sûdra he must address thus, 'Thou shalt have to atone for all (possible) heavy crimes (if thou wert to give false evidence).'

24. Let him exhort the witnesses (with the following speeches) :

25. 'Whatever places (of torture) await (the killer of a Brâhmana and other) great criminals and (the killer of a cow and other) minor offenders, those places of abode are ordained for a witness who gives false evidence ;

26. 'And the fruit of every virtuous act he has done, from the day of his birth to his dying day, shall be lost to him.

27. 'Truth makes the sun spread his rays.

28. 'Truth makes the moon shine.

29. 'Truth makes the wind blow.

30. 'Truth makes the earth bear (all that is upon it).

31. 'Truth makes waters flow.

32. 'Truth makes the fire burn.

33. 'The atmosphere exists through truth.

34. 'So do the gods.

35. 'And so do the offerings.

36. 'If veracity and a thousand horse-sacrifices

22, 23. Nand.'s interpretation of these two Sûtras, which has been followed above, does not agree with Kullûka's, of M. VIII, 88. But in another passage of Manu (VIII, 113), where the same terms recur, he interprets them like Nand.

36. This Sloka is also found in the Mahâbhârata I, 3095 &c., in the Mârkaṇḍeya-purâṇa VIII, 42, in the Hitopadeśa IV, 129, and, in a somewhat modified form, in the Râmâyana II, 61, 10. See Bôhtlingk, Ind. Sprüche, 731 &c.

are weighed against each other, (it is found that) truth ranks even higher than a thousand horse-sacrifices.

37. 'Those who, though acquainted with the facts, and appointed to give evidence, stand mute, are equally criminal with, and deserve the same punishment as, false witnesses.' (After having addressed them) thus, let the king examine the witnesses in the order of their castes.

38. That plaintiff whose statement the witnesses declare to be true, shall win his suit; but he whose statement they declare to be wrong, shall certainly lose it.

39. If there is contradictory evidence, let the king decide by the plurality of witnesses; if equality in number, by superiority in virtue; if parity in virtue, by the evidence of the best among the twice-born.

40. Whenever a perjured witness has given false evidence in a suit, (the king) must reverse the judgment; and whatever has been done, must be considered as undone.

IX.

1. Now follows (the rule regarding) the performance of ordeals.

39. Nand. takes the term *dvigottama*, 'the best among the twice-born,' as an equivalent for '*Brāhmaṇas*.' Kullūka (on M. VIII, 73) refers it to 'twice-born men, who are particularly active in the discharge of their religious duties.'

IX. 2. Y. II, 96, 99. — 11. M. VIII, 114, 115; Y. II, 95. — 20-22. Y. II, 95, 96, 99. — 23. Y. II, 98. — 33. Y. II, 97. The whole section on ordeals (IX-XIV) agrees very closely with the corresponding section of the Institutes of Nārada (5, 107-9, 8).

2. In cases of a criminal action directed against the king, or of violence¹ (they may be administered) indiscriminately.

3. In cases of (denial of) a deposit or of (alleged) theft or robbery they must be administered each according to the value (of the property claimed).

4. In all such cases the value (of the object claimed) must be estimated in gold.

5. Now if its value amounts to less than one *Krishnala*, a *Sûdra* must be made to swear by a blade of *Dûrvâ* grass, (which he must hold in his hand);

6. If it amounts to less than two *Krishnalas*, by a blade of *Tila*;

7. If it amounts to less than three *Krishnalas*, by a blade of silver;

8. If it amounts to less than four *Krishnalas*, by a blade of gold;

9. If it amounts to less than five *Krishnalas*, by a lump of earth taken from a furrow;

10. If it amounts to less than half a *Suvarna*, a *Sûdra* must be made to undergo the ordeal by sacred libation;

11. If it exceeds that amount, (the judge must administer to him) any one of the (other) ordeals, viz. the ordeal by the balance, by fire, by water, or by poison, considering duly (the season, &c.)

12. If the amount (of the matter in contest) is twice as high (as in each of the last-mentioned cases), a *Vaisya* must (in each case) undergo that ordeal which has (just) been ordained (for a *Sûdra*);

13. A *Kshatriya* (must undergo the same ordeals), if the amount is thrice as high;

2. ¹ See VIII, 2, note.

14. A Brâhmaṇa, if it is four times as high. He is, however, not subject to the ordeal by sacred libation.

15. No judge must administer the (ordeal by) sacred libation to a Brâhmaṇa ;

16. Except if it be done as a preliminary proof of his dealing fairly in some future transaction.

17. Instead of (administering the ordeal by) sacred libation to a Brâhmaṇa (in suits regarding an object, the value of which amounts to less than two Suvarṇas), let the judge cause him to swear by a lump of earth taken from a furrow.

18. To one formerly convicted of a crime (or of perjury) he must administer one of the ordeals, even though the matter in contest be ever so trifling.

19. But to one who is known (and esteemed) among honest men and virtuous, he must not (administer any ordeal), even though the matter in contest be ever so important.

20. The claimant must declare his willingness to pay the fine (which is due in case of his being defeated);

21. And the defendant must go through the ordeal.

22. In cases of a criminal action directed against the king, or of violence (an ordeal may be administered) even without (the claimant) promising to pay the fine (due in case of defeat in ordinary suits).

23. To women, Brâhmaṇas, persons deficient in an organ of sense, infirm (old) men, and sick persons, the (ordeal by the) balance must be administered.

24. But it must not be administered to them while a wind is blowing.

25. The (ordeal by) fire must not be administered to lepers, to infirm persons, or to blacksmiths;

26. Nor must it ever be administered in autumn or summer.

27. The (ordeal by) poison must not be administered to lepers, bilious persons, or Brâhmanas;

28. Nor during the rainy season.

29. The (ordeal by) water must not be administered to persons afflicted with phlegm or (another) illness, to the timid, to the asthmatic, nor to those who gain their subsistence from water (such as fishermen and the like);

30. Nor during (the two cold seasons) Hemanta and Sisira (or from middle of November to middle of March);

31. The (ordeal by) sacred libation must not be administered to atheists;

32. Nor when the country is afflicted with disease or pestilence.

33. Let the judge summon the defendant at the time of sunrise, after having fasted on the previous day and bathed in his clothes, and make him go through all the ordeals in the presence of (images of) the gods and of the (assessors and other) Brâhmanas.

X.

1. Now follows the (rule regarding the ordeal by) balance.

29. Nand. infers from a text of Nârada (not found in his Institutes), that the plural is made use of in this Sûtra in order to include women, children, sickly, old, and feeble persons.

32. According to Nand., the particle *kā* is used here in order to include fire, wind, grasshoppers, and other plagues.

X. 5, 6. Y. II, 100.

2. The transverse beam, by which the balance is to be suspended, should be fastened upon two posts, four Hastas above the ground (each), and should be made two Hastas long.

3. The beam of the balance should be made of strong wood (such as that of the Khadira or Tinduka trees), five Hastas long, and the two scales must be suspended on both sides of it, (and the whole suspended upon the transverse beam by means of an iron hook).

4. A man out of the guild of goldsmiths, or of braziers, should make it equal on both sides.

5. Into the one scale the person (who is to be tried by this ordeal) should be placed, and a stone (or earth or bricks) or some other (equivalent) of the same weight into the other.

6. The equivalent and the man having been made equal in weight and (the position of the scales) well marked, the man should be caused to descend from the balance.

2. One Hasta, 'cubit,' the modern 'hath,' equals two Vitasti, 'spans,' and 24 Aṅgulas, 'digits,' the modern Aṅgul. See Prinsep, *Useful Tables*, p. 122.

3. See the plate of balance, according to the statements of Indian legislators, in Professor Stenzler's Essay, 'Über die ind. Gottesurtheile,' *Journal of the German Oriental Society*, IX.

4. Nand. infers from the use of the plural number and from a passage of Pitāmaha and Nārada (see the Institutes of the latter, 5, 122), that merchants may also be appointed for this purpose.

6. Nand. refers the term *suñhñitau kṛtvâ* to the man and to the equivalent, both having to be marked 'with the king's seal or in some other way, in order that no one may suspect the weight of the equivalent or of the man to have been increased or lessened by the addition or removal of other objects, or of clothes, ornaments, and the like.' 'Others' explain the term in the way in which it has been rendered above.

7. Next (the judge) should adjure by (the following) imprecations the balance

8. And the person appointed to look after the weighing :

9. 'Those places of torture which have been prepared for the murderer of a Brâhmana, or for a false witness, the same places are ordained for a person appointed to look after the weighing, who acts fraudulently in his office.

10. 'Thou, O balance (*dhatā*), art called by the same name as holy law (*dharma*); thou, O balance, knowest what mortals do not comprehend.

11. 'This man, being arraigned in a cause, is weighed upon thee. Therefore mayest thou deliver him lawfully from this perplexity.'

12. Thereupon the judge should have him placed into the one scale again. If he rises in it, he is freed from the charge according to law.

13. In case of the strings bursting, or of the splitting of the transverse beam, the man should be placed in the scale once more. Thus the facts will be ascertained positively, and a just sentence be the result.

XI.

1. Now follows the (rule regarding the ordeal by) fire.

2. He must make seven circles, sixteen *Angulas*¹ in breadth each, the intervals being of the same breadth.

3. Thereupon he must place seven leaves of the

XI. 2-9. Y. II, 103, 105-107. — 11. Y. II, 104.

2. ¹ See X, 2, note.

3. Nand. takes the term *tataḥ*, 'thereupon,' to imply that he

holy fig-tree into the hands of the person (about to perform the ordeal), who must turn his face towards the east and stretch out both arms.

4. Those (leaves) and his hands he must bind together with a thread.

5. Then he must place into his hands a ball made of iron, red-hot, fifty Palas in weight, and smooth.

6. Having received this, the person must proceed through the (seven) circles, without either walking at a very hurried pace, or lingering on his way.

7. Finally, after having passed the seventh circle, he must put down the ball upon the ground.

8. That man whose hands are burnt ever so little, shall be deemed guilty; but if he remains wholly unburnt, he is freed from the charge.

9. If he lets the ball drop from fear, or if there exists a doubt as to whether he is burnt or not, let him take the ball once more, because the proof has not been decided.

10. At the beginning (of the whole ceremony) the judge shall cause the person to rub some rice in his hands, and shall mark (with red sap, or the like, the already existing scars, eruptions of the skin, &c., which will thus have become visible). Then the judge, after having addressed the iron ball (with the following prayer), shall place it in his hands :

must previously examine the hands of the person about to perform the ordeal and mark existing scars or eruptions of the skin, as prescribed in Sûtra 10.

4. The particle *ka* implies, according to Nand., that he must further place seven Samf leaves, unbroken grains, Dûrvâ leaves, and grain smeared with sour milk upon his hands, as ordained in a passage of Pitâmaha.

11. 'Thou, O fire, dwellest in the interior of all creatures, like a witness. O fire, thou knowest what mortals do not comprehend.

12. 'This man being arraigned in a cause, desires to be cleared from guilt. Therefore mayest thou deliver him lawfully from this perplexity.'

XII.

1. Now follows the (rule regarding the ordeal by) water.

2. (The defendant must enter) water which is free from mud, aquatic plants, (crabs and other) vicious animals, (porpoises or other) large rapacious animals living in water, fish, leeches, and other (animals or plants).

3. The water having been addressed with the Mantras (mentioned hereafter), he must enter it, seizing the knees of another man, who must be free from friendship or hatred, and must dive into the water up to his navel.

4. At the same time another man must discharge an arrow from a bow, which must neither be too strong nor too weak.

5. That arrow must be fetched quickly by another man.

6. He who is not seen above the water in the mean time is proclaimed innocent. But in the contrary case he is (declared) guilty, even though one limb of his only has become visible.

7. 'Thou, O water, dwellest in the interior of all creatures, like a witness. O water, thou knowest what mortals do not comprehend.

8. 'This man being arraigned in a cause, desires to be cleared from guilt. Therefore mayest thou deliver him lawfully from this perplexity.'

XIII.

1. Now follows the (rule regarding the ordeal by) poison.

2. All (other) sorts of poison must be avoided (in administering this ordeal),

3. Except poison from the *Sringa* tree, which grows on the Himâlayas.

4. (Of that) the judge must give seven grains, mixed with clarified butter, to the defendant (while reciting the prayer hereafter mentioned).

5. If the poison is digested easily, without violent symptoms, he shall recognise him as innocent, and dismiss him at the end of the day.

6. 'On account of thy venomous and dangerous nature thou art destruction to all living creatures; thou, O poison, knowest what mortals do not comprehend.

7. 'This man being arraigned in a cause, desires to be cleared from guilt. Therefore mayest thou deliver him lawfully from this perplexity.'

XIV.

1. Now follows the (rule regarding the ordeal by) sacred libation.

2. Having invoked terrible deities (such as Durgâ, the Âdityas or others, the defendant) must drink three handfuls of water in which (images of) those deities have been bathed,

XIII. 3, 5-7. Y. II, 110, 111.

XIV. 2, 4, 5. Y. II, 112, 113.

3. Uttering at the same time the words, 'I have not done this,' with his face turned towards the deity (in question).

4. He to whom (any calamity) happens within a fortnight or three weeks (such as an illness, or fire, or the death of a relative, or a heavy visitation by the king),

5. Should be known to be guilty; otherwise (if nothing adverse happens to him), he is freed from the charge. A just king should honour (with presents of clothes, ornaments, &c.) one who has cleared himself from guilt by an ordeal.

XV¹.

1. Now there are twelve kinds of sons.

2. The first is the son of the body, viz. he who is begotten (by the husband) himself on his own lawfully wedded wife.

3. The second is the son begotten on a wife, viz. one begotten by a kinsman allied by funeral oblations, or ¹ by a member of the highest caste, on an appointed (wife or widow).

XV. 1-29. M. IX, 127, 136, 158-181; Y. II, 127-132; Gaut. XXVIII, 18, 19, 32, 33; Colebrooke, Dig. V, 4, CLXXXV; V, 4, CCXXV. — 28-30. Colebrooke, Dig. V, 4, CCXCIX. — 30. M. IX, 163. — 31. Colebrooke, Dig. V, 3, CXXI. — 32-34. M. IX, 201-203; Y. II, 140, 141; Gaut. XXVIII, 43, 44. — 32. Âpast. II, 6, 14, 1. — 34-38. Colebrooke, Dig. V, 5, CCCXXVII. — 40. M. IX, 180; Y. II, 132. — 41, 42. M. IX, 182, 183. — 44. M. IX, 138; Colebrooke, Dig. V, 4, CCCII. — 45-47. M. IX, 106, 137, 139. Of Chapters XV and XVII an excellent translation has been published by Dr. Bühler in the Bombay Digest (I, ¹ 338-343). I have followed him literally almost throughout.

3. ¹ I have translated the reading *voṭpāditaḥ*, which was no doubt

4. The third is the son of an appointed daughter.

5. She is called an appointed daughter, who is given away by her father with the words, 'The son whom she bears be mine.'

6. A damsel who has no brother is also (in every case considered) an appointed daughter, though she has not been given away according to the rule of an appointed daughter.

7. The son of a twice-married woman is the fourth.

8. She who, being still a virgin, is married for the second time is called twice married (punarbhû).

9. She also is called twice married (punarbhû) who, though not legally married more than once, has lived with another man before her lawful marriage.

the reading of Nandapandita, as he paraphrases the whole clause as follows, 'begotten by an elder or younger brother of the husband ; on failure of such, by a kinsman allied by funeral oblations ; on failure of him, by one belonging to the same gotra (race) as the husband ; on failure of him, by one descended from the same *Rîshi* ancestors as he ; on failure of him, by a member of the highest caste, i. e. a *Brâhmana*.' The above reading is also found in the London MS. of the text and in the two Calcutta editions. Dr. Bühler's MS., in which Nand.'s Commentary on this chapter is wanting, has *ĥotpâditaĥ*, and he translates accordingly, 'begotten by a kinsman . . . , who belongs to the highest caste.' The same reading is found in a quotation contained in *Gagannâtha* and *Colebrooke's Dig. loc. cit.* (I quote from a very good though fragmentary Bengali MS. in my possession), where, however, this clause runs as follows, *niyuktâyâm savarnena.ĥotpâditaĥ*, 'begotten by a man of equal class on a widow duly appointed,' *Colebrooke*. The other *Smṛitis* do not speak of the appointment of others than kinsmen to beget a son on a widow, or wife of a eunuch, &c., unless *Yâgñavalkya's* words (II, 128) *sagotreṇetareṇa vâ*, 'by a Sagotra or by another,' may be rendered, contrary to *Vignânesvara's* interpretation, by 'a kinsman or one who is no kinsman.'

10. The son of an unmarried damsel is the fifth.

11. (He is called so who is) born by an unmarried daughter in the house of her father.

12. And he belongs to the man who (afterwards) marries the mother.

13. The son who is secretly born in the house is the sixth.

14. He belongs to him in whose bed he is born.

15. The son received with a bride is the seventh.

16. He (is called so who) is the son of a woman married while she was pregnant.

17. And he belongs to the husband (of the pregnant bride).

18. The adopted son (dattaka) is the eighth.

19. And he belongs to him to whom he is given by his mother or father.

20. The son bought is the ninth.

21. And he belongs to him by whom he is bought.

22. The son self-given is the tenth.

23. And he belongs to him to whom he gave himself.

24. The son cast away is the eleventh.

25. (He is called so) who was forsaken by his father or mother (or by both).

26. And he belongs to him by whom he is received.

27. The son born by any woman whomsoever¹ is the twelfth.

27. ¹Yatra kvañanotpâdita, 'born wherever,' means, according to Nand., 'begotten anyhow, but otherwise than the above-mentioned sons, upon a woman, whether one's own wife, or another man's wife, whether equal in caste or not, whether legally married to the

28. Amongst these (sons) each preceding one is preferable (to the one next in order).

29. And he takes the inheritance (before the next in order).

30. And let him maintain the rest.

31. He should marry unmarried (sisters) in a manner correspondent with the amount of his property.

32. Outcasts, eunuchs, persons incurably diseased, or deficient (in organs of sense or actions, such as blind, deaf, dumb, or insane persons, or lepers) do not receive a share.

33. They should be maintained by those who take the inheritance.

34. And their legitimate sons receive a share.

35. But not the children of an outcast ;

36. Provided they were born after (the commission of) the act on account of which the parents were outcasted.

37. Neither do children begotten (by husbands of

begetter or not, whether still a virgin or not,' &c. But he adds a very lengthy discussion, the upshot of which is, that the term *yatra kvañanotpâdita* is applicable to adopted sons only, who, although they are considered as the sons of the adopter, or of the legitimate husband of the woman, upon whom they were begotten by another, may also become heirs to the begetter, in case he has no other son. 'Or this term refers to the son of a *Sûdra* concubine, whom *Manu* calls *Pârasava*' (*M. IX, 178*). The latter interpretation agrees with the one proposed by *Dr. Bühler*, who identifies the *yatra kvañanotpâdita* with the '*Nishâda* and *Pârasava* of other lawyers,' especially of *Baudhâyana* (*II, 2, 22*), and with the view taken by *Gagannâtha*, who thinks that the *Saudra* (son of a *Sûdra* woman) is meant.

32. 'The particle *tu*, "but," indicates that those who have entered the order of ascetics must also be understood here.' (Nand.)

34. 'The particle *ka* indicates that sons begotten on their wives (*Kshetragas*) shall also receive a share.' (Nand.)

an inferior caste) on women of a higher caste receive a share.

38. Their sons do not even receive a share of the wealth of their paternal grandfathers.

39. They should be supported by the heirs.

40. And he who inherits the wealth, presents the funeral oblation (to the deceased).

41. Amongst wives of one husband also the son of one is the son of all (and must present funeral oblations to them after their death).

42. Likewise, amongst brothers begotten by one (father, the son of one is the son of all, and must present funeral oblations to them all).

43. Let a son present the funeral oblations to his father, even though he inherit no property.

44. Because he saves (trâyate) his father from the hell called Put, therefore (a male child) is called put-tra (protector from Put, son) by Svayambhû himself.

45. He (the father) throws his debt on him (the son); and the father obtains immortality, if he sees the face of a living son.

46. Through a son he conquers the worlds, through a grandson he obtains immortality, and through the son's grandson he gains the world of the sun.

47. No difference is made in this world between the son of a son and the son of a daughter; for even a daughter's son works the salvation of a childless man, just like a son's son.

44. 'Svayambhû means the Veda.' (Nand.)

XVI.

1. On women equal in caste (to their husbands) sons are begotten, who are equal in caste (to their fathers).

2. On women of lower caste than their husbands sons are begotten, who follow the caste of their mothers.

3. On women of higher caste than their husbands sons are begotten, who are despised by the twice-born.

4. Among these, the son of a Sûdra with a Vaisya woman is called Âyogava.

5. The Pukkasa and Mâgadha are sons of a Vaisya and Sûdra respectively with a Kshatriya woman.

6. The *Kandâla*, *Vaidehaka*, and *Sûta* are the sons of a Sûdra, Vaisya, and Kshatriya respectively with a Brâhmana woman.

7. Besides these, there are innumerable other mixed castes produced by further intermixture between those that have been mentioned.

8. Âyogavas must live by artistic performances (such as public wrestling, dancing, and the like).

9. Pukkakas must live by hunting.

10. Mâgadhas must live by calling out in public the good qualities (of saleable commodities).

11. *Kandâlas* must live by executing criminals sentenced to death.

XVI. 1. M. X, 5; Y. I, 90; Âpast. II, 6, 13, 1. — 4-6. M. X, 11, 12; Y. I, 93, 94; Gaut. IV, 17. — 7. M. X, 31. — 8-15. M. X, 47-53. — 17. M. X, 57. — 18. M. X, 62.

10. According to Manu (X, 47) the Mâgadhas are to live by traffic.

12. Vaidehakas must live by keeping (dancing girls and other public) women and profiting by what they earn.

13. Sûtas must live by managing horses.

14. *Kandâlas* must live out of the town, and their clothes must be the mantles of the deceased. In this their condition is different (from, and lower than, that of the other mixed castes).

15. All (members of mixed castes) should have intercourse (of marriage, and other community) only between themselves.

16. (In the lower castes also) the son inherits the property of his father.

17. All members of those mixed castes, whether their descent has been kept secret or is generally known, may be found out by their acts.

18. Desertion of life, regardless of reward, in order to save a *Brâhmana*, or a cow, or for the sake of a woman or child, may confer heavenly bliss even upon (members of those) base castes.

XVII.

1. If a father makes a partition with his sons, he may dispose of his self-acquired property as he thinks best.

XVII. 1. Y. II, 114. — 2. Y. II, 121. — 3. M. IX, 216; Y. II, 122; Gaut. XXVIII, 29; Colebrooke, Dig. V, 2, CII. — 4-16. M. IX, 185-189; Y. II, 135-137; Âpast. II, 6, 14, 2-5; Gaut. XXVIII, 21. — 4-13, 15. Colebrooke, Dig. V, 8, CCCXVII; V, 8, CCCCLIX. — 17. M. IX, 211, 212; Y. II, 138; Gaut. XXVIII, 28. — 18. M. IX, 194, 195; Y. II, 143, 144; Colebrooke, Dig. V, 9, CCCCLVII. — 19. M. IX, 196; Y. II, 145. — 20. M. IX, 197; Y. II, 145. — 21. M. IX, 192; Y. II, 145; Gaut. XXVIII, 24; Colebrooke, Dig. V, 9, CCCXCIV. — 22. M. IX, 200; Colebrooke, Dig. V, 9, CCCCLXXIII. — 23. Y. II, 120.

2. But in regard to wealth inherited of the paternal grandfather, the ownership of father and son is equal.

3. (Sons), who have separated from their father, should give a share to (a brother) who is born after partition.

4. The wealth of a man who dies without male issue goes to his wife ;

5. On failure of her, to his daughter ;

6. On failure of her, to his father ;

7. On failure of him, to his mother ;

8. On failure of her, to his brother ;

9. On failure of him, to his brother's son ;

10. On failure of him, to the relations called Bandhu ;

11. On failure of them, to the relations called Sakulya ;

12. On failure of them, to a fellow-student ;

13. On failure of him, it goes to the king, with the exception of a Brâhmana's property.

14. The property of a Brâhmana goes to (other) Brâhmanas.

8. 'On failure of brothers the sister inherits.' (Nand.)

9. 'On failure of a brother's son the sister's son inherits.' (Nand.)

10. Bandhu means Sapinda (allied by funeral oblations). The inheritance goes first to the Sapindas on the father's side in the following order: (the brother's son), the brother's grandson, the grandfather, his son, grandson, and great-grandson, the great-grandfather, his son, grandson, and great-grandson. Then follow the mother's Sapindas in the same order. (Nand.)

11. Sakulya means distant kinsmen, beginning with the fifth in descent and ascent. On failure of such, the inheritance goes to the spiritual teacher ; on failure of him, to a pupil of the deceased, as ordained by Âpastamba (II, 6, 14, 3) ; and on failure of him, to a fellow-student, as stated in Sûtra 12. (Nand.)

15. The wealth of a (deceased) hermit shall be taken by his spiritual teacher ;

16. Or his pupil (may take it).

17. But let a reunited coparcener take the share of his reunited coparcener who has died (without issue), and a uterine brother that of his uterine brother, and let them give (the shares of their deceased coparceners and uterine brothers) to the sons of the latter.

18. What has been given to a woman by her father, mother, sons, or brothers, what she has received before the sacrificial fire (at the marriage ceremony), what she receives on supersession, what has been given to her by her relatives, her fee (Sulka), and a gift subsequent, are called 'woman's property' (Strīdhana).

19. If a woman married according to (one of the first) four rites, beginning with the Brāhma rite, dies without issue, that (Strīdhana) belongs to her husband.

20. (If she has been married) according to (one of) the other (four reprehensible rites), her father shall take it.

18. 'Sulka, "fee," denotes the price or value of a house or other valuable object presented to the bride by her father ; or it means the fee paid for her by the bridegroom.' (Nand.) The latter interpretation is evidently the correct one. The bride's 'fee' (see Gaut. XXVIII, 25), from being originally the price due to the parents or guardian of the bride for surrendering her to the bridegroom, became in after times a wedding present, which the bride received from the bridegroom either directly or through her parents. This is the only way to account for the Sulka being enumerated among the constituent parts of Strīdhana in this place. See also I. D. Mayne, *Hindu Law and Usage*, §§ 77, 566 ; Mayr, *Indisches Erbrecht*, 170 seq. ; Jolly, *Stellung der Frauen*, 23, note.

19, 20. See XXIV, 17-27.

21. If she dies leaving children, her wealth goes in every case to her daughter.

22. Ornaments worn by women when their husbands were alive, the heirs shall not divide among themselves; if they divide them, they become outcasts.

23. (Coparceners) descended from different fathers must adjust their shares according to the fathers. Let each take the wealth due to his father, no other (has a right to it).

XVIII.

1. If there are four sons of a Brâhmana (springing from four different wives) of the four castes, they shall divide the whole estate of their father into ten parts.

2. Of these, let the son of the Brâhmana wife take four parts;

3. The son of the Kshatriya wife, three parts;

4. The son of the Vaisya wife, two parts;

5. The son of the Sûdra wife, a single part.

22. My rendering of this Sloka is based upon Kullûka's interpretation of the identical passage of Manu (IX, 200), which is supported by Vignânesvara (Mitâksharâ I, 4, 19 in Colebrooke's version), Mâdhava (Burnell, Dâya-Vibhâga 51), Varadarâga (Burnell, Varadarâga's Vyavahâranirnaya 49), and others. Nand. proposes a different interpretation, on which rests Dr. Bühler's rendering, 'Those ornaments, which the wives usually wear, should not be divided by the heirs whilst the husbands are alive.'

XVIII. 1-5. M. IX, 149, 151-153; Y. II, 125. — 11, 25-27. Y. II, 125. — 1-31, 38-40. Colebrooke, Dig. V, 3, CLIII. — 32-37. Colebrooke, Dig. V, 3, CLXXII; V, 2, LXXXVI; V, 1, LIV. — 36. Y. II, 114; Âpast. II, 6, 14, 1. — 41. M. IX, 210. — 42, 43. M. IX, 208, 209; Y. II, 118, 119. — 44. M. IX, 219; Gaut. XXVIII, 46, 47. — 43, 44. Colebrooke, Dig. V, 2, XCI; V, 5, CCCLXIII.

6. Again, if there are three sons of a Brâhmana (by wives of different castes), but no son by a Sûdra (wife) among them, they shall divide the estate into nine parts.

7. (Of these) let them take, each in the order of his caste, shares amounting to four, three, and two parts of the whole respectively.

8. (If there are three sons by wives of different castes, but) no Vaisya among them, they shall divide the estate into eight parts, and take four parts, three parts, and one part respectively.

9. (If there are three sons, but) no Kshatriya among them, they shall divide it into seven parts, and take four parts, two parts, and a single part respectively.

10. If there is no Brâhmana among them, they shall divide it into six parts, and take three parts, two parts, and a single part respectively.

11. If there are sons of a Kshatriya by a Kshatriya, a Vaisya, and a Sûdra wife, the mode of division shall be the same (i. e. the estate shall be divided into six parts, &c.)

12. Again, if there are two sons of a Brâhmana, the one belonging to the Brâhmana and the other to the Kshatriya caste, they shall divide the estate into seven parts; and of these the Brâhmana son shall take four parts;

13. The Kshatriya son, three parts.

14. Again, if there are two sons of a Brâhmana, and the one belongs to the Brâhmana and the other to the Vaisya caste, the estate shall be divided into six parts; and of these, the Brâhmana shall take four parts;

15. The Vaisya, two parts.

16. Again, if there are two sons of a Brâhmana, and the one belongs to the Brâhmana and the other to the Sûdra caste, they shall divide the estate into five parts;

17. And of these, the Brâhmana shall take four parts;

18. The Sûdra, a single part.

19. Again, if there are two sons of a Brâhmana or a Kshatriya, and the one belongs to the Kshatriya and the other to the Sûdra caste, they shall divide the estate into five parts;

20. And of these, the Kshatriya shall take three parts;

21. The Sûdra, one part.

22. Again, if there are two sons of a Brâhmana or a Kshatriya, and the one belongs to the Kshatriya, the other to the Sûdra caste, they shall divide the estate into four parts;

23. And of these, the Kshatriya shall take three parts;

24. The Sûdra, a single part.

25. Again, if there are two sons of a Brâhmana or a Vaisya or a Sûdra, and the one belongs to the Vaisya, the other to the Sûdra caste, they shall divide the estate into three parts;

26. And of these, the Vaisya shall take two parts;

27. The Sûdra, a single part.

28. If a Brâhmana has an only son, he shall take the whole estate, provided he be a Brâhmana, Kshatriya, or Vaisya.

29. If a Kshatriya has (an only son who is) either a Kshatriya or a Vaisya, (the rule shall be the same.)

30. If a Vaisya has (an only son who is) a Vaisya, (the rule shall also be the same) ;

31. (And so shall the only) son of a Sûdra (be sole heir) to his Sûdra (father).

32. A Sûdra, who is the only son of a father belonging to a twice-born caste, shall inherit one half of his property ;

33. The other half shall devolve in the same way as the property of one who died without leaving issue.

34. Mothers shall receive shares proportionate to their sons' shares ;

35. And so shall unmarried daughters.

36. Sons, who are equal in caste (to their father), shall receive equal shares.

37. A best part (the twentieth part of the inheritance, &c.) shall be given to the eldest, as his additional share.

38. If there are two sons by a Brâhmana wife, and one son by a Sûdra wife, the estate shall be divided into nine parts ; and of these, the two sons of the Brâhmana wife shall take two parts, the one son of the Sûdra wife, a single part.

39. If there are two sons by a Sûdra, and one son by a Brâhmana wife, the estate shall be divided into six parts ; and of these, the son of the Brâhmana wife shall take four parts, and the two sons of the Sûdra wife together shall take two parts.

40. Upon the same principles the shares have to be adjusted in other cases also.

33. See XVII, 4 seq.

34. 'That is to say, a Brâhmana wife shall take four parts, a Kshatriya wife, three parts,' &c. (Nand.)

37. See Gaut. XXVIII, 5.

41. If (brothers), who after a previous division of the estate live again together as parceners, should make a second partition, the shares must be equal in that case, and the eldest has no right to an additional share.

42. What a brother has acquired by his own efforts, without using the patrimony, he must not give up (to his brothers or other co-heirs), unless by his own free will; for it was gained by his own exertion.

43. And if a man recovers (a debt or other property), which could not before be recovered by his father, he shall not, unless by his own free will, divide it with his sons; for it is an acquisition made by himself.

44. Apparel, vehicles¹ (carriages or riding-horses), and ornaments (such as are usually worn according to the custom of the caste), prepared food, water (in a well or pool), females (slaves or mistresses of the deceased), property destined for pious uses or sacrifices, a common pasture-ground², and a book, are indivisible.

42. The term *svayamñitalabdham* has been translated according to Kullûka (on M. IX, 208). Nand. interprets this Sloka thus, 'What a brother has acquired by his own efforts, and what has been given to him, at his desire (by friends or others), he must not give up,' &c.

43. Here again I have followed Kullûka (on M. IX, 209), and deviated from Nand.'s interpretation, who renders this Sloka as follows, 'If a man recovers property, &c., or if he gains property by himself (by his learning or valour, &c.) . . .'

44. ¹The term *pattra* has been rendered above in accordance with the first interpretation proposed by Nand., and with Kullûka's interpretation (on M. IX, 219). *Vigñânesvara* (in his comment upon the same passage of Manu) refers it to written documents, such especially as relate to a debt to be paid to the deceased; and

XIX.

1. He must not cause a member of a twice-born caste to be carried out by a Sûdra (even though he be a kinsman of the deceased);

2. Nor a Sûdra by a member of a twice-born caste.

3. A father and a mother shall be carried out by their sons (who are equal in caste to their parents).

4. But Sûdras must never carry out a member of a twice-born caste, even though he be their father.

5. Those Brâhmanas who carry out (or follow the corpse of) a (deceased) Brâhmana who has no relatives shall attain a mansion in heaven.

6. Those who have carried out a dead relative and burnt his corpse, shall walk round the pile from left to right, and then plunge into water, dressed in their clothes.

7. After having offered a libation of water to the deceased, they must place one ball of rice on blades of Kusa grass, (and this ceremony has to be repeated on each subsequent day, while the period of impurity lasts.)

8. Then, having changed their dress, they must

this interpretation is mentioned by Nand. also. But there is no reason why an unliquidated demand should not be divided; and written documents are only twice referred to in the code of Manu (VIII, 168, and IX, 232).—² In translating the term *prâkâra* I have again followed Kullûka loc. cit.; see also Petersburg Dictionary s. v. Nand. interprets this term as denoting 'a path leading to or from the house.'

XIX. 1. M.V, 104. — 2. Y. III, 26. — 6. M.V, 103; Y. III, 26. — 7, 8. Y. III, 7, 12, 13. — 14-17. M.V, 73; Y. III, 16. 'Chapters XIX-XXXII contain the section on *Âkâra*, "Holy Usage."' (Nand.)

bite Nimba leaves between their teeth, and having stepped upon the stone threshold, they must enter the house.

9. Then they must throw unbroken grains into the fire.

10. On the fourth day they must collect the bones that have been left.

11. And they must throw them into water from the Ganges.

12. As many bones of a man are contained in the water of the Ganges, so many thousands of years will he reside in heaven.

13. While the term of impurity lasts, they must continually offer a libation of water and a ball of rice to the deceased.

14. And they must eat food which has been bought, or which they have received unsolicited.

15. And they must eat no meat.

16. And they must sleep on the ground.

17. And they must sleep apart.

18. When the impurity is over, they must walk forth from the village, have their beards shaved, and having cleansed themselves with a paste of sesamum, or with a paste of mustard-seed, they must change their dress and re-enter the house.

19. There, after reciting a propitiatory prayer, they must honour the Brâhmanas.

13. The duration of the impurity varies according to the caste &c. of the deceased. See XXII.

14. The particle *ka*, according to Nand., indicates that factitious salt must also not be used by them, as stated in a *Smr̥iti*.

15. Nand. refers the particle *ka* to an implied prohibition to eat fish, which he quotes from a text of Gautama (not found in his Institutes).

20. The gods are invisible deities, the Brâhmanas are visible deities.

21. The Brâhmanas sustain the world.

22. It is by the favour of the Brâhmanas that the gods reside in heaven; a speech uttered by Brâhmanas (whether a curse or a benediction) never fails to come true.

23. What the Brâhmanas pronounce, when highly pleased (as, if they promise sons, cattle, wealth, or some other boon to a man), the gods will ratify; when the visible gods are pleased, the invisible gods are surely pleased as well.

24. The mourners, who lament the loss of a relative, shall be addressed by men gifted with a tranquil frame of mind with such consolatory speeches as I shall now recite to thee, O Earth, who art cherished to my mind.

XX.

1. The northern progress of the sun is a day with the gods.

2. The southern progress of the sun is (with them) a night.

3. A year is (with them) a day and a night;

4. Thirty such are a month;

5. Twelve such months are a year.

6. Twelve hundred years of the gods are a Kaliyuga.

XX. 1-3. M. I, 67. — 6-9. M. I, 69, 70. — 10. M. I, 71. — 11. M. I, 79. — 12-14. M. I, 72. — 30. Y. III, 11.

6. The Kaliyuga itself consists of a thousand years only; but it is both preceded and followed by a twilight lasting a hundred years. It is similar with the three other Yugas. (Nand.)

7. Twice as many (or two thousand four hundred) are a *Dvâpara* (Yuga).

8. Thrice as many (or three thousand six hundred) are a *Tretâ* (Yuga).

9. Four times as many (or four thousand eight hundred) are a *Kṛita* Yuga.

10. (Thus) twelve thousand years make a *Katur-yuga* (or period of four Yugas).

11. Seventy-one *Katuryugas* make a *Manvantara* (or period of a *Manu*).

12. A thousand *Katuryugas* make a *Kalpa*.

13. And that is a day of the forefather (Brahman).

14. His night also has an equal duration.

15. If so many such nights and days are put together that, reckoned by the month and by the year, they make up a period of a hundred years (of Brahman) it is called the age of one Brahman.

16. A day of *Purusha* (*Vishnu*) is equal in duration to the age of one Brahman.

17. When it ends, a *Mahâkalpa* is over.

18. The night following upon it is as long.

19. The days and nights of *Purusha* that have gone by are innumerable;

20. And so are those that will follow.

21. For *Kâla* (time) is without either beginning or end.

22. Thus it is, that in this *Kâla* (time), in whom there is nothing to rest upon, and who is everlasting, I can espy nothing created in which there is the least stability.

23. The sands in the Ganges and (the waters pouring down from the sky) when *Indra* sends rain

21. 'Kâla means *Vishnu* in this place.' (Nand.)

can be counted, but not the number of 'Forefathers' (Brahmans) who have passed away.

24. In each Kalpa, fourteen chiefs of the gods (Indras) go to destruction, as many rulers of the world (kings), and fourteen Manus.

25. And so have many thousands of Indras and hundred thousands of princes of the Daityas (such as Hiranyakasipu, Hiranyāksha, and others) been destroyed by Kāla (time). What should one say of human beings then?

26. Many royal *Rishis* too (such as Sagara), all of them renowned for their virtues, gods and Brahmanical *Rishis* (such as Kasyapas) have perished by the action of Kāla.

27. Those even who have the power of creating and annihilating in this world (the sun, moon, and other heavenly bodies) continually perish by the act of Kāla; for Kāla (time) is hard to overcome.

28. Every creature is seized upon by Kāla and carried into the other world. It is the slave of its actions (in a former existence). Wherefore then should you wail (on its death)?

29. Those who are born are sure to die, and those who have died are sure to be born again. This is inevitable, and no associate can follow a man (in his passage through mundane existence).

30. As mourners will not help the dead in this world, therefore (the relatives) should not weep, but perform the obsequies to the best of their power.

31. As both his good and bad actions will follow

27. Here also Kāla, the god of time, is another name for Vishṇu. (Nand.)

29. The same proverb occurs in the *Rāmāyana* II, 84, 21, and in the *Bhagavadgītā* II, 27. See Böhlingk, Ind. Sprüche, 2383.

him (after death) like associates, what does it matter to a man whether his relatives mourn over him or no?

32. But as long as his relatives remain impure, the departed spirit finds no rest, and returns to visit (his relatives), whose duty it is to offer up to him the funeral ball of rice and the water libation.

33. Till the *Sapindikarana*¹ has been performed, the dead man remains a disembodied spirit (and is afflicted with hunger and thirst). Give rice and a jar with water to the man who has passed into the abode of disembodied spirits.

34. Having passed into the abode of the manes (after the performance of the *Sapindikarana*) he enjoys in the shape of celestial food his portion of the *Srâddha* (funeral oblation); offer the *Srâddha*, therefore, to him who has passed into the abode of the manes.

35. Whether he has become a god, or stays in hell, or has entered the body of an animal, or of a human being, he will receive the *Srâddha* offered to him by his relatives.

36. The dead person and the performer of the *Srâddha* are sure to be benefitted by its performance. Perform the *Srâddha* always, therefore, abandoning bootless grief.

37. This is the duty which should be constantly discharged towards a dead person by his kinsmen; by mourning a man will neither benefit the dead nor himself.

38. Having seen that no help is to be had from this world, and that his relations are dying (one after

33. ¹ See XXI, 12.

the other), you must choose virtue for your only associate, O ye men.

39. Even were he to die with him, a kinsman is unable to follow his dead relative: all excepting his wife are forbidden to follow him on the path of Yama.

40. Virtue alone will follow him, wherever he may go; therefore do your duty unflinchingly in this wretched world.

41. To-morrow's business should be done to-day, and the afternoon's business in the forenoon; for death will not wait, whether a person has done it or not.

42. While his mind is fixed upon his field, or traffic, or his house, or while his thoughts are engrossed by some other (beloved) object, death suddenly carries him away as his prey, as a she-wolf catches a lamb.

43. Kâla (time) is no one's friend and no one's enemy: when the effect of his acts in a former existence, by which his present existence is caused, has expired, he snatches a man away forcibly.

44. He will not die before his time has come, even though he has been pierced by a thousand shafts; he will not live after his time is out, even though he has only been touched by the point of a blade of Kusa grass.

45. Neither drugs, nor magical formulas, nor

39. This is an allusion to the custom of Satee. (Nand.) See XXV, 14.

41. This proverb is found in the Mahâbhârata also (XII, 6536, &c.) See Böhlingk, Ind. Sprüche, 6595.

43. This proverb is also found in the Mahâbhârata XI, 68, and Râmâyana IV, 18, 28, and other works. See Böhlingk, 3194.

45. 'Neither will presents of gold (to Brâhmanas) or other such

burnt-offerings, nor prayers will save a man who is in the bonds of death or old age.

46. An impending evil cannot be averted even by a hundred precautions; what reason then for you to complain?

47. Even as a calf finds his mother among a thousand cows, an act formerly done is sure to find the perpetrator.

48. Of existing beings the beginning is unknown, the middle (of their career) is known, and the end again unknown; what reason then for you to complain?

49. As the body of mortals undergoes (successively the vicissitudes of) infancy, youth, and old age, even so will it be transformed into another body (hereafter); a sensible man is not mistaken about that.

50. As a man puts on new clothes in this world, throwing aside those which he formerly wore, even so the self of man puts on new bodies, which are in accordance with his acts (in a former life).

51. No weapons will hurt the self of man, no fire burn it, no waters moisten it, and no wind dry it up.

52. It is not to be hurt, not to be burnt, not to be moistened, and not to be dried up; it is imperishable, perpetual, unchanging, immovable, without beginning.

acts of liberality save him, as the use of the particle *kā* implies.' (Nand.)

47. This proverb is also found in the *Mahābhārata* XII, 6760, *Pañātanta* II, 134, and other works. See Böhlingk, *Ind. Sprüche*, 5114.

48. This proverb is also found in the *Bhagavadgītā* II, 28. See Böhlingk, *Ind. Sprüche*, 704.

50. Regarding transmigration, see below, XLIV, XLV.

53. It is (further) said to be immaterial, passing all thought, and immutable. Knowing the self of man to be such, you must not grieve (for the destruction of his body).

XXI.

1. Now then ¹, (on the day) after the impurity is over, let him bathe duly (during the recitation of Mantras), wash his hands and feet duly, and sip water duly, (and having invited some Brâhmanas), as many as possible, who must cleanse themselves in the same way and turn their faces towards the north, let him bestow presents of perfumes, garlands, clothes and other things (a lamp, frankincense, and the like) upon them, and hospitably entertain them.

2. At the Ekoddish/a (or Srâddha for one recently deceased) let him alter the Mantras ¹ so as to refer to (the) one person (deceased) ².

XXI. 1-11. Âsv. IV, 7; Pâr. III, 10, 48-53; Sâṅkh. IV, 2; M. III, 247; Y. III, 250, 251, 255. — 12-23. Sâṅkh. IV, 3; V, 9; Y. I, 252-254. Regarding the parallel passages of the Kâṭhaka Gr̥hya-sûtra, see the Introduction.

1. ¹ 'Having said, in the previous Chapter (XX, 30), that "the obsequies should be performed," he now goes on to describe that part of the obsequies which has not yet been expounded, viz. the "first Srâddha."' (Nand.)

2. ¹ The Mantras here referred to are those contained in the description of the Pârvaṇa and other ordinary Srâddhas in Chapter LXXIII. Thus, the Mantra, 'This is your (share), ye manes' (LXXIII, 12, 13), has to be altered into, 'This is thy (share), father;' and so on. Devapâla, in his Commentary on the Kâṭhaka Gr̥hya-sûtra, gives an accurate statement of all the modifications which the ordinary Mantras have to undergo at the Ekoddish/a.—² Nand. states that not only the Mantras, but the whole ritual should be modified. The nature of the latter modifications is stated by Yâg-ñavalkya loc. cit. and by Sâṅkhâya loc. cit.

3. Close to the food left (by the Brâhmanas) let him offer a ball of rice, at the same time calling out his name and (that of) his race.

4. The Brâhmanas having taken food and having been honoured with a gift, let him offer, as imperishable food, water to the Brâhmanas, after having called out the name and Gotra of the deceased; and let him dig three trenches, each four Aṅgulas in breadth, their distance from one another and their depth also measuring (four Aṅgulas), and their length amounting to one Vitasti (or twelve Aṅgulas).

5. Close by the trenches let him light three fires, and having added fuel to them, let him make three oblations (of boiled rice) in each (fire, saying),

6. 'Svadhâ and reverence to Soma, accompanied by the manes.

7. 'Svadhâ and reverence to Agni, who conveys the oblations addressed to the manes.

8. 'Svadhâ and reverence to Yama Aṅgiras.'

9. Then let him offer balls of rice as (ordained) before (in Sûtra 3) on the three mounds of earth (adjacent to the three trenches).

10. After having filled the three trenches with

3. This must be done with the Mantra, 'This is for you.' (Nand.) Regarding this Mantra, see note on Sûtra 10.

4. The 'imperishable water,' akshayyodakam, derives its name from the Mantra, with which it is delivered, expressing the wish that the meal 'may give imperishable satisfaction' (akshayyam astu). This is the explanation which Nand. gives of the term akshayyodakam in his gloss on LXXIII, 27. In his comment on the present Sûtra he says that the 'imperishable water' must be presented with the (further?) Mantras, 'Let arrive' and 'Be satisfied.' See Y. I, 251; Sâṅkh. IV, 2, 5, 6.

10. The whole Mantra runs as follows, 'This is for you, father,

rice, sour milk, clarified butter, honey, and meat, let him mutter (the Mantra), 'This is for you.'

11. This ceremony he must repeat monthly, on the day of his death.

12. At the close of the year let him give food to the Brâhmaṇas, after having fed the gods first, in honour of the deceased and of his father, grandfather, and great-grandfather.

13. At (the Ekoddishā belonging to) this ceremony let him perform the burnt-offering, the invitation, and (the offering of) water for washing the feet.

14. Then he must pour the water for washing the feet and the Arghya (water libation) destined for the deceased person into the three vessels containing the water for washing the feet, and the three other vessels containing the Arghya of his three ancestors. At the same time he must mutter

and for those after you.' But in the present case (at a 'first Śrāddha') the name of the deceased has to be substituted for the word 'father.' (Nand.) Although Nand. quotes this Mantra from Âsvalâyana's Srauta-sûtra, it seems probable that the author of the Vishnu-sûtra took it from the Kâṭhaka (IX, 6 of the Berlin MS.)

11. The Sûtras following next refer to the Sapindâkarana or 'ceremony of investing a dead person with the rights of a Sapinda.'

12. 'He must invite six Brâhmaṇas altogether, four as representatives of the deceased person and of his three ancestors, two for the offering to be addressed to the Virvedevâs. The Brâhmaṇa, who represents the deceased person, must be fed according to the rule of the Ekoddishā, and the three Brâhmaṇas, who represent the three ancestors, must be fed according to the rule of the Pârvaṇa Śrāddha, as laid down in Chapter LXXIII.' (Nand.)

13. The import of this Sûtra is, that those three ceremonies must not be omitted in the present case, as is otherwise the case at an Ekoddishā. (Nand.)

14. ¹ The following is a translation of the whole of this Mantra,

(the two Mantras), 'May earth unite thee¹,' and 'United your minds².'

15. Near the leavings he must make (and put) four balls of rice.

16. Let him show out the Brâhmanas, after they have sipped water duly and have been presented by him with their sacrificial fee.

17. Then let him knead together the ball of the deceased person with the three balls (of the three ancestors), as (he has mixed up) his water for washing the feet and his Arghya (with theirs).

18. Let him do the same (with the balls placed) near the three trenches.

19. Or (see Sûtra 12) the *Sapindikarana* must be performed on the thirteenth, after the monthly *Srâddha* has been performed on the twelfth¹ day.

20. For Sûdras it should be performed on the twelfth day, without Mantras.

21. If there be an intercalary month in that year, he must add one day to the (regular days of the) monthly *Srâddha*.

22. The ceremony of investing women with the relationship of *Sapinda* has to be performed in the same manner. Later, he must perform a *Srâddha* every year, while he lives, (on the anniversary of the deceased relative's death)¹.

which is quoted at full in the *Kâthaka Grîhya-sûtra*, 'May *Prithivî* (the earth), *Vâyu* (air), *Agni* (fire), and *Pragâpati* (the lord of creatures) unite thee with thy ancestors, and may you ancestors unite with him.' Regarding the particular ancestors implied here, see below, LXXV. — ² *Rig-veda* X, 191, 4.

19. ¹ I.e. on that day on which the period of impurity expires. (Nand.)

22. ¹ The meaning is, that he must give him food and water, as prescribed in 23. (Nand.)

23. He, for whom the ceremony of investing him with the relationship of *Sapinda* is performed after the lapse of a year, shall be honoured by the gift, (on each day) of that year, of food and a jar with water to a *Brâhmana*.

XXII.

1. The impurity of a *Brâhmana* caused by the birth or death of *Sapindas* lasts ten days.

2. In the case of a *Kshatriya* (it lasts) twelve days.

3. In the case of a *Vaisya* (it lasts) fifteen days.

4. In the case of a *Sûdra* (it lasts) a month.

5. The relationship of *Sapinda* ceases with the seventh man (in descent or ascent).

6. During the period of impurity oblations (to the *Viśvedevâs*), gifts and receiving of alms, and study have to be interrupted.

XXII. 1-4. M.V, 83; Y.III, 18, 22; Âpast. I, 5, 16, 18; Gaut. XIV, 1-4. — 5. M.V, 60; Âpast. II, 6, 15, 2; Gaut. XIV, 13. — 25. M.V, 66; Y. III, 20; Gaut. XIV, 17. — 27. Y. III, 23; Gaut. XIV, 44. — 28. M.V, 69; Y. III, 1. — 29, 30. M.V, 67; Y. III, 23. — 35. M.V, 79; Y. III, 20; Gaut. XIV, 6. — 36, 37. Gaut. XIV, 7, 8. — 38. M.V, 79; Y. III, 20. — 39-41. M.V, 75, 76; Y. III, 21; Gaut. XIV, 19. — 42. M.V, 80; Y. III, 24. — 43. Y. III, 25. — 44. M.V, 80, 81; Y. III, 24; Gaut. XIV, 20. — 45. M.V, 82; Y. III, 25. — 46. M.V, 81; Gaut. XIV, 20. — 47. M.V, 89; Y. III, 21, 27; Gaut. XIV, 10-12. — 48-55. M.V, 93-95; Y. III, 27-29. — 48, 49. Gaut. XIV, 45, 46. — 56. M.V, 89; Y. III, 21; Gaut. XIV, 12. — 63-65. M.V, 103; Y. III, 26; Gaut. XIV, 31. — 67. M.V, 144. — 69. M.V, 85; Y. III, 30; Âpast. II, 1, 2, 8, 9; Gaut. XIV, 30. — 70. M.V, 87. — 75. M.V, 145; Y. I, 196; Âpast. I, 5, 16, 14; Gaut. I, 37. — 81. M.V, 135. — 82. M. XI, 95. — 84. M. XI, 96. — 85. M.V, 65. — 86. M.V, 91. — 87. M.V, 88. — 88-93. M.V, 105-110; Y. III, 31-34.

7. No one must eat the food of one impure (unless he be a *Sapinda* of his).

8. He who eats but once the food of *Brâhmanas* or others, while they are impure, will remain impure as long as they.

9. When the (period of) impurity is over, he must perform a penance (as follows):

10. If a twice-born man has eaten (the food) of a member of his own caste, while the latter was impure, he must approach a river and plunge into it, mutter the (hymn of) *Aghamarshana*¹ three times, and, after having emerged from the water, must mutter the *Gâyatrî*² one thousand and eight times.

11. If a *Brâhmaṇa* has eaten the food of a *Kshatriya*, while the latter was impure, he is purified by performing the same penance and by fasting (on the previous day).

12. (The same penance is ordained for) a *Kshatriya* who has eaten the food of a *Vaisya*, while the latter was impure.

13. (The same penance is ordained for) a *Brâhmaṇa* (who has eaten the food) of an impure *Vaisya*; but he must fast besides during the three (previous) days.

14. If a *Kshatriya* or a *Vaisya* (have eaten the food) of a *Brâhmaṇa* or a *Kshatriya* respectively, who were impure, they must approach a river and mutter the *Gâyatrî* five hundred times.

15. A *Vaisya*, who has eaten the food of a *Brâhmaṇa*, while the latter was impure, must (go to a river and) mutter the *Gâyatrî* one hundred and eight times.

10. ¹ *Rig-veda* X, 190. — ² *Rig-veda* III, 62, 10.

16. A twice-born man (who has eaten the food) of a Sûdra, while the latter was impure, must (go to a river and) perform the Prâgâpatya (penance).

17. A Sûdra (who has eaten the food) of an impure man of a twice-born caste must bathe (in a river).

18. A Sûdra (who has eaten the food) of another Sûdra, while the latter was impure, must bathe (in a river) and drink Pañçagavya.

19. Wives and slaves in the direct order of the castes (i. e. who do not belong to a higher caste than their lord) remain impure as long as their lord.

20. If their lord is dead (or if they live apart from him, they remain impure) as long as (members of) their own caste.

21. If Sapindas of a higher caste (are born or have died) the period of impurity has for their lower caste relations the same duration as for members of the higher caste.

22. A Brâhmana (to whom) Sapindas of the Kshatriya, Vaisya, or Sûdra castes (have been born or have died) becomes pure within six nights, or three nights, or one night, respectively.

23. A Kshatriya (to whom Sapindas of the) Vaisya or Sûdra castes (have been born or have died) is purified within six and three nights, respectively.

24. A Vaisya (to whom Sapindas of the) Sûdra caste (have been born or have died) becomes pure within six nights.

16. Regarding the Prâgâpatya penance, see below, XLVI, 10.

18. The Pañçagavya, or five productions of a cow, consist of milk, sour milk, butter, urine, and cow-dung.

25. In a number of nights equal to the number of months after conception, a woman is purified from an abortion.

26. The relatives of children that have died immediately after birth (before the cutting of the navel-string), and of still-born children, are purified at once.

27. (The relatives) of a child that has died before having teethed (are also purified) at once.

28. For him no ceremony with fire is performed, nor offering of water.

29. For a child that has teethed but has not yet been shorn, purity is obtained in one day and night;

30. For a child that has been shorn but not initiated, in three nights;

31. From that time forward (i. e. for initiated persons) in the time that has been mentioned above (in Sûtra 1 seq.)

32. In regard to women, the marriage ceremony is (considered as their) initiation.

33. For married women there is no impurity for the relatives on the father's side.

34. If they happen to stay at their father's house during childbirth or if they die there, (their distant relatives are purified) in one night, and their parents (in three nights).

35. If, while the impurity caused by a birth lasts,

26. 'The meaning is, that the relatives of such children do not become impure.' (Nand.)

28. 'The meaning is, that he must not be burnt.' (Nand.)

32. The import of this Sûtra is this, that the full period of impurity is ordained on the death of women also, in case they were married, as the marriage ceremony takes with them the place of the initiation of males.

another impurity caused by childbirth intervenes, it ends when the former impurity terminates.

36. If it intervenes when one night (only of the period of impurity remains, the fresh impurity terminates) two days later.

37. If it intervenes when one watch (only of the last night remains, the impurity ends) three days later.

38. The same rule is observed if a relative dies during a period of impurity caused by the death (of another relative).

39. If a man, while staying in another country, hears of the birth or death (of a relative), he becomes purified after the lapse of the period still wanting (to the ten days).

40. If the period of impurity, but not a whole year, has elapsed, (he is purified in one night.)

41. After that time (he is purified) by a bath.

42. If his teacher or maternal grandfather has died, (he is purified) in three nights.

43. Likewise, if sons other than a son of the body have been born or have died, and if wives who had another husband before have been delivered of a child or have died.

40. 'Although the general term impurity is used in this Sûtra, it refers to impurity caused by a death only.' (Nand.)

42. 'The use of the particle *ka* implies, that this rule extends to the death of a maternal grandmother, as ordained in the *Shadāśtismṛti*.' (Nand.)

43. The twelve kinds of sons have been enumerated above, XV, 2-27. Of these, the three species of adopted sons, the son bought, and the son cast off cannot cause impurity, because their sonship dates from a period subsequent to their birth; but their offspring may cause impurity. (Nand.) *Parapûrvās*, or 'wives who had another husband before,' are either of the *punarbhû* or of the *svairiṇi* kind. (Nand.) See XV, 8, 9, and Nārada XII, 46-54.

44. (He becomes pure) in one day, if the wife or son of his teacher, or his Upādhyāya (sub-teacher ¹), or his maternal uncle, or his father-in-law, or a brother-in-law, or a fellow-student, or a pupil has died.

45. The impurity has the same duration (as in the cases last mentioned), if the king of that country in which he lives has died.

46. Likewise, if a man not his Sapinda has died at his house.

47. The relatives of those who have been killed by (falling from) a precipice, or by fire, or (have killed themselves by) fasting, or (have been killed by) water, in battle, by lightning, or by the king (on account of a crime committed by them), do not become impure ;

48. Nor do kings (become impure) while engaged in the discharge of their duties (such as the protection of their subjects, the trial of lawsuits, &c.)

49. Devotees fulfilling a vow (also do not become impure) ;

50. Nor do sacrificers engaged in a sacrificial ceremony ;

51. Nor workmen (such as carpenters or others) while engaged in their work ;

52. Nor those who perform the king's orders, if the king wishes them to be pure.

53. Nor (can impurity arise) during the installation of the monument of a deity, nor during

44. ¹ See XXIX, 2.

49. The term vratin, 'a devotee fulfilling a vow,' may be referred to students as well, who, however, become impure by the death of their parents. (Nand.)

53. A marriage ceremony is said to have actually begun when the Nāndimukha, or Srāddha preliminary to marriage, has taken place. (Nand.)

a marriage ceremony, if those ceremonies have actually begun;

54. Nor when the whole country is afflicted with a calamity;

55. Nor in times of great public distress (such as an epidemic or a famine).

56. Suicides and outcasts do not cause impurity or receive offerings of water.

57. On the death-day of an outcast a female slave of his must upset a pot with water with her feet, (saying, 'Drink thou this.')

58. He who cuts the rope by which (a suicide) has hung himself, becomes pure by performing the *Taptakrikkhra* ('hot penance').

59. So does he who has been (in any way) concerned with the funeral of a suicide;

60. And he who sheds tears for such.

61. He who sheds tears for any deceased person together with the relations of the latter (becomes pure) by a bath.

62. If he has done so, before the bones (of the deceased) had been collected, (he becomes pure) by bathing with his apparel.

63. If a member of a twice-born caste has followed the corpse of a dead *Sûdra*, he must go to a river, and having plunged into it, mutter the *Aghamarshana* three times, and then, after having emerged from it, mutter the *Gâyatri* one thousand and eight times.

64. (If he has followed) the corpse of a dead member of a twice-born caste, (the same expiation

55. Giving or taking alms does not effect impurity in such cases. (Nand.)

is ordained, but he must mutter the *Gâyatri* one hundred and eight times only.

65. If a *Sûdra* has followed the corpse of a member of a twice-born caste, he must bathe.

66. Members of any caste, who have come near to the smoke of a funeral pile, must bathe.

67. (Bathing is also ordained) after sexual intercourse, bad dreams (of having been mounted upon an ass, or the like), when blood has issued from the throat, and after having vomited or been purged;

68. Also, after tonsure of the head;

69. And after having touched one who has touched a corpse (a carrier of a corpse), or a woman in her courses, or a *Kândâla* (or other low-caste persons, such as *Svapakas*), or a sacrificial post;

70. And (after having touched) the corpse of a five-toed animal, except of those kinds that may be eaten¹, or their bones still moist with fat.

71. In all such ablutions he must not wear his (defiled) apparel without having washed it before.

72. A woman in her courses becomes pure after four days by bathing.

73. A woman in her courses having touched another woman in her courses, who belongs to a lower caste than she does, must not eat again till she is purified.

74. If she has (unawares) touched a woman of her own caste, or of a higher caste than her own, she becomes pure at once, after having taken a bath.

75. Having sneezed, having slept, having eaten,

70. ¹ See LI, 6.

75. Nand. argues from a passage of *Yâgñavalkya* (I, 196) and from texts of *Âpastamba* (not found in his *Dharma-sûtra*) and of *Praketas*, that the particle *ka* refers to repeated sipping of water.

going to eat or to study, having drunk (water), having bathed, having spat, having put on his garment, having walked on the high road, having discharged urine or voided excrements, and having touched the bones no longer moist with fat of a five-toed animal, he must sip water ;

76. Likewise, if he has talked to a *Kândâla* or to a *Mlekṣha* (barbarian).

77. If the lower part of his body, below the navel, or one of his fore-arms, has been defiled by one of the impure excretions of the body, or by one of the spirituous liquors or of the intoxicating drinks (hereafter mentioned), he is purified by cleansing the limb in question with earth and water.

78. If another part of his body (above the navel) has been defiled, (he becomes pure by cleansing it) with earth and water, and by bathing.

79. If his mouth has been defiled (he becomes pure) by fasting, bathing, and drinking *Pañṭagavya*;

80. Likewise, if his lip has been defiled.

81. Adeps, semen, blood, dandruff, urine, fæces, ear-wax, nail-parings, phlegm, tears, rheum, and sweat are the twelve impure excretions of the body.

82. Distilled from sugar, or from the blossoms of the *Madhûka* (*Mâdhvî* wine¹), or from flour : these three kinds of spirituous liquor have to be discerned ; as one, so are all : none of them must be tasted by the twice-born.

83. Again, distilled from the blossoms of the

76. Regarding the meaning of *Mlekṣha*, see LXXXIV, 4.

82, 83. ¹ How the *Mâdhvî*, *Mâdhûka*, and *Mâdhvîka* wines differ from one another, does not become clear. Nand. explains the term *Mâdhûka* as denoting an extract from *Madhûka* blossoms (*bassia latifolia*), and *Mâdhvî* and *Mâdhvîka* as two different preparations from *Madhu*. Now *Madhu* might be rendered by 'honey;'

Madhûka tree (Mâdhûka wine), from molasses, from the fruits of the *Taṅka* (or *Kapittha* tree), of the jujube tree, of the *Khargûra* tree, or of the bread-fruit tree, from wine-grapes, from Madhûka blossoms (Mâdhvika wine), Maireya, and the sap of the cocoa-nut tree :

84. These ten intoxicating drinks are unclean for a Brâhmaṇa ; but a Kshatriya and a Vaisya commit no wrong in touching (or drinking) them.

85. A pupil having performed (on failure of other mourners) the funeral of his dead Guru, becomes pure after ten nights, like those (kinsmen) who carry out the dead.

86. A student does not infringe the rules of his order by carrying out, when dead, his teacher, or his sub-teacher, or his father, or his mother, or his Guru.

87. A student must not offer a libation of water to a deceased relative (excepting his parents) till the term of his studentship has expired ; but if, after its expiration, he offers a libation of water, he becomes pure after three nights.

88. Sacred knowledge (see 92), religious austerities (see 90), fire (see XXIII, 33), holy food (*Pañḍagavya*), earth (see 91), the mind, water (see 91), smearing (with cow-dung and the like, see XXIII, 56), air (see XXIII, 41), (the morning and evening prayers and other) religious acts, the sun

but Kullûka, in his comment on the term Mâdhvî (M. XI, 95), states expressly that it means 'Madhûka blossom,' and Hârîta (as quoted by Nand.) says that Mâdhûka, Mâdhvî and Mâdhvika are all preparations from Madhu, i. e. Madhûka blossoms. Maireya, according to the lexicographer Vâkaspati, as quoted by Nand., is an intoxicating drink prepared from the flowers of the *grislea tomentosa*, mixed with sugar, grain, and water, or, according to the reading of the *Sabdakalpadruma* (see the Petersburg Dictionary), with sorrel.

(see XXIII, 40), and time (by the lapse of the ten days of impurity and the like) are purifiers of animate objects.

89. Of all pure things, pure food is pronounced the most excellent; for he who eats pure food only, is truly pure, not he who is only purified with earth and water.

90. By forgiveness of injuries the learned are purified; by liberality, those who have done forbidden acts; by muttering of prayers, those who have sinned in secret; by religious austerities, those who best know the Veda.

91. By water and earth is purified what should be purified (because it has been defiled); a river is purified by its current (carrying away all slime and mud); a woman, whose thoughts have been impure, by her menses; and the chief among the twice-born (the Brâhmanas), by renouncing the world.

92. Bodies (when defiled) are purified by water; the mind is purified (from evil thoughts) by truth; the soul (is purified or freed from worldly vanity) by sacred learning and austerities; the understanding (when unable to resolve some doubt), by knowledge.

93. Thus the directions for purifying animate bodies have been declared to thee; hear now the rules for cleaning all sorts of inanimate objects.

XXIII.

1. What has been defiled by the impure excretions of the body, by spirits, or by intoxicating drinks, is impure in the highest degree.

XXIII. 2. Âpast. I, 5, 17, 10; Gaut. I, 29. — 4. Y. I, 185; Gaut. I, 29, 31. — 5. M.V, 123; Gaut. I, 34. — 7-11. M.V, 111, 112, 116, 117; Y. I, 182, 183. — 7, 8. Gaut. I, 29, 30. — 13-

2. All vessels made of iron (or of other metals or of composition metals such as bell-metal and the like), which are impure in the highest degree, become pure by exposure to the fire.

3. Things made of gems or stones or water-shells, (such as conch-shells or mother-of-pearl, become pure) by digging them into the earth for seven days.

4. Things made of horns (of rhinoceroses or other animals), or of teeth (of elephants or other animals), or of bone (of tortoises or other animals, become pure) by planing them.

5. Vessels made of wood or earthenware must be thrown away.

6. Of a garment, which has been defiled in the highest degree, let him cut off that part which, having been washed, is changed in colour.

7. Objects made of gold, silver, water-shells, or gems, when (they are only defiled by leavings of food and the like, and) not smeared (with greasy substances), are cleansed with water.

8. So are stone cups and vessels used at Soma-sacrifices (when not smeared).

15. M. V, 118, 119; Y. I, 184, 182. — 16. M. V, 122. — 17. M. V, 126; Y. I, 191. — 18. M. V, 118. — 19-22. M. V, 120; Y. I, 186, 187. — 25, 26. M. V, 114; Y. I, 190. — 27. M. V, 115; Y. I, 185; Âpast. I, 5, 17, 12; Gaut. I, 29. — 28. Y. I, 185. — 30. M. V, 115; Y. I, 190. — 33. M. V, 122; Y. I, 187. — 38, 39. M. V, 125, 126. — 38. Y. I, 189. — 40. Y. I, 194. — 41. Y. I, 197. — 47-52. M. V, 127-133. — 53-55. M. V, 141-143. — 53. Y. I, 195; Âpast. I, 5, 16, 12; Gaut. I, 38, 41. — 55. Gaut. I, 28. — 56, 57. M. V, 122, 124; Y. I, 188.

7. The defilement in the highest degree having been treated of in the six preceding Sûtras, he now goes on to discuss the various cases of lesser defilement. (Nand.)

8-11. Regarding the shape of the sacrificial implements men-

9. Sacrificial pots, ordinary wooden ladles, and wooden ladles with two collateral excavations (used for pouring clarified butter on a sacrificial fire) are cleansed with hot water (when not smeared).

10. Vessels used for oblations (of butter, fruits, and the like are cleansed) by rubbing them with the hand (with blades of Kusa grass) at the time of the sacrifice.

11. Sword-shaped pieces of wood for stirring the boiled rice, winnowing baskets, implements used for preparing grain, pestles and mortars (are cleansed) by sprinkling water over them.

12. So are beds, vehicles, and seats (when defiled even by the touch of a *Sûdra*)¹.

13. Likewise, a large quantity (of anything).

14. Grain, skins (of antelopes, &c.), ropes, woven cloth, (fans and the like) made of bamboo, thread, cotton, and clothes (which have only just come from the manufactory, or which are dyed with saffron and will not admit of washing for that reason, are cleansed in the same way, when there is a large quantity of them);

15. Also, pot-herbs, roots, fruits, and flowers;

16. Likewise, grass, firewood, dry cow-dung (used as fuel), and leaves (of the *Madhûka*, *Palâsa*, or other trees).

tioned in these *Sûtras*, see the plates in Professor Max Müller's paper, 'Die Todtenbestattung bei den Brahmanen,' in the *Journal of the German Oriental Society*, IX, LXXVIII-LXXX.

12. ¹ This *Sûtra* and the following ones relate to defilement caused by touch. (Nand.)

13. 'I.e. more than one man can carry, as *Baudhâyana* says.' (Nand.)

14. The use of the particle *ka* implies that resin and other objects mentioned by *Devala* must be included in this enumeration. (Nand.)

17. The same (when smeared with excrements and the like, are cleansed) by washing.

18. And so (have the objects mentioned in Sûtra 14, if defiled without being smeared, to be cleansed by washing), when there is only a small quantity of them ;

19. Silk and wool, with saline earths ;

20. (Blankets or plaids) made of the hair of the mountain-goat, with the fruits of the soap plant ;

21. Clothes made of the bark of trees¹, with Bèl fruit ;

22. Linen cloth, with white sesamum ;

23. Likewise, things made of horns, bone, or teeth ;

24. (Rugs or covers) made of deer's hair, with lotus-seeds ;

25. Vessels of copper, bell-metal, tin, and lead, with acidulated water ;

26. Vessels of white copper and iron, with ashes ;

27. Wooden articles, by planing ;

28. Vessels made of fruits (such as cocoa-nuts, bottle-gourds, and Bèl fruits), by (rubbing them with) cows' hair.

29. Many things in a heap, by sprinkling water over them ;

30. Liquids (such as clarified butter, milk, &c.), by straining them ;

17. 'All the objects mentioned in Sûtras 12-16 must be washed, but so as to avoid injuring them, in case they have been defiled by excrements or other such impure substances.' (Nand.)

21. The term *amsupa* has been rendered in accordance with Nand.'s interpretation, which agrees with Vignânesvara's (on Y. I, 186). Kullûka (on M.V, 120; see the Petersburg Dictionary) appears to refer it to two different sorts of clothes.

30-37. These Sûtras relate to defilement caused by insects, &c. (Nand.)

31. Lumps of sugar and other preparations from the sugar-cane¹, stored up in large quantities (exceeding a *Drona*) and kept in one's own house², by water and fire³;

32. All sorts of salt, in the same manner ;

33. Earthen vessels (if smeared with excrements and the like), by a second burning ;

34. Images of gods (if smeared), by cleansing them in the same way as the material (of which they are made is generally cleansed), and then installing them anew (in their former place).

35. Of undressed grain let him remove so much only as has been defiled, and the remainder let him pound in a mortar and wash.

36. A quantity of prepared grain not exceeding a *Drona* is not spoiled by being defiled (by dogs, crows, and other unclean animals).

37. He must throw away thus much of it only as has been defiled, and must sprinkle over the remainder water, into which a piece of gold has been dropped, and over which the *Gâyatri* has been pronounced, and must hold it up before a goat (or before a horse) and before the fire.

31. ¹ Such as raw sugar, candied sugar, &c. — ² If there is no large quantity of them, they require to be sprinkled with water only ; and if they are kept elsewhere than in the house, as if they are exposed for sale in a fair, they require no purification at all. — ³ They must be encircled with fire, and sprinkled with water afterwards. (Nand.)

32. Nand. mentions as the main species of salt, rock-salt, sea-salt, sochal-salt, and *Sâmbhala*-salt. The last term refers perhaps to salt coming from the famous salt-lake of *Sâkambharî* or *Shambar* in *Râgputana*.

37. 'A quantity less than a *Drona* having been defiled must be thrown away, as stated by *Parâsara*.' (Nand.) One *Drona* = 4 *Âdhakas* = 1024 *Mushâs* or handfuls. The meaning of *Âdhaka*,

38. That (food) which has been nibbled by a bird (except a crow or other such birds that must not be eaten or touched), smelt at by a cow, sneezed on, or defiled by (human) hair, or by insects or worms, is purified by earth scattered over it.

39. As long as the scent or moisture, caused by any unclean substance, remains on the defiled object, so long must earth and water be constantly applied in all purifications of inanimate objects.

40. A goat and a horse are pure, as regards their mouths, but not a cow, nor the impure excretions of a man's body; roads are purified by the rays of the moon and of the sun, and by the winds.

41. Mire and water upon the high road, that has been touched by low-caste people, by dogs, or by crows, as well as buildings constructed with burnt bricks, are purified by the wind.

42. For everybody let him (the Âkârya or spiritual guide) carefully direct the performance of purificatory ceremonies, with earth and water, when he has been defiled in the highest degree.

43. Stagnant water, even if a single cow only has quenched her thirst with it, is pure, unless it is quite filled with (hair or other) unclean objects; it is the same with water upon a rock (or upon the top of a mountain).

44. From a well, in which a five-toed animal (whether man or beast, but not one of the five-toed

however, according to Nand's observation, varies in different countries. See Colebrooke's Essays, I, 533 seq.

38. In explanation of the term *amedhya*, 'unclean substance,' Nand. quotes the following passage of Devala, 'Human bones, a corpse, excrements, semen, urine, the menstrual discharge, adeps, sweat, the rheum of the eyes, phlegm, and spirituous liquors are called unclean substances.'

animals whose flesh may be eaten)¹ has died, or which has been defiled in the highest degree, he must take out all the waters and dry up the remainder with a cloth.

45. If it is a well constructed with burnt bricks (or stones,) he must light a fire and afterwards throw *Pañḍagavya* into it, when fresh water is coming forth.

46. For small reservoirs of water and for ponds the same mode of purification has been prescribed as for wells, O Earth; but large tanks (excepting *Tīrthas*) are not defiled (by dead animals, &c.)

47. The gods have declared, as peculiar to *Brāhmaṇas*, three causes effecting purity: if an (existing) impurity has not been perceived by them; if they sprinkle the object (supposed to be impure) with water; and if they commend it, in doubtful cases, with their speech, (saying, 'This or that shall be pure.')

48. The hand of a (cook or other) artizan, things exposed for sale in a shop (though they may have passed through the hands of many customers), food given to a *Brāhmaṇa* (by other *Brāhmaṇas*, or by *Kshatriyas*, &c., but not by *Sūdras*), and all manufactories or mines (of sugar, salt, and the like, but not distilleries of spirituous liquor), are always pure.

49. The mouth of a woman is always pure (for the purpose of a kiss); a bird is pure on the fall of fruit (which he has pecked); a sucking calf (or child), on the flowing of the milk; a dog, on his catching the deer.

50. Flesh of an animal which has been killed by dogs is pronounced pure; and so is that of an

44. ¹ See LI, 6.

animal slain by other carnivorous creatures (such as tigers) or by huntsmen such as *Kandâlas* (*Svapakas*, *Kshattris*, or other low-caste men).

51. The cavities above the navel must be considered as pure; those below it are impure; and so are all excretions that fall from the body.

52. Flies, saliva dropping from the mouth, a shadow, a cow, an elephant, a horse, sun-beams, dust, the earth, air, fire, and a cat are always pure.

53. Such drops as fall from the mouth of a man upon any part of his body do not render it impure, nor do hairs of the beard that enter his mouth, nor remnants of his food adhering to his teeth.

54. Drops which trickle on the feet of a man holding water for others to sip it, are considered as equal to waters springing from the earth: by them he is not soiled.

55. He who is anyhow touched by anything impure, while holding things in his hands, is purified by sipping water, without laying the things on the ground.

51. There are, according to Indian views, nine cavities or apertures of the body: the mouth, the two ears, the two nostrils, the two eyes, and the organs of excretion and generation. The two last are impure, the rest are pure.

55. Nand. and Kullûka (on M. V, 143) explain that *hasta*, 'hand,' here means 'arm,' as it would be impossible to sip water without using the hand. The former adds that, if the things are being carried with the hand, they must be placed in the cavity formed by the fore-arm. He refutes the opinion of the 'Eastern Commentators,' who, arguing from another *Smṛiti*, contend that the things have to be placed on the ground and to be sprinkled with water; and he further tries to account for the seemingly contradictory rules propounded by *Vâsishṭha* (Benares ed., III, 43) and *Gautama* (I, 28) by explaining that a large quantity of things should be laid on the ground, and a small quantity placed upon

56. A house is purified by scouring it with a broom and plastering the ground with cow-dung, and a manuscript or book by sprinkling water over it. Land is cleansed by scouring, by plastering it with cow-dung,

57. By sprinkling¹, by scraping, by burning, or by letting cows (or goats) pass (a day and a night) on it. Cows are auspicious purifiers, upon cows depend the worlds,

58. Cows alone make sacrificial oblations possible (by producing sacrificial butter), cows take away every sin. The urine of cows, their dung, clarified butter, milk, sour milk, and Goroṣṇā :

59. Those six excellent (productions) of a cow are always propitious. Drops of water falling from the horns of a cow are productive of religious merit, and have the power to expiate all sins (of those who bathe in, or rub themselves with, them).

60. Scratching the back of a cow destroys all guilt, and giving her to eat procures exaltation in heaven.

some other limb, and further, that food should always be placed on the ground, but that a garment, a stick, and the like should be kept in the hand. Compare Dr. Bühler's note on Gaut. loc. cit. It may be remarked, incidentally, that Nand. quotes the reading *uṣṣhisho* 'nidhâya in the passage of Gautama referred to.

56. 'The term *pustaka* refers to MSS. or books, whether made of palm leaves, or of prepared hemp, or of prepared reeds (*sara*).' (Nand.) It may be that Nand. means by the last term a sort of paper, though paper is usually called by its Arabian name (*kâgad*) in Indian works. See regarding the materials used for writing in ancient India, Burnell's *Palæography*, p. 84 seq. (2nd ed.)

57. ¹ The term *seka*, 'sprinkling,' either refers to the earth being sprinkled by rain, or to *Pañṣagavya* being poured over it. (Nand.)

58. *Goroṣṇā* is a bright yellow pigment which is said to be prepared from the urine or bile of a cow.

61. In the urine of cows dwells the Ganges, prosperity (dwells) in the dust (rising from their couch), good fortune in cow-dung, and virtue in saluting them. Therefore should they be constantly saluted.

XXIV.

1. Now a Brâhmaṇa may take four wives in the direct order of the (four) castes ;

2. A Kshatriya, three ;

3. A Vaisya, two ;

4. A Sûdra, one only.

5. Among these (wives), if a man marries one of his own caste, their hands shall be joined.

6. In marriages with women of a different class, a Kshatriya bride must hold an arrow in her hand ;

7. A Vaisya bride, a whip ;

8. A Sûdra bride, the skirt of a mantle.

9. No one should marry a woman belonging to the same Gotra, or descended from the same *Rîshi* ancestors, or from the same Pravaras.

XXIV. 1-4. Weber, Ind. Stud. X, 21, 74; M. III, 12-14; Y. I, 56, 57. — 5. M. III, 43; Y. I, 62. — 6-8. M. III, 44; Y. I, 62. — 9, 10. Weber loc. cit. 75; M. III, 5; Y. I, 53; Âpast. II, 5, 11, 15, 16; Gaut. IV, 2-5. — 12-16. M. III, 8. — 12. Y. I, 53. — 17-26. M. III, 20, 21, 27-34; Y. I, 58-61; Âpast. II, 5, 11, 17-II, 5, 12, 2; Gaut. IV, 6-13. — 27, 28. M. III, 23-26, 39; Âpast. II, 5, 12, 3; Gaut. IV, 14, 15. — 29-32. M. III, 37, 38; Y. I, 58-60; Gaut. IV, 30-33. — 38. M. V, 151; Y. I, 63. — 39. Y. I, 63. — 40. M. IX, 90; Y. I, 64. — 41. M. IX, 93.

1. This chapter opens the section on *Samskâras* or sacraments, i. e. the ceremonies on conception and so forth. (Nand.) This section forms the second part of the division treating of Âtâra. See above, XIX.

9. According to Nand., the term Gotra refers to descent from one of the seven *Rîshis*, or from Agastya as the eighth; the term *Ârsha* (*Rîshi* ancestors), to descent from the *Ârshîshenas* or Mudgalas,

10. Nor (should he marry) one descended from his maternal ancestors within the fifth, or from his paternal ancestors within the seventh degree ;

11. Nor one of a low family (such as an agriculturer's, or an attendant of the king's family) ;

12. Nor one diseased ;

13. Nor one with a limb too much (as e. g. having six fingers) ;

14. Nor one with a limb too little ;

15. Nor one whose hair is decidedly red ;

16. Nor one talking idly.

17. There are eight forms of marriage :

18. The Brâhma, Daiva, Ârsha, Prâgâpatya, Gândharva, Âsura, Râkshasa, and Paisâka forms.

19. The gift of a damsel to a fit bridegroom, who has been invited, is called a Brâhma marriage.

20. If she is given to a *Ritviṣ* (priest), while he is officiating at a sacrifice, it is called a Daiva marriage.

21. If (the giver of the bride) receives a pair of kine in return, it is called an Ârsha marriage.

22. (If she is given to a suitor) by his demand, it is called a Prâgâpatya marriage.

or from some other subdivision of the *Bhrigus* or *Ângirasas*, excepting the *Gâmadagnas*, *Gautamas*, and *Bhâradvâgas* ; and the term *Pravara*, to the *Mantrakṛts* of one's own race, i. e. the ancestors invoked by a Brâhmaṇa at the commencement of a sacrifice. Nand.'s interpretation of the last term is no doubt correct ; but it seems preferable to take *Gotra* in the sense of 'family name' (*laukika gotra*), and to refer the term *samânârsha* to descent from the same *Rîshi* (*vaidika gotra*). See Dr. Bühler's notes on *Âpast.* II, 5, 11, 15, and *Gaut.* XVIII, 6 ; Max Müller, *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 379-388 ; Weber, *Ind. Stud.* X, 69-81. If *ârsha* were connected with *pravara*, the whole compound *samânârshapravarâ* would denote 'a woman descended from the same *Rîshi*' = *samanârshâ*, Y. I, 53, and *samânapravarâ*, *Gaut.* XVIII, 6.

23. A union between two lovers, without the consent of mother and father, is called a Gândharva marriage.

24. If the damsel is sold (to the bridegroom), it is called an Âsura marriage.

25. If he seizes her forcibly, it is called a Râkshasa marriage.

26. If he embraces her in her sleep, or while she is unconscious, it is called a Paisâka marriage.

27. Among those (eight forms of marriage), the four first forms are legitimate (for a Brâhmana);

28. And so is the Gândharva form for a Kshatriya.

29. A son procreated in a Brâhma marriage redeems (or sends into the heavenly abodes hereafter mentioned) twenty-one men (viz. ten ancestors, ten descendants, and him who gave the damsel in marriage).

30. A son procreated in a Daiva marriage, fourteen;

31. A son procreated in an Ârsha marriage, seven;

32. A son procreated in a Prâgâpatya marriage, four.

33. He who gives a damsel in marriage according to the Brâhma rite, brings her into the world of Brahman (after her death, and enters that world himself).

34. (He who gives her in marriage) according to the Daiva rite, (brings her) into Svarga (or heaven, and enters Svarga himself).

35. (He who gives her in marriage) according to the Ârsha rite, (brings her) into the world of Vishnu (and enters that world himself).

36. (He who gives her in marriage) according to the Prâgrâpatya rite, (brings her) into the world of the gods (and enters that world himself).

37. (He who gives her in marriage) according to the Gândharva rite, will go to the world of Gândharvas.

38. A father, a paternal grandfather, a brother, a kinsman, a maternal grandfather, and the mother (are the persons) by whom a girl may be given in marriage.

39. On failure of the preceding one (it devolves upon) the next in order (to give her in marriage), in case he is able.

40. When she has allowed three monthly periods to pass (without being married), let her choose a husband for herself; three monthly periods having passed, she has in every case full power to dispose of herself (as she thinks best).

41. A damsel whose menses begin to appear (while she is living) at her father's house, before she has been betrothed to a man, has to be considered as a degraded woman: by taking her (without the consent of her kinsmen) a man commits no wrong.

39. Regarding the causes effecting legal disability, such as love, anger, &c., see Nârada 3, 43.

40. Nand., arguing from a passage of Baudhâyana (see also M. IX, 90), takes *ṛitu*, 'monthly period,' as synonymous with *varsha*, 'year.' But *ṛitu*, which occurs in two other analogous passages also (Gaut. XVIII, 20, and Nârada XII, 24), never has that meaning.

41. Nand. observes, that the rules laid down in this and the preceding Sloka refer to young women of the lower castes only. Nowadays the custom of outcasting young women, who have not been married in the proper time, appears to be in vogue in Brahmanical families particularly. *Smṛiti* passages regarding the illegality of marriages concluded with such women have been collected by me, Über die rechtl. Stellung der Frauen, p. 9, note 17. The

XXV.

1. Now the duties of a woman (are as follows):
2. To live in harmony with her husband;
3. To show reverence (by embracing their feet and such-like attentions) to her mother-in-law, father-in-law, to Gurus (such as elders), to divinities, and to guests;
4. To keep household articles (such as the winnowing basket and the rest) in good array;
5. To maintain saving habits;
6. To be careful with her (pestle and mortar and other) domestic utensils;
7. Not to practise incantations with roots (or other kinds of witchcraft);
8. To observe auspicious customs;
9. Not to decorate herself with ornaments (or to partake of amusements) while her husband is absent from home;
10. Not to resort to the houses of strangers (during the absence of her husband);

custom of *Svayamvara* or 'self-choice,' judging from the epics, was confined to females of the kingly caste, and in reality was no doubt of very rare occurrence.

XXV. 1-13. Colebrooke, Dig. IV, 2, XCII. — 2. M.V, 154; Y. I, 77. — 3. Y. I, 83. — 4-6. M.V, 150; Y. I, 83. — 9, 10. M. IX, 75; Y. I, 84. — 12, 13. M.V, 148; IX, 3; Y. I, 85; Gaut. XVIII, 1. — 14. M.V, 158; Colebrooke, Dig. IV, 3, CXXXIII. — 15. M.V, 155. — 17. M.V, 160. 15 is also found in the *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* XVI, 61, and, in a modified form, in other works. See Böhlingk, Ind. Sprüche, 3686, 3679. 16 is also found, in a modified form, in *Vṛiddhātākhyā's* Proverbs XVII, 9; and 17 in *Sârṅgadhara's* Paddhati, *Sadâtâra*, 10. See Böhlingk, Ind. Sprüche, 3900, 4948.

10. 'Strangers' means any other persons than her parents-in-law, her brother, maternal uncle, and other near relatives. (Nand.)

11. Not to stand near the doorway or by the windows (of her house);

12. Not to act by herself in any matter;

13. To remain subject, in her infancy, to her father; in her youth, to her husband; and in her old age, to her sons.

14. After the death of her husband, to preserve her chastity, or to ascend the pile after him.

15. No sacrifice, no penance, and no fasting is allowed to women apart from their husbands; to pay obedience to her lord is the only means for a woman to obtain bliss in heaven.

16. A woman who keeps a fast or performs a penance in the lifetime of her lord, deprives her husband of his life, and will go to hell.

17. A good wife, who perseveres in a chaste life after the death of her lord, will go to heaven like (perpetual) students, even though she has no son.

XXVI.

1. If a man has several wives of his own caste,

14. Nand. states that the self-immolation of widows (Satee) is a specially meritorious act, and not obligatory. Besides, he quotes several passages from other *Smritis* and from the *Bṛhannâradīya-purâṇa*, to the effect that in case the husband should have died abroad, a widow of his, who belongs to the *Brâhmaṇa* caste, may not commit herself to the flames, unless she can reach the place, where his corpse lies, in a day; and that one who is in her courses, or pregnant, or whose pregnancy is suspected, or who has an infant child, is also forbidden to burn herself with her dead husband. English renderings of all the texts quoted by Nand. may be found in Colebrooke's *Essay on the Duties of a Faithful Hindu Widow*. See also above, XX, 39. Nand., arguing from a passage of *Bau-dhâyana*, takes the particle *vâ*, 'or,' to imply that the widow is at liberty to become a female ascetic instead of burning herself.

XXVI. 2. M. IX, 86. — 4. M. IX, 87. — 1-4. Colebrooke, Dig.

he shall perform his religious duties together with the eldest (or first-married) wife.

2. (If he has several) wives of divers castes (he shall perform them) even with the youngest wife if she is of the same caste as himself.

3. On failure of a wife of his own caste (he shall perform them) with one belonging to the caste next below his own; so also in cases of distress (i. e. when the wife who is equal in caste to him happens to be absent, or when she has met with a calamity);

4. But no twice-born man ever with a Sûdra wife.

5. A union of a twice-born man with a Sûdra wife can never produce religious merit; it is from carnal desire only that he marries her, being blinded by lust.

6. Men of the three first castes, who through folly marry a woman of the lowest caste, quickly degrade their families and progeny to the state of Sûdras.

7. If his oblations to the gods and manes and (his hospitable attentions) to guests are offered principally through her hands, the gods and manes (and the guests) will not eat such offerings, and he will not go to heaven.

XXVII.

1. The Nishekakarman (ceremony of impregna-

IV, 1, XLIX. — 5-7. M. III, 12, 14, 15, 18; Y. I, 56; Weber, Ind. Stud. X, 74. — 7. Colebrooke, Dig. IV, 1, LII.

XXVII. 1-14. Âsv. I, 4-18; Gobh. II, 1-9; Pâr. I, 4-II, 1; Sâṅkh. I, 12-28; M. II, 29-35, 66, 67; Y. I, 11-13; Gaut. VIII, 14. — 15-24, 26, 27. Weber, Ind. Stud. X, 21; M. II, 38-47; Y. I,

tion) must be performed when the season fit for procreating children¹ distinctly appears (for the first time).

2. The *Pumsavana* (ceremony to cause the birth of a male) must be performed before the embryo begins to move.

3. The *Sîmantonnayana* (ceremony of parting the hair) should take place in the sixth or eighth month (of pregnancy).

4. The *Gâtakarman* (birth-ceremony) should take place on the birth of the child.

5. The *Nâmadheya* (naming-rite) must be performed as soon as the term of impurity (caused by the birth of the child) is over.

6. (The name to be chosen should be) auspicious in the case of a *Brâhmana* ;

7. Indicating power in the case of a *Kshatriya* ;

8. Indicating wealth in the case of a *Vaisya* ;

9. Indicating contempt in the case of a *Sûdra*.

14, 37, 38; Âpast. I, 1, 1, 18-21; I, 1, 2, 33-3, 6; Gaut. I, 5, 11-26. — 25. Weber, Ind. Stud. X, 22; M. II, 49; Y. I, 30; Âpast. I, 1, 3, 28-30; Gaut. II, 36. — 28, 29. M. II, 174, 64.

1. ¹ 'Garbha' here means 'ritu,' i.e. the time favourable for procreation, following immediately upon the menstrual evacuation, and the above ceremony should be performed once only, in order to consecrate the mother once for all. (Nand.)

2, 3. The embryo begins to move in the fourth month of pregnancy, and the *Pumsavana* must be performed in the second or third month of every pregnancy. Thus Nand., who combats expressly the opinion that this ceremony has the consecration of the mother, and not the consecration of the foetus, for its object. Regarding the *Sîmantonnayana* he seems to consider both views as admissible. According to the former view it would have to be performed only once, like the *Nishekakarman*.

6-9. Nand. quotes as instances of such names: 1. *Lakshmi-dhara*; 2. *Yudhishthira*; 3. *Arthapati*; 4. *Lokadâsa*; or (observing,

10. The Âdityadarsana (ceremony of taking the child out to see the sun) should take place in the fourth month (after birth).

11. The Annaprâsana (ceremony of first feeding) should take place in the sixth month.

12. The *Kûdâkarana* (tonsure rite) should take place in the third year¹.

13. For female children the same ceremonies, (beginning with the birth ceremony, should be performed, but) without Mantras.

14. The marriage ceremony only has to be performed with Mantras for them.

15. The initiation of Brâhmaṇas (should take place) in the eighth year after conception¹;

16. Of Kshatriyas, in the eleventh year after conception¹;

17. Of Vaisyas, in the twelfth year after conception¹;

18. Their girdles should be made of Muṅga grass, a bow-string, and Bâlbaga (coarse grass) respectively.

19. Their sacrificial strings and their garments should be made of cotton, hemp, and wool respectively.

at the same time, another rule regarding the second part of a compound name), 1. Vishṇuśarman; 2. Bhîmavarman; 3. Devagupta; 4. Dharmadâsa.

10. According to Nand., who quotes a passage of Yama in support of his opinion, this Sûtra has to be divided into two, which would, however, require several words to complete their sense, the import of the first being, that the child should be taken out to see the sun in the third month, and to see the moon in the fourth month. See the Introduction.

12. ¹ 'The third year,' i. e. either after conception, or after birth. (Nand.)

15-17. ¹ Nand., 'or after birth.' See Pâr. and Âsv. loc. cit.

20. The skins (which they wear) should be those of a black antelope, of a tiger, and of a he-goat respectively.

21. Their staves should be made of Palâsa, Khadira, and Udumbara wood respectively.

22. Their staves should be of such a length as to reach the hair, the forehead, and the nose respectively.

23. Or all (kinds of staves may be used for all castes indiscriminately).

24. And they should not be crooked, nor should the bark be stripped off.

25. In begging alms, they should put in the word 'Lady' at the beginning, in the middle, and at the end of their request (according to their caste).

26. The ceremony of initiation must not be delayed beyond the sixteenth year in the case of a Brâhmana; beyond the twenty-second, in the case of a Kshatriya; and beyond the twenty-fourth, in the case of a Vaisya.

27. After that, the youths belonging to any of those three castes, who have not been initiated at the proper time, are excluded from initiation, and contemned by the twice-born, and are called Vrâtyas.

28. That skin, that cord, that girdle, that staff, and that garment which has been given to any one (on his initiation), that he must for ever wear when performing any religious observance.

29. His girdle, his skin, his staff, his string, and his ewer he must throw into the water when broken (or spoiled by use), and receive others consecrated with Mantras.

XXVIII.

1. Now¹ students shall dwell at their Guru's (spiritual teacher's) house.

2. They shall recite their morning and evening prayers.

3. (A student) shall mutter the morning prayer standing, and the evening prayer sitting.

4. He shall perform twice a day (in the mornings and evenings) the religious acts of sprinkling the ground (round the altar) and of putting fuel on the fire.

5. He must plunge into the waters like a stick.

XXVIII. *passim*. Âsv. *Grîhya-s.* I, 22; III, 7-9; Gobh. *Grîhya-s.* II, 10, 42-III, 4; Pâr. *Grîhya-s.* II, 4-6; Sâñkh. *Grîhya-s.* II, 6, 9-12; III, 1. — 1. Âpast. I, 1, 2, 11. — 3. M. II, 101; Y. I, 24, 25; Gaut. II, 11. — 4. M. II, 108; Y. I, 25; Âpast. I, 1, 4, 16. — 5. Âpast. I, 1, 2, 30. — 6, 7. M. II, 73, 182; Y. I, 27; Âpast. I, 2, 5, 27; I, 1, 4, 23; Gaut. I, 54; II, 29, 30. — 8. M. II, 41-47; Y. I, 29; Âpast. I, 1, 2, 33-I, 1, 3, 10; Gaut. I, 15, 16, 22. — 9, 10. M. II, 183, 184, 51; Y. I, 29, 31; Âpast. I, 1, 3, 25, 32; Gaut. II, 35, 37-39. — 11, 12. M. II, 177-179, &c.; Y. I, 33, &c.; Âpast. I, 1, 2, 23-28, &c.; Gaut. II, 13, &c. — 13-23. M. II, 194, 71, 72, 122-124, 195-198; Âpast. I, 2, 4, 28; I, 2, 5, 12, 23; I, 2, 6, 5-9, 14; Gaut. II, 21, 25-28; I, 52; II, 14. — 17. Y. I, 26. — 24-26. M. II, 199, 200. — 27, 28. M. II, 204; Âpast. I, 2, 8, 11, 13. — 29, 30. M. II, 205; Âpast. I, 2, 8, 19-21. — 31-33. M. II, 208, 209; Âpast. I, 2, 7, 28, 30; Gaut. II, 31, 32. — 34-36. M. III, 2; II, 168. — 37-40. M. II, 169-172; Y. II, 39; Âpast. I, 1, 1, 15-17; Gaut. I, 8. — 41. M. II, 219; Âpast. I, 1, 2, 31, 32; Gaut. I, 27. — 42. M. II, 245; Y. I, 51; Âpast. I, 11, 30, 1; Gaut. IX, 1. — 43-46. M. II, 243, 247, 248; Y. I, 49; Âpast. I, 2, 4, 29; Gaut. II, 5-8. — 47. M. II, 249; Gaut. III, 9. — 48-53. M. XI, 121, 123, 124; II, 181, 187, 220. — 51, 52. Y. III, 278, 281; Gaut. XXIII, 20.

1. 'I.e. after the performance of the initiation ceremony.' (Nand.)

5. The sense of this injunction, according to Nand., is, that he must not pronounce any bathing Mantras. But more probably it

6. Let him study when called (by his teacher).
7. He shall act so as to please his Guru (spiritual teacher) and to be serviceable to him.
8. He shall wear his girdle, his staff, his skin, and his sacrificial string.
9. He shall go begging at the houses of virtuous persons, excepting those of his Guru's (and of his own) relatives.
10. He may eat (every morning and evening) some of the food collected by begging, after having received permission to do so from his Guru.
11. He must avoid *Srâddhas*, factitious salt, food turned sour ¹, stale food, dancing, singing, women, honey, meat, ointments, remnants of the food (of other persons than his teacher), the killing of living beings, and rude speeches.
12. He must occupy a low couch.
13. He must rise before his Guru and go to rest after him.
14. He must salute his Guru, after having performed his morning devotion.
15. Let him embrace his feet with crossed hands,

is meant, that he shall swim motionless like a stick (see Âpast. I, 1, 2, 30, with Dr. Bühler's note). According to a third explanation, which is mentioned both by Haradatta and by Devapâla in his Commentary on the *Kâṇḍaka Gr̥hya-sūtra*, the sense would be, that he is not allowed, while bathing, to rub his skin, in order to clean himself, with bathing powder and the like.

11. ¹ Nand. interprets *sukta*, 'food turned sour,' by 'rude speeches,' because if taken in its other meaning, it would be included in the next term, *paryushita*, 'stale food.' However, if Nand.'s interpretation were followed, it would coincide with the last term of this enumeration, *aśīla*, 'rude speeches;' and its position between two articles of food renders the above interpretation more plausible.

16. The right foot with his right hand, and the left foot with his left.

17. After the salutation (abhivâdaye, 'I salute') he must mention his own name and add the word 'bhos' (Venerable Sir) at the end of his address.

18. He must not speak to his Guru while he is himself standing, or sitting, or lying, or eating, or averting his face.

19. And let him speak, if his teacher sits, standing up; if he walks, advancing towards him; if he is coming near, meeting him; if he runs, running after him;

20. If his face is averted, turning round so as to face him;

21. If he is at some distance, approaching him;

22. If he is in a reclining position, bending to him;

23. Let him not sit in a careless attitude (such as e. g. having a cloth tied round his legs and knees, while sitting on his hams) before the eyes of his teacher.

24. Neither must he pronounce his mere name (without adding to it the word *Śrī* or a similar term at the beginning).

25. He must not mimic his gait, his manner, his speech, and so on.

26. Where his Guru is censured or foully belied, there let him not stay.

27. Nor must he sit on the same seat with him,

28. Unless it be on a rock¹, on a wooden bench, in a boat, or in a carriage.

28. ¹ Thus according to Kullûka (on M. II, 204). Nand. takes the term *śilaphalaka* as a compound denoting 'a stone seat.'

29. If his teacher's teacher is near, let him behave towards him as if he were his own teacher.

30. He must not salute his own Gurus without his teacher's leave.

31. Let him behave towards the son of his teacher, who teaches him the Veda, as towards his teacher, even though he be younger or of an equal age with himself ;

32. But he must not wash his feet,

33. Nor eat the leavings of his food.

34. Thus let him acquire by heart one Veda, or two Vedas, or (all) the Vedas.

35. Thereupon, the Vedângas (that treating of phonetics and the rest)¹.

36. He who, not having studied the Veda, applies himself to another study, will degrade himself, and his progeny with him, to the state of a Sûdra.

37. From the mother is the first birth ; the second, from the girding with the sacrificial string.

38. In the latter, the Sâvitṛī hymn¹ is his mother, and the teacher his father.

39. It is this which entitles members of the three higher castes to the designation of ' the twice-born.'

40. Previous to his being girded with the sacrificial string, a member of these castes is similar to a Sûdra (and not allowed to study the Veda).

30. Nand. here interprets Guru by ' a paternal uncle and the rest.'

31. This rule refers to a son of his spiritual teacher, who teaches him one or two chapters of the Veda, while the teacher himself is gone out for bathing or some such reason. Vâ, ' or,' is added in order to include a son of the teacher, who is himself a pupil, as Manu (II, 208) says. (Nand.)

35. ¹ See Max Müller, Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 108 seq.

38. ¹ Rig-veda III, 62, 10.

41. A student shall shave all his hair, or wear it tied in one lock.

42. After having mastered the Veda, let him take leave of his teacher and bathe, after having presented him with a gift.

43. Or let him spend the remainder of his life at his teacher's house.

44. If, while he is living there, his teacher should die, let him behave to his teacher's son as towards his teacher himself;

45. Or¹ towards one of his wives, who is equal to him in caste.

46. On failure of such, let him pay homage to the fire, and live as a perpetual student.

47. A Brâhmana who passes thus without tiring (of the discharge of his duties) the time of his studentship will attain to the most exalted heavenly abode (that of Brahman) after his death, and will not be born again in this world.

48. A voluntary effusion of the semen by a twice-born youth (in sexual intercourse with a woman), during the period of his studentship, has been pronounced a transgression of the rule prescribed for students by expounders of the Vedas well acquainted with the system of duties.

49. Having loaded himself with that crime, he must go begging to seven houses, clothed only with the skin of an ass, and proclaiming his deed.

42. After the solemn bath (see Âsv. III, 8, 9; Gobh. III, 4; Pâr. II, 6; Sâñkh. III, 1), which terminates the period of studentship, the student, who is henceforth called Snâtaka, 'one who has bathed,' is allowed to return home.

45. ¹ According to Nand., the particle vâ, 'or,' is used in order to include another alternative, that of living with an old fellow-student, as directed by Gautama, III, 8.

50. Eating once a day only a meal consisting of the alms obtained at those (houses), and bathing at the three Savanas (dawn, noon, and evening), he will be absolved from guilt at the end of the year.

51. After an involuntary effusion of the semen during sleep, a twice-born student must bathe (on the next morning), worship the sun (by offerings of perfumes and the like), and mutter three times the Mantra, 'Again shall my strength return to me'.

52. He who for seven days omits to collect alms and to kindle the sacred fire, must perform the penance of an Avakīrṇin (breaker of his vow), provided that he has not been prevented from the discharge of his duties by an illness.

53. If the sun should rise or set while a student is purposely indulging in sleep, ignoring (the precepts of law), he must fast for a day, muttering (the Gāyatrī one thousand and eight times).

XXIX.

1. He who having initiated a youth and instructed him in the Vratas¹, teaches him (one branch of) the Veda (together with its Āṅgas, such as that relating to phonetics, and the rest) is called Ātārya (teacher).

51. ¹ Taitt. Āraṇy. I, 30.

XXIX. 1. Āpast. I, 1, 1, 13; Gaut. I, 9. — 1-3. M. II, 140-143; Y. I, 34, 35. — 7-10. M. II, 111, 112, 114, 115. — 9, 10. See Bühler, *Introd. to Digest*, p. xxix.

1. The Vratas of a student are certain observances to be kept by him before he is admitted to the regular course of study of the Veda, and again before he is allowed to proceed to the study of the Mahānāmṇī verses and to the other higher stages of Vedic learning. See, particularly, Sāṅkh. II, 11, 12, with Dr. Oldenberg's note (*Ind. Stud.* XV, 139).

2. He who teaches him (after he has been initiated by another) either (an entire branch of the Veda) in consideration of a fee, or part of a Veda (without taking a fee), is called *Upâdhyâya* (sub-teacher).

3. He who performs sacrifices (whether based upon *Sruti* or upon *Smṛiti*) is called *Ritvig* (officiating priest).

4. He must not engage a priest for the performance of sacrifices without having ascertained (his descent, character, and conduct).

5. Neither must he admit to his teaching (one whom he does not know).

6. And he must not initiate such a one.

7. If one answers improperly, or the other asks improperly¹, that one (or both) will perish or incur hatred.

8. If by instructing a pupil neither religious merit nor wealth are acquired, and if no sufficient attention is to be obtained from him (for his teacher's words), in such soil divine knowledge must not be sown: it would perish like fine seed in barren soil.

9. The deity of sacred knowledge approached a *Brâhmana* (and said to him), 'Preserve me, I am thy treasure, reveal me not to a scorner, nor to a wicked man, nor to one of uncontrolled passions: thus I shall be strong.'

10. 'Reveal me to him, as to a keeper of thy gem, O *Brâhmana*, whom thou shalt know to be pure, attentive, possessed of a good memory, and chaste, who will not grieve thee, nor revile thee.'

7. ¹A proper question is, e. g. if the pupil modestly says, 'I don't know about this, therefore I want to be instructed.' An improper question is, e. g. if he says, 'Why do you pronounce this thus wrongly?' An improper answer is an answer to an improper question. (Nand.)

XXX.

1. After having performed the Upâkarman ceremony on the full moon of the month *Srâvana*, or of the month *Bhâdra*, the student must (pass over the two next days without studying, and then) study for four months and a half.

2. After that, the teacher must perform out of town the ceremony of *Utsarga* for those students (that have acted up to this injunction); but not for those who have failed to perform the ceremony of *Upâkarman*.

3. During the period (subsequent upon the ceremony of *Upâkarman* and) intermediate between it and the ceremony of *Utsarga*, the student must read the *Vedângas*.

4. He must interrupt his study for a day and a night on the fourteenth and eighth days of a month¹.

5. (He must interrupt his study for the next day

XXX. 1-33. Weber, Ind. Stud. X, 130-134; Nakshatras II, 322, 338-339; M. IV, 95-123; II, 71, 74; Y. I, 142-151; Âpast. I, 3, 9-11; Gaut. XVI; I, 51, 53. — 33-38. Âsv. III, 3, 3; M. II, 107; Y. I, 41-46. — 41, 42. M. II, 116. — 43-46. M. II, 117, 146-148, 144.

1-3. The annual course of Vedic studies opens with a ceremony called *Upâkarman*, and closes with a ceremony called *Utsarga*. The latter, according to the rule laid down in *Sûtra* 1, would fall upon the first day of the moon's increase, either in *Pausha* or in *Mâgha*. Nand. states that those students who have not performed the *Upâkarman* ceremony in due time must perform a penance before they can be admitted to the *Utsarga*; nor must those be admitted to it who have failed to go on to the study of another branch of the *Veda* at the ordinary time, after having absolved one.

4. ¹ Nand., with reference to a passage of *Hârîta*, considers the use of the plural and of the particle *kā* to imply that the study must also be interrupted on the first and fifteenth days.

5. ¹ This refers to the second days of the months *Phâlguna*, *Âshâdha*, and *Kârttika*. (Nand.)

and night) after a season of the year has begun¹,
(and for three nights) after an eclipse of the moon.

6. (He must not study for a day and a night)
when Indra's flag is hoisted or taken down.

7. (He must not study) when a strong wind is
going.

8. (He must not study for three days) when rain,
lightning, and thunder happen out of season¹.

9. (He must not study till the same hour next
day) in the case of an earthquake, of the fall of a
meteor, and when the horizon is preternaturally red,
as if on fire.

10. (He must not study) in a village in which a
corpse lies ;

11. Nor during a battle ;

12. Nor while dogs are barking, jackals yelling,
or asses braying ;

13. Nor while the sound of a musical instrument
is being heard ;

14. Nor while Sûdras or outcasts are near ;

15. Nor in the vicinity of a temple, of a burial-
ground, of a place where four ways meet, or of a
high road ;

16. Nor while immersed in water ;

17. Nor with his foot placed upon a bench ;

18. Nor while riding upon an elephant, a horse,
or a camel, (or in a carriage drawn by any of those
animals), or being borne in a boat, or in a carriage
drawn by oxen ;

19. Nor after having vomited ;

8. ¹ 'I.e. not during the rains.' (Nand.)

12. Nand. considers the term *śva*, 'dog,' to include all the other
animals mentioned by Âpastamba, I, 3, 10, 17.

19-21. After having vomited or been purged, he shall interrupt

20. Nor after having been purged ;
21. Nor during an indigestion.
22. When a five-toed animal has passed between the teacher and the pupil (the latter must interrupt his study for a day and a night).
23. When a king or a learned Brâhmana (who has mastered one Veda), or a cow, or a Brâhmana (in general) has met with an accident (he must not study).
24. After the Upâkarman (he must not study for three days).
25. And after the Utsarga (he must interrupt his study for as many days).
26. And (he must avoid to study) the hymns of the *Rîg-veda*, or those of the *Yagur-veda*, while the *Sâman* melodies are being chanted.
27. Let him not lie down to sleep again when he has begun to study in the second half of the night.
28. Let him avoid studying at times when there ought to be an intermission of study, even though a question has been put to him (by his teacher) ;

his study for a day and a night ; when suffering from indigestion, till he has digested his food. (Nand.)

22. According to Nand., the interruption of study is to last for two days, when a crow, or an owl, or a wild cock, or a mouse, or a frog, and the like animals have passed ; and for three days, when a dog, or an ichneumon, or a snake, or a frog (sic), or a cat has passed. He quotes Gaut. I, 59 in support of his interpretation. I have translated according to M. IV, 126 ; Y. I, 147.

23. In these cases the study shall not be taken up again till the accident has been appeased by propitiatory rites. If any of the persons in question has died, the interruption is to last for a day and a night, in case they were persons of little merit ; but in case they should have been very virtuous, it is to last for three days. (Nand.)

28. Every lesson consists of questions put by the teacher and the pupil's answers to them.

29. Since to study on forbidden days neither benefits him in this nor in the other world.

30. To study on such days destroys the life of both teacher and pupil.

31. Therefore should a teacher, who wishes to obtain the world of Brahman, avoid improper days, and sow (on proper days) the seed of sacred knowledge on soil consisting of virtuous pupils.

32. At the beginning and at the end of the lecture let the pupil embrace his teacher's feet ;

33. And let him pronounce the sacred syllable Om.

34. Now he who studies the hymns of the *Rig-veda* (regularly), feeds the manes with clarified butter.

35. He who studies the *Yagus* texts, (feeds them) with honey.

36. He who studies the *Sâman* melodies, (feeds them) with milk.

37. He who studies the *Atharva-veda*, (feeds them) with meat.

38. He who studies the *Purâṇas*, *Itihâsas*, *Vedâṅgas*, and the Institutes of Sacred Law, feeds them with rice.

39. He who having collected sacred knowledge, gains his substance by it in this world, will derive no benefit from it in the world to come.

33. Nand., quoting a passage of Yama, states the particle *ka* to imply that the pupil must touch the ground, after having pronounced the syllable Om.

38. Nand. considers the use of a *Dvandva* compound to imply that logic (*Nyâya*) and the *Mīmāṃsâ* system of philosophy are also intended in this *Sûtra*. Regarding the meaning of the terms *Purâṇa* and *Itihâsa*, see Max Müller, *Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 40 seq.

39. This rule cannot refer to teaching for a reward, because

40. Neither will he (derive such benefit from it), who uses his knowledge in order to destroy the reputation of others (by defeating them in argument).

41. Let no one acquire sacred knowledge, without his teacher's permission, from another who is studying divine science.

42. Acquiring it in that way constitutes theft of the Veda, and will bring him into hell.

43. Let (a student) never grieve that man from whom he has obtained worldly knowledge (relating to poetry, rhetoric, and the like subjects), sacred knowledge (relating to the Vedas and Vedāṅgas), or knowledge of the Supreme Spirit.

44. Of the natural progenitor and the teacher who imparts the Veda to him, the giver of the Veda is the more venerable father; for it is the new existence acquired by his initiation in the Veda, which will last him both in this life and the next.

45. Let him consider as a merely human existence that which he owes to his father and mother uniting from carnal desire and to his being born from his mother's womb.

46. That existence which his teacher, who knows all the Vedas, effects for him through the prescribed rites of initiation with (his divine mother) the Gâyatrī, is a true existence; that existence is exempt from age and death.

47. He who fills his ears with holy truths, who

that is a minor offence (upapâtaka ; see below, XXXVII, 20); nor can it refer to teaching in general, because it is lawful to gain one's substance by it; but it refers to those who recite the Veda in behalf of another, and live by doing so. (Nand.)

41. See XXVIII, 6, and the preceding note.

frees him from all pain (in this world and the next), and confers immortality (or final liberation) upon him, that man let the student consider as his (true) father and mother : gratefully acknowledging the debt he owes him, he must never grieve him.

XXXI.

1. A man has three Atigurus (or specially venerable superiors) :

2. His father, his mother, and his spiritual teacher.

3. To them he must always pay obedience.

4. What they say, that he must do.

5. And he must do what is agreeable and serviceable to them.

6. Let him never do anything without their leave.

7. Those three are equal to the three Vedas (*Rig-veda*, *Sâma-veda*, and *Yagur-veda*), they are equal to the three gods (Brahman, Vishnu, and Siva), they are equal to the three worlds (of men, of gods, and of Brahman), they are equal to the three fires.

8. The father is the *Gârhapatya* (or household) fire, the mother is the *Dakshina* (or ceremonial) fire, and the spiritual teacher is the *Âhavanîya* (or sacrificial) fire.

9. He pays regard to all his duties, who pays regard to those three ; he who shows no regard to

XXXI. 1-6. M. II, 225, 226, 228, 229 ; Âpast. I, 4, 14, 6 ; Gaut. II, 50, 51. — 7. M. II, 230. — 8. M. II, 231 ; Âpast. I, 1, 3, 44. — 9. M. II, 234. — 10. M. II, 233.

9. 'The father is said to be of the same nature as the *Gârhapatya* fire, because the *Âhavanîya* is produced from it ; the mother is said to be of the same nature as the *Dakshina* fire, because it

them, derives no benefit from any religious observance.

10. By honouring his mother, he gains the present world; by honouring his father, the world of gods; and by paying strict obedience to his spiritual teacher, the world of Brahman.

XXXII.

1. A king, a priest, a learned Brâhmaṇa, one who stops wicked proceedings, an Upâdhyâya, a paternal uncle, a maternal grandfather, a maternal uncle, a father-in-law, an eldest brother, and¹ the parents-in-law of a son or a daughter are equal to a teacher;

2. And so are their wives, who are equal in caste to them.

3. And their mother's sister, their father's sister, and¹ their eldest sister.

4. A father-in-law, a paternal uncle, a maternal

has a separate origin, or because she has the sacrificial implements, such as the pestle and mortar and the like, in her charge; and the spiritual teacher is said to be of the same nature as the Âhavanîya fire, because all oblations fall to his share, as the Smṛiti says (Y. I, 27), "Let him (the pupil) deliver to him (the teacher) the collected alms." (Nand.)

XXXII. 1. M. II, 206. — 2. M. II, 210. — 3. M. II, 131. — 4. M. II, 130; Âpast. I, 4, 14, 11. — 5, 6. M. II, 210, 211; Âpast. I, 2, 7, 27; Gaut. II, 31, 32. — 7. M. II, 129. — 8, 9. M. XI, 205; Y. III, 292. — 10. Âpast. I, 1, 2, 20. — 11, 12. M. II, 201; Âpast. I, 2, 8, 15. — 13. M. II, 212; Gaut. II, 34. — 14. M. II, 216. — 15. M. II, 217; Gaut. II, 33; VI, 2. — 16. M. II, 136; Gaut. VI, 20. — 17. M. II, 135; Âpast. I, 4, 14, 25. — 18. M. II, 155.

1. ¹ The particle *ka* is used here, according to Nand., in order to include a paternal grandfather and other persons mentioned in a Smṛiti.

3. ¹ The particle *ka* here refers, according to Nand., to the paternal grandmother and others mentioned in a Smṛiti.

uncle, and a priest he must honour by rising to meet and saluting them, even though they be younger than himself.

5. The wives of Gurus (superiors), who are of a lower class than their husbands (such as Kshatriya or Vaisya or Mûrdhâvasikta wives), shall be honoured by (rising to meet and) saluting them from far; but he must not embrace their feet.

6. He should avoid to rub and anoint the limbs of Guru's wives, or to anoint their eyes, or to arrange their hair, or to wash their feet, or to do other such services for them.

7. To the wife of another, even though he does not know her, he must either say 'sister' (if she is of equal age with himself), or 'daughter' (if she is younger than himself), or 'mother' (if she is older than himself).

8. Let him not say 'thou' to his Gurus (superiors).

9. If he has offended one of them (by saying 'thou' to him, or in some other manner), he must keep a fast and not eat again till the end of the day, after having obtained his forgiveness.

10. He must avoid to quarrel with his spiritual teacher and to argue with him (from emulation).

11. And he must not censure him;

5. Sûdra wives are exempt from this rule; he should rise to meet, but not salute them. (Nand.)

8. 'Other insulting language, as e. g. if he says hush or pish to them, is also included in this term. The use of the particle *ka* indicates that other persons entitled to respect are also intended in this Sûtra. (Nand.)

10. 'The particle *ka* is used in order to include Brâhmanas in general in this prohibition.' (Nand.)

11. 'The use of the particle *ka* shows that defamatory speeches are also intended.' (Nand.)

12. Nor act so as to displease him.

13. (A pupil) must not embrace the feet of a Guru's young wife, if he has completed his twentieth year, or can distinguish virtue from vice.

14. But a young student may at pleasure prostrate himself before a young wife of his Guru, (stretching out both hands) as ordained (see XXVIII, 15), saying, 'I, N. N. (ho! salute thee).'

15. On returning from a journey he shall (once) embrace the feet of the wives of his Gurus (superiors), and daily salute them, remembering the practice of the virtuous.

16. Wealth, kindred, age, the performance of religious observances, and, fifthly, sacred knowledge are titles to respect; each subsequent one is superior to the one preceding in order.

17. A Brâhmana, though only ten years old¹, and a member of the kingly caste, though a hundred years old, must be considered as father and son; and of these two, the Brâhmana is the father.

18. The seniority of Brâhmanas is founded upon sacred knowledge; of Kshatriyas, upon valour in arms; of Vaisyas, upon grain and (other) wealth; of Sûdras, upon (priority of) birth.

XXXIII.

1. Now man has three most dangerous enemies, called carnal desire, wrath, and greed.

17. ¹ I. e. a Brâhmana for whom the ceremony of initiation has been performed. (Nand.) This proverb is also found in the Nîti-sâstra 155, in the Mahâbhârata II, 1385 seq., &c., and in other works. See Böhlingk, Ind. Sprüche, 6163, 2456, &c.

XXXIII. 1. Âpast. I, 8, 23, 4, 5.

1. The mention which has been made in the preceding section, that on Âkâra or rules of conduct, of the breach of the vow of

2. They are specially dangerous to the order of householders, because they have (houses, wives, and other) property.

3. Man, being overcome by those (three enemies), commits crimes in the highest degree, high crimes, minor crimes, and crimes in the fourth degree ;

4. Also crimes effecting loss of caste, crimes degrading to a mixed caste, and crimes rendering the perpetrator unworthy (to receive alms and the like);

5. And crimes causing defilement, and miscellaneous offences.

6. This is the threefold path to hell, destructive of self : carnal desire, wrath, and greed : therefore must a man shun those three vices.

XXXIV.

1. Sexual connection with one's mother, or daughter, or daughter-in-law are crimes in the highest degree.

2. Such criminals in the highest degree should proceed into the flames ; for there is not any other way to atone for their crime.

XXXV.

1. Killing a Brâhmana, drinking spirituous liquor,

chastity and the penance for it (see XXVIII, 48, 49), causes him (Vishnu) to discuss the law of penance (Prâyasakitta). This is done in the following section, to which Chapter XXXIV serves as Introduction. (Nand.) The section on Prâyasakitta extends as far as Chapter LVII.

6. This proverb is also found in the Bhagavad-gîtâ, XVI, 21, and in the Mahâbhârata, V, 1036. See Böhlingk, Ind. Sprüche, 2645.

XXXV. 1. M. IX, 235 ; XI, 55 ; Y. III, 227 ; Âpast. I, 7, 21, 8 ; Gaut. XXI, 1. — 2, 3. M. XI, 181 ; Y. III, 227, 261 ; Gaut. XXI, 3. — 4. M. XI, 181.

stealing the gold of a Brâhmana, and sexual connection with a Guru's wife are high crimes.

2. And social intercourse with such (criminals is also a high crime).

3. He who associates with an outcast is outcasted himself after a year;

4. And so is he who rides in the same carriage with him, or who eats in his company, or who sits on the same bench, or who lies on the same couch with him.

5. Sexual intercourse, intercourse in sacrificing, and intercourse by the mouth (with an outcast) entails immediate loss of caste.

6. Such mortal sinners are purified by a horse-sacrifice and by visiting all Tîrthas (places of pilgrimage) on earth.

XXXVI.

1. Killing a Kshatriya or Vaisya engaged in a sacrifice, or a woman in her courses, or a pregnant woman, or a woman (of the Brâhmana caste) who has bathed after temporary uncleanness¹, or an embryo

5. 'Intercourse of marriage' means sexual connection with an outcasted man or woman, or giving a damsel in marriage to an outcasted man. 'Intercourse in sacrificing' means sacrificing for, or with, an outcast. 'Mouthly intercourse' means teaching, or being taught by, or studying together with, an outcast. The present rule holds good in cases of voluntary intercourse only; if the intercourse was involuntary, the loss of caste does not follow till after a year. Others assert that the immediate loss of caste is entailed by particularly intimate intercourse only. (Nand.)

XXXVI. 1. M. XI, 88; Y. III, 251; Âpast. I, 9, 24, 6, 8, 9. — 2-7. M. XI, 57-59, 171, 172; Y. III, 228-233. — 2. Gaut. XXI, 10. — 5. Gaut. XXI, 1. — 7. Âpast. I, 7, 21, 9.

1. ¹ The term âtreya (atrigotrâ) has been translated here and in

of unknown sex, or one come for protection, are crimes equal to the crime of killing a Brâhmana.

2. Giving false evidence and killing a friend : these two crimes are equal to the drinking of spirituous liquor.

3. Appropriating to one's self land belonging to a Brâhmana or a deposit (belonging to a Brâhmana and not consisting of gold) are crimes equal to a theft of gold (belonging to a Brâhmana).

4. Sexual connection with the wife of a paternal uncle, of a maternal grandfather, of a maternal uncle, of a father-in-law, or of the king, are crimes equal to sexual connection with a Guru's wife ;

5. And so is sexual intercourse with the father's or mother's sister and with one's own sister ;

6. And sexual connection with the wife of a learned Brâhmana, or a priest, or an Upâdhyâya, or a friend ;

7. And with a sister's female friend (or with one's own female friend), with a woman of one's own race, with a woman belonging to the Brâhmana caste, with a (Brâhmana) maiden (who is not yet betrothed to a man), with a low-caste woman, with a woman in her courses, with a woman come for protection,

other places in accordance with that interpretation which is sanctioned by the majority among the commentators of law works. Nand., on the other hand, gives the preference to the opinion of those who render it by 'a woman descended from or married to a man of the race of Atri.'

2. 'The term *etau*, "these," is used in order to include the forgetting of Veda texts and other crimes, which are mentioned as equal to drinking spirituous liquor by Manu (XI, 57) and Yâgñavalkya (III, 229).' (Nand.)

5. 'The particle *ka* in this Sûtra refers to little girls, as ordained by Manu, XI, 59.' (Nand.)

with a female ascetic, and with a woman entrusted to one's own care.

8. Such minor offenders become pure, like mortal sinners, by a horse-sacrifice and by visiting Tīrthas.

XXXVII.

1. Setting one's self up by false statements (as by saying, 'I have done this,' or the like).

2. Making statements, which will reach the ears of the king, regarding a (minor) offence committed by some one;

3. Unjustly upbraiding a Guru (as by saying, 'You have neglected such a household duty');

4. Reviling the Veda;

5. Forgetting the Veda texts, which one has studied;

6. (Abandoning) one's holy fire, or one's father, mother, son, or wife;

XXXVII. 1-34. M. XI, 56, 57, 60-67; Y. III, 228-230, 234-242; Âpast. I, 7, 21, 12-17; Gaut. XXI, 11. — 35. M. XI, 118; Y. III, 265.

1. 'But if a man who does not know all the four Vedas says, in order to procure a valuable present or some other advantage, 'I know the four Vedas,' or if he says of another, his superior in caste or sacred knowledge, in order to prevent his receiving a valuable present, 'This man is no Brâhmana,' or 'He does not know anything,' in all such cases his crime is equal to the killing of a Brâhmana.' (Nand.)

2. 'But giving information of a heavy crime constitutes a crime equal to the killing of a Brâhmana.' (Nand.)

3. Guru means 'father' here. Heavy reproaches, as e.g. if a son says to his father, 'You have made unequal shares in dividing the patrimony,' are equal to killing a Brâhmana. (Nand.)

4. 'But atheistical detracting from the authority of the Veda constitutes a crime equal to the drinking of spirituous liquor.' (Nand.)

6. 'The use of the particle *ka* indicates that distant relatives are also intended here, as Yâgñavalkya, III, 239, states.' (Nand.)

7. Eating the food of those whose food may not be eaten, or forbidden food;
8. Appropriating to one's self (grain, copper, or other) goods of another man (but not his gold);
9. Sexual intercourse with another man's wife;
10. Sacrificing for persons for whom it is forbidden to sacrifice (such as *Sûdras*, persons for whom the initiation has not been performed, and the like);
11. To live by a forbidden occupation (as, if a *Brâhmana* lives by the occupation of a *Kshatriya*, or of a *Vaisya*).
12. Receiving unlawful presents;
13. Killing a *Kshatriya*, or a *Vaisya*, or a *Sûdra*, or a cow;
14. Selling articles that ought not to be sold (such as salt, lac, or others);
15. For an elder brother to suffer his younger brother to marry before him;
16. For a younger brother to marry, though his elder brother is not yet married;
17. To give a girl in marriage to either of those two (categories of offenders);
18. Or to perform the nuptial ceremony for them;
19. To allow the proper time for the ceremony of initiation to pass without being initiated;

10. 'But sacrificing for an outcast is a high crime.' (Nand.)

12. This rule refers to receiving presents from an outcast or other person, whose gifts must not be accepted, to receiving improper gifts, such as a ram, or a black antelope, and to receiving presents at an improper place, such as *Kurukshetra*, or at an improper time, such as during an eclipse of the sun. The particle *ka* further refers to giving instruction to those who are not entitled to receive it, as *Yama* mentions. (Nand.)

20. To teach the Veda for a reward (unless it be in an emergency);
21. To be taught by one who teaches the Veda for a reward (unless it be in an emergency);
22. To be employed (by the king's order) in the working of mines of any sort (whether gold mines, or silver mines, or others, or manufactories);
23. To make large (sharp) instruments (such as instruments for piercing an elephant's ear);
24. Cutting trees, shrubs, creepers, long climbing plants (such as vines), or herbs;
25. Living by (prostituting) one's own wife;
26. Trying to overcome another by incantations (tending to kill him), or by forcible means;
27. Performing the act (of cooking) for one's own sole benefit;
28. Not to have kindled one's own sacred fire;
29. Omitting to pay one's debts to the gods, *Rishis*, and manes (or sacrificing, study of the Veda, and propagation of one's race);
30. Studying irreligious books;
31. Atheism;
32. Subsisting by a reprehensible art (such as dancing);
33. Intercourse with women who drink spirits;
34. Thus have the crimes in the fourth degree been enumerated.

20. It is true that the above definition of an *Upâdhyâya* (XXIX, 2) implies that teaching the Veda for a fee is no reprehensible act; but that permission has reference to cases of distress only. (Nand.)

26. Nand. asserts that the particle *ka* is used here in order to include the performance of an *Ahîna* sacrifice and of the other sinful acts mentioned by Manu, XI, 198.

31. Atheism (*nâstikatâ*) consists in denying the existence of another life. (Nand.)

35. Such criminals in the fourth degree shall perform the *Kândrâyana* or *Parâka* penances, or shall sacrifice a cow (as the case may require).

XXXVIII.

1. Causing (bodily) pain to a *Brâhmaṇa* ;
2. Smelling at things which ought not to be smelt (such as excrements), or at spirituous liquor ;
3. Dishonest dealing ;
4. Sexual connection with cattle ;
5. And (sexual connection) with a man (or unnatural intercourse with a woman) :
6. Such are the crimes effecting loss of caste.
7. He who has knowingly committed one of the acts effecting loss of caste shall perform the *Sântapana*¹ penance ; he who has done so unawares shall perform the *Prâgâpatya*¹ penance.

XXXIX.

1. Killing domestic or wild animals are crimes degrading to a mixed caste.
2. He who has committed a crime degrading to a mixed caste shall eat barley-gruel for a month (if he has committed it knowingly), or perform the penance *Krikkhrâtikrikkhra* (if he has committed it unawares).

35. Regarding the penances called *Kândrâyana* and *Parâka*, see below, XLVIII and XLVII, 18.

XXXVIII. 1-6. M. XI, 68.

7. ¹ See XLVI, 19, 10.

XXXIX. 1. M. XI, 69.

2. Regarding the penance *Krikkhrâtikrikkhra*, see XLVI, 13.
'The use of the causative form *kârayet* indicates that he may

XL.

1. Receiving anything from a (*Mlekkha* or other) despicable person (even though not as a present, but in the form of interest, &c.), traffic (even with articles that are not forbidden to sell), subsisting by money-lending (even without exceeding the legitimate rate of interest), telling lies (even though not in giving evidence), and serving a *Sûdra* (even though without doing servile acts for him) are crimes rendering unworthy to receive alms.

2. He who has committed a crime rendering unworthy to receive alms, is purified by the penance *Taptakrikkhra* (in case he committed it knowingly), or by the penance *Sitakrikkhra* (in case he did it unawares), or by the penance *Mahâsântapana* (in case it was committed) repeatedly.

XLI.

1. Killing birds, amphibious animals, and aquatic animals (such as fish);

2. And worms or insects;

3. Eating (nutmegs or other) plants similar to intoxicating drinks (in their effect upon the system):

perform the penance mentioned here through a substitute, if unable to perform it himself.' (Nand.)

XL. 1. M. XI, 70.

2. Regarding the penances mentioned here, see XLVI, 11, 12, 20.

XLI. 1-4. M. XI, 71.

3. 'Or the term *madyânugata* means hemp and the like.' (Nand.) *Kullûka* (on M. XI, 71) interprets it by 'what has been brought in the same basket or vessel with spirituous liquor;' *Medâtithi*, quoted by the same, by 'what has been defiled by spirituous liquor.' The rendering given in the text agrees with the first interpretation proposed by Nand.

4. Such are the crimes causing defilement.
5. The penance ordained for crimes causing defilement is the Taptakrikkhṛa penance (if they were committed unintentionally), or they shall be atoned for by the Krikkhṛâtikrikkhṛa penance (if they were committed intentionally).

XLII.

1. Miscellaneous crimes are those which have not been mentioned before.
2. Having committed one out of the number of miscellaneous crimes, a prudent man should always perform a penance, by the advice of a Brâhmaṇa, after the higher or less degree of his guilt has been ascertained.

XLIII.

1. Now follow the hells. (They are called :)
2. Tâmisra (darkness);
3. Andhatâmisra (complete darkness);
4. Raurava (place of howling);
5. Mahâraurava (place of much howling);
6. Kâlasûtra (thread of time or death);
7. Mahânaraka (great hell);
8. Saṅgīvana (restoring to life);
9. Avīṭi (waveless);

XLIII. 1-22. M. IV, 88-90; Y. III, 222-224. — 34. M. XII, 76.

4. Nand. derives the term Raurava from 'ruru, a kind of serpent.' But it seems preferable to connect it with the root ru, 'to howl.'

6. This hell is defined by Nand. as a kind of threshing-place, made of copper, burning hot, and measuring ten thousand Yoganās.

8. In this hell those who have perished in consequence of the tortures which they had to undergo are restored to life and tortured anew. (Nand.)

10. Tâpana (burning);
11. Sampratâpana (parching);
12. Samghâtaka (pressing together);
13. Kâkola (ravens);
14. Kudmala (bud);
15. Pûtimrittika (stinking clay);
16. Lohasaṅku (iron-spiked);
17. Rikîsha (frying-pan);
18. Vishamapanthâna (rough or uneven roads);
19. Kantakasâlmali (thorny Sâlmali trees);
20. Dîpanadi (flame river);
21. Asipattravana (sword-leaved forest);
22. Lohakâraka (iron fetters);
23. In each of those (hells) successively criminals in the highest degree, who have not performed the penance (prescribed for their crime), are tormented for the time of a Kalpa.
24. Mortal sinners (who have not done penance) for a Manvantara;
25. Minor offenders, for the same period;

12. In this hell a large number of individuals is packed up closely in a very narrow space. (Nand.)

13. In this hell the sinners are devoured by ravens. (Nand.)

14. In this hell the sinners are put in sacks, which are tied up at the end. (Nand.)

17. In this hell the sinners are roasted. (Nand.)

20. This river, which contains hot water, is called Vaitaraṇî, as it is said, 'The river called Vaitaraṇî has a stinking odour, is full of blood, and is moving on swiftly a torrent of hot water, carrying bones and hair in its course.' (Nand.) A detailed description of the river Vaitaraṇî may be found in the Gârûḍa-purâṇa, p. 8 (Bombay ed., 1863).

22. 'The particle iti is added here, in order to include in the above enumeration the hells called Savisha, Mahâpatha, Kumbhî-pâka, Taptabâluka, and the rest.' (Nand.) See Y. III, 223, 224; M. XII, 76.

26. Criminals in the fourth degree, for the period of a *Katuryuga* ;

27. Those who have committed a crime effecting loss of caste, for a thousand years ;

28. Those who have committed a crime degrading to a mixed caste, for the same period ;

29. Those likewise who have committed a crime rendering unworthy to receive alms and the like.

30. And those who have committed a crime causing defilement ;

31. Those who have committed one of the miscellaneous crimes, for a great number of years ;

32. All sinners who have committed (one of those nine kinds of) crimes have to suffer terrible pangs, when they have departed life and entered upon the path of Yama.

33. Being dragged hither and thither (upon even and uneven roads), by the dire ministers of Yama, they are conducted (to hell by them), with menacing gestures.

34. (There) they are devoured by dogs and jackals, by hawks, crows, herons, cranes, and other (carnivorous animals), by (bears and other) animals having fire in their mouth, and by serpents and scorpions.

35. They are scorched by blazing fire, pierced by thorns, divided into parts by saws, and tormented by thirst.

36. They are agitated by hunger and by fearful troops of tigers, and faint away at every step on account of the foul stench proceeding from pus and from blood.

31. 'A great number of years' means three hundred years. (Nand.)

37. Casting wistful glances upon the food and drink of others, they receive blows from ministers (of Yama), whose faces are similar to those of crows, herons, cranes, and other horrid animals.

38. Here they are boiled in oil, and there pounded with pestles, or ground in iron or stone vessels.

39. In one place they (are made to) eat what has been vomited, or pus, or blood, or excrements, and in another place, meat of a hideous kind, smelling like pus.

40. Here, enveloped in terrible darkness, they are devoured by worms and (jackals and other) horrible animals having flames in their mouth.

41. There again they are tormented by frost, or have to step through unclean things (such as excrements), or the departed spirits eat one another, driven to distraction (by hunger).

42. In one place they are beaten with their deeds in a former existence, in another they are suspended (by trees and the like, with a rope), or shot with heaps of arrows, or cut in pieces.

43. In another place again, walking upon thorns, and their bodies being encircled by snakes, they are tormented with (grinding) machines, and dragged on by their knees.

44. Their backs, heads, and shoulders are fractured, the necks of these poor beings are not stouter than a needle, and their bodies, of a size fit for a hut only, are unable to bear torments.

45. Having thus been tormented (in the hells) and suffered most acute pain, the sinners have to

43. The *Gârûḍa-purâṇa* (p. 17) also mentions that in one hell the sinners are thrown into machines like the sugar-cane.

endure further pangs in their migration through animal bodies.

XLIV.

1. Now after having suffered the torments inflicted in the hells, the evil-doers pass into animal bodies.

2. Criminals in the highest degree enter the bodies of all plants successively.

3. Mortal sinners enter the bodies of worms or insects.

4. Minor offenders enter the bodies of birds.

5. Criminals in the fourth degree enter the bodies of aquatic animals.

6. Those who have committed a crime effecting loss of caste, enter the bodies of amphibious animals.

7. Those who have committed a crime degrading to a mixed caste, enter the bodies of deer.

8. Those who have committed a crime rendering them unworthy to receive alms, enter the bodies of cattle.

9. Those who have committed a crime causing defilement, enter the bodies of (low-caste) men (such as *Kandâlas*), who may not be touched.

10. Those who have committed one of the miscellaneous crimes, enter the bodies of miscellaneous wild carnivorous animals (such as tigers).

11. One who has eaten the food of one whose food may not be eaten, or forbidden food, becomes a worm or insect.

XLIV. 1-43. M. XII, 54-67; Y. III, 207-215. — 44, 45. M. XII, 68, 69.

11. See LI, 3 seq.

12. A thief (of other property than gold), becomes a falcon.

13. One who has appropriated a broad passage, becomes a (serpent or other) animal living in holes.

14. One who has stolen grain, becomes a rat.

15. One who has stolen white copper, becomes a *Hamsa*.

16. One who has stolen water, becomes a water-fowl.

17. One who has stolen honey, becomes a gad-fly.

18. One who has stolen milk, becomes a crow.

19. One who has stolen juice (of the sugar-cane or other plants), becomes a dog.

20. One who has stolen clarified butter, becomes an ichneumon.

21. One who has stolen meat, becomes a vulture.

22. One who has stolen fat, becomes a cormorant.

23. One who has stolen oil, becomes a cock-roach.

24. One who has stolen salt, becomes a cricket.

25. One who has stolen sour milk, becomes a crane.

26. One who has stolen silk, becomes a partridge.

27. One who has stolen linen, becomes a frog.

28. One who has stolen cotton cloth, becomes a curlew.

29. One who has stolen a cow, becomes an iguana.

30. One who has stolen sugar, becomes a *Vâlguda*.

30. 'The *Vâlguda* is a kind of bat.' (Nand.) The name *Vâlguda* is evidently related to *valgulf*, 'a kind of bat,' and identical with *Vâgguda* (M. XII, 64) and *Vâgvada* (Haradatta on Gaut. XVII, 34), which, according to Dr. Bühler's plausible suggestion,

31. One who has stolen perfumes, becomes a musk-rat.

32. One who has stolen vegetables, consisting of leaves, becomes a peacock.

33. One who has stolen prepared grain, becomes a (boar called) *Svâvidh* (or *Sedhâ*).

34. One who has stolen undressed grain, becomes a porcupine.

35. One who has stolen fire, becomes a crane.

36. One who has stolen household utensils, becomes a wasp (usually called *Karâta*).

37. One who has stolen dyed cloth, becomes a *Kakor* partridge.

38. One who has stolen an elephant, becomes a tortoise.

39. One who has stolen a horse, becomes a tiger.

40. One who has stolen fruits or blossoms, becomes an ape.

41. One who has stolen a woman, becomes a bear.

42. One who has stolen a vehicle, becomes a camel.

43. One who has stolen cattle, becomes a vulture.

44. He who has taken by force any property belonging to another, or eaten food not first presented to the gods (at the *Vaisvadeva* offering), inevitably enters the body of some beast.

45. Women, who have committed similar thefts, receive the same ignominious punishment: they become females to those male animals.

are names of 'a large herbivorous bat, usually called the flying fox (in *Gûgaratî vâgud* or *vâgul*). See Dr. Bühler's note on *Gaut.* loc. cit.

XLV.

1. Now after having undergone the torments inflicted in the hells, and having passed through the animal bodies, the sinners are born as human beings with (the following) marks (indicating their crime):

2. A criminal in the highest degree shall have leprosy;

3. A killer of a Brâhmana, pulmonary consumption;

4. A drinker of spirits, black teeth;

5. A stealer of gold (belonging to a Brâhmana), deformed nails;

6. A violator of his spiritual teacher's bed, a disease of the skin;

7. A calumniator, a stinking nose;

8. A malignant informer, stinking breath;

9. A stealer of grain, a limb too little;

10. One who steals by mixing (i. e. by taking good grain and replacing the same amount of bad grain in its stead), a limb too much;

11. A stealer of food, dyspepsia;

12. A stealer of words¹, dumbness;

XLV. 2-31. M. XI, 49-52; Y. III, 209-211. — 32, 33. M. XI, 53, 54.

2. According to a text of Sâtâtapa, which Nand. quotes in explanation of this Sûtra, connection with the mother is punished with 'falling or incurable epilepsy,' when the organ falls of; connection with a daughter is punished with red epilepsy; connection with a daughter-in-law, with black leprosy; and connection with a sister, with yellow leprosy.

12. ¹ I. e. according to Kullûka and Nand., 'one who studies the Veda without permission to do so;' or it may denote, according to Nand., 'a stealer of a book,' or 'one who fails to communicate information which he is able to give.'

13. A stealer of clothes, white leprosy ;
14. A stealer of horses, lameness ;
15. One who pronounces an execration against a god or a Brâhmaṇa, dumbness ;
16. A poisoner, a stammering tongue ;
17. An incendiary, madness ;
18. One disobedient to a Guru (father), the falling sickness ;
19. The killer of a cow, blindness ;
20. The stealer of a lamp, the same ;
21. One who has extinguished a lamp, blindness with one eye ;
22. A seller of tin, chowries, or lead, is born a dyer of cloth ;
23. A seller of (horses or other) animals whose foot is not cloven, is born a hunter ;
24. One who eats the food of a person born from adulterous intercourse¹, is born as a man who suffers his mouth to be abused ;
25. A thief (of other property than gold), is born a bard ;
26. A usurer becomes epileptic ;
27. One who eats dainties alone, shall have rheumatics ;
28. The breaker of a convention, a bald head ;

19. Nand. quotes a text of Sâtâtapa, from which he infers the use of the particle *tu* to indicate here, that a killer of his mother shall also be born blind.

21. The particle *ka*, according to Nand., indicates here, that such persons shall also be afflicted with the morbid affection of the eyes called *Timira*, as stated by Sâtâtapa.

24. ¹ Nand. says that *kundâsin* may also mean 'one who eats food to the amount of a *kunda*.' See also Dr. Bühler's note on Gaut. XV, 18.

29. The breaker of a vow of chastity, swelled legs ;

30. One who deprives another of his subsistence, shall be poor ;

31. One who injures another (without provocation), shall have an incurable illness.

32. Thus, according to their particular acts, are men born, marked by evil signs, sick, blind, hump-backed, halting, one-eyed ;

33. Others as dwarfs, or deaf, or dumb, feeble-bodied (eunuchs, whitlows, and others). Therefore must penances be performed by all means.

XLVI.

1. Now follow the penances.

2. Let a man fast for three days ;

3. And let him perform each day the three ablutions (at dawn, noon, and sunset) ;

4. And let him, at every ablution, plunge into the water three times ;

5. And let him mutter the Aghamarshana three times, after having plunged into the water ;

6. During day-time let him be standing ;

7. At night let him continue in a sitting position ;

8. At the close of the ceremony let him give a milch cow (to a Brâhmana).

9. Thus¹ has the penance Aghamarshana been described.

XLVI. 10, 11, 18, 19. M. XI, 212, 213, 215, 216. — 10, 11, 13, 18-20, 22, 23. Y. III, 315-323. — 10. Âpast. I, 9, 27, 7. — 10, 11, 13. Gaut. XXIII, 2 ; XXVI, 1-5, 20. — 24, 25. M. XI, 224, 225.

9. ¹ Nand. thinks that the word iti, ' thus,' has a double meaning

10. Let a man for three days eat in the evening only; for other three days, in the morning only; for further three days, food (given to him) unsolicited; (and let him fast entirely for three days): that is the *Prâgâpatya* (the penance invented by *Pragâ-pati*).

11. Let him drink for three days hot water; for other three days, hot clarified butter; and for further three days, hot milk; and let him fast for three days: that is the *Taptakrikkhra* (hot penance).

12. Taking the same (liquids) cold is called the *Sitakrikkhra* (cold penance).

13. The *Krikkhrâtikrikkhra* (the most difficult penance) consists in subsisting on milk only for twenty-one days.

14. Eating (nothing but) ground barley mixed with water for a whole month is called the *Udaka-krikkhra* (water penance).

15. Eating nothing but lotus-fibres (for a whole month) is called the *Mûlakrikkhra* (root penance).

16. Eating nothing but *Bèl* fruit (for a whole month) is called the *Srîphalakrikkhra* (*Bèl* fruit penance).

17. Or¹ (this penance is performed) by (eating) lotus-seeds.

18. A total fast for twelve days is called *Parâka*.

19. Subsisting for one day on the urine and *fæces* of a cow, milk, sour milk, butter, and water

here, and refers to another kind of *Aghamarshana* penance at the same time, which is described by *Saṅkha*, and consists simply in fasting for three days and muttering the *Aghamarshana* hymn three times.

17. ¹ According to *Nand.*, the particle *vâ*, 'or,' here indicates another alternative, that of performing this penance with *Âmalakas* (*Emblia Officinalis Gaertn.*)

in which Kusa grass has been boiled, and fasting the next day, is called *Sântapana* (the tormenting penance).

20. Swallowing (the same six things, viz.) cow-urine and the rest, each for one day, is called *Mahâ-sântapana* (the particularly tormenting penance).

21. Swallowing each for three days is called *Atisântapana* (the extremely tormenting penance).

22. Swallowing oil-cakes, foam of boiled rice, buttermilk, water, and ground barley (each for one day), with a fasting day between (every two days), is called *Tulâpurusha* (a man's weight).

23. Drinking water boiled with Kusa grass, leaves of the *Palâsa* and *Udumbara* trees, of lotuses, of the *Saṅkhapusht* plant, of the banyan tree, and of the *Brahmasuvarkalâ* plant, each (for one day), is called *Parnakrikkhra* (leaves penance).

24. Let a man perform all those penances after having shorn his hair and his beard, and let him bathe at morning, noon, and evening every day, lying on a low couch, and restraining his passions,

25. And let him (while engaged in performing them) avoid to converse with women, *Sûdras*, or outcasts, and let him constantly, to the best of his ability, mutter purifying *Mantras* and make oblations in the fire.

XLVII.

1. Now follows the *Kândrâyana* (lunar penance).

2. Let a man eat single mouthfuls (of food) unchanged in size ;

XLVII. 1-10. M. XI, 217-222. — 1-3, 9. Y. III, 324, 325. — 1-4. Gaut. XXVII, 12-15.

2. 'Unchanged in size' means 'of that size precisely which the law prescribes.' *Yâgñavalkya* (III, 324) states that each daily

3. And let him during the moon's increase add (successively) one mouthful (every day, so as to eat one mouthful on the first day of the moon's increase, two mouthfuls on the second day, and so on; fifteen mouthfuls on the day of full moon), and during the wane of the moon let him take off one mouthful (every day, so as to eat fourteen mouthfuls on the first day of the moon's wane, thirteen mouthfuls on the second, and one mouthful on the fourteenth day of the moon's wane), and on the day of new moon let him fast entirely: thus has the barley-shaped *Kândrâyana* been described.

4. Or the ant-shaped *Kândrâyana* (may be performed).

5. That *Kândrâyana* is called 'ant-shaped' in which the day of new moon is placed in the middle.

6. That one is called 'barley-shaped' in which the day of full moon is placed in the middle.

7. If a man eats for a month eight mouthfuls a day, it is (the penance called) *Yatikândrâyana* (an hermit's *Kândrâyana*).

8. Eating (for a month) four mouthfuls each morning and evening is (the penance called) *Sisukândrâyana* (a child's *Kândrâyana*).

9. Eating anyhow¹ three hundred minus sixty mouthfuls a month is the penance called *Sâmânyakândrâyana* (general *Kândrâyana*).

portion must have the size of a peacock's egg, and Gautama (XXVII, 10) prescribes that the size of a mouthful shall be such as not to cause a distortion of the mouth in swallowing it. (Nand.)

9. ¹ 'Anyhow,' i. e. otherwise than ordained above, as e. g. eating four mouthfuls on one day, and twelve on the next day; or fasting on one day, and eating sixteen mouthfuls on the following day; or fasting for two days, and eating twenty-four mouthfuls on the third

10. After having performed this penance, in a former age, the seven holy *Rishis*, Brahman, and Rudra acquired a splendid abode, O Earth.

XLVIII.

1. Now if a man feels his conscience charged with some guilty act (such as performing a sacrifice for, or accepting a gift from, unworthy persons, or eating excrements) committed by himself (or if his conscience tells him that he has done more evil than good, or if he thinks himself less pure than others), let him boil a handful of barley-gruel for the sake of his own spiritual welfare.

2. Let him not make the (customary) Vaisvadeva offering after that.

3. Neither must he make the Bali offerings.

4. Let him consecrate with Mantras the barley, before it has been put to the fire, while it is being boiled, and after it has been boiled.

5. Let him watch the barley, while it is being boiled (muttering at the same time the following Mantra):

6. 'Soma, who is the highest priest among priests (gods), leader among the wise, *Rishi* among bards, the falcon among rapacious birds, the Svadhiti tree among trees, trickles murmuring through the filter¹.'

day; or fasting for three days, and eating thirty-two mouthfuls on the fourth day. (Nand.)

XLVIII. 1. Gaut. XIX, 13.

2, 3. Regarding the regular oblations which have to be offered at meal times &c. to the Visvedevâs and to all beings (bhûtâni), see LIX, 22, 24; LXVIII, 1-22.

4. The Mantras are given below, 17-22.

6. ¹ Rig-veda IX, 96, 6. Regarding the translation of this verse, see Dr. Zimmer's remarks, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 207.

With these words he must fasten blades of Kusa grass (round the neck of the kettle).

7. The pulse having been boiled, he must pour it into another vessel and eat it.

8. Let him help himself to it, while muttering the Mantra, 'The gods, who have sprung up in the mind and satisfy the mind, who are gifted with great energy, and whose father is Daksha, shall protect and help us. To them be Namaḥ (adoration), to them be Svâhâ (hail).'

9. Then, after having sipped water, let him seize the centre (of the vessel) and mutter the Mantra :

10. 'Be satisfied in our stomach, O ye waters, and ye barley-corns, after having been bathed; they shall be salubrious to us, conferring bliss, causing health, divine, causing immortality, and increasers of *Rîta* (truth and justice).'

11. One desirous of wisdom (must perform this rite) for three days;

12. A sinner, for six days.

13. Any of the mortal sinners (killers of a Brâhmana, stealers of gold, and the rest) becomes purified by swallowing it for seven days.

14. Swallowing it for twelve nights effaces even sins committed by an ancestor;

15. Swallowing it for a month, every sin (whether light or heavy, and whether committed by himself or by an ancestor).

16. And so does swallowing barley-corns dissolved in the excrements of a cow for twenty-one days (efface every sin).

17. 'Thou art barley, thou the king of grains,

8. *Taittirîya Samhitâ* I, 2, 3, 1. See also *Vâgasaneyi Samhitâ* IV, 11, &c.

thou water mixed with honey; the *Rishis* have proclaimed thee an expeller of every kind of guilt and an instrument of purification.

18. 'You are clarified butter and honey, O ye barley-corns; you are water and ambrosia, O ye barley-corns. May you efface whatever sinful acts I have committed :

19. 'Sins committed by words, by acts, and by evil thoughts. Avert distress and ill-fortune from me, O ye barley-corns.

20. 'Purify food licked at by dogs or pigs, or defiled by leavings (of food), and (purify me from the stain) of disobedience towards mother and father, O ye barley-corns.

21. 'Purify for me food given by a multitude of persons, the food of a harlot, or of a *Sûdra*, food offered at a *Srâddha*, food rendered impure by the birth of a child in the house, the food of a thief, and food offered at a *Navasrâddha* (or new *Srâddha*, which takes place on the first, third, fifth, seventh, ninth, and eleventh day after a person's demise).

22. 'Purify me, O ye barley-corns, from the sin of injuring a child or of causing (a punishment) to be inflicted on some one by the king, from theft of gold (or other high crimes), from the violation of a religious duty, from performing a sacrifice for an unworthy person, and from abusing a *Brâhmana*.'

XLIX.

1. After having fasted during the eleventh day of the bright half of the month *Mârgaśrsha*, let a

XLIX. 1. 'He must worship *Vāsudeva* either with sixteen acts, muttering one out of the sixteen verses of the *Purushasûkta* with each single act, the first act being the invocation of the gods, and

man worship, on the twelfth day, the venerable Vāsudeva (Vishṇu).

2. (He shall worship him) with flowers, incense, unguents, lamps, eatables (such as milk), and repasts given to Brāhmaṇas.

3. By performing this rite (on the twelfth day of the bright half of every month, from the month Mārgaśīrsha to the month Kārttika) for one year, he is purified from every sin.

4. By performing it till he dies, he attains Sveta-dvīpa ('the white island,' the abode of Bhagavat).

5. By performing it for a year on each twelfth day of both halves of a month, he attains heaven.

6. By performing it (within the same intervals), till he dies, (he attains) the world of Vishṇu.

7. The same (heavenly rewards are gained by him who performs this rite) on each fifteenth day (after having fasted during the fourteenth).

8. If he worships (according to the latter rite) Kesava (Vishṇu) who has become one with Brahman, on the day of full moon, and Kesava absorbed in meditation, on the day of new moon, he will obtain a great reward.

the last the dismissal of the assembled Brāhmaṇas; or he must worship him with the "five offerings," perfumes, and the rest, muttering at the same time the "twelve syllables" (Om namo bhagavate vāsudevāya, "Om, adoration to the venerable Vāsudeva").' (Nand.)

2. 'He must worship him with those offerings and with burnt-oblations. The burnt-oblation, which must consist either of sesamum, or of barley, or of clarified butter, has to be accompanied by the recitation of the Puruṣasūkta or of the "twelve syllables."' (Nand.)

8. According to Nand., the two forms of Vishṇu mentioned here must be considered as two separate deities, the one having to be invoked with the words 'Adoration to Brahmakesava,' and the

9. If in a year on a day of full moon the moon and the planet Jupiter are seen together in the sky, it is called a great full moon.

10. Gifts, fasts, and the like are declared to be imperishable on that day. The same is the case if a conjunction with the asterism *Sravanâ* falls on the twelfth day of the bright half (of any month).

L.

1. Let a man make a hut of leaves in a forest and dwell in it;

2. And let him bathe (and perform his prayers) three times a day;

3. And¹ let him collect alms, going from one village to another, and proclaiming his own deed;

4. And¹ let him sleep upon grass:

5. This is called a *Mahâvrata* (great observance).

6. He who has killed a *Brâhmaṇa* (unintentionally) must perform it for twelve years.

7. (He who has unintentionally killed) a *Kshatriya* or a *Vaisya* engaged in a sacrifice, for the same period.

other with the words 'Adoration to *Yogakesava*.' 'A great reward' he interprets by 'a shape identical with that of *Brahman*.'

L. 1-6, 15. M. XI, 73; Y. III, 243; Âpast. I, 9, 24, 11-20; Gaut. XXII, 4-6. — 7-10, 12-14. M. XI, 88, 89, 129-131; Y. III, 251, 266, 267; Gaut. XXII, 12-16. — 16-24. M. XI, 109-116; Y. III, 263. — 25-41. M. XI, 132-138; Y. III, 270-274. — 30-33. Âpast. I, 9, 25, 13; Gaut. XXII, 19. — 34-36. Gaut. XXII, 23-25. — 46-50. M. XI, 141-145; Y. III, 275, 276. — 46. Âpast. I, 9, 26, 2; Gaut. XXII, 20, 21.

3. ¹Nand., quoting Gautama XXII, 5, takes the particle *ka*, 'and,' to imply that he should also make way for any *Ârya* whom he meets.

4. ¹The particle *ka* here means, according to Nand., that he ought to remain chaste, as ordained by Gautama, XXII, 4.

8. Likewise, he who has killed (unintentionally) a pregnant woman, or¹ a woman in her courses.

9. Or¹ a woman who has bathed after temporary uncleanness;

10. Or¹ a friend.

11. He who has (unintentionally) killed a king, must perform the Mahâvrata for twice the same number of years (or twenty-four years);

12. He who has (unintentionally) killed a Kshatriya (not engaged in a sacrifice, nor a king), for one quarter of that time less (or for nine years);

13. He who has (unintentionally) killed a Vaisya (not engaged in a sacrifice), for half of that time (or for six years).

14. He who has (unintentionally) killed a (virtuous) Sûdra, for half of that time again (or for three years).

15. He who is performing any of those penances, must carry (on his stick) the skull of the person slain, like a flag.

16. Let a man serve cows for a month, his hair and beard having been shorn.

17. And let him sit down to rest when they rest;

18. And¹ let him stand still when they stand still;

8. ¹ Nand. infers from texts of Praċetas, Yama, and Parâsara, that the particle vâ, 'or,' here refers to pregnant cows, and to women whose confinement is close at hand, or who are married to one who has kindled his sacred fire, or for whom all the sacred rites have been duly performed from their birth.

9. ¹ Nand. refers the particle vâ, 'or,' to women of high rank and to a rival wife, or a mother, or a daughter, or a sister, or a daughter-in-law, or a wife, who is of the same caste as her husband.

10. ¹ 'The particle vâ includes children here.' (Nand.)

18. ¹ According to Nand., the particle ka here refers to the

19. And¹ let him give assistance to a cow that has met with an accident (such as getting into a slough, or falling into a pit).

20. And let him preserve them from (the attacks of lions and tigers and other) dangers.

21. Let him not seek shelter himself against cold (and hot winds) and similar dangers, without having previously protected the cows against them.

22. Let him wash himself with cow-urine (three times a day);

23. And¹ let him subsist upon the (five) productions of a cow :

24. This is the Govrata (cow rite), which must be performed by him who has (unintentionally) killed a cow (belonging to a Kshatriya).

25. If a man has killed an elephant (intentionally), he must give five black (nīla) bulls.

26. If he has killed (unintentionally) a horse, he must give a garment.

27. If he has (intentionally) killed an ass, he must give a bull one year old.

28. The same if he has (intentionally) killed a ram or a goat.

29. If he has (intentionally) killed a camel, he must give one *Krishnala* of gold.

precept of Parâsara, that he should drink water when the cows drink, and lie down when they lie down.

19. ¹ According to Nand., the particle *ka* here implies another precept of Parâsara, that he should not take notice of a cow grazing or drinking water upon his own ground or that of another.

23. ¹ 'The particle *ka* implies that he should also mutter the Gomatî hymn, as Sâtâtapa says.' (Nand.)

25. 'He is called a black bull whose colour is red, whose mouth and tail are of a yellowish-white colour, and whose hoofs and horns are white.' (Yagñapârsva, quoted by Nand.)

30. If he has (intentionally) killed a dog, he must fast for three days.

31. If he has (unintentionally) killed a mouse, or a cat, or an ichneumon, or a frog, or a *Dundubha* snake, or a large serpent (a boa constrictor), he must fast one day, and on the next day he must give a dish of milk, sesamum, and rice mixed together to a Brâhmana, and give him an iron hoe as his 'fee.'

32. If he has killed (unintentionally) an iguana, or an owl, or a crow, or a fish, he must fast for three days.

33. If he has killed (intentionally) a *Hamsa*, or a crane, or a heron, or a cormorant, or an ape, or a falcon, or the vulture called *Bhâsa*, or a Brâhmanî duck, he must give a cow to a Brâhmana.

34. If he has killed a snake, (he must give) an iron spade.

35. If he has killed emasculated (cattle or birds)¹, (he must give) a load of straw ².

36. If he has killed (intentionally) a boar, (he must give) a Kumbha of clarified butter.

37. If he has (intentionally) killed a partridge, (he must give) a *Drona* of sesamum.

38. If he has (intentionally) killed a parrot, (he must give) a calf two years old.

39. If he has (intentionally) killed a curlew, (he must give) a calf three years old.

40. If he has (unintentionally) killed a wild carnivorous animal, he must give a milch cow.

35. ¹ Thus according to Nand., who declares himself against the interpretation of *shanda* by 'a eunuch;' see, however, Kullûka on M. XI, 134, and Dr. Bühler's rendering of Gaut. XXII, 23.—

² Nand. adds, 'and a *Mâsha* of lead;' see the passages just referred to.

41. If he has (unintentionally) killed a wild animal not carnivorous, (he must give) a heifer.

42. If he has (intentionally) killed an animal not mentioned before, he must subsist upon milk for three days.

43. If he has (unintentionally) killed a bird (not mentioned before), he must eat at night only;

44. Or (if unable to do so), he must give a silver Mâsha.

45. If he has (unintentionally) killed an aquatic animal, he must fast (for a day and a night).

46. If he has killed a thousand (small) animals having bones, or an ox-load of animals that have no bones, he must perform the same penance as for killing a Sûdra.

47. But, if he has killed animals having bones, he must (moreover) give some trifle to a Brâhmaṇa (for each animal which he has killed); if he has killed boneless animals, he becomes purified by one stopping of the breath.

48. For cutting (unawares?) trees yielding fruit (such as the bread-fruit or mango trees), shrubs, creeping or climbing plants, or plants yielding blossoms (such as the jasmine tree), he must mutter a Vedic text (the Gâyatrî) a hundred times.

49. For killing (unintentionally) insects bred in rice or other food, or in (sweets and) the like, or in liquids (such as molasses), or elsewhere (in water and so on), or in flowers or fruits, the penance consists in eating clarified butter.

50. If a man has wantonly cut such plants as

46, 47. Nand. thinks that the former Sloka refers to intentional, and the latter to unintentional murder of those animals.

grow by cultivation (such as rice and barley), or such as rise spontaneously in the wood (such as wild rice), he must wait on a cow and subsist upon milk for one day.

LI.

1. A drinker of spirituous liquor must abstain from all religious rites and subsist on grains separated from the husk for a year.

2. If a man has (knowingly) tasted any of the (twelve) unclean excretions of the body, or of the (twelve) intoxicating drinks, he must perform the *Kândrâyana* penance.

3. Likewise, if he has (knowingly) eaten garlic, or onions, or red garlic, or any plant which has a similar flavour (to that of garlic or onions), or the meat of village pigs, of tame cocks (and other tame birds), of apes, and of cows.

4. In all those cases men belonging to a twice-born caste have to be initiated a second time, after the penance is over.

5. On their second initiation, the tonsure, the girding with the sacred string, the wearing of the staff, and the begging of alms shall be omitted.

LI. 1. M. XI, 93; Y. III, 254. — 3. M. V, 19; Y. I, 176. — 4, 5. M. XI, 151, 152; Y. III, 255; Gaut. XXIII, 2. — 6. M. V, 18; Y. I, 177; Âpast. I, 5, 17, 37; Gaut. XVII, 27. — 7-20. M. IV, 205-217; Y. I, 161-168; Âpast. I, 5, 16, 27, 29; 17, 4, 5; 18, 21-23; 19, 1, 15; II, 6, 15, 14; Gaut. XVII, 10-12, 17, 19, 21, 31. — 21. M. V, 16; Y. I, 177, 178. — 23. M. XI, 148. — 25. M. XI, 150; Gaut. XXIII, 6. — 26-42. M. V, 5-21, 24, 25; XI, 152-157; Y. I, 169-178; Âpast. I, 5, 17, 17-20, 22-26, 28, 29, 33-36; Gaut. XVII, 14, 16, 22-26, 28, 29, 32-34. — 43-46. M. XI, 158-160. — 59. M. V, 36; Y. I, 179; Âpast. I, 5, 17, 31. — 60. M. V, 38; Y. I, 180. — 61. M. V, 39. — 62. M. V, 34. — 63-78. M. V, 40-55. — 64. Sâṅkh. II, 16, 1. See also Bühler, *Introd. to Digest*, p. xxxi, note. — 76, 77. Y. I, 181.

6. If a man has (unawares) eaten meat of a five-toed animal, with the exception of the hare, the porcupine, the iguana, the rhinoceros, and the tortoise, he must fast for seven days.

7. If he has eaten the food of a multitude of persons, of a harlot, of a thief, or of a singer, he must subsist upon milk for seven days.

8. And ¹ (if he has eaten) the food of a carpenter or of a leather manufacturer ;

9. Or of a usurer, of a miser, of one who has performed the initiatory ceremony of a Soma-sacrifice, of a jailer, of an Abhisasta, or of a eunuch ;

10. Or of a dissolute woman, of a hypocrite, of a physician, of a hunter, of a hard-hearted or cruel person, and of one who eats the leavings of food ;

11. Or of a woman who has neither husband nor son, of a goldsmith, of an enemy, or of an outcast ;

12. Or of a malignant informer, of a liar, of one who has transgressed the law, and of one who sells himself, or who sells (molasses or other) liquids and condiments ;

13. Or of a public dancer, of a weaver, of an ungrateful man, or of a dyer of clothes ;

14. Or (the food) of a blacksmith, of a man of the Nishâda tribe (who subsist by fishing), of a stage-player ¹, of a worker in cane, or of a seller of weapons ;

8. ¹As shown by *ka*, "and," other persons who have a dishonourable profession, such as fishermen, have also to be understood.' (Nand.)

9. Abhisasta means 'accused of a heinous crime,' i.e. 'a person of bad repute.' (Nand.) See also Dr. Bühler's notes on Âpast. I, 9, 24, 6, and on Gaut. XVII, 17.

14. ¹This is the usual meaning of the term *raṅgâvatârin*. Nand. explains it by 'wrestlers and the like.'

15. Or of a trainer of dogs, of a distiller of spirituous liquor, of an oil manufacturer, or of a washerman ;

16. Or (the food) of a woman in her courses (whether belonging to her, or dressed for her), or of one who lives under one roof with the paramour of his wife ;

17. Or (food) which has been looked at by the killer of an embryo (of a Brâhmaṇa), or which has been touched by a woman in her courses, or nibbled by a bird¹, or touched by a dog, or smelt at by a cow ;

18. Or that which has been designedly touched with the foot, or that which has been sneezed at ;

19. Or the food of insane, or wrathful, or sick persons ;

20. Or (food that is given) in a disrespectful manner, or the meat (of animals killed) for no sacred purpose.

21. After having (unawares) eaten the flesh of any sort of fish, excepting the Pât/īna, Rohita, Râgiva, Simhatunda, and Sakula fishes, he must fast for three days.

22. Likewise, after having (unawares) eaten the flesh of (any other) aquatic animal (such as the alligator, or the Gangetic porpoise).

23. After having (knowingly) drunk water from a vessel in which spirituous liquor had been kept, he must drink for seven days milk boiled together with the Saṅkhaushpī plant.

17. ¹Nand. considers the term patatrin to refer to crows only in this place. Kullûka (on M. IV, 208) interprets it by 'crows and the like.' See also Gaut. XVII, 10.

20. See Dr. Bühler's notes on Gaut. XVII, 19, 31.

24. After having (knowingly drunk water) from a vessel in which an intoxicating beverage had been kept, (he must drink the same) for five days.

25. A Soma-sacrificer, who has (unawares) smelt the breath of a man who had been drinking spirituous liquor, must plunge into water, (suppress his breath) and mutter the Aghamarshana three times, and eat clarified butter afterwards.

26. For eating (designedly) the flesh of an ass, of a camel, or of a crow¹, he must perform the *Kândrâyana* penance.

27. Likewise, for eating (knowingly) the flesh of an unknown (beast or bird), meat kept in a slaughter-house, and¹ dried meat.

28. For eating (unawares) the flesh of carnivorous beasts (tigers and others), or birds (hawks and others), he must perform the *Taptakrikkhra*.

29. For (knowingly) eating a sparrow, or (the heron called) *Plava*, or a *Brâhmaṇṭ* duck, or a *Hamsa*, or the (wild cock called) *Raggudâla*, or a *Sârasa* crane, or a *Dâtyûha*, or a male or female parrot, or a crane, or a heron, or a cuckoo, or a wagtail, he must fast for three days.

30. Likewise, for eating (unawares the flesh of) animals whose hoof is not cloven (such as horses),

26. Nand. argues from a passage of *Praketas*, that the flesh of the following other animals, dogs, jackals, cocks, boars, carnivorous animals in general, Gangetic porpoises, apes, elephants, horses, tame hogs, cows, and human beings, is also implied here. But if that were the case, *Sûtra* 26 would be partly a mere repetition of, and partly opposed to, the rules laid down in *Sûtras* 33 and 22.

27. ¹ Nand. infers from a passage of the *Brâhma-purâna*, that the use of the particle *ka* further implies a prohibition to eat the flesh on the back, or flesh which had been interred in the ground, or covered with earth, fried meat, and the flesh of the uterus.

or of animals having a double row of teeth (such as the Rohita deer).

31. For eating (unawares) the flesh of any bird, excepting the francoline partridge, the Kâpiṅgala, the (quail called) Lâvaka, the peahen, and the peacock, (he must fast) for a day and a night.

32. For eating (knowingly) insects (ants and others), he must drink for one day (water in which the plant) Brahmasuvarṅgalâ (has been boiled).

33. For eating (unawares) the flesh of dogs, he must perform the same penance¹.

34. For eating (unawares) the mushroom called) *Khatrâka*, or (the mushroom called) *Kavaka*, he must perform the Sântapana penance.

35. For eating (unawares) stale food, other than a mess prepared with barley (such as cakes), or with wheat (such as gruel), or with milk (boiled with rice, or mixed with coagulated milk, or otherwise dressed), and dishes sprinkled with fat (such as clarified butter), sour gruel, and sweetmeats, he must fast (for one day).

36. Likewise, (for eating unawares) the juice flowing from an incision in a tree, (plants raised in) unclean substances (such as excrements and the like), and the red exudation of trees.

37. Also, (for eating unawares) the root of the water-lily; (and for eating) rice boiled with sesamum, or with beans, *Samyâva*¹, rice boiled in milk with sugar, pastry, *Sashkulî* (cakes), or food destined for

33. ¹ 'And he must perform the Sântapana penance mentioned in the next Sûtra, as the use of the particle *ka* implies.' (Nand.)

37. ¹ Nand. interprets this term by *utkarikâ*, which, according to Wilson, is a sort of sweetmeat made with milk, treacle, and clarified butter. *Kullûka* (on M.V, 7) has a somewhat different interpretation.

the gods, if those dishes have not been announced to the gods first; and (for eating) food destined for burnt-oblations.

38. Also, for tasting the milk of any animal, save the milk of cows, goats, and buffalos (and for tasting any eatables made of such milk)¹.

39. Also, (for tasting the milk) of those animals (cows and the rest) within ten days after their giving birth to a young one.

40. And (for tasting) the milk of a cow whose milk flows of itself, of one that has just taken the bull¹, or of one whose calf is dead².

41. And (for tasting the milk of a cow) that has been feeding upon ordures.

42. And (for tasting) any such food as has turned sour (but not that which is sour by nature, like sorrel), except sour milk (and what is made with it).

43. A student, who partakes (unawares) of a Srâddha repast, must fast for three days.

44. And he must remain in water for a whole day (afterwards).

45. If he eats honey or meat (at any time), he must perform the Prâgâpatya penance.

46. If any one eats (unawares) the leavings of the

38. ¹Nand. infers from the use of the particle *kā* that the same penance is ordained for tasting any other production of those animals, as e.g. their excrements.

40. ¹Sandhinī means 'a cow that has just taken the bull,' or 'a female animal that gives milk once a day,' or 'a cow that is milked by the calf of another cow.' (Nand.) Haradatta (see Âpast. I, 5, 17, 23; Gaut. XVII, 25) interprets it by 'an animal giving milk while big with young.' For other interpretations, see the Petersburg Dictionary. — ²'The particle *kā* indicates that animals bearing twins have also to be included in this prohibition.' (Nand.) See Gaut. loc. cit.

food of a cat, of a crow, of an ichneumon, or of a rat, he must drink water in which the Brahmasuvar \acute{a} lā plant has been boiled.

47. For eating (unawares) what has been left by a dog, he must fast for one day, and drink Pañ \acute{a} gavya (afterwards).

48. For tasting (knowingly) the excrements of five-toed animals (excepting human excrements), he must (fast) for seven days (and drink Pañ \acute{a} gavya on the eighth).

49. If one (not a student) eats (unawares) of a Śrāddha repast consisting of raw food, he must subsist on milk for seven days.

50. If a Brāhmaṇa eats what has been left by a Sūdra, (he must also subsist on milk) for seven days.

51. If he eats what has been left by a Vaisya, (he must subsist upon milk) for five days.

52. If he eats what has been left by a Kshatriya, (he must subsist upon milk) for three days.

53. If he eats what has been left by another Brāhmaṇa, (he must subsist upon milk) for one day.

54. If a Kshatriya eats what has been left by a Sūdra, (he must undergo the same penance) for five days.

55. If he eats what has been left by a Vaisya, (he must undergo it) for three days ;

56. And so must a Vaisya, if he eats what has been left by a Sūdra.

50. Nand. explains that he should drink Pañ \acute{a} gavya alternately with milk. This explanation extends to the following Sūtras also (up to Sūtra 56). He further argues from another Smṛiti text that the term Sūdra means 'Sūdras and women' here.

57. For (knowingly) eating (undressed) food, which has been left by a *Kandâla* (or *Svapaka* or other member of the seven lowest castes), he must fast for three days.

58. For (unawares) eating dressed food (left by such), the *Parâka* penance is ordained.

59. Let no *Brâhmaṇa* ever eat (the flesh of) beasts which has not been consecrated with *Mantras*; but if it has been consecrated with *Mantras*, he may eat it, following the eternal rule (laid down in the *Veda*).

60. As many hairs as the beast has, which he has slain in this world, for so many days will the killer of a beast for other purposes than a (*Srauta* or *Smârta*) sacrifice, suffer terrible pangs in this world and in the next¹.

61. It is for sacrifices that beasts have been created by the Self-existent (*Brahman*) himself. Sacrificing causes the whole universe to prosper; therefore is the slaughter (of beasts) for a sacrifice no slaughter.

62. The sin of him who kills deer for the sake of gain, is not so great (and visited less heavily) in the world to come, than the sin of him who eats meat which has not been offered to the gods.

63. Plants, cattle, trees, amphibious animals, and birds, which have been destroyed for the purposes of sacrifice, obtain exaltation in another existence (in which they are born as *Gandharvas*, or other beings of a high rank).

60. ¹ My translation follows Nand. It is, however, doubtful, whether the reading is correct; see *Manu* V, 38.

62. This is because the former kills animals in order to support his family, whereas the latter eats meat merely in order to tickle his palate. (Nand.)

64. When honouring a guest, at a sacrifice, or when worshipping the manes, or the gods, a man may slay cattle, but not otherwise on any account.

65. That twice-born man who, knowing the exact truth (promulgated) in the Veda, slays cattle for the sacrifices (ordained in the Veda), will convey himself and the cattle (slain by him) to a blissful abode.

66. A self-controlled¹ man of a twice-born caste, whether he be a householder, or be dwelling with his spiritual teacher, or in the forest, must never slay an animal in opposition to the precepts of the Veda, even in cases of distress.

67. That slaughter which is in accordance with the precepts of the Veda, and has been fixed for this world of movable and immovable creatures, should be considered as no slaughter at all; because it is from the Veda that law shines forth.

68. He who hurts animals that do not hurt any one, merely in order to afford pleasure to himself, will never obtain happiness, whether living or dead¹.

69. He who gives no living creature intentionally the pain of confining or killing (or hurting) it, from benevolence towards all (creatures), will enjoy everlasting happiness.

70. Whatever he thinks of, whatever he strives for, and whatever he desires in his heart, all that is easily obtained by him who does not injure any created being.

71. Meat cannot be obtained without injuring an

66. ¹ Nand. interprets the term *âtma-vân* by *saṁnyâsî*, 'an ascetic, or member of the fourth order,' apparently because the first three orders are mentioned in this *Sloka*. I have followed Kullûka's interpretation (on M. V, 43).

68. ¹ 'But it is no sin to kill tigers or other beasts of prey.' (Nand.)

animal, and the murder of animals excludes the murderer from heaven, therefore meat must be avoided.

72. Reflecting upon the origin of flesh¹ and upon the (sin of) hurting or confining animated creatures, he must abstain from animal food of any kind.

73. He who transgresses not the law and eats not flesh like a *Pisâka*, is beloved by men and remains free from disease.

74. He who gives his consent to the killing of an animal, he who cuts it up, he who kills it, the purchaser and the seller, he who prepares it, he who serves it up, and he who eats it, all these are denominated slaughterers of an animal.

75. There is no greater sinner than he who, without giving their share to the manes and to the gods, wants to increase his own flesh with the flesh of another creature.

76. Those two, he who performs a horse-sacrifice annually for a hundred years and he who does not eat meat, shall both obtain the same recompense for their virtue.

77. By eating (wild rice or other) sacred fruits or roots, and by living upon such grains as are the food of hermits, a man does not reap so high a reward as by avoiding meat.

78. (An eater of flesh must say within himself), 'Me he (*mâm sa*) will eat in the next world, whose

72. ¹The human soul is enveloped in six sheaths, three of which come from the father, and three from the mother. The three that come from the mother are skin, flesh, and blood. Now flesh is said in the *Sruti* to be derived from the menstrual discharge, and the latter is one of the species of forbidden food. (*Nand.*)

flesh I am tasting here.' This, say the learned, is the derivation of the word flesh (*mâmsa*).

LII.

1. He who has stolen the gold (of a Brâhmana), must bring a club to the king, proclaiming his deed.

2. Whether the king kills him with it, or dismisses him unhurt, he is purified.

3. Or (in case he committed the theft unawares), he must perform the Mahâvrata¹ for twelve years.

4. He who appropriates (knowingly) a deposit, (must perform the same penance.)

5. He who steals (knowingly) grain or valuable objects¹, (or prepared food belonging to a Brâhmana,) (must perform) the *Krikkhra*² for a year.

6. For stealing male or female slaves (not belonging to a Brâhmana, and for seizing) a well or pool (actually containing water), or a field, the *Kândrâyana* (penance must be performed).

7. (For stealing) articles of small value (such as tin or lead, not exceeding twenty-five *Panas* in value), the *Sântapana* (penance must be performed).

8. (For stealing) sweetmeats, (rice or other) food,

LII. 1, 2. M. VIII, 314-316; XI, 100-101; Y. III, 257; Âpast. I, 9, 25, 4-5; Gaut. XII, 43, 44. — 3. M. XI, 102. — 5-13. M. XI, 163-169.

3. ¹ See L, 1-5.

5. ¹ By dhana, 'valuable objects,' the objects mentioned below (in 10), copper and the rest, are meant. (Nand.) — ² Nand. does not explain the meaning of *Krikkhra*, which is a general term for 'a heavy penance.' It probably denotes the *Prâgâpatya* penance here, as in a number of other law texts (e. g. below, LIV, 26), and in the corresponding text of Manu in particular. See Kullûka on M. XI, 163.

8-13. Nand. explains that these Sûtras refer to a small amount of those articles which are mentioned in them.

(milk or other) drinks, a bed, a seat, flowers, roots, or fruit, drinking Pañśagavya (is ordained as penance).

9. (For stealing) grass, firewood, trees, rice in the husk, sugar, clothes, skins, or flesh, the thief must fast for three days.

10. (For stealing knowingly) precious stones, pearls or coral, copper, silver, iron, or white copper, he must eat grain separated from the husk for twelve days.

11. For stealing (unawares) cotton, silk, wool or other (stuffs), he must subsist for three days upon milk.

12. For stealing two-hoofed or one-hoofed animals, he must fast for three days.

13. For stealing birds, or perfumes, or medicinal herbs, or cords, or basket-work, he must fast for one day.

14. Though a thief may have restored to the owner the stolen property (either openly or) in some indirect manner¹, he must still perform a penance, in order to purify himself from guilt.

15. Whatever a man takes from others, unchecked (by the dictates of religion), of that will he be bereft in every future birth.

16. Because life, religious merit, and pleasure depend upon wealth, therefore let a man take care not to injure the wealth (of others by robbing them) by any means.

17. Among those two, he who injures animal life, and he who injures wealth, the one who injures wealth shall incur the heavier penalty.

14. ¹ 'As under pretext of handing over to him the dowry of a wife.' (Nand.)

LIII.

1. One who has (unawares) had illicit sexual intercourse¹, must perform the Prâgâpatya penance for a year, according to the rule of the Mahâvrata, clad in a garment of bark, and living in a forest.

2. The same (penance is ordained) for sexual intercourse with the wife of another man (who belongs to his own caste, but is no Guru of his).

3. For intercourse with a cow, the Govrata (must be performed).

4. For intercourse with a man, for unnatural crimes with a woman, (for wasting his manhood) in the air, (for intercourse with a woman) in water, by day, or in a go-cart¹, he must bathe dressed in his clothes.

5. By intercourse (knowingly) with a *Kandâla* woman¹, he becomes her equal in caste.

6. For intercourse unawares with such, he must perform the *Kândrâyana* twice.

7. For intercourse (knowingly) with cattle (other than cows) or with a public prostitute, (he must perform) the Prâgâpatya penance.

8. A woman who has committed adultery once,

LIII. 1-8. M. XI, 106, 171-177. — 4. Y. III, 291. — 9. M. XI, 179.

1. ¹The crime intended here is explained by Nand. as being illicit intercourse with a step-mother, who belongs to the *Sûdra* caste.

3. See L, 16-24.

4. ¹'Or in a cart drawn by asses or by other beasts of draught, as the particle *ka* implies.' (Nand.)

5. ¹'Or with a woman of an equally degraded caste, such as the *Svapaka* caste and others.' (Nand.)

8. See *Sûtra* 2.

must perform that penance which has been prescribed for an adulterer.

9. That guilt which a Brâhmana incurs by intercourse with a *Kandâla* woman one night, he can only remove by subsisting upon alms, and constantly repeating (the *Gâyatri*) for three years.

LIV.

1. If a man associates with one guilty of a crime, he must perform the same penance as he.

2. A Brâhmana who has drunk water from a well in which a five-toed animal has perished, or which has been defiled in the highest degree, must fast for three days.

3. A Kshatriya (must fast) for two days (in the same case).

4. A Vaisya (must fast) for one day (and one night).

5. A Sûdra (must fast) for a night only.

6. And all (the former, but not a Sûdra) must drink *Pañkagavya*, when their penance has been completed.

7. If a Sûdra drinks *Pañkagavya*, or if a Brâhmana drinks spirituous liquor, they both go to the hell called *Mahâraurava* ¹.

LIV. 1. M. XI, 182. — 10. M. XI, 203. — 11. M. II, 220; Âpast. II, 5, 12, 22; Gaut. XXIII, 21. — 12. M. XI, 200; Y. III, 277; Gaut. XXIII, 7. — 23. M. XI, 202; Y. III, 291. — 24. M. XI, 195; Y. III, 290. — 25. M. XI, 198; Y. III, 289. — 26. M. XI, 192. — 27. M. XI, 193. — 28. M. XI, 294. — 29. M. XI, 204. — 30. M. XI, 209; Y. III, 293. — 31. M. XI, 190. — 32. M. XI, 191; Y. III, 299. — 34. M. XI, 210; Y. III, 294.

7. ¹See XLIII, 5. Nand. infers from an anonymous *Smṛiti* passage, that the first part of this Sûtra refers not only to Sûdras, but to women also, and not only to the drinking of *Pañkagavya*,

8. If a man has not connection with his wife in the natural season, unless it be on the days of the full and new moon, or because she is ill, he must fast for three days.

9. A false witness¹ must perform the penance ordained for killing a Brâhmaṇa.

10. He who has (unawares) voided excrements without water (being near), must bathe in his clothes, pronounce the 'great words¹,' and offer a burnt-oblation².

11. One who has been surprised asleep by the sun rising or setting, must bathe in his clothes and mutter the Gâyatri one hundred and eight times.

12. He who has been bitten by a dog, a jackal, a tame pig, an ass, an ape, a crow, or a public prostitute, shall approach a river and (standing in it, shall) stop his breath sixteen times.

13. One who forgets the Vedic texts which he has studied, or who forsakes the sacred fires, must subsist upon alms for a year, bathing at the tree Savanas (morning, noon, and evening), sleeping upon the ground, and eating one meal a day.

14. For setting one's self up by false statements, and for falsely accusing or abusing a Guru, he must subsist upon milk for a month.

15. An atheist, one who leads the life of a member of the *Kandâla* or of other low castes that

but also to the offering of burnt-oblations and the muttering of prayers.

9. ¹According to Nand., this particular species of criminals is only quoted as an instance of *anupâtakina* (criminals in the third degree, see XXXVI), who are all intended in this Sûtra.

10. ¹ See LV, 10. — ² 'The particle *ka* implies that he must touch a cow besides, as Manu directs (XI, 203).' (Nand.)

14. See XXXVII, 1, 3.

dwell outside the village (Bâhyas)¹, an ungrateful man, one who buys or sells with false weights, and one who deprives Brâhmanas of their livelihood (by robbing them of a grant made to them by the king or private persons, or by other bad practices), all those persons² must subsist upon alms for a year.

16. An unmarried elder brother whose younger brother is married, a younger brother married before the elder, an unmarried elder sister whose younger sister is married, the relative who gives such a damsel in marriage, and the priest who officiates at such a marriage, must perform the *Kândrâyana*.

17. He who sells living beings, land, religious merit (obtained by a sacrifice or otherwise), or Soma, must perform the *Taptakrikkhra*.

18. He who sells fresh ginger¹, (edible) plants (such as rice or barley), perfumes, flowers, fruits, roots, skins, canes, (winnowing baskets or fans and the like) made of split bamboo, chaff, potsherds, hair, ashes, bone, cow-milk or curds, oil-cakes, sesamum, or oil, must perform the *Prâgâpatya*.

19. He who sells the fruit of the *Sleshmâtaka* tree, lac, bees-wax, shells, mother-of-pearl, tin, lead, iron, copper, or (sacrificial) vessels made of the horn of the rhinoceros, must perform the *Kândrâyana*.

20. He who sells dyed cloth, tin¹, precious

15. ¹ 'Or *nâstikavṛtti* means "one who receives his substance from an atheist."' See also Gaut. XV, 16. — ² 'The use of the particle *ka* implies that calumniators are also intended.' (Nand.)

17. See XLVI, 11.

18. ¹ The term *ârdra*, which Nand. interprets by *ârdrakam*, might also be connected with the following word, and both together be translated by 'fresh plants.' See Y. III, 38.

20. ¹ Tin, perfumes, and, of the articles enumerated in *Sûtra* 21,

stones, perfumes, sugar, honey, liquids or condiments (other than sugar, salt, and the like), or wool, must fast for three days.

21. He who sells meat, salt, lac, or milk, must perform the *Kândrâyana*.

22. And¹ all those persons (mentioned in Sûtras 17-21) must be initiated a second time.

23. He who has been riding (voluntarily) upon a camel¹, or upon an ass, and he who has (purposely) bathed, or slept, or eaten, quite naked, must stop his breath three times.

24. By muttering attentively the Gâyatrî three thousand times, (by dwelling) upon the pasture of cows, (and) by subsisting on milk for a month, he becomes free from the sin of accepting unlawful presents.

25. He who has (knowingly) offered a sacrifice for an unworthy person (such as a low-caste person, or an outcast), he who has performed the funeral rites for a stranger, he who has practised magic rites (in order to destroy an enemy), and he who has performed a sacrifice of the kind called *Ahîna*¹, (all those persons) may rid themselves of their

lac, and milk have already been mentioned in Sûtras 18 and 19. Nand. tries to remove the difficulty in the second case, by stating the perfumes mentioned here to be perfumes of a different kind, and in the fourth case, by asserting that the milk of female buffalos, &c. is meant in Sûtra 21. But he interprets the two other terms as given above. Probably the passage is interpolated.

22. ¹ Nand. infers from the use of the particle *ka* that this rule applies equally to the persons mentioned in the next Sûtra.

23. ¹ 'The use of the particle *vâ*, "or," implies that riding upon a cow, and other such animals, is also intended here.' (Nand.)

25. ¹ This kind of sacrifice is defined by Nand. as one connected with repeated drinking of the Soma juice, and lasting from two to twelve days. *Medhâtithi* (on Manu XI, 198) simply defines

sins by performing three *Krikkhra* (*Prâgâpatya*) penances.

26. Those twice-born men, by whom the *Gâyatri* has not been repeated (and the other initiatory ceremonies performed), as the law directs, must be made to perform three (*Prâgâpatya*) penances and must be initiated according to custom.

27. Those twice-born men who are anxious to make an atonement for having committed an illegal act¹, or for having neglected the study of the *Veda*, must be made to perform the same penance.

28. Those *Brâhmanas* who have acquired property by base acts (such as living by the occupations of a lower caste, or accepting unlawful presents) become free from sin by relinquishing it, and by muttering (*Veda* texts) and practising austerities.

29. For omitting one of the regular acts enjoined in the revealed (and traditional) law, and for a breach of the rules laid down for a *Snâtaka*¹, a fast is ordained as atonement.

it as a sacrifice extending over two days or more; *Kullûka* (*ibid.*) states that it lasts three days or more, and that it is said in the *Veda* to cause impurity. See also Weber, *Ind. Stud.* X, 355.

26. The recitation and repetition of the *Gâyatri* is one of the chief elements of the ceremony of initiation. The words with which the pupil must address his teacher on this occasion are given by Nand.; they are quoted from *Âsv.* I, 21, 4, and *Sânkh.* II, 5, 10-11. See also *Gaut.* I, 46, with Dr. Bühler's note.

27. ¹ 'I.e. *Brâhmanas* and others who have gained their livelihood (in times of distress) by such occupations as are lawful for other castes only, and who, when the times of distress are over, wish to atone for those actions.' (Nand.)

29. ¹ Regarding the meaning of this term, see above, XXVIII, 42, note. The rules to be observed by a *Snâtaka* are given in Chapter LXXI.

30. For attacking a Brâhmaṇa (by raising a stick or a weapon against him), the *Krikkhṛa* (Prâgâpatya) penance must be performed; for striking him, the *Atikrikkhṛa*; and for fetching blood from him, the *Krikkhrâtikrikkhṛa*.

31. With sinners, who have not expiated their crime, let a man not transact business of any kind. But a man who knows the law must not blame (or shun) those who have expiated it.

32. Let him not, however, live (or have any intercourse) with those who have killed children, or with ungrateful persons, or with those who have slain one come for protection, or a woman, even though such sinners may have obtained their absolution, as directed by the law.

33. (An old man) who has passed his eightieth year, a youth under the age of sixteen, women, and sick persons have only to perform half of every penance¹.

34. In order to remove those sins for which no particular mode of expiation has been mentioned, penances must be prescribed, which shall be in accordance with the ability of the offender, and with the heaviness of his offence.

LIV.

1. Now follow the penances for secret sins.

30. For the *Atikrikkhṛa* penance, see M. XI, 214.

33. ¹ Nand. adds, that a youth under the age of sixteen, who has not been initiated, and old women, as well as girls who have not yet attained maturity, must only perform a quarter of it, as directed in a *Smṛiti*.

LIV. 1. M. XI, 248; Y. III, 301; Gaut. XXIV, 1. — 2, 3. M. XI, 249, 260; Y. III, 302; Gaut. XXIV, 10. — 4. Gaut. XXIV,

2. The killer of a Brâhmaṇa is purified, if, having approached a river (and bathed in it), he restrains his breath sixteen times, and takes only one meal, consisting of food fit for offerings, each day, for a month.

3. At the end of this rite he must give a milch cow.

4. By performing the same rite and by muttering (while standing in the water) the Aghamarshana¹ (instead of stopping his breath), a drinker of spirituous liquor² becomes free from sin.

5. (By performing the same rite and) muttering the Gâyatri one thousand and ten times (each day), a stealer of gold becomes free from guilt.

6. One who has connection with a Guru's wife¹ (becomes free from sin) by fasting for three days and muttering the Purushasûkta² and (at the same time) offering a burnt-oblation.

7. Even as the horse-sacrifice, the king of sacrifices, removes all sin, the hymn of Aghamarshana likewise removes all sin.

8. Let a twice-born man stop his breath, in order to rid himself of all sin; all sins committed by a

10. — 6. M. XI, 252; Y. III, 305. — 7. M. XI, 260. — 10-21. M. II, 76-87.

2. Nand. infers from a text of Manu (XI, 249), that this rule refers to one who has killed a Brâhmaṇa intentionally.

3. This rule, Nand. infers from a passage of Yâgñavalkya (III, 305), applies also to the penances mentioned in the following Sûtra.

4. ¹ Rig-veda X, 190. — ² 'I. e. one who has knowingly drunk it, the penance for drinking it unknowingly being stated by Yâgñavalkya (III, 304).' (Nand.)

5, 6. ¹ Nand. infers from M. XI, 251, 252, that these two Sûtras also refer to penances for crimes intentionally committed. — ² Rig-veda X, 90.

twice-born man may be removed by repeated *Prânâyâmas*.

9. It is called a *Prânâyâma*, if a man, stopping the breath (which comes from the mouth and from the nostrils), recites the *Gâyatrî* three times, together with the *Vyâhr̥tis* ('words')¹, with the sacred syllable *Om*, and with the (text called) *Sîras*².

10. The lord of creatures (Brahman) has milked out from the three Vedas the letter A, the letter U, and the letter M (of which the sacred syllable *Om* is composed), and (the three sacred words) *Bhûh*, *Bhuvaḥ*, *Svaḥ* (earth, the atmosphere, and heaven).

11. The lord of creatures, the supreme deity, has also milked out from the three Vedas successively the three verses of the sacred stanza which begins with the word 'tad,' and is called *Sâvitṛî* (or *Gâyatrî*).

12. By muttering, every morning and evening, that syllable and that stanza, preceded by the three 'words,' a *Brâhmaṇa* will obtain that religious merit which the (study of the) Veda confers, just as if he had actually studied the Veda.

13. By repeating those three (*Om*, the 'words,' and the *Gâyatrî* every day) for a month out of the village, a thousand times, a twice-born man is purified even from a mortal sin, as a snake (is freed) from its withered skin.

14. Any member of the *Brâhmaṇa*, *Kshatriya*, or *Vaisya* castes, who does not know those three texts,

9. ¹ The three *Vyâhr̥tis*, 'words,' or *Mahâvyâhr̥tis*, 'great words,' are quoted in the next *Sloka*. — ² It begins with the words, 'O ye waters, who are splendour and ambrosia.' (Nand., and *Mitâksharâ* on Y. I, 23.)

or fails to recite them in the proper season, meets with reproach among the virtuous.

15. The three imperishable 'great words,' preceded by the syllable Om, and the Gâyatrî consisting of three divisions, have to be recognised as the mouth (or beginning) of the Veda¹.

16. He who repeats that stanza (preceded by the syllable Om and the three 'words') carefully every day for three years, will be absorbed in the highest, Brahman after death, move as freely as air, and become as pure as air.

17. The monosyllable (Om) is the highest Brahman, the stoppings of the breath are the best of austerities, but nothing is more exalted than the Gâyatrî; (declaring the) truth is better than silence.

18. All religious acts ordained in the Veda, (whether) consisting in burnt-oblations or sacrifices (or alms-giving or other pious observances), perish (after the merit obtained by them has been exhausted); but the syllable Om (akshara) must be known to be imperishable (akshara), as it is identical with Brahman, the lord of creatures.

19. The act of reciting (the syllable Om, the 'words,' and the Gâyatrî) is ten times better than the (Gyotishṭoma or other) sacrifices prescribed (by the Veda); it is a hundred times better when muttered in a low voice; it is a thousand times better when repeated mentally only.

20. The four Pākayagñas¹ (small or domestic

15. ¹To explain this, Nand. quotes a passage of Ârvalâyana (*Gr̥hya-sûtra* III, 2, 3, where, however, part only of this quotation is found) to the effect that the study of the Veda has to be begun by pronouncing Om, the 'words,' and the Gâyatrî.

20. ¹'The four Pākayagñas are the offerings to gods, goblins (or "all beings"), manes, and men, together with the offering to

offerings), together with the sacrifices prescribed (in the Veda), though all united, are not equal to a sixteenth part of the sacrifice performed by reciting (those sacred prayers).

21. A Brâhmaṇa may beyond doubt obtain final emancipation by solely repeating (those prayers), whether he perform any other religious observance or no ; one who is benevolent towards all creatures (and does not slay them for sacrifices) is justly called a Brâhmaṇa (or one united to Brahman).

LVI.

1. Now then¹ follow the purifying Mantras from all the Vedas.

Brahman.' (Nand.; see LIX, 20-25.) Kullûka, on the contrary (on M. II, 86), refers the term Pâkayagña to the four first only out of those five offerings, and this interpretation, besides being more simple than Nand.'s, is preferable for several other reasons. First, the 'offering to Brahman' includes the daily recitation of the Gâyatri, which is mentioned here as opposed to the four Pâkayagñas. Secondly, the number of four Pâkayagñas is equally given in the Kâṭhaka Gr̥hya-sûtra ; and Devapâla, in his Commentary on that work, gives a definition of them, which agrees in the main with Kullûka's. 'Four' Pâkayagñas are mentioned in the Gr̥hya-sûtras of Kausika, Pâraskara, and Sâṅkhâya also. See Weber, Ind. Stud. X, 48. Thirdly, the Pâkayagñas are brought in here as opposed to the Vidhiyagñas or 'sacrifices prescribed by the Veda.' This is probably because the latter are offered in the triad of sacred fires, whereas the term Pâkayagña, in its narrower use, denotes the oblations offered in the domestic fire. Hence, it might come to include the 'offering to men,' i. e. the feeding of a guest, but certainly not the study of the Veda.

LVI. M. XI, 250-260 ; Y. III, 302-305 ; Gaut. XIX, 12 ; XXIV.

1. ¹'Now then,' i. e. the previous chapter containing an enumeration of secret sins, an enumeration of the purifying Mantras, by which they may be expiated, follows next. (Nand.)

2. By muttering them, or reciting them at a burnt-oblation, the twice-born are purified from their sins. (They are as follows:)

3. The Aghamarshana; 4. The Devakṛita; 5. The Suddhvatīs; 6. The Taratsamandīya; 7. The Kūshmāndīs; 8. The Pāvamāntīs; 9. The Durgāsāvitri; 10. The Atīshaṅgas; 11. The Padastobhas; 12. The Vyâhr̥iti Sāmans; 13. The Bhârunda; 14. The Kandraśāman; 15. The

3. Rig-veda X, 190, 1. (This and the following references are based upon Nand.'s statements.)

4. Vâgasaneyi Samhitâ VIII, 13.

5. Rig-veda VIII, 84, 7-9.

6. Rig-veda IX, 58.

7. Vâgas. Samh. XX, 14-16 (Taitt. Ârany. X, 3-5).

8. The term Pāvamānyaḥ in its most common use denotes the ninth book of the Rig-veda, but Nand. here refers it to Taitt. Brâhm. I, 4, 8.

9. Rig-veda I, 99, 1.

10. Sâma-veda II, 47-49. Regarding this and the following Sāmans see also Benfey, Ind. Stud. III, 199 seq., Burnell's Index to the Ârsheya Brâhmana, and S. Goldschmidt's remarks in his edition of the Âranyaka Samhitâ, Transactions of the Berlin Academy, 1868, p. 246 seq.

11. Sâma-veda II, 578-580.

12. 'The Vyâhr̥iti Sāmans, i. e. bhûḥ and the four others.' (Nand.) The four others are, bhuvāḥ, svaḥ, satyam, purushaḥ. See Ūhya-gâna III, 2, 10, in Satyavrata Sâmaśrami's edition of the Sâma-veda Samhitâ.

13. 'Bhârunda is the name of certain Sāmans, twenty-one in number, which begin with the words, yat te krishnaḥ sakuna (Rig-veda X, 16, 6). They are contained in the Âranyagâna.' (Nand.) The reading of the last word is doubtful. At all events, the verse quoted by Nand. does not occur in the Âranyagâna. It may be that the Sāmans called Ekavimsatyanugâna are meant, which are found in that work, though they do not contain the verse referred to.

14. Sâma-veda I, 147.

15. Âranyaka Samhitâ IV, 33, 34, in Goldschmidt's edition, = Rig-veda X, 90, 1, 4.

two Sâmans called Purushavrata; 16. The Abliṅga; 17. The Bârhaspatya; 18. The Gosûkta; 19. The Âsvasûkta; 20. The two Sâmans called Kandra-sûkta; 21. The Satarudriya; 22. The Atharvasiras; 23. The Trisuparna; 24. The Mahâvrata; 25. The Nârâyanyia; 26. And the Purushasûkta;

27. The three Âgyadahas¹, the Rathantara², the Agnivrata³, the Vâmadevyā⁴, and the Brîhatsâman⁵, properly chanted, purify man from sin; and if he wishes he may obtain through them recollection of his existence in a former life.

LVII.

1. Now¹ (the following persons) must be avoided:

16. Sâma-veda II, 1187.

17. Sâma-veda, I, 91.

18. Sâma-veda I, 122.

19. The same text as in the preceding Sûtra.

20. Sâma-veda I, 350. Nand. infers from a passage of Vâsishṭha (XXVIII, 12) that *ka* refers to Sâma-veda II, 812, and I, 153.

21. Kâṭhaka XVII, 11-16, &c.

22. 'The text beginning with the words, brahmâ devânâṃ prathamâ sambabhûva, "Brahman rose first among the gods."' (Nand.) The Atharvasira Upanishad has the words, very near the beginning, aham ekaṃ prathamam âsīt. See the Calcutta edition.

23. Taitt. Ârany. X, 48-50.

24. Sâma-veda I, 91.

25. Taitt. Ârany. X passim.

26. Rig-veda X, 90, 1. Nand. infers from a passage of Vâsishṭha (XXVIII, 13) that *ka* refers to Rig-veda X, 71, and I, 90, 6-8.

27. ¹ Sâma-veda I, 67. — ² Sâma-veda I, 233. — ³ Sâma-veda I, 27. — ⁴ Sâma-veda I, 169. — ⁵ Sâma-veda I, 234.

LVII. 1, 2. M. II, 39; Y. I, 38. — 3. M. XI, 182-185; Y. III, 295; Âpast. I, 10, 28, 6-8; Gaut. XX, 1. — 4. Âpast. I, 1, 2, 5. — 6, 7. M. IV, 186. — 8. M. IV, 190. — 9. M. IV, 186; Y. I, 213. — 10. M. IV, 247, 250; Y. I, 214; Âpast. I, 6, 18, 1; I, 6, 19, 11; Gaut. XVII, 3. — 11, 12. M. IV, 248, 249; Âpast. I, 6, 19,

2. Vrâtyas (i. e. those for whom the ceremony of initiation has not been performed);

3. Outcasts;

4. Descendants within the third degree¹ of an outcast mother or father, if they (or their outcast ancestors) have not been purified (by a penance).

5. (As a rule) the food of all such persons must not be eaten, nor gifts be accepted from them¹.

6. He must avoid accepting repeated gifts from those whose presents must not be accepted¹.

7. By accepting such gifts, Brâhmaṇas lose their divine lustre.

8. And he who, not knowing the law regarding acceptance of gifts, accepts (illicit) gifts, sinks to hell together with the giver.

9. He who, being worthy to receive gifts, does not accept them, obtains that world which is destined for the liberal-minded (after death).

10. Firewood, water, roots, fruits, protection, meat, honey, a bed, a seat, a house, flowers, sour

14. — 13. M. IV, 251; Y. I, 216; Gaut. XVII, 4. — 14. M. IV, 213; Y. I, 215. — 15, 16. M. IV, 252, 253. — 16. Y. I, 166; Gaut. XVII, 6.

1. ¹ 'There are two classes of sinners, the repentant and the unrepenting. The penances to be performed by the former having been enumerated, he goes on in the present chapter to state that the latter must be avoided.' (Nand.)

3. See XXXV, 1-5.

4. ¹ Nand. refers the term 'in the third degree' to the three ascendants of the parents. The same infers from a passage of Gautama (XX, 1) that the particle *ka* is used in order to include a murderer of a king also.

5. ¹ Nand. infers from another text of Gautama (XX, 8) that it is also forbidden to converse with them.

6. ¹ 'It is no sin then, in one who is in distress, to accept a present once from them.' (Nand.) See 14.

milk, and vegetables he must not disdain to accept when they are offered to him.

11. Even if an offender (but not a mortal sinner) has beckoned and offered alms to him, which had been brought previously for the purpose, the lord of creatures has declared that they may be accepted from him.

12. Neither will the manes eat (his funeral oblations offered to them) for fifteen years, nor will the fire convey his burnt-offerings (to the gods) if he rejects such alms.

13. If he wishes to provide for his (parents or other) Gurus or for (his wife or other) such persons as he is bound to maintain, or if he wants to worship the manes or the gods, he may accept gifts from any one; but he must not satisfy himself with them.

14. But even in those cases, and though he be worthy to receive presents, let him not accept them from a dissolute woman, from a eunuch, from an outcast, or from an enemy.

15. And if his parents are dead, or if he is living apart from them in a house of his own, he must never, while seeking to obtain food for himself, accept alms from any other persons but those who are of respectable descent (and belong to a twice-born caste).

16. One who ploughs the ground for half the crop (and gives the other half to the king or a private person, who is the owner), a friend of the family, a (house-)slave, a herdsman, a barber, and

11. 'The use of the particle *ka* implies that Kusa grass &c. is likewise intended, as Yāgñavalkya (I, 214) says.' (Nand.)

16. The reason of this rule, according to Nand., lies in this, that

one who announces himself (with the words 'I am your slave'): the food of all such may be eaten, although they are *Sûdras*.

LVIII.

1. The property of householders is of three kinds:

2. White, mottled, and black.

3. By those obsequies which a man performs with white property, he causes (his departed ancestor) to be born again as a god.

4. By performing them with mottled property, he causes him to be born as a man.

5. By performing them with black property, he causes him to be born as an animal.

6. What has been acquired by the mode of livelihood of their own caste, by members of any caste, is called 'white.'

7. What has been acquired by the mode of livelihood of the caste next below in order to their own, is called 'mottled.'

8. What has been acquired by the mode of livelihood of a caste by two or more degrees lower than their own, is called 'black.'

9. What has been inherited, friendly gifts, and

all the castes mentioned in this *Sûtra* are not properly *Sûdras*, but the offspring of unions between parents of a different caste, herdsmen being, according to *Parâsara*, the offspring of a *Kshatriya* with a *Sûdra* damsel, &c. The same considers the use of the particle *ka* to imply that potters are also intended. See *Gaut.* XVII, 6.

LVIII. 1, 2. *Nârada* 3, 46. — 9-12. *Nârada* 3, 53, 47-49, 51.

1. As the obligations of a householder, which will be discussed further on (in LIX), cannot be fulfilled without a certain amount of wealth, he discusses in the present chapter the origin of wealth. (*Nand.*)

the dowry of a wife, that is called white property, for members of any caste indiscriminately.

10. What has been acquired as a bribe, as a fee (for crossing a river and the like, or for a bride, &c.), or by the sale of forbidden articles (such as lac, or salt), or as a return for a benefit conferred, is denoted 'mottled wealth.'

11. What has been acquired by servile attendance¹, by gambling, by thieving, by begging, by deceit (as if a man says that he wants a present for another and takes it himself, or by forging gold or other metals), by robbery, or by fraud (as if a man shows one thing to a purchaser and delivers another to him instead), is called 'black property.'

12. Whatever a man may do (in this world) with anything (he has, whether white, mottled, or black property) he will get his reward accordingly; both in the next world and in this.

LIX.

1. A householder must perform the Pākayagñas¹

¹¹. ¹ Nand. interprets the term pārsvika by 'moving a chowrie to and fro before one's master, while standing by his side.'

LIX. 1. M. IV, 67; Gaut. V, 7-9. — 1, 2. M. IV, 25; Y. I, 97. — 3, 4. Âsv. I, 9; I, 10; Gobh. I, 3, 5-9; Pâr. I, 9; I, 12; Sâṅkh. I, 3. — 2, 4-9. Gaut. VIII, 19, 20. — 4-9. M. IV, 25, 26; XI, 7, 8; Y. I, 124, 125. — 5-7. Âsv. I, 11; Gobh. III, 8; Pâr. III, 1; III, 8; Sâṅkh. III, 8. — 10. M. XI, 27; Y. I, 126. — 11. M. XI, 24; Y. I, 127. — 12. M. XI, 25; Y. I, 127. — 13. M. III, 84, 90, &c. (see below, LXVII). — 14, 15, 18. See the references given below (ad LXVII). — 19, 20. M. III, 68, 69. — 21-25. M. III, 70; Y. I, 102; Âpast. I, 4, 12, 16; I, 4, 13, 1; Gaut. V, 3, 9; Âsv. III, 1, 1-3; Pâr. II, 9, 1. — 26. M. III, 72. — 27-30. M. III, 77, 78, 80, 81.

1. ¹ The term Pākayagña is used in a more restricted sense here than above (LV, 20). Nand. interprets it by 'Vaisvadeva, Sthâ-

(small or domestic offerings) in the fire kindled at the time of marriage².

2. He must offer the Agnihotra (or daily oblations of clarified butter) every morning and evening (in the Tretâ fires).

3. He must offer burnt-oblations to the gods (in case the Agnihotra cannot be performed).

4. Let him offer the two Darsapurnamâsas on the days of conjunction and opposition of the sun and moon.

5. Once in each half of the year, (at the two solstices, let him offer) the Pasubandha (animal sacrifice).

6. In autumn and summer let him offer the Âgrayana (oblation of first-fruits);

lîpâka, Sravanâkarman, and similar sacrifices,' i. e. all the sacrifices which have to be performed in the one household fire, as opposed to those for which a Tretâ or triad of sacred fires is required (see Stenzler, note on Âsv. I, 1, 2). Gautama (VIII, 18) enumerates seven Pâkayagñas, among which, however, the Vaisvadeva is not included. The Vaisvadeva is described in LXVII. Regarding the other Pâkayagñas, see the Gr̥hya-sûtras. —² 'Or in the fire kindled at the division of the family estate, or in the fire kindled on his becoming master of the house.' (Nand.) See Sâṅkh. I, 1, 3-5.

2. The three Tretâ fires have been enumerated above (XXXI, 8). Regarding the Agnihotra and the sacrifices mentioned in 4-8, see Weber, Ind. Stud. X, 328-337, 343-349, 352-396.

4. 'One who has performed the ceremony of Agnyâdhâna (kindling the sacred fires) must perform these two offerings in the Tretâ fires, one who has not done so, in the household or nuptial fire.' (Nand.) This remark applies equally to the sacrifices mentioned in 5-7.

6. 'If the Âgrayana is offered in the household fire, it must consist of a Sthâlîpâka (cooked offering of grain).' (Nand.) See the Gr̥hya-sûtras above cited. Nand. further explains that in autumn the first-fruits of rice, and in summer the firstlings of

7. Or when rice and barley are ripening (in winter and spring).

8. He who has a sufficient supply of food for more than three years (shall perform the Soma-sacrifice)¹.

9. (He shall perform) the Soma-sacrifice once a year (in spring).

10. If he has not wealth (sufficient to defray the expenses of the Pasubandha, Soma, *Kâturmâsya*, and other *Srauta* sacrifices), he shall perform the *Ishî Vaisvânari*.

11. Let him not make an offering of food obtained as alms from a *Sûdra*.

12. If he has begged articles for a sacrifice (and obtained them), let him employ them all for that purpose (and never for himself).

13. Every evening and morning let him offer up the *Vaisvadeva* ;

14. And¹ let him give alms to an ascetic (afterwards).

15. For giving alms and showing due honour to the recipient (by pouring water on his hands both before and afterwards) he obtains the same reward as for giving a cow.

barley, or, according to *Âpastamba*, of *Venuyava*, have to be offered, and he infers from another text of the same author that the particle *ka* here refers to an oblation of *Syâmâka* grain, which has to be offered in the rainy season. The two passages in question are not found in *Âpastamba's* *Dharma-sûtra*, but *Weber*, loc. cit., quotes them from *Kâtyâyana*.

8. ¹ According to *Nand.*, the Soma-sacrifices here referred to are of the *kâmya* species (offered in order to obtain the gratification of a special desire).

14. ¹ *Nand.* infers from the use of the particle *ka*, and from a text of *Parâsara*, that an injunction to give alms to a student is also intended here.

16. If there is no ascetic (or other person worthy to receive alms), he must give a mouthful to cows ;

17. Or he must cast it into fire.

18. If there is food in the house, he must not reject a mendicant, (who arrives) after he has taken his meal himself.

19. A householder has five places where animals are liable to be destroyed : his wooden mortar, his slab to grind wheat or condiments upon, his fire-place, his water-pot, and his broom.

20. For the sake of expiating offences committed (by ignorantly destroying life) in those places, he must perform the (five) sacrifices addressed to the Veda, to the gods, to all created beings (or 'to the goblins'), to the manes, and to men.

21. Privately reciting (and teaching) the Veda is the sacrifice addressed to the Veda.

22. The regular burnt-oblation (Vaisvadeva) is the sacrifice addressed to the gods.

23. The Pitṛitarpana (refreshing the manes with food and water) is the sacrifice addressed to the manes.

24. The Bali-offering is the sacrifice addressed to all creatures (or 'to the goblins').

25. The sacrifice addressed to men consists in honouring a guest.

26. He who does not give their share to these five, the gods, his guests, (his wife and children and others,) whom he is bound to maintain, his manes, and himself, is not alive, though he breathes.

18. 'The expression, "if there is food in the house," indicates that he is not bound to cook a fresh meal for his guest.' (Nand.)

27. These (three), the student, the hermit, and the ascetic, derive their existence from the order of householders; therefore must a householder not treat them with disdain, when they have arrived (at his house at the proper time for begging alms).

28. The householder offers sacrifices, the householder practises austerities, the householder distributes gifts; therefore is the order of householders the first of all.

29. The *Rīshis*¹, the manes, the gods, all creatures (dogs, &c.), and guests beg householders for support; therefore is the order of householders the best of all.

30. If a householder is intent upon pursuing the three objects of life (virtue, love, and wealth), upon constantly distributing presents of food, upon worshipping the gods, upon honouring the *Brāhmaṇas*, upon discharging his duty of privately reciting (and teaching) the Veda, and upon refreshing the manes (with oblations of balls of rice, water, and the like), he will attain the world of Indra.

LX.

1. In (the last watch of the night, which is called)

27. Nand. refers the term *bhikshu*, which has been rendered by 'ascetic,' i. e. a member of the fourth order, to the six sorts of beggars enumerated by *Parāśara*. But as the first three orders are mentioned in this *Sloka*, it is certainly more natural to translate the term as has been done above.

29. ¹ Nand. thinks that hermits or members of the third order are meant by this term. But it seems preferable to refer it to the *Rīshi* authors of the Veda, to whom the first of the five sacrifices, the study of the Veda, is more immediately addressed. See *Āpast.* I, 4, 13, 1; *Gaut.* V, 3.

LX. 1. *M.* IV, 92; *Y.* I, 115. — 1, 2. *M.* IV, 50; *Y.* I, 16; *Āpast.*

the hour sacred to Brahman, let him rise and void his excrements.

2. By night (let him void them) facing the south, by day and during either twilight (let him void them) facing the north.

3. (He must) not (void them) on earth which has not been previously covered (with grass and the like);

4. Nor on a ploughed field;

5. Nor in the shade of a tree (fit to be used for sacrifices);

6. Nor on barren soil; 7. Nor on a spot abounding in fresh grass; 8. Nor where there are worms or insects; 9. Nor in a ditch (or hole, or upon the roots of a tree); 10. Nor on an ant-hill; 11. Nor on a path; 12. Nor on a public road; 13. Nor in a place previously defiled by another person; 14. Nor in a garden; 15. Nor in the vicinity of a garden or of (a reservoir of) water; 16. Nor on ashes; 17. Nor on coal; 18. Nor on

I, 11, 31, 1; Gaut. IX, 41-43. — 3. M. IV, 49; Âpast. I, 11, 30, 15; Gaut. IX, 38. — 4. M. IV, 46; Âpast. I, 11, 30, 18. — 5. Âpast. loc. cit. 16; Gaut. IX, 40. — 8-10. M. IV, 46, 47. — 11, 12. M. IV, 45; Âpast. loc. cit. 18; Gaut. IX, 40. — 11, 19. Y. I, 134. — 15, 21. M. IV, 46, 56; Y. I, 134, 137; Âpast. loc. cit. 18. — 16, 18. M. IV, 45; Gaut. IX, 40. — 22. M. IV, 48; Y. I, 134; Âpast. 20. — 23-26. M. IV, 49; V, 136, 137. — 23. Âpast. 15; Gaut. IX, 37. — 24. Y. I, 17. Chapters LX-LXIV treat of the daily duties of a householder. (Nand.)

6. Nand. infers from the use of the particle *kā*, that the following places (mentioned by Manu IV, 46, according to Nand.'s reading, which differs from the traditional one) are also included in this prohibition: a river, a mountain, the ruins of a temple, and the top of a mountain.

17. Nand. infers from the use of the particle *kā*, and from a text of Yama, that chaff and potsherds are also intended here.

cow-dung; 19. Nor in a fold for cattle; 20. Nor in the air; 21. Nor in water;

22. Nor facing the wind, or fire, or the moon, or the sun, or a woman, or a (father or other) Guru, or a Brâhmana;

23. Nor without having enveloped his head;

24. Having cleaned his hindparts with a clod of earth, or with a brick, (or with wood or grass,) and seizing his organ (with his left, after having removed his garment), he must rise and clean himself with water and earth (previously) fetched for the purpose, so as to remove the smell and the filth.

25. The organ must once be cleaned with earth, the hindparts three times, the one hand (the left) ten times, both hands together seven times, and both feet together three times.

26. Such is the purification ordained for householders; it is double for students; treble for hermits; and quadruple for ascetics.

LXI.

1. A householder must not use¹ Palâsa-wood for cleaning his teeth.

2. Nor (must he use the twigs of) the Sleshmân-

20. 'I. e. in an apartment on the roof or in any other such place.' (Nand.)

LXI. 1. Âpast. I, 11, 32, 9; Gaut. IX, 44.

1. ¹Literally 'eat,' *adyât*. In 16 and 17 the synonymous verbs *bhaksh* and *as* are used. Nevertheless it can hardly be doubted that both of the two modes of cleaning the teeth, which appear to have been customary, are indicated in this chapter: the one consisting in brushing them with little sticks or twigs provided with a brush (see 16), the other in chewing twigs. Unfortunately the reading of Nand.'s gloss on the term *sakûrka* in 16 is uncertain.

2. Regarding the *Vibhîtaka* tree, see Dr. Bühler's *Kashmir Report*, p. 8.

taka (or Selu) plant, nor of the soap plant, nor of the Vibhītaka (or Kalidruma) tree, nor of the Dhava plant, nor of the Dhâmani tree (for that purpose).

3. Nor (the twigs of) the Bandhûka (or Bandhugivaka) plant, nor of the Nirgundî shrub, nor of the Sigru, Tilva, and Tinduka trees.

4. Nor (the twigs of) the Kovidâra (Yugapatraka), Samî, Pîlu (Gudaphala), Pippala (holy fig-tree), Înguda, or Guggula trees;

5. Nor (the twigs of) the Pâribhâdraka (Sakrapâdapa), or tamarind, or Moḥaka, or Semul trees, nor those of the hemp plant;

6. Nor sweet plants (such as liquorice sticks);

7. Nor sour plants (such as Âmlikâs);

8. Nor twigs that have withered on the stem;

9. Nor perforated (or otherwise faulty) wood;

10. Nor stinking wood;

11. Nor smooth wood;

12. He must not (use the sticks) facing the south or west.

13. He must use them facing the north or east;

14. He may use (the twigs of) the banyan or Asana trees, or of the Arka plant, or of the Khadira, or Karaṅga, or Badara (jujube), or Sal, or Nimb trees, or of the Arimeda shrub, or of the Apâmârğa or Malatî plants, or of the Kakubha or Bèl trees;

15. Or of the Kashâya tree, or of the Tikta or Kaṭuka plants.

16. Before sunrise let him silently clean his teeth with a stick, which must be as thick as the top of the little finger, provided with one end that may be chewed (or 'with a brush'), and twelve Âṅgulas long.

17. Having washed¹ and used the stick for cleaning the teeth, he must take care to leave it in a clean place; he must never make use of it on the day of new moon (or on the day of full moon).

LXII.

1. The part at the root of the little finger of a twice-born man is called the Tīrtha sacred to Pragāpati.

2. The part at the root of the thumb is called the Tīrtha sacred to Brahman.

3. The part at the tops of the fingers is called the Tīrtha sacred to the gods.

4. The part at the root of the forefinger is called the Tīrtha sacred to the manes.

5. Let him sip water, which has not been put to the fire and is free from foam (and bubbles), which has not been poured out by a Sūdra (or other uninitiated person), or by a man who has one hand only, and which has no saline flavour¹; and (let him sip it) in a clean place, duly seated, placing (his right hand) between his knees, facing the east or the north (or the north-east), attentively regarding the water, and in a cheerful mood.

6. Let him sip water thrice with the Tīrtha sacred

17. ¹It must be washed both before and after using it. (Nand.)

LXII. 1-4. M. II, 59; Y. I, 19. — 5-8. M. II, 60, 61; Y. I, 20; Âpast. I, 5, 16, 1-7; Gaut. I, 36. — 9. M. II, 62; Y. I, 21.

1. Nand. observes that this chapter and the preceding one follow in order upon Chapter LX, because the purificatory rite described at the end of the latter is immediately followed by the Âṭamana (sipping of water), and then by the Dantadhāvana (cleaning the teeth), both of which acts, however, have to be performed on other occasions also, as after a meal, &c.

5. ¹The term kshāra, 'saline flavour,' includes bad or spoiled water of any kind, according to Nand.

to Brahman (or with the Tīrthas sacred to the gods and to Pragâpati respectively).

7. Let him wipe his lips twice (with the root of his thumb).

8. Let him touch the cavities (above his navel)¹, his head, and his breast with water.

9. By water which reaches either their heart, or their throat, or their palate respectively, members of the three twice-born castes are purified each in his turn; a woman and a Sûdra are purified by water which has once touched their palate.

LXIII.

1. In order to obtain wealth and for the sake of security he shall apply to a lord.

2. He must not travel alone; 3. Nor with wicked companions; 4. Nor with Sûdras; 5. Nor with enemies; 6. Nor too early in the morning; 7. Nor too late in the evening; 8. Nor in the twilight; [9. Nor at noon; 10. Nor near water;] 11. Nor in too great a hurry; 12. Nor at night;

8. ¹ See XXIII, 51.

LXIII. 1. M. IV, 33; Gaut. IX, 63. — 2-9. M. IV, 140, 55, 60. — 13-17, 19, 21. M. IV, 67, 131, 57. — 24, 25. M. IV, 78; Y. I, 139; Âpast. II, 8, 20, 11; Gaut. IX, 15. — 26-28. Sâṅkh. IV, 12, 15; M. IV, 39; Y. I, 133; Gaut. IX, 66. — 40. M. IV, 130. — 41. M. IV, 132. — 42. M. IV, 38; Gaut. IX, 52. — 43. M. IV, 38; Gobh. III, 5, 11. — 46. Âsv. III, 9, 6; M. IV, 77; Y. I, 139; Âpast. I, 11, 32, 26; Gaut. IX, 32. — 47. Âpast. I, 11, 32, 27; Gaut. IX, 33. — 49. Gobh. III, 5, 13; Pâr. II, 7, 6; Sâṅkh. IV, 12, 28. — 51. M. IV, 138, 139; Y. I, 117; Âpast. II, 5, 11, 5-7; Gaut. VI, 24, 25.

1. 'A lord' (īśvara) means a king or another rich man, in his own country, or in another country. (Nand.) See also Dr. Bühler's note on Gaut. IX, 63, where the same Sûtra occurs.

9, 10. Sûtras 9 and 10 are wanting in Dr. Bühler's MS.

13. Nor (let him travel) without cessation with (horses or other) beasts of draught that are quite young, diseased, or (otherwise) afflicted;

14. Nor with such as are deficient in limb; 15. Nor with weak ones; 16. Nor with young bulls; 17. Nor with untrained animals.

18. He must not appease his hunger and allay his thirst without having first given grass and water to the animals.

19. He must not stop at a place where four ways meet; 20. Nor at night at the root of a tree; 21. Nor in an empty house; 22. Nor upon a meadow; 23. Nor in a stable;

24. Nor (must he stand) on hair, on the husks of grain, on potsherds, on bones, on ashes, or coal;

25. Nor on seeds of the cotton plant.

26. When he passes by a place where four ways meet, let him turn his right side towards it.

27. And let him do the same in passing by the image of a deity;

28. And in passing by well-known large trees.

29. After having seen a fire, or a Brâhmana (with his turban on), or a public prostitute, or a jar filled (with water), or a looking-glass, or an umbrella, or a flag, or a banner¹, or a Bèl tree, or a lid (or platter), or a palace built in the shape of a certain diagram (or in the form of a quadrangle without a western gate)²;

29. ¹ 'More precisely the term patâkâ signifies "a staff, by which a piece of cloth torn in the middle is fastened."' (Nand.)—

² 'The particle *ka* is added at the end of this enumeration in order to include in it perfumes, lamps, and other objects mentioned in a Smṛiti.' (Nand.)

30. Or a fan, or a chowrie, or a horse, or an elephant, or a goat, or a cow (having a calf), or sour milk, or milk, or honey, or white mustard ;

31. Or a lute, or sandal-wood, or a weapon, or fresh cow-dung, or fruit, or a flower, or a fresh pot-herb, or *Goroṣānā*, or blades of *Dûrvā* grass ;

32. Or a turban, or ornaments, or jewels, or gold, or silver, or clothes, or a seat, or a vehicle, or (raw) meat ;

33. Or a golden vase, or cultivated land which is being carried away (by a stream), or a single (bull or other) piece of cattle tied with a rope, or an unmarried damsel (clad in white), or a (boiled) fish, (let him turn his right side towards them and) go on.

34. Having seen one intoxicated, or insane, or deformed, he must turn back ;

35. (Also, if he has seen) one who has vomited, or one who has been purged, or one who has had his head shorn, or one who wears all his hair tied in one knot, or a dwarf ;

30. 'The particle *ka*, which is added at the end of this *Sûtra*, refers to a king, his ministers, his domestic priest, &c., as indicated in a *Smṛiti* passage.' (Nand.)

31. Nand. infers from another *Smṛiti* passage that *ka* here refers to a crow and to a *Sûdra* or workman with his tools.

32. Nand. here refers *ka* to shells and other objects mentioned in a *Smṛiti*.

33. Nand. here refers *ka* to a dead body and other objects enumerated in a *Smṛiti*.

34. The enumeration of auspicious objects in *Sûtras* 29-33 is followed by an enumeration of inauspicious objects in *Sûtras* 34-38. (Nand.)

35. The particle *ka* refers to enemies, outcasts, and others mentioned in a *Smṛiti*. (Nand.)

36. Or (if he has seen) one wearing a dress (of a reddish-yellow colour) dyed with Kashâya¹, or an ascetic, or one smeared² (with ashes)³;

37. Or (if he has seen) oil, or sugar, or dry cow-dung, or fire-wood, or grass (other than Kusa or Dûrvâ grass), or Palâsa (and other leaves, other than betel leaves), ashes, or coal¹;

38. Or (if he has seen) salt, or a eunuch, or (the spirituous liquor called) Âsava, or an impotent man, or cotton cloth, or a rope, or an iron chain for the feet, or a person with dishevelled hair.

39. (If he sees), while about to begin a journey, a lute, or sandal-wood, or fresh pot-herbs, or a turban, or an ornament, or an unmarried damsel, he must praise them¹.

36. ¹ Nand. refers kâshâyin, 'wearing a dress dyed with Kashâya,' to 'persons who wear the marks of an order to which they do not belong.' But this interpretation is evidently wrong. Among the sects that wear a dress dyed with Kashâya, Buddhists are the most prominent, but it must not be overlooked that there are other important sects also, as e.g. the Svâminârâyâṇîs of the present day, who wear such dresses. — ² The term malina, 'smeared,' no doubt refers to a Saiva sect. Nand. interprets it by 'Kâpâlikas and the like;' but more probably the Pâsupatas are meant. — ³ The particle *ka* further refers to the humpbacked, deaf, and blind, to barren women, and to naked and hungry persons, as stated in a *Smṛiti*. (Nand.)

37. ¹ Nand. refers the particle *ka* in this Sûtra to hares, naked mendicants, snakes, iguanas, lizards, skins, and other inauspicious objects and persons enumerated in a *Smṛiti*.

38. Nand. argues from a passage of Nârada (not found in his Institutes), that the particle *ka* here refers to persons mounted upon an ass, camel, or buffalo, and others.

39. ¹ Nand. mentions two explanations of this Sûtra : 1. he must eulogise the above objects or persons if he sees them ; 2. he must gladden persons, who have those objects or persons with them, with presents and the like.

40. He must not (knowingly) step on (or step over, or stand on) the shade of the image of a deity, of a (learned) Brâhmaṇa, of a spiritual teacher, of a brown (bull or other animal), or of one by whom the initiatory ceremony at a Soma-sacrifice has been performed.

41. Nor (must he step) on anything spat out or vomited, nor on blood, nor on fæces or urine, nor on water used for ablutions.

42. He must not step over a rope to which a calf (or a cow) is tied.

43. He must not walk quickly in the rain.

44. He must not cross a river without need ;

45. Nor without having previously offered an oblation of water to the gods and to the manes ;

46. Nor (swimming) with his arms ;

47. Nor in a leaky vessel.

48. He must not stand on the bank (of a river).

49. He must not gaze into a pool.

50. He must not cross it (by swimming through it, or in any other way).

51. Way must be made for an aged man, for one carrying a burden, for a king, for a Snâtaka (of any of the three kinds ¹), for a woman, for a sick person, for a bridegroom, and for one riding in a carriage. Among those, should they all meet, a king must be

41. According to Nand., the particle vâ, 'or,' is added at the end of this Sûtra, in order to include an officiating priest and others mentioned by Yâgñavalkya I, 152.

51. ¹ The Snâtaka (see XXVIII, 42, note) is of three kinds: 1. the Vidyâsnâtaka, who has studied the Vedas; 2. the Vratasnâtaka, who has performed the Vratas or vowed observances of a student; 3. the Ubhayasnâtaka, who has completed both the Vedas and the Vratas. (Nand.) See the *Gṛhya-sûtras*.

honoured by the rest (excepting the Snâtaka); but the king himself must show honour to a Snâtaka.

LXIV.

1. He must not bathe in another man's pool ;
2. In cases of distress (if there is no other water at hand) he may bathe (in another man's pool), after having offered up five (or seven, or four) lumps of clay and (three jars with) water.
3. (He must not bathe) during an indigestion ;
4. Nor while he is afflicted (with a fever or other illness) ;
5. Nor without his clothes ; 6. Nor at night ;
7. Unless it be during an eclipse ; 8. Nor in the twilight.
9. He must bathe early in the morning, when he beholds the east reddening with the rays of the (rising) sun.
10. After having bathed, he must not shake his head (in order to remove the water from his hair) ;
11. And he must not dry his limbs (with his hand or with a cloth) ;
12. Nor must he touch any oily substance.

LXIV. 1. M. IV, 201. — 1, 2. Y. I, 159. — 3, 4. M. IV, 129. — 5. M. IV, 45 ; Gaut. IX, 61 ; Âsv. III, 9, 6 ; Pâr. II, 7, 6 ; Sâñkh. IV, 12, 31. — 6. M. IV, 129. — 12. M. IV, 83. — 13. Sâñkh. IV, 12, 32. — 15. Gaut. IX, 16. — 16. M. IV, 263 ; Y. I, 159. — 24. M. IV, 152 ; Y. I, 100. — 27. Y. I, 196.

5. The term *nagna*, literally 'naked,' has to be taken in its widest sense here. According to *Bhṛigu* and *Gobhila* it includes, besides one wholly undressed, 'one without his upper garment, one who has dirty clothes on, one clad in lower garments of silk only, one who wears double clothing or even a greater number of clothes, one who wears a small piece of cloth over the pudenda only,' &c. (Nand.) See also M. IV, 129.

13. He must not put on again the garment which he wore before, without its having been washed.

14. After having bathed, he must cover his head with a turban¹ and put on two garments² washed (by himself).

15. He must not converse, (after having bathed,) with barbarians, low-caste persons, or outcasts.

16. He must bathe in cascades, ponds dug by the gods, and lakes.

17. Stagnant water is more pure (and purifies more effectually) than water taken out (of a well or the like); the water of a spring is more pure than that of a tank; the water of a river is more pure than the former; water collected by (Vasishtha or some other) devout sage¹ is even more pure; but the water of the Ganges is the purest of all.

18. After having removed the dirt by means of earth and water¹, and after having dived under water and returned (to the bank of the river), he must address the bathing-place with the three Mantras (beginning with the words), 'Ye waters are²,' with the four Mantras (beginning with the words),

14. ¹Ushnîsha, 'a turban,' here denotes a bandage used for drying the head, which is wrapped round the head and closely tied together. — ²I. e. an upper and an under garment. (Nand.)

16. The term devakhâta, 'ponds dug by the gods,' refers to Pushkara and other holy bathing-places. (Nand.) See below LXXXV.

17. ¹Nand. cites Vasishthaprákî and Virvâmitraprákî as instances of holy bathing-places of this description.

18. ¹Nand. refers this and the following Sûtras to a midday bath, because a verse, which he quotes, forbids the use of earth (in order to clean one's self with it) in the morning bath. But it seems to follow from 35 and 42, that all the rules given in this chapter refer to that bath, which must be taken at sunrise every day. — ²Rig-

'The golden-coloured (waters) ³,' and with (the one Mantra beginning with the words), 'Carry away (all) that, O ye waters ⁴.'

19. Then he must dive under water and mutter the Aghamarshana three times;

20. Or (he must mutter three times the Mantra which begins with the words), 'That most exalted step of Vishnu;'

21. Or the Drupadâ Sâvitri (which begins with the words, 'Like one released from a post');

22. Or the Anuvâka (which begins with the words), 'They get their minds ready;'

23. Or the Purushasûkta.

24. After having bathed, he must feed the gods and the manes, while standing in the water with his wet clothes on.

25. If (being unable to remain in water after having bathed) he has changed his dress, (he must feed the gods and the manes,) after having crossed the bathing-place (and reached the bank).

26. (But) he must not wring his bathing-dress till he has satisfied the gods and the manes.

27. After having bathed¹ and sipped water, he must sip water (once more) according to the rule.

28. He must offer (sixteen) flowers to Purusha,

veda X, 9, 1-3, &c. — ³ Taïtt. Samh. V, 6, 1, 1-2, &c. — ⁴ Rig-veda I, 23, 22, &c.

20. Rig-veda I, 22, 20, &c.

21. Taïtt. Brâhm. II, 4, 4, 9; 6, 6, 3; cf. Vâgasan. Samh. XX, 20; Atharva-veda VI, 115, 3.

22. Rig-veda V, 81, &c.

24. 'The use of the particle *ka* indicates that he must anoint himself after having bathed.' (Nand.)

27.¹ This expression refers back to the whole proceeding described above, up to the wringing of the bathing-dress. (Nand.)

while muttering the Purushasûkta, one with each verse.

29. Afterwards (he must offer) a libation of water.

30. He must first offer one to the gods with the Tîrtha sacred to the gods.

31. Then he must offer another to the manes with the Tîrtha sacred to the manes.

32. In offering the latter he must first of all feed (the manes of) his next of kin (such as his father, mother, maternal grandfather, uncles, brothers, &c.)

33. After that (he must feed) his relatives (such as a sister's son, a father-in-law, a brother-in-law, &c.) and distant kinsmen (such as the sons of his father's sisters and of his mother's sisters).

34. Then (he must feed) his (deceased) friends.

35. According to the above rule he must bathe every day.

36. After having bathed, he must mutter as many purifying Mantras as possible.

37. And he must mutter the Gâyatrî even more often (than other Mantras);

38. And the Purushasûkta.

39. There is nothing more sublime than those two (prayers).

40. One who has bathed is thereby entitled to perform the offerings to the Visvedevâs and to the manes, to mutter sacred texts, and to exercise the duty of hospitality, as prescribed by law.

30, 31. See LXII, 3, 4.

37, 38. 'Or the meaning of these two Sûtras is, that the Gâyatrî and the Purushasûkta always have to be muttered besides the other Mantras.' (Nand.)

40. Nand. refers the term vidhinodite to a separate duty, that

41. Distress and misfortune, bad dreams and evil thoughts are taken from him even who only sprinkles himself with water (no matter from where it comes): that is the law.

42. He who regularly takes the prescribed bath (every morning), does not experience the tortures of Yama's hell. By the regular bath criminals even obtain their absolution.

LXV.

1. Now then, after having duly bathed, and duly washed his hands and feet, and duly sipped water, he must worship Bhagavat Vāsudeva (Vishṇu), who is without beginning and end, before an idol or on the sacrificial ground.

2. Having called up in his mind (Vishṇu to life, with the Mantra)¹, 'The two Asvins possess life, may they (give you life),' and having invited (Vishṇu) with the Anuvāka (beginning with the words), 'They get their minds ready²,' he must worship him with his knees, his hands, and his head³.

of worshipping the gods; the particle *ka* to the propitiation of the planets by sacrifices and other such duties; and the particle *tathā* to optional acts, such as the gift of a cow to a Brāhmaṇa, and the like. But this is certainly a too extensive interpretation of the text.

LXV, LXVI. These two chapters treat of the worship of Vishṇu. (Nand.)

LXV. 1. The fittest place for worshipping Vishṇu is upon a Sālagrāma (ammonite) stone. (Nand.)

2. ¹ *Kâ/haka* XI, 7. The rendering of this Mantra is conjectural, as the reading is uncertain. Nand. states expressly that it is quoted from the *Kâ/haka*. — ² See LXIV, 22. — ³ 'The particle *ka* indicates that he must also worship Vishṇu in his mind, and with his speech, by saying, 'Om, adoration to Bhagavat Vāsudeva.' (Nand.)

3. With the three Mantras (beginning with the words), 'Ye waters are,' he must (fetch and) announce the Arghya (or water for washing the hands).

4. With the four Mantras (beginning with the words), 'The golden-coloured,' (he must fetch and announce) the water for washing the feet ;

5. With (the one Mantra, beginning with the words), 'May the waters of the plain propitiate us,' the water which is to be sipped ;

6. With (the one Mantra, beginning with the words), 'Carry away (all) that, O ye waters,' the water destined for the bath ;

7. With (the four Mantras, beginning with the words, 'Proud) of the chariot, of the poles, the hero,' unguents and ornaments ;

8. With (the one Mantra, beginning with the words), 'A youth, splendidly arrayed,' a garment ;

9. With (the one Mantra, beginning with the word), 'Blooming,' a flower ;

10. With (the one Mantra, beginning with the

3, 4. See LXIV, 18.

5. This Mantra is found Atharva-veda I, 6, 4 ; XIX, 2, 2 ; Taitt. Âraṇy. VI, 4, 1. Nand. states that it is *kaṭhasâkhiya*, from the *Sâkhâ* of the *Kaṭhas* ; but I have not found it in the Berlin MS. of the *Kâṭhaka*, the only complete MS. in existence of that work.

6. See LXIV, 18.

7. This Mantra also belongs to the *Kaṭha* school, according to Nand. It is not found in the MS. of the *Kâṭhaka*, but it occurs in the Taitt. Brâhm. II, 7, 7, 2. The above translation is in part according to Sâyana's Commentary on the Taitt. Brâhm.

8. Rig-veda III, 8, 4, &c.

9. Taitt. Samh. IV, 2, 6, 1 ; Kâṭh. XVI, 13 ; Atharva-veda VIII, 7, 27. Nand. says that it is a Taittirîya Mantra.

10. Kâṭh. II, 7 ; Vâgas. Samh. I, 8 (cf. Mahîdhara's Commentary). Nand. says that it is a Taittirîya Yagus.

words), 'Thou art murderous (dhûr), slay (dhûrva) (the slayer),' incense (dhûpa);

11. With (the one Mantra, beginning with the words), 'Thou art splendour and light,' a lamp;

12. With (the one Mantra, beginning with the words, 'I have praised) Dadhikrâvan,' a Madhuparka (honey-mixture);

13. With the eight Mantras (beginning with the word), 'Hiranyagarbha,' an offering of (other) eatables.

14. A chowrie, a fan, a looking-glass¹, an umbrella, a (palanquin or other) vehicle, and a (throne or other) seat, all these objects he must announce (and place before) the god (Vishnu), muttering the Gâyatri (at the same time).

15. After having thus worshipped him, he must mutter the Purushasûkta. After that, he who wishes to obtain eternal bliss must make oblations of clarified butter, while reciting the same hymn.

LXVI.

1. He must not make an oblation to the gods or to the manes with water collected at night.

2. He must not give any other fragrant substance than sandal, or musk, or (fragrant) wood (of the odoriferous Devadâru tree), or camphor, or saffron, or the wood of the Gâtîphala tree;

3. Nor a garment dyed with indigo;

11. Vâgas. Samh. XXII, 1. Nand. states that this Mantra belongs to the Sâkhâ of the Kaṭhas; but I have not met with it in the Kâṭhaka.

12. Rig-veda IV, 39, 6, &c.

13. Rig-veda X, 121, 1-8; Kâṭh. XL, 1, &c.

14. ¹ Thus the term mâtrâ is interpreted by Nand.

4. Nor an ornament made of factitious jewels or gold;

5. Nor (a flower) having a nasty odour;

6. Nor one that has no odour at all;

7. Nor one grown upon a thorny plant.

8. But he may give even a flower grown upon a thorny plant, if it is white and sweet-smelling.

9. He may give even a red flower, if it is saffron, or a water-flower (such as the red lotus).

10. (He must) not (give) any animal substance (such as claws or horns) for the incense.

11. (He must) not (give) anything but clarified butter or oil for the lamp.

12. (He must) not (give) forbidden food at the offering of eatables;

13. Nor the milk of goats or female buffalos, though it is lawful food (otherwise);

14. Nor the flesh of five-toed animals, of fishes, and of boars.

15. Fully prepared for the sacrifice and pure, he must announce (and offer up to Vishnu) all the oblations, with his mind fixed upon the deity, with a cheerful heart, and free from precipitation or anger.

LXVII.

1. After having swept the place around the (kitchen) fire, sprinkled it with water all around,

9. The particle *ka* indicates that fragrant oleander and the like is also permitted. (Nand.)

13. See LI, 38.

14. This prohibition refers to those species of five-toed animals, fish, and boars, whose flesh is not in general forbidden. (Nand.) See LI, 3, 6, 21.

LXVII. 1-32. Âsv. I, 2; Gobh. I, 4; Pâr. I, 12; II, 9; Sâṅkh. II,

strewed (Kusa grass) all around, and sprinkled (the latter) with water all around, he must take out of all dishes the uppermost part and offer it :

2. To Vāsudeva, to Saṅkarshana, to Pradyumna, to Aniruddha, to Purusha, to Satya, to Akṛyuta, to Vāsudeva.

3. Afterwards (he must offer twelve burnt-oblations) to Agni, to Soma, to Mitra, to Varuṇa, to Indra, to Indra and Agni united, to the Visvedevās, to Pragâpati, to Anumati, to Dhanvantari, to Vâstoshpati, and to Agni Svishṭakṛit (the god of the fire who causes the proper performance of the sacrifice).

4. Then let him make a Bali-offering with that which has been left of the dishes.

5. To (the serpent demons) Taksha and Upa-taksha,

6. (Strewing the two Balis) on both sides of the fire, to the east of it (on the north-eastern side first, and on the south-eastern side afterwards).

14; M. III, 84-94; Y. II, 103-108; Âpast. II, 2, 3; II, 2, 4, 1-13; Gaut. V, 10-18. — 33-46. Âsv. I, 24; Gobh. IV, 10; Pâr. II, 9, 12-16; I, 3; Sâṅkh. II, 15-17; M. III, 99, 100, 102, 103, 111-118; Y. I, 107-113; Âpast. II, 2, 4, 11-20; II, 3; II, 4; Gaut. V, 21-45. Regarding the parallel passages of the Kâṭhaka and Mânava Gr̥hya-sûtras, see the Introduction. This chapter treats of the Vaisvadeva sacrifice. (Nand.)

1. Nand. infers from a text of Saunaka, that the particle atha points to the recitation of the Purushasûkta as an initiatory ceremony.

2. Regarding this Sûtra, see the Introduction. The oblations to be offered are eight in number, one for each invocation.

3. Devapâla, in his Commentary on the corresponding section of the Kâṭhaka Gr̥hya-sûtra, states that the deities to whom burnt-oblations are offered (Sûtra 3) shall be invoked with the word svâhâ, 'hail!' and those for whom Bali-offerings are strewed upon the ground, with the word namaḥ, 'adoration.'

6-8. These three Sûtras have been translated in accordance

7. (Then let him offer other seven Balis) to all (the seven Ishṭakās or goddesses of the bricks of the altar, also to the east of the fire, while pronouncing the Mantras), 'Thy name is Ambā; thy name is Dulā; thy name is Nitatnī (Nitatnir); thy name is Kūpuzīkā (and so on).'

8. (He must offer four Balis with the Mantras), 'O Nandint; O Subhagā; O Sumaṅgalī; O Bhadrāṅkarī,' (placing the Balis) in the corners (beginning with the south-eastern corner and proceeding) towards the south.

9. (He must place two Balis), addressed to Śrī Hiraṇyakeśī and to the trees, near the firm pillar¹.

10. (He must place two Balis), addressed to Dharma and Adharma and to Mr̥tyu, near the door.

11. (He must place one Bali), addressed to Varuṇa, in the water-jar.

12. (With the words, 'Adoration be) to Viṣṇu,' (he must place one Bali) in the mortar.

13. (With the words, 'Adoration be) to the Maruts,' (he must place one Bali) on the mill-stone.

14. (In the apartment) on the roof (let him place two Balis) addressed to Vaisrāvaṇa (Kubera) the king, and to all created beings.

15. (With the words, 'Adoration be) to Indra and to Indra's ministers,' (he must place two Balis) in the eastern part (of the house).

with Devapāla's readings and his remarks on them. Nand. wrongly refers the four names mentioned in 7 to the four quarters of the globe. The Mantra quoted in 7 is found complete in the Kāṭhaka, XL, 4, and, in a modified form, in the Taitt. Saṃh. IV, 4, 5, 1.

9. ¹ 'I. e. the pillar which supports the house.' (Nand.) It appears from an analogous passage of the Mānava Gr̥hya-sūtra, that a pillar in the middle of the house is meant.

16. (With the words, 'Adoration be) to Yama and to Yama's ministers,' (he must place two Balis) in the southern part.

17. (With the words, 'Adoration be) to Varuṇa and to Varuṇa's ministers,' (he must place two Balis) in the western part.

18. (With the words, 'Adoration be) to Soma and to Soma's ministers,' (let him place two Balis) in the northern part.

19. (With the words, 'Adoration be) to Brahman and to Brahman's ministers,' (let him place two Balis) in the centre (of the house).

20. (Let him throw) in the air (a Bali) addressed to Âkâśa (the air).

21. (With the words, 'Adoration be) to the goblins roaming by day,' (let him place a Bali) on the sacrificial ground.

22. (With the words, 'Adoration be to the goblins) roaming by night,' (let him offer a Bali in the same place at the Vaisvadeva which takes place) at night.

23. Afterwards he must offer upon blades of Kusa grass, having the points turned towards the south, balls of rice to his father, to his grandfather, and to his great-grandfather, to his mother, to his grandmother, and to his great-grandmother, proclaiming at the same time their name and race (and adding the word Svadhâ, 'reverence').

24. Along with the balls of rice let him give ointments, flowers, incense, eatables, and the like.

25. After having fetched a jar with water, let him

24. 'And the like' means betel and the sacrificial fee for the Brâhmanas.' (Nand.)

25. This has to be done with the words, svastitvam brûhi, 'say

cause a Brâhmana to say the benediction (and give him the jar).

26. (The share) of dogs, crows, and Svapaṅgas let him strew upon the earth.

27. And let him give (a mouthful of food as) alms.

28. By honouring guests he obtains the highest reward.

29. Let him assiduously honour a guest who arrives in the evening (after the Vaisvadeva is over).

30. Let him not suffer a guest to stay at his house unfed.

31. As the Brâhmanas are lords over all other castes, and as a husband is lord over his wives, a guest is the lord of a householder.

32. By honouring a guest he obtains heaven.

33. (One who has arrived as) a guest and is obliged to turn home disappointed in his expectations, takes away from the man, to whose house he has come, his religious merit, and throws his own guilt upon him.

34. A Brâhmana who stays for one night only as a guest, is called atithi (a guest); because he does not stay for a long time, therefore is he termed atithi.

the benediction.' (Nand.) The benediction, according to Devapâla, consists of the Purushastûkta, the Kanikrada (Vâgas. Samh. XIII, 48), and other Mantras.

27. According to Nand., who argues from a passage of Baudhâyana, the particle *ka* implies that he should feed Brâhmanas also.

33. This proverb is also found in the Mahâbhârata XII, 6995, in the Hitopadesa I, 56 (64 ed. Johnson), and in the Mârkanḍeya-purâṇa XXIX, 31. See Böhrtlingk, Ind. Sprüche, 134.

34. Atithi in this derivation is supposed to mean 'one who does not stay for a whole tithi or lunar day.'

35. Let him not consider a Brâhmaṇa fellow-villager or an acquaintance as his guest, though he has come to the house where his wife and his fires are.

36. But if a Kshatriya has come to his house in the way of a guest, let him hospitably entertain him also, to his heart's desire¹, after the Brâhmaṇa guests have eaten.

37. Should a Vaisya or a Sûdra come to his house as guests, he must even give food to them (at the same time and) with his servants, and treat them with kindness (but not like guests in the proper sense of the term).

38. To (members of) other castes (such as Mûrdhâvasiktas) and to friends (or relatives or) other such persons, who have come to his house out of attachment, let him offer such food as happens to be there, to the best of his power, at the time when his wife takes her meal.

39. One recently married (but not yet delivered to her husband), an unmarried damsel, a sick woman, and a pregnant woman: to these let him give food unhesitatingly, even before his guests.

40. The foolish man who eats first himself, without having offered food to those (persons that have been mentioned), is not aware that he will himself be food (after death) for dogs and vultures.

41. After the Brâhmaṇas, (the Kshatriyas who have come as guests), the friends and relatives, (the parents and others) whom he is bound to maintain,

36. ¹ This is Kullûka's rendering of the term kâmam (on M. III, 111). According to Nand., it means that he is at liberty to feed such guests or no.

38. The wife takes her meal when the husband has eaten. (Nand.)

(and the servants) have made their repast, let man and wife eat the leavings themselves.

42. Having shown honour to the gods, to the manes, to men, to those whom he is bound to maintain, and to the household deities (as well as to dogs, crows, and the rest), let a householder enjoy that which has been left.

43. He who cooks food for himself only, eats nothing but sin: for that alone is considered as fit food for the virtuous, which is left, after the (customary) oblations have been offered.

44. By the daily recitation of the Veda, by the Agnihotra, by sacrificing, and by austerity, a householder does not obtain such excellent places of abode (after death) as by honouring a guest.

45. Whether he arrives in the evening or in the morning, he must offer a seat and water to his guest, and food, to the best of his ability, after having shown him marks of honour as the law directs¹.

46. By giving (to a guest) shelter, a bed, ointments for his feet, and a lamp: for each of these gifts singly he reaps the same reward as for the gift of a cow.

LXVIII.

1. He must not eat during an eclipse of the moon or of the sun.

45. ¹ For the rules regarding the reception of a guest, see Âsv. I, 24, and the other *Gṛhya-sûtras*; M. III, 119 seq., and the other *Dharmasâstras*.

LXVIII. 12. M. IV, 55. — 14. M. IV, 45; Y. I, 131; Âpast. II, 8, 19, 18. — 19. M. IV, 74. — 20. M. IV, 65. — 21. M. IV, 63; Gaut. IX, 56. — 23. M. IV, 74. — 26. M. III, 106; Âpast. II, 4, 8, 4. — 27. M. IV, 62; Âpast. II, 8, 18, 1; II, 8, 20, 10; Gaut. IX, 58. — 29. M. IV, 75. — 34. M. IV, 76. — 37. M. IV, 37; Y.

2. He shall eat, after having previously bathed, when the eclipse is over.

3. If (the sun or moon) have set before the eclipse was over, he must bathe, and on the next day he may eat again, after having seen (the sun or moon rise).

4. A cow or a Brâhmaṇa having met with a calamity, he must not eat on that day.

5. If the king has met with an accident, (he must not eat on that day).

6. An Agnihotrin, who is absent on a journey, must eat at that time of the day when the Agnihotra is supposed to be over.

7. He may also eat at that time of the day when the Vaisvadeva is supposed to be over.

8. On the days of new and full moon (he may eat at that time) when he supposes the sacrifice customary on those days to have been performed.

I, 135. — 38. M. IV, 82. — 40. Âpast. I, 11, 31, 1. — 42, 43. M. II, 54; Y. I, 31; Gaut. IX, 59. — 46. Sâṅkh. IV, 11, 10; M. IV, 43; Y. I, 131; Gaut. IX, 32. — 47. M. IV, 63; Y. I, 138; Âpast. II, 1, 1, 3; Gaut. IX, 9. — 48. M. IV, 62. — 49. M. IV, 65; Gaut. XVII, 13. 'The injunctions regarding meals having been given in the previous chapter, he now proceeds to propound some prohibitions concerning the same subject.' (Nand.)

2, 3. Nand. states that in both of these Sûtras it has to be understood, that the bath occasioned by the eclipse must be followed by the ordinary bath, which precedes every meal.

6. An Agnihotrin is one who daily performs the Agnihotra. Regarding the Agnihotra and the times for its performance, see LIX, 2.

7. The term Vaisvadeva includes not only the oblation to the Visvedevâs (LXVII, 3), but also the Bali-offerings and the entertainment of a guest, &c., as prescribed in LXVII, 4 seq. (Nand.)

8. According to Nand., the use of the particle *ka* implies, that this rule applies equally to the first days of the moon's increase and wane.

9. He must not eat during an indigestion ;
10. Nor at midnight ; 11. Nor at noon ;
12. Nor in the twilight ;
13. Nor dressed in wet clothes ;
14. Nor without his upper garment ;
15. Nor naked ;
16. Nor in water (nor in a boat) ;
17. Nor lying stretched out on the back ;
18. Nor sitting on a broken stool ;
19. Nor reclining on a couch ;
20. Nor from a broken dish ;
21. Nor having placed the food on his lap ;
22. Nor (having placed the food) upon the ground ;
23. Nor from the palm of his hand.
24. That food which has been seasoned with salt (after having been cooked) he must not eat.
25. He must not abuse children (eating in the same row with him).
26. (He must) not (eat) dainties alone.
27. (He must) not (eat) substances from which the fat has been extracted.
28. Nor (must he eat) roasted grain in the day-time.
29. At night (he must not eat) anything mixed with sesamum-seeds.

9. According to Nand., the use of the particle *kā* implies a prohibition to eat again, after having partaken of a *Śrāddha* meal.

15. See note on LXIV, 5.

24. Nand., quoting a passage of *Vāsishṭhā* (XIV, 28), states the use of the particle *kā* to imply, that food twice cooked and food cooked in a frying-pan should also be avoided.

27. This rule refers to skimmed milk and to a dough made of ground sesamum, from which the oil has been extracted. (Nand.)

30. Nor (must he eat at night) sour milk or ground barley.

31. Nor (must he eat) the leaves of the mountain ebony, or of the banyan, or of the holy fig-tree, or of the hemp plant.

32. (He must) not (eat) without having first given to eat (to the gods and to the Brâhmanas);

33. Nor without having made a burnt-offering first;

34. Nor without having sprinkled his feet;

35. Nor without having sprinkled his hands and his face;

36. While having the remains of food on his mouth or hands, he must not take clarified butter.

37. Nor must he look at the moon, or at the sun, or at the stars (while unclean).

38. Nor must he touch his head (while unclean).

39. Nor must he recite the Veda (while unclean).

40. He must eat facing the east;

41. Or facing the south;

42. And after having honoured his food¹;

43. And cheerfully, adorned with a garland of flowers, and anointed with unguents.

42. ¹ Nand. describes the ceremony of 'honouring one's food' as follows: 'He must first sprinkle the food, while reciting the Gâyâtrî and the Vyâhritis (see LV, 10). Then he must sprinkle water all around it, with the Mantra, "Forsooth, I sprinkle righteousness around thee." After that he must sip water with the Mantra, "Thou art an imperishable basis" (Taitt. Ârany. X, 32, rendered according to Sâyana's Commentary), and offer up five oblations to Prâna, &c. (see Dr. Bühler's note on Âpast. II, 1, 1, 2). Finally he must eat in silence, without blaming the food, and taking care to leave some remnant of it in the dish, and sip water again, with the Mantra, "Thou art an imperishable covering"' (Taitt. Ârany. X, 35, according to Sâyana).

44. He must not eat up his food completely ;

45. Unless it consist of sour milk, or honey, or (clarified) butter, or milk, or ground barley, or meat, or sweetmeats.

46. He must not eat together with his wife, nor in the open air, nor standing, nor in the presence of many (hungry spectators), nor must many eat in the presence of one (hungry spectator).

47. Let him never eat in an empty house, in a house where the sacred fires are preserved, or in a temple dedicated to the gods. Neither must he drink water out of his joined hands, or satiate himself to repletion.

48. Let him not take a third meal (over and above the two regular meals in the mornings and evenings), nor let him ever take unwholesome food. He must eat neither too early, nor too late, and he must take no food in the evening, after having fully satiated himself in the morning.

49. He must not eat bad food (whether injurious to health or otherwise reprehensible), nor from a bad dish (which is similar to the dishes used by barbarians, or which has been defiled by a wicked man eating from it), nor lying on the ground, nor with his feet raised upon a bench, nor sitting on his hams with a cloth tied round his legs and knees.

46. Nand. thinks that this rule refers to those wives only who belong to a lower caste than their husbands.

48. 'Too early' means before sunrise ; 'too late' means immediately before sunset. (Nand.)

LXIX.

1. He must not have connection with his wife on the eighth, or fourteenth, or fifteenth day of the half-month.

2. And (he must avoid connubial intercourse) after having partaken of a *Srâddha*;

3. And after having given (a *Srâddha*);

4. And after having been invited to a *Srâddha*;

5. And while performing a vow of abstinence (such as that to be kept on the day before a *Srâddha*, or the fast to be observed on the eleventh day of the half-month);

6. And one who has performed the initiatory ceremony of a Soma-sacrifice;

7. And in a temple, in a burial-ground, and in an empty house;

8. And at the root of a tree (or shrub);

9. And in the day-time; 10. And in the twilight;

11. And with one unclean (or in her courses);

12. And while he is unclean himself; 13. And with one anointed with unguents; 14. And being anointed himself; 15. And with one sick; 16. And while he is sick himself.

17. He must not have connection, if he wishes to enjoy a long life, with a woman who has a limb too little, nor with one who has a limb too much, nor with one older than himself, nor with a pregnant woman.

LXIX. 1. M. IV, 128; Y. I, 79. — 9. Âpast. II, 1, 1, 16. — 15. Gaut. IX, 28. The subject of daily duties being absolved, he now goes on to state (in Chapters LXIX, LXX) the rules that must be observed during the night. (Nand.)

4. The invitations to a *Srâddha* are issued on the day before it is to take place. (Nand.)

LXX.

1. He must not sleep with his feet wet ;
2. Nor facing the north or the west ;
3. Nor naked ; 4. Nor on wet (fresh) bamboo ;
5. Nor in the open air ;
6. Nor on a bedstead made of Palāsa-wood ;
7. Nor on one made of the wood of five trees ;
8. Nor on one made of the wood of a tree which has been split by an elephant ;
9. Nor on a bedstead made of the wood of a tree that has been kindled by lightning ;
10. Nor on a broken bedstead ;
11. Nor on one made of scorched wood ;
12. Nor on one made of the wood of a tree that used to be watered with a jar ;
13. Nor in a burial-ground, nor in an empty house, nor in a temple ;
14. Nor with people who are restless of limb ;
15. Nor with women ;
16. Nor on grain, nor (in a stable of) cows, nor (on the couch of any of his) Gurus, nor on the fire-place, nor (in a building dedicated to the) gods.
17. He must not sleep while the remnants of

LXX. 1. M. IV, 76. — 2. Y. I, 136. — 3. Âsv. III, 9, 6 ; M. IV, 75 ; Gaut. IX, 60. — 13. M. IV, 57. — 17. Sâṅkh. IV, 11, 17 ; Âpast. I, 1, 2, 24 ; Gaut. II, 13.

7. Nand. mentions three explanations of this term: 1. a bedstead made of five pieces of wood (or of the wood of five trees) ; 2. a bedstead made of any of the five kinds of wood enumerated in the *Vishṇu-purāṇa* ; 3. a bedstead made of any of the five kinds of wood enumerated in *Sûtras* 8-12. The second explanation is inadmissible, because part of the species of wood mentioned in the passage of the *Vishṇu-purāṇa* referred to is identical with those enumerated in *Sûtras* 8-12.

food are on his hands or face, nor in the day-time, nor in the twilight, nor upon ashes, nor in a place soiled (by excrements and the like), nor in a wet place, nor on the top of a mountain.

LXXI.

1. Now¹ he must not condemn any one (whether of equal rank, or of higher or lower rank than himself).

LXXI. 1. M. IV, 135; Y. I, 153. — 2. M. IV, 141. — 3. Gaut. II, 17. — 4. Gobh. III, 5, 29. — 4-6. M. IV, 17, 18; Y. I, 129, 123. — 8. M. IV, 19. — 9. M. IV, 34; Âpast. I, 11, 30, 13; Gaut. IX, 3. — 11. Gobh. III, 5, 15. — 13-16. M. IV, 36; Y. I, 133. — 14. Sâṅkh. IV, 11, 21. — 17-21. M. IV, 37. — 17, 18. Pâr. II, 7, 6; Sâṅkh. IV, 11, 2; Âpast. I, 11, 31, 20. — 23. Pâr. II, 7, 8; M. IV, 38. — 25. M. IV, 43. — 26. Âsv. III, 9, 6; Sâṅkh. IV, 11, 1; M. IV, 53; Y. I, 135; Gaut. IX, 48. — 32-35. M. IV, 56, 53; Y. I, 137. — 36, 37. M. IV, 54, 53; Y. I, 137. — 39. M. IV, 65. — 40. Âpast. II, 8, 20, 11; Gaut. IX, 32. — 42, 43. M. IV, 70; Âpast. I, 11, 32, 28; Gaut. IX, 51. — 44. M. IV, 69. — 45. M. IV, 74; Y. I, 138; Gaut. II, 17. — 46. M. IV, 69. — 47. M. IV, 66; Gaut. IX, 4, 5. — 48-52. M. IV, 80. — 53. Sâṅkh. IV, 12, 18; M. IV, 82. — 54. M. IV, 250; Y. I, 214. — 55. M. IV, 55. — 56. M. IV, 57; Y. I, 138. — 58. M. IV, 57; Sâṅkh. IV, 11, 6. — 59. Sâṅkh. IV, 11, 6; Gaut. IX, 16. — 60. M. IV, 58. — 61, 62. Âpast. I, 11, 31, 9, 10. — 62. Pâr. II, 7, 14; M. IV, 59; Y. I, 140; Gaut. IX, 23. — 63-68. M. IV, 60, 61. — 69-71. M. IV, 63, 64. — 70. Pâr. II, 7, 3. — 72-74. M. IV, 138; Y. I, 132. — 75. Y. I, 153. — 76. M. IV, 137; Y. I, 153. — 77. M. IV, 94. — 79. M. IV, 144. — 80, 81. M. IV, 164. — 82. M. VIII, 299. — 83. M. IV, 135; Y. I, 153. — 84, 85. M. IV, 176; Y. I, 156. — 86. M. IV, 150. — 87. M. IV, 2, 246; Gaut. IX, 73. — 90. M. IV, 155; Y. I, 154. — 91, 92. M. IV, 156, 158.

1. ¹ This chapter treats of the duties of a Snâtaka (see XXVIII, 42, note). The particle *atha*, 'now,' however, signifies that some of these duties are common to the Snâtaka and to the householder, whose special duties have been treated in the previous chapters. (Nand.)

2. He must not mock those who have a limb too little or a limb too much, who are ignorant, or who are poor.

3. He must not serve low people.

4. Let him not engage in work that may keep him from repeating (or teaching) the Veda.

5. Let him wear such a dress as becomes his age,

6. And his sacred knowledge, his descent, his means, and his country.

7. He must not be overbearing.

8. He must constantly consult the holy laws and other (salutary precepts relating to the acquisition of wealth, wisdom, and freedom from disease).

9. He must not wear a worn-out or filthy dress, if he has means (enough to procure a new one).

10. (Even though he lacks firewood or the like necessities) he must not say to another man, 'I have got none.'

11. He must not wear a garland of flowers which has no smell at all, or an offensive smell, or which is red.

12. Let him wear a garland of water-flowers even though they be red.

13. And (he must wear) a staff made of bamboo ;

14. And a jar with water ;

15. And a sacrificial string made of cotton thread ;

16. And two golden ear-rings.

2. The particle *ka* refers to ugly persons and the rest, enumerated by Manu IV, 141. (Nand.)

8. The use of the particle *ka* implies, according to Nand., that his frame of mind and his speech should also be in conformity with his age, &c., as ordained by Manu IV, 18.

13-16. Nand., arguing from texts of Baudhâya and of Manu (IV, 36), takes the use of the particle *ka* in Sûtras 13 and 14 to

17. He must not look at the rising sun ;
18. Nor at the setting (sun) ;
19. Nor (must he look at the sun) shining through an awning of cloth (under which he is lying).
20. Nor at the sun reflected in a looking-glass or in water ;
21. Nor at the midday sun ;
22. Nor at the face of any of his Gurus while he is angry ;
23. Nor at his own image reflected in oil or in water ;
24. Nor reflected in a dirty looking-glass ;
25. Nor at his wife eating ;
26. Nor at a naked woman ;
27. Nor at a man in the act of discharging urine (or voiding excrements) ;
28. Nor at an elephant (or other dangerous animal) broken loose from the rope that ties him ;
29. Nor at a fight between bulls (or elephants or buffalos) or the like animals, while he is himself standing in a (crowd or any other) place, from which it would be difficult for him to effect his escape ;
30. Nor at one insane ;

imply that a Snâtaka must wear three garments, an under garment, an upper garment, and a mantle, and in Sûtra 16, that he must carry about him a bushel of Kusa grass.

19. This rule appears to refer, likewise, to the custom of suspending, by a tree or a post, an upper garment or a piece of cloth, in order to ward off the rays of the sun.

20. The particle *ka* here is used, according to Nand., in order to include 'the sun, while it is eclipsed,' as mentioned by Manu IV, 37.

29. 'As shown by *ka*, a place where arrows, spears, or other missiles are falling down, is also intended here.' (Nand.)

31. Nor at one intoxicated ;
32. He must not throw any impure substances into the fire ;
33. Nor blood ; 34. Nor poison ;
35. Neither (must he throw any of those substances) into water.
36. He must not step over a fire.
37. He must not warm his feet (by the fire).
38. He must not wipe (the dirt from his feet) with blades of Kusa grass.
39. He must not wash (his feet) in a vessel of white copper.
40. He must not (wash) one foot with the other.
41. He must not scratch the ground (with a piece of wood or the like).
42. He must not crush clods of earth.
43. He must not cut grass.
44. He must not tear his nails or the hairs (of his beard or others) with his teeth.
45. He must avoid gambling ;
46. And the heat of the sun just risen.
47. He must not wear a garment, or shoes, or a garland, or a sacrificial string which had before been worn by another.
48. He must not give advice to a Sûdra ;
49. Nor (must he give him) the leavings of his food, nor the residue of an oblation (unless he is his own servant) ;

46. Besides the above interpretation of the term *bâlâtapa*, which is proposed by Kullûka also (on M. IV, 69), Nand. mentions two others: 1. the heat of that time of the day when the cows are collected for milking ; 2. the heat of the autumn season. The particle *ka*, according to Nand., is used in order to include the smoke of a burning corpse and the other forbidden objects mentioned by Manu IV, 69.

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50. Nor (must he give him) sesamum ;
 51. Nor (must he point out) the sacred law to him ;
 52. Nor (must he prescribe) a penance (for him for atonement of a sin).
 53. He must not scratch his head or his belly with both hands joined.
 54. He must not reject sour milk or the Sumanas flower (when offered to him).
 55. He must not take off his garland (from his head) himself (but he may cause another to do so).
 56. Let him not rouse (a superior) from sleep.
 57. He must not (by harsh speeches and the like) render disaffected one who is well affected towards him.
 58. He must not speak to a woman in her courses ;
 59. Nor to barbarians or low-caste persons.
 60. When a sacred fire, or an idol, or a Brâhmaṇa is near, he must stretch forth his right hand (from his upper garment).
 61. If he sees a cow trespassing upon another man's field, he must not announce it (to the owner of that field).
 62. And if he sees a calf sucking (at the udder of a cow, he must not announce it to the owner of the latter).
 63. He must not endeavour to please overbearing men (by flattering their pretensions).
 64. He must not dwell in a kingdom governed by a Sûdra king ;
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54. Nand. states that this rule does not contain a vain repetition of the rule laid down above (LVII, 10), as the latter refers to householders and the former to Snâtakas.

65. Nor in one abounding with wicked people ;
66. And he must not live (in a kingdom) in which there are no physicians ;
67. Nor in one afflicted (with a disease or other calamity).
68. And (he must not stay) long on a mountain.
69. He must not (walk or otherwise) exert himself without a purpose.
70. He must not dance or sing.
71. He must not make a noise by slapping (his left arm, after having placed it upon his right shoulder, with his right hand).
72. He must not make vulgar speeches.
73. He must not tell an untruth.
74. He must not say disagreeable things.
75. He must not strike any one upon a vital part.
76. He must not despise himself if he wishes to enjoy long life.
77. He must often repeat his prayers at each twilight (if he wishes to live long).
78. He must not play with (venomous) serpents or with weapons.
79. He must not touch the cavities of his body without a cause.
80. He must not raise a stick against another man.
81. One who deserves punishment he must strike in order to punish him.
82. (He must strike) him upon his back with a shoot of bamboo or with a rope.

75. 'Others' take this Sutra to mean, that he must not make public another man's misconduct. (Nand.) This interpretation is proposed by Vigñānēśvara, on Yâgñavalkya I, 153.

79. See XXIII, 51.

83. He must take care not to revile a god, a Brâhmana, the Sâstras, or the high-minded (*Rishis*).

84. And (he must avoid) gain and pleasure repugnant to duty.

85. (He must avoid) even lawful acts which may give offence to mankind.

86. On the days of new and full moon let him make a propitiatory offering.

87. He must not cut even grass (on those two days).

88. He must adorn himself (with garlands, sandal, and the like).

89. Thus he must observe established customs.

90. Those customs, which have been explicitly ordained in revealed and in traditional texts, and which are practised by the virtuous, must always be observed by a righteous man with subdued passions.

91. By adhering to established usage he attains to old age; this is the way to obtain that state in the next life which he desires, and imperishable riches, this is the way to destroy the effect of (bodily) marks foreboding future misfortunes.

92. He who observes the usages established among the virtuous, who is a believer in revelation, and free from ill-will, lives a hundred years, even

84. "“Or repugnant to the final liberation,” as the use of the particle *ka* implies.’ (Nand.) See Manu VI, 37.

85. The use of the particle *ka*, Nand. argues from Manu IV, 176, implies that acts which may cause future pain should also be avoided.

88. The use of the particle *ka*, according to Nand., implies that he must also observe auspicious rites and established customs, as ordained by Manu IV, 145. The latter injunction is, however, expressly given in the next Sûtra.

though he does not possess any external marks of prosperity.

LXXII.

1. He must persist in keeping his mind and his organs of sense under restraint.

2. Restraint of the mind implies restraint of the senses.

3. One who has acquired complete command over himself, gains this world and the next.

4. One who has no command over himself, reaps no fruit from any of his acts (whether worldly or tending to the acquisition of spiritual merit).

5. Self-restraint is the best instrument of purification; self-restraint is the best of auspicious objects; by self-restraint he obtains anything he may desire in his heart.

6. The man who rides (as it were) in a chariot drawn by his five senses and directed by his mind (as the charioteer), who keeps it on the path of the virtuous, can never be overcome by his enemies (lust, wrath, and greed), unless the horses (unrestrained by the charioteer) run away with the chariot.

7. As the waters (of all streams) are stored up (and reabsorbed) in the ocean, which, though being filled with them, remains unmoved and tranquil, even so that man, in whose mind the passions are stored up (and dissolved), obtains perfect calmness: but not he who strives after the gratification of his desires.

LXXII. 7=Bhagavad-gîtâ II, 70. This chapter treats of duties which are common to all the four orders. (Nand.)

LXXIII.

1. One desirous of celebrating a *Srâddha* must invite the *Brâhmanas* on the day before (it is to take place).

2. On the next day, in the forenoon, if it falls in the bright half of the month, and in the afternoon, if it falls in the dark half of the month, the *Brâhmanas*, who must have duly bathed and duly sipped water, must be placed by him, in the order of their seniority¹ (or) of their sacred knowledge, upon seats covered with *Kusa* grass.

3. (He must entertain) two (*Brâhmanas*) facing the east at the *Srâddha* of the gods (*Visvedevâs*), and three facing the north at the *Srâddha* of the manes;

4. Or one only at each *Srâddha*.

5. After having (worshipped the *Visvedevâs* and) offered a burnt-oblation: during the recitation of the first *Pañçaka* (pentad) at a *Srâddha* repast con-

LXXIII. 1-32. Âsv. II, 5, 11-14; IV, 7; Gobh. IV, 2-4; Pâr. III, 10, 48-55; Sâṅkh. IV, 1; M. III, 125, 204-259; Y. I, 225-248; Âpast. II, 7, 17, 11-19; Gaut. XV. Regarding the corresponding section of the *Kâṭhaka Grîhya-sûtra*, see Introduction. This chapter opens the section on *Srâddhas* (funeral oblations), which consists of thirteen chapters (LXXIII-LXXXV. Nand.)

1. The *Ekoddishṭa* and *Sapindîkarana* *Srâddhas* have been described above, XXI. The rules given in the present chapter refer to all the remaining kinds of *Srâddhas*. See 5-9, LXXIV, LXXVI-LXXVIII.

2. ¹ At the *Srâddha* of the manes the oldest *Brâhmaṇa* represents the great-grandfather; the one next to him in age, the grandfather; the youngest of the three, the father of the sacrificer. (Nand.)

5-9. The three *Pañçakas* referred to in *Sûtras* 5-9 are respectively vv. 1-5, 6-10, and 11-15 of *Kâṭhaka XXXIX*, 10. (Nand.) The great majority of the *Mantras* quoted in *Sûtras* 11-26 have

sisting of undressed grain or performed for the gratification of a special desire¹;

6. At a *Srāddha* repast consisting of meat, during the recitation of the second *Pañākā*;

7. At a new moon (*Srāddha*), during the recitation of the last *Pañākā*;

8. On the *Ashṭakās* (or eighth days) of the (three) dark halves subsequent to the full moon day of the month *Āgrahāyana* (or *Mārgaśrsha*)¹, during the recitation of the first, second, and last *Pañākās* respectively;

9. Likewise, on the *Anvashṭakās* (or ninth days of the dark halves of those months);

10. He must invite the manes, after having received permission to do so from the *Brāhmaṇas*¹.

11. Having driven away the *Yātudhānas* by strewing grains of sesamum and by reciting the two

not been traced in the Berlin MS. of the *Kāṭhaka*, nor indeed in any other *Samhitā* of the Veda, but there can be no doubt that they belong to the school of the *Kāṭhas*, as nearly all are quoted by their *Pratīkas* in the *Kāṭhaka Gr̥hya-sūtra*, and given at full in Devapāla's Commentary on the latter. The above renderings of the *Pratīkas* rest upon Devapāla's interpretations. That the rules in 5 seq. teach the performance of a *Srāddha* according to the rites of the *Kāṭha* school, is confirmed by Nand. in his remarks on 5 seq. and 9 seq.

5. ¹ See LXXXVIII.

8. The days referred to are the eighth days of the dark halves of the months *Mārgaśrsha*, *Pausha*, and *Māgha*.

9. 'And on the *Srāddhas* taking place on the seventh day of the dark half, as *ka* indicates.' (Nand.) This statement does not, however, deserve much credit, as such *Srāddhas* are neither mentioned in our work nor in the *Kāṭhaka Gr̥hya-sūtra*.

10. ¹ 'The permission of the *Brāhmaṇas* has to be asked with the Mantra, "I shall invite (the manes);" and their answer must be, "Invite them."' (Nand.)

11. The *Yātudhānas* are a class of demons supposed to disturb

Mantras (the first of which begins with the words), 'May the Asuras go away;'

12. He must invite the manes (with the four Mantras), 'Come near, O ye manes,' '(Conduct) them all (here), O Agni,' 'May my (ancestors) come near,' 'This is your (share), O ye manes.' Then let him prepare the water for washing the feet with scented water, which has been mixed up with Kusa grass and sesamum, while reciting (the three Mantras), 'Those standing¹,' 'Speech is imperishable,' and 'What my mother (has sinned)¹,' and offer it (to the Brâhmaṇas); let him prepare the Arghya (or water mixed with Dûrvâ grass, flowers, &c.) and offer it to them; let him offer to the Brâhmaṇas, to the best of his power, Kusa grass, sesamum, clothes, flowers, ornaments, incense, and lamps; let him take food sprinkled with clarified butter; let him look them in the face with the Mantra, 'O ye Âdityas, Rudras, and Vasus;' let him say, 'I will offer an oblation in the fire,' and if the Brâhmaṇas say, 'Offer an oblation,' let him offer three burnt-oblations².

13. After having consecrated the offerings with the Mantras, 'They, who are my ancestors,' 'This is your (share), O ye manes,' and 'This offering,' he must pour (what is left of) the food into such vessels as happen to be there, or (into golden ones at the offering addressed to the Visvedevâs and) into silver

the effect of a Srâddha. The second Mantra, according to Devapâla, is from the Rig-veda, X, 15, 1.

12. ¹ These two Mantras are also quoted, with slight variations, by Sâṅkhâyaṇa III, 13, 5.—² The three burnt-oblations have to be accompanied by the recitation of the three Mantras, 'To Soma accompanied by the manes svadhâ namaḥ; to Yama Ângiras svadhâ namaḥ; to Agni who takes the offerings addressed to the manes svadhâ namaḥ.' (Nand.)

ones (at the offering addressed to the manes), and offer it first to the two Brâhmaṇas facing the east (who have been invited to the Srâddha of the gods).

14. Afterwards he must offer it to the (three) Brâhmaṇas facing the north (who represent his three ancestors, addressing himself) to his father, grandfather, and great-grandfather, (and calling out) their name and race.

15. While the Brâhmaṇas are eating the food, let him mutter (the three Mantras), 'Whatever (trickles down) through my fault,' 'With days and nights¹,' and 'Whatever (limb) of yours, Agni.'

16. And (let him mutter) the Itihâsa (Epics), Purâṇa (Legends), and Dharmasâstra (Institutes of the Sacred Law).

17. Near the leavings let him deposit upon blades of Kusa grass with the ends turned towards the south one ball of rice for his father, while saying, 'Earth is (like) a spoon, imperishable (satisfaction).'

18. With the Mantra, 'Air is (like) a spoon, imperishable (satisfaction,' let him deposit) a second ball for his grandfather.

19. With the Mantra, 'Heaven is (like) a spoon, imperishable (satisfaction,' let him deposit) a third ball for his great-grandfather.

20. With the Mantra, 'Those ancestors who

14. The formula of this invocation, according to Nand., is this, 'To NN., my ancestor, of the Gotra NN., who is like a Vasu, (I offer) this food, svadhâ namaḥ.' The use of the particle *ka*, according to the same, implies that the maternal grandfather and the other maternal ancestors must also be addressed, as ordained below (LXXV, 7).

15. ¹ A similar Mantra is quoted, Sâṅkh. III, 13, 5.

have died,' let him place a garment (upon the balls).

21. With the Mantra, 'Give us sons, O ye manes,' (let him place) food upon them.

22. With the Mantra, 'Enjoy it, O ye manes, partake of it, each according to his share¹,' let him wipe off the grease from his hands with the ends of the blades.

23. With the Mantra, '(Ye waters) imparting vigour¹,' let him sprinkle the balls to the right with the wet (remainder of the food), and offer the Argha², flowers, incense, unguents, and rice, and other victuals and dainties to the Brâhmanas.

24. And (he must offer them) a jar with water, which has been mixed up with honey, clarified butter, sesamum, and (ointments, oil, and the like).

25. The Brâhmanas having eaten and being satisfied, let him sprinkle the food (as much as has been left by them) and the grass with the Mantra, 'Mayest thou not fail me,' and strew the food near the leavings; and having asked them, 'Are you satisfied? Is (the Srâddha) finished,' he must first give water for sipping to the Brâhmanas facing the north, and then to those facing the east; and he must sprinkle the place where the Srâddha has been offered (with water, with the Mantra), 'Well sprinkled.' All these rites he must perform while holding blades of sacred grass in his hand.

26. Afterwards he must, while turning his face towards the Brâhmanas facing the east, circumambu-

22. ¹ Vâgasan. Samh. II, 31; Kâth. IX, 6.

23. ¹ Vâgasan. Samh. II, 34.—² The Argha is a respectful offering, the ingredients of which vary.

late them from left to right, with the Mantra, 'What a crow (may have eaten of my offering),' and turn back again; he must honour them with sacrificial fees, to the best of his power, saying, 'May you be satisfied,' and on their answering, 'We are satisfied,' he must address them with the Mantra, 'The gods and the manes.'

27. After having given (to all) water (with the Mantra, 'May the food and water and whatever else I gave you be) imperishable,' (and) calling out their name and race, and having added the Mantra, 'May the Visvedevâs be satisfied,' he must ask, with folded hands, and with an attentive and cheerful mind, the following (benediction) from the Brâhmanas facing the east:

28. 'May the liberal-minded in our race increase in number, and may the (study of the) Vedas and our progeny (also increase). May faith not depart from us, and may we have plenty to bestow on the poor.'

29. They shall answer, 'Thus let it be.'

30. (The second half of the benediction shall be as follows), 'May we have plenty of food, and may we receive guests. May others come to beg of us, and may not we be obliged to beg of any one.'

31. After having received this double benediction (through the Brâhmanas saying, 'Thus let it be'),

32. He must dismiss the Brâhmanas, with the Mantra, 'With all food¹,' after having honoured them according to custom, accompanied them (as far as the limits of his estate), and taken his leave of them.

32. ¹ Rig-veda VII, 38, 8.

LXXIV.

1. After having worshipped, on each *Ashṭakâ*, the gods and performed, with vegetables, meat, and cakes respectively, a *Srâddha* (according to the rules given in the last chapter), he must, on each *Anvashṭakâ*¹, worship the gods and offer a burnt-oblation in the same way as on the *Ashṭakâs* (i. e. reciting the same three *Pañṭakas* successively), and entertain *Brâhmanas* in the same way as (directed) before (in the preceding chapter), in honour of his mother, his paternal grandmother, and his paternal great-grandmother, honour them with presents, accompany them (as far as the limits of his estate), and dismiss them².

2. Then he must dig (six) trenches.

3. On the border of these trenches, to the north-east of them, he must light fires and place balls of rice.

4. On the border of three of the trenches (he must place balls) for the men, and on the border of the other three (he must place balls) for the women.

LXXIV. 1-8. *Âsv.* II, 5; *Gobh.* IV, 2; *Pâr.* III, 3, 10-12; *Sâṅkh.* III, 13, 6; *M.* IV, 150. Regarding the corresponding section of the *Kâṭhaka Gr̥hya-sûtra*, see the Introduction.

1. ¹ See LXXIII, 8, 9; LXXVI, 1. — ² Nand. considers the use of the particle *kā* to imply that the father together with the other paternal ancestors, and the maternal grandfather along with the other maternal ancestors, should also be invoked, which would make in all nine ancestors to be invoked. The first part of this observation appears to be correct, but the maternal grandfather and the rest are neither referred to in the following *Sûtras*, nor in the *Kâṭhaka Gr̥hya-sûtra*.

2. Nand. gives it as his opinion, that nine trenches should be made, three of which are to be for the maternal grandfather, &c. But *Sûtra* 4 refers to three trenches for the men only, and the *Kâṭhaka Gr̥hya-sûtra* expressly mentions the number of six trenches.

5. He must fill the three trenches for the men with water mixed with food.

6. (He must fill) the three trenches for the women with milk mixed with food.

7. (And he must fill up) each triad of trenches singly with sour milk, meat, and milk.

8. After having filled (the trenches), he must mutter the Mantra, 'May this (food) be imperishable for ye men and for ye women.'

LXXV.

1. He who makes a *Srâddha*-offering while his father is alive, must offer it to those persons to whom his father offers (his *Srâddhas*).

2. (If he offers a *Srâddha*) while both his father and grandfather are alive, (he must offer it to those persons) to whom his grandfather (offers his *Srâddhas*).

3. While his father, grandfather, and great-grandfather are alive, he must offer no *Srâddha* at all.

4. He whose father is dead (but whose grandfather is alive), must first of all offer a ball of rice to his father, after that, two balls to the two ancestors coming before his grandfather (or to his great-grandfather and to his fourth ascendant).

5. He whose father and grandfather are dead (but whose great-grandfather is alive), must first offer two balls to those two, and then offer one ball to the grandfather of his grandfather.

7. Nand. renders this *Sûtra* differently, in accordance with his own theory regarding the number of the trenches.

LXXV. 1. M. III, 220. — 4. M. III, 221. — 7. Y. I, 228.

6. He whose grandfather is dead (but whose father and great-grandfather are alive), must give one ball to his grandfather and two balls to the father and grandfather of his great-grandfather.

7. An intelligent man must offer *Srâddhas* to his maternal grandfather, and to the father and grandfather of him, in the same way (as to his paternal ancestors), duly modifying the Mantras. But the *Srâddhas* addressed to other relatives, (uncles, brothers, and the like, must be performed) without Mantras.

LXXVI.

1. The (twelve) days of new moon, the three *Ashṭakâs*, the three *Anvashṭakâs*, a *Mâgha* day (i.e. 'day on which the moon enters the lunar asterism *Maghâ*'), which falls on the thirteenth of the dark half of the month *Praushṭapada*, and the two seasons when rice and barley grow ripe (or autumn and spring):

7. The Mantras are those quoted above, in Chapters LXXIII and LXXIV. They have to be modified, i.e. the names of the maternal ancestors must be put in, and the verb &c. of the sentence be altered accordingly. (Nand.)

LXXVI. 1. M. III, 122, 273, 281; IV, 150; Y. I, 217, 260; Gaut. XV, 2; Âpast. II, 7, 16, 4-6.

1. Nand. infers from a passage of *Âsvalâyana* (*Grihya-sûtra* II, 4, 3) that *Srâddhas* to be offered on the day before each *Ashṭakâ* are also intended here. See, however, note on LXXIII, 9. The same proposes two explanations of the term *Mâghî*: 1. It has to be separated from the following words, and refers directly to the day of full moon in the month *Mâgha*, and indirectly to the days of full moon in *Âshâdha*, *Kârttika*, and *Vaisâkha* as well, as indicated in a passage of the *Brâhma-purâna*. 2. It has to be connected with the clause following it. This latter interpretation, on which the rendering given above is based, is supported by Manu (III, 273, 274),

2. Thus have the regular times for a *Srâddha* been declared by the lord of creatures. He who fails to perform a *Srâddha* on those days, goes to hell.

LXXVII.

1. The sun's passage from one sign of the zodiac to another ;

2. The two equinoctial points ;

3. The two solstitial points particularly ;

4. The (Yoga) *Vyatîpâta* ;

5. The constellation under which (the sacrificer himself, or his wife, or his son) is born ;

6. A time of rejoicing (as, when a son has been born, or another happy event happened) :

7. These occasions for a *Srâddha* the lord of creatures has pronounced optional ; a *Srâddha* which is performed on these occasions gives infinite satisfaction (to the manes).

8. No *Srâddha* must be performed in the twilight or at night by an intelligent man. A *Srâddha* may be performed at those times also when an eclipse (of the sun or of the moon) takes place.

9. For a *Srâddha* which is offered them at the time of an eclipse satisfies the manes, as long as the moon and the stars exist, and procures immense advantages and the satisfaction of all his desires to the sacrificer.

Yâgyavalkya (I, 260), according to the interpretations of *Kullûka* and *Vignâneshvara*, and by the *Vishnu-sûtra* itself (LXXVIII, 52).

LXXVII. 1-6, 9. Y. I, 217, 218. — 6. Âsv. IV, 7, 1 ; *Sânkh.* IV, 4. — 8. M. III, 280 ; *Âpast.* II, 7, 17, 23, 25.

4. This is the seventeenth among the twenty-seven *Yogas* or astrological divisions of the zodiac. (Nand.)

7. The meaning is, that the *Srâddhas* mentioned in this chapter are *naimittika*, 'occasional.' (Nand.)

LXXVIII.

1. By performing a *Srâddha* on Sunday he procures everlasting freedom from disease.
2. (By performing a *Srâddha*) on Monday he becomes beloved¹.
3. (By performing it) on Tuesday (he procures) success in battle.
4. (By performing it) on Wednesday (he enjoys) all his desires.
5. (By performing it) on Thursday (he acquires) such religious knowledge as he desires.
6. (By performing it) on Friday (he acquires) wealth.
7. (By performing it) on Saturday (he procures) longevity.
8. (By performing it under the *Nakshatra* or constellation) *Kṛittikâs* (he gains) heaven.

LXXVIII. 8-35. M. III, 277; Y. I, 264-267. — 36-50. M. III, 276; Y. I, 261-263; Âpast. II, 7, 16, 8-22; Gaut. XV, 4-52, 53. M. III, 273, 274. Regarding *Sûtras* 1-7, see the Introduction.

1. Nand. states that the *Srâddhas* mentioned in this chapter are of the *kâmya* sort, i.e. 'offered for the gratification of a special desire.'

2. ¹ This is Nand.'s interpretation of the term *saubhâgyam*. It might also be taken in its usual acceptance, as meaning 'happiness.'

8-35. Those names of the twenty-eight *Nakshatras* or lunar asterisms, which I have included in parentheses, are from Nand.'s Commentary. Most of the objects which are said to be gained by the *Srâddhas* mentioned in *Sûtras* 8-35 are connected etymologically, or through their import, with the names of the particular *Nakshatras* under which they are performed. Thus the term *pushî*, 'prosperity,' in *Sûtra* 13, is etymologically connected with *Pushya*; the term *mitra*, 'friend,' in 22, is connected with *Maitra*; the term *râgyam*, 'royalty,' in 23, is connected with *Sâkra*, the name of that *Nakshatra* being derived from *Sakra*, a name of *Indra*, the king of the gods, &c.

9. (By performing it under the constellation) Rohinî (he obtains) progeny.

10. (By performing it under the constellation) Saumya (or *Mrigasiras* he procures) the superhuman power of a pious Brâhmaṇa.

11. (By performing it under the constellation) Raudra (or *Ârdrâ* he reaps) the fruit of his labours.

12. (By performing it under the constellation) Punarvasu (he procures) land.

13. (By performing it under the constellation) Pushya (or *Tishya* he procures) prosperity.

14. (By performing it under the constellation) Sârpa (or *Âsleshâs* he obtains) beauty.

15. (By performing it under the constellation) Paitrya (or *Maghâ* he enjoys) all his desires.

16. (By performing it under the constellation) Bhâgya (or *Pûrvaphâlgunî*) he becomes beloved¹.

17. (By performing it under the constellation) Âryamaṇa (or *Uttaraphâlgunî* he procures) wealth.

18. (By performing it under the constellation) Hasta (he acquires) superiority among his kindred.

19. (By performing it under the constellation) Tvâshtra (or *Kitrâ* he procures) handsome sons.

20. (By performing it under the constellation) Svâti (he procures) success in trade.

21. (By performing it under the constellation) Visâkhâs (he acquires) gold.

22. (By performing it under the constellation) Maitra (or *Anurâdhâ* he procures) friends.

23. (By performing it under the constellation) Sâkra (or *Gyeshthâ* he procures) royalty.

24. (By performing it under the constellation) Mûla (he procures good results in) agriculture.

16. ¹ See 2, note.

25. (By performing it under the constellation) *Âpya* (or *Pûrvâshâdhâs* he procures) success in sea-voyages.

26. (By performing it under the constellation) *Vaisvadeva* (or *Uttarâshâdhâs* he enjoys) all his desires.

27. (By performing it under the constellation) *Abhigit* (he procures) superiority.

28. (By performing it under the constellation) *Sravana* (he enjoys) all his desires.

29. (By performing it under the constellation) *Vâsava* (or *Dhanishthâs* he procures success in preparing) salt ¹.

30. (By performing it under the constellation) *Vârûna* (or *Satabhishâ* he obtains) freedom from disease.

31. (By performing it under the constellation) *Âga* (or *Pûrvabhâdrapadâ* he obtains) copper vessels.

32. (By performing it under the constellation) *Âhîrbudhnya* (or *Uttarabhâdrapadâ* he obtains) a house.

33. (By performing it under the constellation) *Paushna* (or *Revati* he acquires) cows.

34. (By performing it under the constellation) *Âsvina* (or *Âsvini* he obtains) a horse.

35. (By performing it under the constellation) *Yâmya* (or *Bharani* he procures) longevity.

36. (By offering it) on the first day of a lunar fortnight (he procures) a house and handsome wives.

29. ¹ *Lavanam* means either 'salt' or 'beauty' or 'medicinal herbs and fruits.' (Nand.)

37. (By offering it) on the second day (he procures) a beautiful daughter (and sons-in-law).

38. (By offering it) on the third day (he enjoys) all his desires.

39. (By offering it) on the fourth day (he procures) cattle.

40. (By offering it) on the fifth day (he procures) handsome sons.

41. (By offering it) on the sixth day (he obtains) success in gaming.

42. (By offering it) on the seventh day (he procures good results in) agriculture.

43. (By offering it) on the eighth day (he procures success in) trade.

44. (By offering it) on the ninth day (he procures) cattle ¹.

45. (By offering it) on the tenth day (he procures) horses.

46. (By offering it) on the eleventh day (he procures) sons endowed with the superhuman power of a pious Brâhmaṇa.

47. (By offering it) on the twelfth day (he procures) gold and silver.

48. (By offering it) on the thirteenth day he becomes beloved.

49. (By offering it) on the fifteenth day (he enjoys) all his desires.

44. ¹Nand. infers from a passage of Yâgñavalkya (I, 266) that the term 'cattle' here refers to horses and other one-hoofed animals. See, however, the next Sûtra.

48. The term saubhâgyam is stated by Nand. (with reference to Y. I, 264) to denote 'superiority among his kindred,' in this Sûtra. But there is no cogent reason for deviating here from that interpretation of the term which he proposes in his Commentary on Sûtras 2 and 16. See above.

50. For Srâddhas for those who have been killed in battle the fourteenth day is ordained.

51. There are two stanzas on this subject recited by the manes :

52. 'May that excellent man be born to our race, whosoever he may be, who attentively offers a Srâddha in the rainy season¹ on the thirteenth of the dark half,

53. 'With milk profusely mixed with honey; and (he who offers such Srâddhas) during the whole month Kârttika and (in the afternoon) when the shadow of an elephant falls towards the east.'

LXXIX.

1. He must not perform a Srâddha with water collected at night.

2. On failure of Kusa grass he must employ Kâsa or Dûrvâ grass instead.

3. Instead of a garment (he may give) cotton thread.

4. He must avoid (giving) the fringe of cloth, though it be of cloth not yet used.

5. And (he must not give) flowers having a nasty odour, or no odour at all, the blossoms of thorny plants, and red flowers.

52. ¹ The term *prâvri/kâle*, 'in the rainy season,' probably refers to one month only of the rainy season, the month Bhâdrapada or Praush/hapada. See above, LXXVI, 1, and M. III, 273, 274, with Kullûka's Commentary; Y. I, 260, with Vignânesvara's Comment.

LXXIX. 8, 16. M. III, 226, 227, 235, 257; Âpast. II, 8, 19, 19-22. — 19-21. M. III, 229.

5. The use of the particle *ka* implies, according to Nand., who quotes a text in support of his assertion, that the leaves of the Kadamba, Bèl, Ketaka, and Bakula trees, as well as those of the Barbara plant and of the thorn-apple tree, are also included in this prohibition.

6. He may give white and sweet-smelling flowers, even though grown on thorny plants, and aquatic flowers, even though they be red.

7. He must not give marrow or fat instead of a lamp.

8. He may give clarified butter or sesamum-oil.

9. He must not give (the nails or horns) of animals instead of the incense of all kinds (prescribed for a Srâddha).

10. He may give bdellium mixed up with honey and clarified butter.

11. He may give sandal, saffron, camphor, aloe wood, or Padmaka wood instead of an ointment.

12. He must not salt (the dishes) publicly (after they have been cooked).

13. He must not give clarified butter, condiments, or the like (i. e. sour milk, milk, &c.) with his hands.

14. He must use metallic vessels ;

15. Especially vessels made of silver.

16. He must place (on the sacrificial ground) vessels made of the horn of the rhinoceros, blankets made of the hair of the mountain-goat, the skin of a black antelope, sesamum, white mustard, unbroken grains, (silver and copper vessels and other) purificatory objects, and (a goat and other animals or objects), by which the demons are kept aloof.

7. 'Or mustard-oil or any other such substance, as *ka* indicates.' (Nand.)

8. 'Or the juice of plants, as mentioned by Saṅkha, on account of *vâ*.' (Nand.)

13. He must give those liquids with a spoon or similar implement. (Nand.)

16. According to Nand., the particle *ka* refers to other purificatory things, viz. the following seven, 'milk, water from the Ganges, honey, silken cloth, a grandson, blankets made of the hair of the

17. He must avoid to use pepper, (the onion called) *Mukundaka*, (the pot-herb called) *Bhûstrina*, (the leaves, blossoms, or roots of) the *Sigru* tree, mustard-seeds, (the plant) *Nirgundî*, (the fruit or leaves of) the *Sâl* tree, the plant *Suvarkalâ*, the (pumpkin-gourd called) *Kûshmânda*, the bottle-gourd, the egg-plant, (the plants or pot-herbs called) *Pâlakyâ*, *Upotakt*, and *Tandultyaka*, the herbs of the safflower, the *Pindâluka* (root), and the milk of female buffalos.

18. And (he must not use the bean called) *Râgamâsha*, (the lentil called) *Masûra*, stale food, and factitious salt.

19. Let him avoid wrath.

20. He must not shed a tear.

21. He must not be in a hurry.

22. In offering the clarified butter and other (liquids, such as condiments, sour milk, milk, and the like) he must use metallic vessels, vessels made of the horn of the rhinoceros, and vessels made of the wood of the *Phalgu* tree.

23. There is a *Sloka* on this subject :

24. 'That which has been offered in vessels made of gold, or of silver, or of the horn of the rhinoceros, or of copper, or of *Phalgu* wood, becomes imperishable (and brings infinite reward to the sacrificer).'

mountain-goat, and sesamum.' The last two are, however, already contained in the above enumeration.

17. The term 'buffalo's milk' includes here, according to a text quoted by Nand., the milk of sheep, of antelopes, of camels, and of all one-hoofed animals.

18. 'As shown by *ka*, chick-peas and other grains and herbs mentioned in a *Smṛiti* must also be avoided.' (Nand.)

19. 'This rule applies both to the sacrificer and to the guests at a *Srâddha*.' (Nand.)

LXXX.

1. Sesamum, rice, barley, beans, water, roots, fruits, vegetables, Syâmâka grain, millet, wild rice, kidney-beans, and wheat satisfy (the manes) for a month;

2. The flesh of fishes (excepting those species that are forbidden), for two months;

3. The flesh of the common deer, for three months;

4. The flesh of sheep, for four months;

5. The flesh of birds (of those kinds that may be eaten), for five months;

6. The flesh of goats, for six months;

7. The flesh of the spotted deer, for seven months;

8. The flesh of the spotted antelope, for eight months;

9. Beef, for nine months;

10. Buffalo's meat, for ten months;

11. The meat of a hornless goat, for eleven months;

12. The milk of a cow, or preparations from it, for a year.

13. On this subject there exists a stanza, which the manes utter:

14. '(The pot-herb) Kâlasâka (sacred basil), (the prawn) Mahâsalka, and the flesh of the (crane called) Vârdhrîṇasa¹, (and of) a rhinoceros having no horn, is food which we always accept.'

LXXX. 1-14. M. III, 267-272; Y. I, 257-259; Âpast. II, 7, 16, 23-II, 7, 17, 3; II, 8, 18, 13; Gaut. XV, 15.

14. ¹This is the first of the two interpretations which Nand. proposes of the term Vârdhrîṇasa. It is supported by Âpastamba's

LXXXI.

1. He must not place the food upon a chair.
2. He must not touch it with his foot.
3. He must not sneeze upon it.
4. He must drive the Yâtudhânas away by means of sesamum or mustard-seeds.
5. Let him perform the Srâddha in an enclosed place.
6. He must not look at a woman in her courses ;
7. Nor at a dog ; 8. Nor at a tame pig ;
9. Nor at a tame cock.
10. Let him strive to perform the Srâddha in sight of a goat.
11. The Brâhmanas must eat in silence.
12. They must not eat with their heads covered ;
13. Nor with shoes on their feet ;
14. Nor with their feet placed upon a stool.
15. Let not men with a limb too little, or with a limb too much, look at a Srâddha ;
16. Nor Sûdras ; 17. Nor outcasts.

commentator, Haradatta, and by Âpastamba himself (I, 5, 17, 36). Nand.'s second interpretation, 'an old white goat,' is probably wrong, although it is supported by the authority of Kullûka and Vigñânesvara.

LXXXI. 2, 6-9, 11-13, 15, 16, 19. M. III, 229, 236-242. — 4, 5. Gaut. XV, 25, 26. — 7, 16, 17. Âpast. II, 7, 17, 20; Gaut. XV, 24. — 18. M. III, 243. — 20. M. III, 237. — 21-23. M. III, 244-246.

4. Nand. quotes the following Mantra, which has to be recited on this occasion, 'The Asuras, the Râkshasas, and the Pisâkas have been driven away.' A similar Mantra occurs in the Vâgasan. Samh. II, 29.

5. 'Ka indicates that it must be a place inclining to the south, as stated in a Smṛiti.' (Nand.)

6. This and the following Sûtras refer both to the host at a Srâddha and to the guests invited by him. (Nand.)

18. If at the time of a *Srâddha* a *Brâhmana* or an ascetic (has come to his house), he must feed him, if (the invited) *Brâhmanas* permit it.

19. The *Brâhmanas* must not declare the qualities of the sacrificial dishes, even though asked to do so by their host.

20. As long as the dishes remain warm, as long as (the *Brâhmanas*) eat in silence, as long as the qualities of the sacrificial food are not declared by them, so long the manes enjoy it.

21. Having brought together (the remainder of) all the sorts of substantial food and (of the vegetables and) the like, he must sprinkle it with water, and place it before the *Brâhmanas*, who have taken their meal, strewing it on the ground.

22. The leavings (that have remained in the dishes) and what has been strewn (in the manner just mentioned) upon the blades of *Kusa* grass (spread on the ground) is the share of such (*Brâhmanas*) as have died before they were initiated, and of husbands who have deserted wives descended from good families.

23. What has dropped on the ground from the dishes, at a sacrifice addressed to the manes, they declare to be the share of servants, provided they be not dishonest or depraved.

LXXXII.

1. At a (*Srâddha*) offering to the *Visvedevâs* let him not enquire (into the qualities or descent of) a *Brâhmana* (whom he means to invite).

LXXXII. 1, 2. M. III, 149. — 3-29. M. III, 150-166; Y. I, 222-224; Âpast. II, 7, 17, 21; Gaut. XV, 16-18.

2. But at a (Śrāddha offering) to the manes he must enquire as closely as possible (into the qualities and descent of a Brāhmaṇa, whom he means to invite).

3. He must not invite (to a Śrāddha) such as have a limb too little, or a limb too much ;

4. Nor such as follow an occupation forbidden (by the Veda or by the traditional law)¹.

5. Nor those who act (deceitfully) like cats ;

6. Nor those wearing the insignia of some particular order, without having a claim to them ;

7. Nor astrologers ;

8. Nor Brāhmaṇas who subsist upon the offerings made to an idol which they attend ;

9. Nor physicians ;

10. Nor sons of an unmarried woman ;

11. Nor sons of the son of an unmarried woman ;

12. Nor those who sacrifice for a multitude of persons ;

13. Nor those who offer sacrifices for a whole village ;

14. Nor those who offer sacrifices for Śūdras ;

15. Nor those who offer sacrifices for those for whom it is forbidden to sacrifice (such as outcasts and others) ;

16. Nor those for whom the ceremony of initiation has not been performed ;

17. Nor those who sacrifice for such ;

4. ¹ The particle *ka*, according to Nand., in this Sūtra, refers to other categories, mentioned by Atri, viz. persons belonging to the same Gotra, or descended from the same R̥shi ancestors as the sacrificer, and unknown persons.

8. ' *Ka* indicates here that thieves and wicked persons are also intended, as stated in a Smṛiti.' (Nand.)

18. Nor those who do work on holidays ;
19. Nor malignant informers ;
20. Nor those who teach (the Veda) for a fee ;
21. Nor those who have been taught (the Veda) for a fee ;
22. Nor those who subsist on food given to them by a Sûdra ;
23. Nor those who have intercourse with an outcast ;
24. Nor those who neglect their daily study of the Veda ;
25. Nor those who neglect their morning and evening prayers ;
26. Nor those who are in the king's service ;
27. Nor 'naked' persons ;
28. Nor those who quarrel with their father ;
29. Nor those who have forsaken their father, mother, Guru, holy fire, or sacred study.
30. All those persons are said to defile a company, because they have been expelled from the community of Brâhmanas. Let a wise man avoid carefully, therefore, to entertain them at a Srâddha.

LXXXIII.

1. The following persons sanctify a company :
2. A Trinâkiketa ;

27. See LXIV, 5, note.

29. The particle *ka* here refers to the following further persons mentioned in a Smṛiti: a shepherd, one who lives by the prostitution of his own wife, the husband of a woman who had another husband before, and one employed to carry out dead bodies. (Nand.)

LXXXIII. 1-19. M. III, 128-148, 183-186 ; Y. I, 219-221 ; Âpast. II, 7, 17, 22 ; Gaut. XV, 28.

2. Nand. has two explanations of the term Trinâkiketa : 1. One who has thrice kindled the Nâkiketa fire. 2. One who has studied,

3. One who keeps five fires ;
4. One who can sing the Sâmans called *Gyeshtha* ;
5. One who has studied the whole Veda ;
6. One who has studied one Vedânga ;
7. One who has studied either the *Purânas* (Legends), or the *Itihâsas* (Epics), or grammar ;
8. One who has studied one of the *Dharmasâstras* (Institutes of the Sacred Law) ;
9. One purified by visiting sacred places of pilgrimage ;
10. One purified by offering sacrifices ;
11. One purified by austere devotion ;
12. One purified by veracity ;
13. One purified by (constantly muttering) *Mantras* ;
14. One intent upon muttering the *Gâyatri* ;
15. One in whose family the study and teaching of the Veda are hereditary.
16. One who knows the *Trisuparna* (the text which thrice contains the word *Suparna*).

in consequence of a vow, the portion of the Yagur-veda called *Trinâkiketa*. See *Âpast.* II, 7, 17, 22, with Dr. Bühler's note, and the Petersburg Dictionary.

4. *Sâma-veda* II, 209-211, &c.

7. Grammar is again mentioned here, although it forms part of the *Vedângas* mentioned in *Sûtra* 6. But there the *Prâtisâkhyas* are meant. (Nand.)

8. The number of the *Smritis* or *Dharmasâstras*, according to Nand., amounts to fifty-seven. The now current tradition gives thirty-six as their number ; but upwards of a hundred works of this description must have been actually in existence. See Dr. Bühler's Introduction to the Bombay Digest, p. xii seq.

16. See above, LVI, 23, and Dr. Bühler's note on *Âpast.* loc. cit. Nand. proposes another interpretation also of the term *Trisuparna*, 'one who has thrice kindled a fire in honour of *Suparna*.'

17. A son-in-law ;
18. And a grandson. All these persons are worthy (to be fed at a *Srâddha*) ;
19. And, particularly, devotees.
20. There is a stanza recited by the manes, which refers to this subject :
21. 'May that man be born to our race, who feeds a *Brâhmaṇa* devotee assiduously at a *Srâddha*, by which repast we are satisfied ourselves.'

LXXXIV.

1. He must not offer a *Srâddha* in a country inhabited by barbarians.
2. He must not visit a country inhabited by barbarians (excepting on a pilgrimage).
3. By (constantly) drinking water from (or bathing in) a pool situated in a foreign (barbarous) country, he becomes equal to its inhabitants.
4. Those countries are called barbarous (*mleṣ-ka*) where the system of the four castes does not exist ; the others are denoted *Âryāvarta* (the abode of the *Âryans*).

18. According to Nand., the particles *ka* and *iti* refer to the sister's son and other relatives, as enumerated by *Yâgñavalkya* I, 220, 221.

19. Nand. thinks that *ka* here refers to ascetics.

LXXXIV. 2. Nand. quotes a stanza of *Devala* to the effect that one who has visited the countries of *Sindh*, of the *Sauvîras*, *Surât*, and the adjacent parts, *Bengal* proper, *Kaliṅga*, *South Bihâr*, and *Malwa* requires to be initiated a second time.

3. ' *Ka* refers to pools belonging to *Kandâlas* or other degraded castes.' (Nand.)

4. *Âryāvarta* is the name of the whole tract of land which extends from the eastern to the western ocean, and is bounded by the *Himâlayas* and by the *Vindhya* mountains in the north and south. See *Manu* II, 21, 22.

LXXXV.

1. A *Srâddha* offered at the (*Tîrtha* or place of pilgrimage called) *Pushkaras* confers eternal bliss upon the giver;

2. And so does the muttering of prayers, the offering of burnt-oblations, and the practice of austerities in that place.

3. Even by merely bathing at *Pushkara* he is purified from all his sins.

4. The same effect may be produced at *Gayâ-sîrsha*;

5. And near *Vaṭa* (*Akshayavaṭa*);

6. And on the *Amarakantaka* mountain;

7. And on the *Varâha* mountain;

LXXXV. 1. *Pushkara*, according to the common acceptance of the term, is the name of a celebrated place of pilgrimage near *Agmîr*, the modern *Pokur*. See Lassen, *Indian Antiquities*, I, 113. Nand. quotes a *Smṛiti* passage to the effect that there are three *Pushkaras*, and a passage of the *Mahâbhârata*, in which it is stated that one *Pushkara* is sacred to *Brahman*, another to *Vishnu*, and a third to *Rudra*.

3. Nand. asserts with regard to the use of the name *Pushkara* in the singular number in this *Sûtra*, that it means even a single bath has the consequence here mentioned.

4. *Gayâ-sîrsha* is the name of a mountain near *Gayâ* in *Bihâr*, a celebrated place of pilgrimage. Compare *Yâgñavalkya* I, 260.

5. There exists one *Akshayavaṭa* in *Bihâr* (Nand.) and another in *Prayâga* (*Allahabad*). The 'undecaying banyan-tree' (*Akshay Baṭ*) is an object of worship at *Allahabad* even now, and was so already in the times of *Hwen Thsang*. See *Cunningham, Ancient Geography of India*, p. 389; *St. Julien, Voyages des Pèlerins Bouddhistes*, II, 278.

6. Nand. states that both the *Tîrtha* called *Amarakantaka* on the *Mekalâ* mountain in the *Vindhya* range and the whole mountain of that name are meant.

7. 'This is a certain boar-shaped mountain.' (Nand.) It seems very probable that the *Tîrtha* of *Bâramûla*, the ancient *Varâha*-

8. And anywhere on the bank of the Narmadâ (Nerbudda) river;
9. And on the bank of the Yamunâ (Jumna);
10. And, particularly, on the Gaṅgâ;
11. And at Kusâvarta;
12. And at Binduka; 13. And upon the Nîlgiri hills;
14. And at Kanakhala; 15. And at Kub-gâmra; 16. And on the Bhrîgutuṅga (mountain);
17. And at Kedâra; 18. And on the Mahâlaya (mountain); 19. And on the Nadantikâ (river); 20. And on the Sugandhâ (river); 21. And at Sâkam-bharî; 22. And at Phalgutîrtha; 23. And on the

mûla in Kasmîr, is meant. See Bühler, Kasmîr Report, p. 12, where a 'Varâha hill' is mentioned as adjacent to that town.

11. This Tîrtha 'is situated upon the mountain called Tryambaka, where the Godâvarî river takes its rise.' (Nand.) Tryambaka is the modern Trimbak (the name of a place of pilgrimage situated near Nâsik).

12. 'Bindûka is the name of a Tîrtha in the Dekhan. Bilvaka, as other texts read (the MS. on which the two Calcutta editions are based among the number), is the name of another Tîrtha in the Dekhan.' (Nand.)

14. There is one Kanakhala in the Himâlayas, and another near Trimbak. (Nand.)

15. There is one plain of that name in Orissa, and another in Haridvâr. (Nand.)

16. This is the name of a sacred mountain near the Amarakantaka range, according to Nand.; in the Himâlayas, according to others. See the Petersburg Dictionary.

17. Kedâra (the Kedâr mountains?) is in the Himâlayas. (Nand.)

18, 19. These two names are not defined by Nand.

20. This is a river in the vicinity of the Saugandhika mountain. (Nand.)

21. Sâkam-bharî is the modern Shâambar, which lies 'in the desert of Marudesa, on the salt lake.' (Nand.)

22. 'Phalgutîrtha is a Tîrtha in Gayâ.' (Nand.)

23. Mahâgaṅgâ, 'the great Gaṅgâ,' is the Alakânandâ river

Mahâgaṅgâ; 24. And at Trihalikâgrâma; 25. And at Kumâradhârâ; 26. And at Prabhâsa; 27. And particularly anywhere on (the bank of) the Sarasvatî;

28. At Gaṅgâdvâra (Haridvâr), at Prayâga (Allahabad), where the Gaṅgâ falls into the ocean, constantly in the Naimisha forest, and especially at Benares;

29. And at Agastyâsrama;

30. And at Kanvâsrama (on the Mâlînt river);

31. And on the Kausikî (Kosi river);

32. And on the bank of the Sarayût (Surju river) in Oudh);

33. And on the confluence of the Soṇa (Sone) and Gytishâ rivers;

34. And on the Sṛîparvata (mountain);

(Nand.), which takes its rise in the Himâlayas and falls into the Ganges.

24. 'Trihalikâgrâma means Sâlagrâma. There is another reading, Tanḍulikâsrama.' (Nand.)

25. This is the name of a lake in Kasmîr, which the god Kumâra by a mighty stroke caused to stream forth from the Krauñḥa mountain (see Vâyu-purâṇa); or Kumâradhârâ is situated near the southern ocean in the plain of Ishupâta. (Nand.)

26. Prabhâsa is the name of a Tîrtha near Dvârakâ, on the western point of Kattivar. (Nand.)

27. Regarding the river Sarasvatî and its reputed holiness, see particularly Cunningham, Ancient Geography of India, I, 331 seq., and Manu II, 17.

28. The Naimisha forest is in the northern country. (Nand.)

29. 'Agastyâsrama is situated near Pushkara (Sûtra 1), on the bank of the Sarasvatî. There is another Agastyâsrama in the south, near Svâmishâna.' (Nand.)

33. The confluence of those two rivers is in the centre of the Vindhya range. For the name of the second, another reading is Gytîratha. (Nand.)

34. The Sṛîparvata or Sṛîsaila, where the Mallikârguna (symbol of Sîva) is worshipped, is in the Dekhan. (Nand.)

35. And at (the Tîrtha situated on the Yamunâ, which is called) Kâlodaka.

36. And at Uttaramânasa (in the Kedâr mountains, in the Himâlayas).

37. And at Vadavâ (in the Dekhan).

38. And at Matangavâpî (in the southern part of Gayâ);

39. And at Saptârsha; 40. And at Vishnupada;

41. And at Svargamârgapada (or Rathamârga);

42. And on the Godâvarî river (in the Dekhan);

43. And on the Gomatî (river);

44. And on the Vetravati (river);

45. And on the Vipâsâ (river);

46. And on the Vitastâ (river);

47. And on the banks of the Satadru (river);

48. And on the Kandrabhâgâ (river);

49. And on the Îrâvatî (river);

50. And on the banks of the Indus;

51. And on the southern Pañjanada;

52. And at Ausaga (?);

53. And at other such Tîrthas;

39. Saptârsha, 'the Tîrtha of the seven Rîshis' (Nand.), is perhaps the present Satara, in the country of the Mahrattas.

40. Nand. places this Tîrtha in the centre of Gayâ. There is another of the same name, which is placed on the Kailâsa mountain.

43. The Gomatî (the Gunti, near Lucknow) rises in the Naimisha forest. (Nand.) See 28.

44. The Vetravati (the modern Betwah, near Bhilsah) is situated in Ahikhatra. (Nand.)

45-49. The Vipâsâ (Beas), Vitastâ (Jhelum or Behut), Satadru (Sutlej), Kandrabhâgâ (Chenâb), and Îrâvatî (Ravee) are the five rivers of the Pañgâb (Pañjanada in Sanskrit).

51. This is the name of the confluence of five rivers in the Dekhan: the *Krishnâ*, *Venâ*, *Tuṅga*, *Bhadrâ*, and *Kona*. (Nand.)

52. 'Ausaga (v. l. Augasa; read Ausiga?) means *Sûrpâraka*' (Nand.), which was situated probably on the mouth of the *Krishnâ* (Kistna).

54. And on the banks of (other) holy rivers ;
 55. And anywhere at the birth-place of a deity, (such as Râma, *Krishna*, and others) ;
 56. And on sand-banks ; 57. And near water-falls ; 58. And on mountains ; 59. And in arbours (the sporting-places of *Krishna*) ; 60. And in woods ; 61. And in groves ; 62. And in houses smeared with cow-dung ; 63. And in 'pleasant spots.'
 64. There are some stanzas recited by the manes, which refer to this subject :
 65. 'May that person be born to our race, who will give us libations of water, taken from streams abounding with water, especially if their floods (coming from the Himâlayas) are cool.
 66. 'May that excellent man be born to our race, who offers us a *Srâddha* attentively at Gayâśrsha or at Va/a.'
 67. A man must wish to have many sons, because if only one of them goes to Gayâ (and offers a *Srâddha* to him after his death), or if he performs a horse-sacrifice, or if he sets a dark-coloured bull at liberty¹, (he will acquire final emancipation through him.)

LXXXVI.

1. Now follows the ceremony of setting a bull at liberty, (which should take place)
2. On the days of full moon in Kârttika or Âsvina.
3. When performing this rite, he must first examine the bull.

63. The term *manogña*, 'a pleasant spot,' means 'a place close by the house, where sacred basil is planted,' or other such places. (Nand.)

67. ¹ See the next chapter.

LXXXVI. 1-18. Pâr. III, 9 ; Sâṅkh. III, 11. Regarding the corresponding section of the *Kâṭhaka Gr̥hya-sūtra*, see Introduction.

4. (The bull must be) the offspring of a milch cow having young ones living.

5. He must have all marks.

6. He must be dark-coloured;

7. Or red, but having a white mouth, a white tail, and white feet and horns.

8. He must be one who protects the herd.

9. Then, after having (kindled) a blazing fire among the cows (in the cow-pen) and strewed Kusa grass around it, let him boil with milk a dish sacred to Pûshan, and offer (two oblations) in the fire with the Mantras, 'May Pûshan follow our cows¹,' and 'Here is pleasure².' And let a blacksmith mark the bull:

10. On the one flank (the right), with a discus; on the other flank (the left), with a trident.

11. After he has been marked, let him wash the bull with the four Mantras, (beginning with the words), 'The golden-coloured¹,' and with (the five Mantras, beginning with the words), 'May the divine (waters help and propitiate us)².'

12. Having washed and adorned the bull, he must bring him near, together with four young cows,

5. 'I.e. the bull must not be deficient in any limb.' (Nand.) This interpretation is supported by the *Grihya-sûtras*.

6. Nand. mentions two interpretations of the term *nîla*, 'dark-coloured': 1. a bull who is all white, and is therefore said to be of the 'Brâhmana kind'; 2. one whose body is white, whereas his tail, his hoofs, and his face are black, and his horns blue. Cf. L, 25.

8. Nand. interprets *yûthasyâkâdakam* by *nishektâram*, 'one who covers the cows.' My rendering is based upon Devapâla's comment on the corresponding passage of the *Kâthaka Grihya-sûtra*. See also Pâr. and Sâñkh. loc. cit.

9. ¹ Rig-veda VI, 54, 5, &c. — ² Vagas. Samh. VIII, 51; Kâth. Âsv. IV, 6, &c.

11. ¹ Taitt. Samh. V, 6, 1, 1, 2, &c. — ² Rig-veda X, 9, 4-8, &c.

which must also have been washed and decorated, and he must utter the Rudras¹, the Purushasûkta, and the Kûshmândîs².

13. Then let him pronounce in the bull's right ear the Mantra, 'The father of calves;'

14. And the following (Mantras):

15. 'Holy law is a bull and is declared to have four feet¹: him I choose for the object of my worship; may he protect me wholly.

16. 'This young (bull) I give you as husband (O ye calves), roam about sportingly with him for your lover. May we not be deficient in progeny, O king Soma, and may we live long, and may we not be oppressed by our enemies.'

17. He must drive away the bull together with the calves in a north-eastern direction and give a pair of garments, gold, and a vessel made of white copper to the officiating priest.

18. The blacksmith shall receive as wages as much as he claims, and food prepared with a great deal of butter, and (three) Brâhmanas shall be fed.

19. Any pool from which the bull drinks after

12. ¹ Taitt. Samh. IV, 5, 1-11. — ² See LVI, 7.

13. Nand. states expressly that this Mantra is from the Kâṭhaka. It is found Kâṭh. XIII, 9; Taitt. Samh. III, 3, 9, 2; Kâṭh. Grîhya-sûtra XLVII.

15. ¹ This term refers perhaps to the 'four feet of a judicial proceeding.' See Nârada I, 11; 2, 9.

16. Taitt. Samh. III, 3, 9, 1, &c. The second half of this Mantra is found in the Kâṭhaka Grîhya-sûtra only.

18. The clause regarding the 'food,' which has been rendered in accordance with Nand.'s Commentary, might also be construed with 'fed,' which would bring the whole into accordance with the precepts of the Kâṭhaka Grîhya-sûtra and of the two other Grîhya-sûtras.

having been set at liberty, that entire pool will refresh the manes of him who has set the bull at liberty.

20. The earth which is anywhere dug up by the bull exulting in his strength, is converted into delicious food and drink to satisfy the manes.

LXXXVII.

1. Now on the day of full moon in the month Vaisâkha he must spread out upon a woollen blanket the skin of a black antelope (together with the horns and hoofs), after having adorned the former with gold and the latter with silver, and after having ornamented the tail with a string of pearls.

2. After that, he must cover (that part of the blanket which is not covered by the skin) with sesamum.

3. And he must adorn the navel with gold.

4. He must cover (the skin) with a couple of new garments.

5. He must place all sorts of perfumes and jewels upon it.

LXXXVII. 1. The particle *atha*, 'now,' indicates the beginning of a new section, treating of gifts. It comprises Chapters LXXXVII-XCIII. (Nand.) The commentator infers from a corresponding passage of the *Matsya-purâna*, that the following further rules are implied in this *Sûtra*. The ceremony may also take place on the full moon days in the months *Mâgha*, *Kârttika*, and *Âshâdha*, on the twelfth day after the summer solstice, and during an eclipse of the sun or moon. The silver on the hoofs must weigh five *Palas*, and the gold on the horns ten *Suvarnas* (or two *Palas* and a half). The place must be pure, smeared with cow-dung, and covered with *Kusa* grass.

3. 'The *Skânda-purâna* states that the eyes must be adorned with jewels.' (Nand.)

5. 'And garlands of flowers and other objects must be placed upon it, as *ka* indicates.' (Nand.)

6. After having placed on its four sides (beginning with the eastern side) four metallic dishes (of copper, silver, white copper, and gold respectively) filled with milk, sour milk, honey, and clarified butter respectively, (and having poured out water) he must give (the skin, seizing it by the tail), to a Brâhmaṇa, who is an Agnihotrin¹, decked with ornaments, and clad in two garments.

7. There are (the following) stanzas in regard to this subject :

8. 'He who bestows (upon a pious Brâhmaṇa) the skin of a black antelope, together with the hoofs and horns, after having covered it with seeds of sesamum and garments, and adorned it with all sorts of jewels :

9. 'That man doubtless obtains the same reward as if he were to bestow the whole earth on him, bordered as it is on every side (by the oceans), together with the oceans and caverns, and with rocks, groves, and forests.

10. 'He who places sesamum, gold, honey, and butter on the skin of a black antelope and gives the whole to a Brâhmaṇa, annihilates the consequences of all his own evil actions.'

LXXXVIII.

1. A cow in the act of bringing forth a young one is (comparable to) the earth.

2. By bestowing such a cow upon a Brâhmaṇa, after having decked her with ornaments, he obtains the same reward as if he were to bestow the earth (upon him).

6. ¹ See LXVIII, 6, note.

LXXXVIII. 1. Y. I, 207. — 4. Y. I, 206.

3. There is a stanza in regard to this subject :
4. 'One who full of faith and with intense application of mind gives away a pregnant cow, enters heaven for as many Yugas (or ages of the world) as that cow and her calf together have hairs on their bodies.'

LXXXIX.

1. The month Kârttika is sacred to the god Agni.
2. Agni is the first of all gods.
3. Therefore is that man purified from every sin committed during the past year, who persists during the month Kârttika in bathing (daily) out of the village, in muttering the Gâyatrî, and in taking a single meal each day, consisting of food fit for oblations.
4. He who bathes (at the prescribed time, early in the morning) constantly, during the whole month Kârttika, who keeps his organs of sense under control, who mutters (the Gâyatrî), who eats food fit for oblations only, and who governs his passions, is purified from every sin.

XC.

1. If on the fifteenth of the bright half of the month Mârgaśr̥ṣha the moon enters the lunar asterism Mṛ̥ḡasiras, he must give at the time when the moon rises (a vessel with) a golden centre, containing a Prastha of ground salt, to a Brâhmana.
2. By (performing) this rite he obtains beauty and good fortune in a future birth.

XC. 3, 5. Âpast. II, 8, 18, 19; II, 8, 19, 1. — 7. M. IV, 232.

1. One Prastha = sixteen Palas. (Nand.)

3. If on the full moon day of the month Pausha the moon enters the lunar asterism Pushya, he must rub over his body with a dough prepared with white mustard-seeds, anoint himself with a kumbha¹ of clarified butter made of cow-milk, wash himself with (water and with) all sorts of medicinal herbs, all sorts of perfumes, and all sorts of seeds, wash (an image of) Bhagavat Vāsudeva (Vishnu) with clarified butter, and worship him with perfumes, flowers, incense, with a lamp, with eatables, and the like², offer an oblation in the fire with Mantras tending to the praise of Vishnu (such as Rig-veda I, 22, 17, and others), Mantras tending to the praise of Indra (such as Rig-veda VI, 47, 11, and others), Mantras tending to the praise of Brihaspati (such as Rig-veda II, 23, 15, and others, and with one Mantra tending to the praise of Agni Svishṭakṛit), and cause three Brāhmaṇas to pronounce the benediction, after having bestowed clarified butter and gold upon them³.

4. To the priest (who has performed the burnt-oblation for him) he must give a pair of garments.

5. By (performing) this rite he obtains prosperity (pushyate)¹.

6. If on the full moon day in the month Māgha the moon enters the lunar asterism Maghâ and he performs a Śrâddha with sesamum on that day, he is purified.

3. ¹ See V, 12, note. — ² 'And the like' means 'betel.' (Nand.) —

³ The rite described in this Sūtra appears to be identical with the ceremony called Yugâdya, 'the beginning of the present age of the world,' in later works. See Wilson, On the Religious Festivals of the Hindus, in the Royal Asiatic Society's Journal, IX, 89.

5. ¹ This is a play upon words. See LXXVIII, 8, note, and below, Sūtra 9; XCII, 14, &c.

7. If on the full moon day in the month Phālguna the moon enters the lunar asterism Uttaraphālgunī, and he gives on that day a bedstead, quite complete and covered with good rugs, to a Brāhmaṇa, he obtains an amiable, handsome, and wealthy wife.

8. A woman who does the same, (obtains) a husband (possessing those qualities).

9. If on the full moon day of the month Kaitra the moon enters the lunar asterism Kītrā, and he gives a variegated (kītra) garment (to a Brāhmaṇa) on that day, he obtains good fortune.

10. If on the full moon day of the month Vaisākha the moon enters the lunar asterism Visākhā, and he feeds on that day seven Brāhmaṇas with sesamum mixed with honey, in order to please king Dharma, he is purified from his sins.

11. If on the full moon day of the month Gyaishthā the moon enters the lunar asterism Gyeshthā and he gives on that day an umbrella and a pair of shoes (to a Brāhmaṇa), he becomes possessed of many cows.

12. If on the full moon day of the month Āshādhā the moon is seen in conjunction with the lunar asterism Uttarāshādhā and he gives food and drink (to a Brāhmaṇa) on that day, he renders (the satisfaction effected by) them imperishable.

13. If on the full moon day of the month Srāvana the moon is seen in conjunction with the lunar asterism Sravana and he gives a milch cow covered with two garments, together with food (to a Brāhmaṇa), he attains heaven.

14. If on the full moon day of the month Praush-

7. *Susamskrīta*, 'quite complete,' means 'provided with curtains and the like.' (Nand.)

thapada (or *Bhâdrapada*) the moon is seen in conjunction with the lunar asterism *Uttarapros th |apadâ* (or *Uttarabhâdrapadâ*), and he gives a cow (to a *Brâhmana*) on that day, he is cleansed from every sin.

15. If on the full moon day of the month *Âsva-yuga* (or *Âsvina*) the moon is seen in conjunction with the lunar asterism *Âsvinî*, and he gives a vessel filled with clarified butter, and gold (to a *Brâhmana*) on that day, he obtains an excellent digestive faculty.

16. If on the full moon day of the month *Kârttika* the moon enters the lunar asterism *Krit-tikâ*, and he bestows on that day, at the time of moonrise, upon a *Brâhmana*, a white bull, or one of a different colour, together with all sorts of grains, all sorts of jewels, and all sorts of perfumes, after having lighted lamps on both sides (of the bull), he will meet with no danger on perilous roads.

17. If on the third day of the bright half of the month *Vaisâkha* he worships, after having fasted, *Vâsudeva* (*Vishnu*) with (one thousand and eight, or one hundred) unbroken grains (of barley, while muttering the Mantra, *Om namo bhagavate vâsudevâya*¹), and offers up the same in fire, and gives them (to a *Brâhmana*), he is purified from every sin.

18. And whatever he gives on that day becomes imperishable.

19. If on the twelfth day of the dark half following on the full moon day of the month *Pausha*, he washes himself, after having kept a fast, with sesamum-seeds, gives water mixed with sesamum

17. ¹ See XLIX, 1, note.

19. This is evidently the ceremony which is called *Shattiladâna*

(to the manes), worships Vâsudeva with sesamum, offers up (part of) the same in fire, gives to Brâhmanas of it, and eats (the remainder himself) he is purified from his sins.

20. (If) on the twelfth day of the dark half following on the full moon day of the month Mâgha, (the moon enters *Sravana*), he must keep a fast till the moon has entered that asterism, and place two lamps with two large wicks near (an image of) Vâsudeva ;

21. Placing on the right hand (of the image of Vâsudeva, and kindling, a lamp) containing one hundred and eight Palas of clarified butter, with an entire piece of cloth (together with the fringes) dyed with saffron (as wick) in it ;

22. (And placing) on its left, (and kindling, a lamp) containing one hundred and eight Palas of sesamum oil, with an entire piece of white cloth (as wick) in it.

23. He who has performed this rite obtains exquisite happiness, in whatever kingdom, in whatever province, and in whatever race he may be born again.

24. He who gives daily during the whole month Âsvina clarified butter to Brâhmanas, in order to please the two Asvins, obtains beauty.

25. He who feeds daily during that month (three) Brâhmanas with (milk and other) bovine productions, obtains a kingdom.

26. He who feeds on the Revatî day of every month (three) Brâhmanas with rice boiled in milk

in later works ; see Wilson loc. cit. The name of the latter is derived from the fact that it consists, precisely like the ceremony described in the present Sûtra, of six acts, in all of which Tila, i. e. sesamum-seeds, forms an essential ingredient.

with sugar and mixed with honey and clarified butter, in order to please (the goddess) Revati, obtains beauty.

27. He who daily throughout the month Mâgha offers sesamum-seeds in fire and feeds (three) Brâhmanas with sour rice-gruel mixed with clarified butter, obtains an excellent digestive power.

28. He who bathes in a river and worships king Dharma on the fourteenth of both halves of every month, is purified from every sin.

29. One desirous of obtaining the manifold advantages attending an eclipse of the sun or moon must constantly bathe in the mornings during the two months Mâgha and Phâlguna.

XCI.

1. The digger of a well has (the consequences of) the half of his evil acts taken from him as soon as the water comes forth from it.

2. A digger of pools is for ever freed from thirst, and attains the world of Varuṇa.

3. A giver of water shall never suffer from thirst (in heaven, for a hundred Yugas or ages of the world).

4. He who plants trees will have those trees for his sons in a future existence.

5. A giver of trees gladdens the gods by (offering up) their blossoms to them.

6. (He gladdens) his guests by (giving) their fruits to them;

7. (He gladdens) travellers with their shade;

8. (He gladdens) the manes with the water (trickling down from their leaves) when it rains.

9. A maker of dikes attains heaven.

10. A builder of temples enters the dwelling-place of that deity to whom he has erected a temple.

11. He who causes (a temple erected by another) to be whitewashed acquires brilliant fame.

12. He who causes (such a temple) to be painted with (a different) colour (such as blue, yellow, and others) attains the world of the Gandharvas.

13. By giving flowers he becomes fortunate.

14. By giving ointments he acquires renown.

15. By giving a lamp he obtains an excellent eyesight and exquisite happiness.

16. By giving food he obtains strength.

17. By removing the remains of an offering to a deity he obtains the same reward as for giving a cow.

18. The same reward is also obtained by scouring a temple, by smearing it (with cow-dung and the like), by removing the leavings of the food of a Brâhmana, by washing his feet, and by nursing him when sick.

19. He who consecrates anew a well, or a park, or a pool, or a temple (when they have been soiled) obtains the same reward as he who first made them.

XCII.

1. Protecting (one attacked by robbers, or by tigers, or otherwise in danger) is more meritorious than any (other) gift.

XCII. 1, 2. M. IV, 232; Y. I, 211. — 3. M. IV, 230. — 5. M.

2. By doing so he obtains that place of abode (after death) which he desires himself.

3. By giving land he obtains the same (heavenly reward).

4. By giving land to the extent of a bull's hide only he is purified from every sin.

5. By giving a cow he attains heaven.

6. A giver of ten milch cows (obtains) the mansion of cows (after death).

7. A giver of a hundred milch cows enters the mansions of Brahman (after death).

8. He who gives (a milch cow) with gilt horns, with hoofs covered with silver, with a tail wound with a string of pearls, with a milk-pail of white copper, and with a cover of cloth, shall reside in heaven for as many years as the cow has hairs on her body ;

9. Particularly, if it is a brown cow.

10. He who has given a tamed bull is (equal in virtue to) a giver of ten milch cows.

IV, 231; Y. I, 208. — 8, 9. Y. I, 204, 205. — 10. Y. I, 210. — 10-12. M. IV, 231. — 12, 13. Y. I, 210. — 13, 14. M. IV, 230. — 19, 20. M. IV, 232; Y. I, 211. — 21-23. M. IV, 229, 232. — 21. Y. I, 210. — 27. M. IV, 232; Y. I, 211. — 28-32. Y. I, 211. — 31. M. IV, 230.

4. Nand. defines 'a bull's hide' as a measure of surface 300 Hastas (see X, 2, note) long by ten Hastas broad. See, however, V, 183.

8. According to a Smṛiti quoted by Nand., the gold upon the horns of the cow shall weigh ten Suvarṇas, the silver on her hoofs ten Palas, the white copper of which the milk-pail is made fifty Palas, and she shall have copper on her back, which must also weigh fifty Palas.

9. 'The meaning is, that a brown cow sends even his ancestors as far as the seventh degree to heaven, as Yâgñavalkya (I, 205) says.' (Nand.)

11. The giver of a horse attains the mansion of Sûrya (the sun-god).

12. The giver of a garment (attains) the mansion of Kandra (the god of the moon).

13. By giving gold (he attains) the mansion of Agni (the god of fire).

14. By giving silver (rûpya, he obtains) beauty (rûpa).

15. By giving dishes (pâtra) made of (gold or silver or other) metal he renders himself worthy (pâtra) to obtain everything he may desire.

16. By giving clarified butter, honey, or oil (he acquires) freedom from disease;

17. The same by giving (boiled or otherwise dressed) drugs.

18. By giving salt (lavana, he obtains) personal charms (lâvanya).

19. By giving grain (produced in the rainy season, such as Syâmâka grain, he acquires) satiation;

20. The same (effect is obtained) by giving grain (produced in winter or spring, such as wild turmeric or wheat).

21. A giver of food (obtains) all the rewards (enumerated above).

22. By giving grain (of any of the kinds not mentioned before, such as Kulattha or Kodrava grain, he obtains) good fortune.

23. A giver of sesamum (obtains) such offspring as he desires.

24. A giver of fuel (obtains) an excellent digestive power;

25. And he obtains victory in every fight.

26. By giving a seat (he obtains) high rank.

27. By giving a bed (of the kind declared above,

XC, 7, he procures) a wife (possessed of the qualities mentioned above).

28. By giving a pair of shoes (he obtains) a carriage yoked with mules.

29. By giving an umbrella (he attains) heaven.

30. By giving a fan or a chowrie (he obtains) prosperity in travelling.

31. By giving a house (he receives) the post of governor of a town.

32. Whatever a man is most fond of in this world (himself) and what his family like best, all that he must bestow upon a virtuous (Brâhmaṇa), if he wishes it to become imperishable.

XCIII.

1. What is given to another than a Brâhmaṇa produces the same fruit in the world to come.

2. (What is given) to one who calls himself a Brâhmaṇa (because he was born and initiated as such, but who does not perform his daily duties) produces twice the same fruit.

3. (What is given) to one who has studied the main portions of the Veda produces a thousand times the same fruit.

XCIII. 1-4. M. VII, 85; Gaut. V, 20. — 7. M. IV, 192. — 8. M. IV, 195. — 9-13. M. IV, 196-200.

1. 'The term *abrâhmaṇa* (one not a Brâhmaṇa) refers to Kshatriyas and the like.' Kullûka on M. VII, 85. Dr. Bühler's rendering of Gautama V, 20 agrees with this interpretation. Nand., on the other hand, refers the term *abrâhmaṇa* to six kinds of Brâhmaṇas enumerated by Sâtâtapa, who have infringed the rule of their caste by taking their substance from a king, or by selling or buying forbidden articles, or by sacrificing for a multitude of persons, &c. The term 'the same fruit' means that a person shall receive in a future world what he has given in this. (Nand.)

4. (What is given) to one who has mastered the whole Veda, produces infinite fruit.

5. A domestic priest may claim gifts from his own employer (but from no one else).

6. And so may a sister, a daughter and sons-in-law (or other connections claim gifts from their brother, father, &c., but not from a stranger).

7. One who knows his duty must not give even water to a twice-born man who acts like a cat, or to a Brâhmana who acts like a crane, or to one who has not studied the Veda.

8. One who constantly hoists the flag of religion, and who is avaricious, crafty, deceitful, pitiless, and a calumniator of everybody, such a man is said to act like a cat.

9. One who hangs his head, who is bent upon injuring others and upon his own gain, artful, and falsely demure, such a man is said to act like a crane.

10. Those who act like cranes in this world, and those who act like cats, fall into (the hell called) Andhatâmisra¹ on account of their wickedness.

11. If a man has committed an offence and does penance for it, he must not do so under pretext of performing an act of piety, covering his crime under a (fictitious) vow, and imposing on women and Sûdras.

12. A Brâhmana who acts thus, is despised in the next life and in this by those who know the Veda, and the penance performed by him under such false pretence goes to the (demons called) Râkshasas.

10. ¹ See XLIII, 3.

13. One who gains his subsistence by wearing (a lock on the crown of the head or other) distinguishing marks of a caste or religious order, to which he does not belong, takes upon himself the (consequences of the) sins committed by those who have a right to those marks, and enters in a future birth the womb of an animal.

14. He must not give (to a panegyrist) from vain-glory, or from fear, or to a friend (from whom he hopes to obtain benefit), nor (must he bestow gifts), with a view to acquire religious merit, upon dancers or singers : that is a fixed rule.

XCIV.

1. A householder, when he sees his skin has become wrinkled and his hair turned grey, must go to live in a forest.

2. Or (he must do so) when he sees the son of his son.

3. Let him (before going into the forest) entrust the care of his wife to his sons, or let her accompany him.

4. Let him keep the sacred fires in his new abode as before.

5. He must not omit to perform the five sacri-

XCIV. 1, 2. M. VI, 2. — 3, 4. M. VI, 3, 4; Y. III, 45; Âpast. II, 9, 22, 8, 9. — 5. M. VI, 5, 16; Y. III, 46; Gaut. III, 29. — 6. M. VI, 8; Y. III, 48. — 7. M. VI, 26; Y. III, 45; Âpast. II, 9, 21, 19. — 8. M. VI, 6; Âpast. II, 9, 22, 1; Gaut. VI, 34. — 9, 10. M. VI, 6; Y. III, 46, 48. — 9, 11. Gaut. III, 34, 35. — 11. M. VI, 18; Y. III, 47. — 12. M. VI, 15; Y. III, 47; Âpast. II, 9, 22, 24. — 13. M. VI, 28; Y. III, 55. 'The duties of a householder having been declared, he now goes on to expound the duties of an hermit.' (Nand.)

5. See LIX, 20 seq.

fices, but (he must perform them) with (fruits, herbs, or roots) growing wild.

6. He must not relinquish the private recitation of the Veda.

7. He must preserve his chastity.

8. He must wear a dress made of skins or bark.

9. He must suffer the hairs of his head, of his beard, and of his body, and his nails to grow.

10. He must bathe at morning, noon, and evening.

11. He must either collect provisions, after the manner of the pigeon, for a month, or he must collect them for a year.

12. He who has collected provisions for a year, must throw away what he has collected on the day of full moon in the month Āsvina.

13. Or an hermit may bring food from a village, placing it in a dish made of leaves, or in a single leaf, or in his hand, or in a potsherd, and eat eight mouthfuls of it.

XCV.

1. An hermit must dry up his frame by the practice of austerities.

2. In summer he must expose himself to five fires.

6. The use of the particle *ka* implies, according to Nand., that the practice of distributing gifts should likewise be continued.

11. The particle *vâ* here refers, according to Nand., to a third alternative mentioned by Manu (VI, 18), that he should gather provisions sufficient for six months.

XCV. 1. M. VI, 24. — 2-4. M. VI, 23; Y. III, 52. — 5, 6. M. VI, 19; Y. III, 50. — 7-11. M. VI, 5, 21; Y. III, 46; Āpast. II, 9, 22, 2; Gaut. III, 26. — 12, 13. M. VI, 20; Y. III, 50. — 14, 15. M. VI, 17; Y. III, 49. — 16, 17. M. XI, 235, 239.

3. During the season of the rains he must sleep in the open air.

4. In winter he must wear wet clothes.

5. He must eat at night.

6. He may eat after having fasted entirely for one day, or for two days, or for three days.

7. He may eat flowers. 8. He may eat fruits.

9. He may eat vegetables.

10. He may eat leaves. 11. He may eat roots.

12. Or he may eat boiled barley once at the close of a half-month.

13. Or he may eat according to the rules of the *Kāndrāyana*.

14. He shall break his food with stones.

15. Or he shall use his teeth as a pestle.

16. This whole world of deities and of men has devotion for its root, devotion for its middle, devotion for its end, and is supported by devotion.

17. What is hard to follow¹, hard to reach, remote, or hard to do, all that may be accomplished by devotion; since there is nothing that may not be effected by devotion.

6. Nand. considers the particle *vâ* to refer to the precept of *Yâgñavalkya* (III, 50), that the fast may also extend over a half-month or an entire month.

13. The particle *vâ*, according to Nand., implies that he may also perform *Krikkhras*, as ordained by *Yâgñavalkya* (III, 50). Regarding the *Kāndrāyana*, see XLVII.

17. ¹*Duskara* has been translated according to the usual acceptance of this term. Nand. interprets it by 'hard to understand.' This proverb is also found *Subhâshitârṇava* 109, *Vṛiddhaśânakya's* Proverbs XVII, 3. See Böhlingk, *Ind. Sprüche*, 5265.

XCVI.

1. After having passed through the first three orders and annihilated passion, he must offer an oblation to Pragâpati, in which he bestows all his wealth (upon priests) as fee for the performance of the sacrifice, and enter the order of ascetics.

2. Having repositied the fires in his own mind, he must enter the village, in order to collect alms, (but never for any other purpose).

3. He must beg food at seven houses.

4. If he does not get food (at one house), he must not grieve.

5. He must not beg of another ascetic.

6. When the servants have had their meal, when the dishes have been removed, let him beg food (consisting of the leavings).

7. (He must receive the food) in an earthen vessel, or in a wooden bowl, or in a vessel made of the bottle-gourd.

8. He must cleanse those vessels with water.

9. He must shun food obtained by humble salutation.

XCVI. 1. M. VI, 38; Y. III, 56. — 2. M. VI, 38, 43; Y. III, 56, 58. — 4. M. VI, 57. — 6. M. VI, 56; Y. III, 59; Gaut. III, 15. — 7, 8. M. VI, 54, 53; Y. III, 60. — 9. M. VI, 58. — 11. M. VI, 44. — 12. Gaut. III, 21. — 13. Gaut. III, 18. — 14-17. M. VI, 46. — 18. M. VI, 45. — 19, 20. M. VI, 47. — 23. Y. III, 53; Mahâbhârata I, 4605. — 24. M. VI, 49; Y. III, 201. — 25-42. M. VI, 61-64; Y. III, 63, 64. — 43. Y. III, 72. — 45-50. M. VI, 76, 77. — 51, 54-79. Y. III, 70, 84-90. — 80-88. Y. III, 100-104. — 89, 91. Y. III, 93-95. — 92. Y. III, 96-99. — 93-95. Y. III, 91, 92. — 96. Y. III, 179. — 97. M. XII, 12; Y. III, 178. — 97, 98. Bhagavad-gîtâ XIII, 1, 2. This chapter treats of ascetics. (Nand.)

4. 'This implies that he must not rejoice if he does get it, as Manu (VI, 57) says.' (Nand.)

10. He must live in an empty house.
11. Or (he must) live at the root of a tree.
12. He must not stay for more than one night in one village (except during the rainy season).
13. His only dress must be a small piece of cloth worn over the privities.
14. He must set down his feet purified by looking down.
15. He must drink water purified (by straining it) with a cloth.
16. He must utter speeches purified by truth.
17. He must perform acts purified by his mind.
18. He must neither wish for death nor for (a long) life.
19. He must bear abuse patiently.
20. He must treat no one with contempt.
21. He must not pronounce a benediction.
22. He must not salute any one reverentially.

10. 'Empty' means 'inhabited by no one else,' and implies that the house in question should be situated in a dark place, difficult of access. (Nand.)

11. 'The article *vâ* implies that he must live there alone.' (Nand.)

14, 15. Nand. assigns as the reason of both these rules, 'lest he should not kill some insect.' Kullûka (on M. VI, 46) gives the same reason for the second rule, but the looking down, according to him, is ordained in order that he may not accidentally tread upon a hair or other impure substance.

17. The sense of this Sûtra is, that in doubtful cases he must act as his mind prompts him to do. (Nand.)

21. 'The meaning is, that he must not utter a benediction when he has been reverentially saluted by any one. He must confine himself to saying, "O Nârâyana." Others explain, that he must not utter a benediction in begging food.' (Nand.)

22. 'The sense is, that he must not salute any one reverentially who has reverentially saluted him, nor return his greeting other-

23. Should one man chop his one arm with an axe, and another sprinkle his other arm with sandal, he must neither curse the one in his mind, nor bless the other.

24. He must constantly be intent upon stopping his breath, upon retention of the image formed in his mind, and upon meditation.

25. He must reflect upon the transitoriness of the passage through mundane existence ;

26. And upon the impure nature of the body ;

27. And upon the destruction of beauty by old age ;

28. And upon the pain arising from diseases bodily, mental, or due to an excess (of the bile, &c.)

29. And upon (the pain arising from) the (five) naturally inherent (affections).

30. On his having to dwell in an embryo, covered with everlasting darkness ;

wise than by saying, "O Nârâyana." Others explain, that he must not make an obeisance in begging food.' (Nand.)

24. Nand. quotes a passage of the Yogasâstra, which states that one Dhâraṇâ=three Prânâyâmas (stoppings or regulations of the breath). A passage of the Gârûḍa-purâṇa (quoted in the Petersburg Dictionary) states that one Dhâraṇâ=sixteen Prânâyâmas. I have taken the term dhâraṇâ in its ordinary acceptation of 'retention of an idea' (cf. Wilson, Vishṇu-purâṇa V, 237) with regard to an analogous passage of Yâgyñavalkya (III, 201), which is also quoted by Nand.

28. According to Nand., the particle *ka* is used to include other diseases, love, anxiety or wrath, caused by enemies, and other mental pangs.

29. They are, ignorance, egotism, love, wrath, and dread of temporal suffering (Nand., according to Patañjali). The particle *ka*, according to Nand., is used in order to imply meditation upon the thousand births which man has to pass through, as stated by Yâgyñavalkya (III, 64).

31. And on (his having to dwell) between urine and fæces ;

32. On his having to suffer, (as an embryo,) pain from the cold and hot (food and drink, which his mother happens to have taken) ;

33. On the dreadful pain which he has to suffer, at the time of his birth, while the embryo is coming forth from the narrowness of the womb ;

34. On his ignorance and his dependency upon his (parents and other) Gurus in childhood ;

35. On the manifold anxieties arising from the study of the Veda (and from the other obligations of a student) ;

36. And (on the anxieties arising) in youth from not obtaining the objects of pleasure, and upon the abode in hell (ordained as punishment) for enjoying them, after they have been obtained unlawfully ;

37. On the union with those whom we hate, and the separation from those whom we love ;

38. On the fearful agonies of hell ;

39. And (on the agonies) that have to be suffered in the passage of the soul through the bodies of animals (and of plants).

40. (And let him reflect thus that) there is no pleasure to be met with in this never-ceasing passage of the soul through mundane existence ;

41. (And that) even what is called pleasure, on account of the absence of pain, is of a transient nature ;

42. (And that) he who is unable to enjoy such pleasures (from sickness or some such cause), or who is unable to procure them (from poverty), suffers severe pangs.

43. He must recognise this human frame to consist of seven elements.

44. Those elements are, adeps, blood, flesh, serum of flesh, bone, marrow, and semen.

45. It is covered with skin.

46. And it has a nasty smell.

47. It is the receptacle of (the above-named) impure substances (adeps and the rest).

48. Though surrounded by a hundred pleasures, it is subject to change.

49. Though carefully supported (by elixirs and the like), it is subject to destruction.

50. It is the stay of carnal desire, wrath, greed, folly, pride, and selfishness.

51. It consists of earth, water, fire, air, and ether.

52. It is provided with bone, tubular vessels (carrying bile and phlegm through the body), tubes (conducting the vital airs), and sinews.

53. It is endowed with the quality of ragas (passion).

54. It is covered with six skins.

55. It is kept together by three hundred and sixty bones.

56. They are distributed (as follows):

57. The teeth together with their receptacles are sixty-four in number.

46. The particle *ka*, according to Nand., refers to the fact that the human body is defiled by the touch of impure objects.

48. 'The meaning is that, though food and drink and other sensual enjoyments abound, they may cause pain as well as pleasure by producing phlegm, &c.' (Nand.)

51. 'Earth,' i. e. the flesh and bone, &c.; 'water,' i. e. the blood; 'fire,' i. e. the digestive faculty, the eyesight, &c.; 'air,' i. e. the five vital airs; 'ether,' i. e. the space enclosed by the airs, in the mouth, in the belly, &c. (Nand.)

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58. There are twenty nails.
 59. There are as many bones to the hands and feet (one at the root of each finger and toe).
 60. There are sixty joints to the fingers and toes.
 61. There are two (bones) to the two heels.
 62. There are four to the ancles.
 63. There are four to the elbows.
 64. There are two to the shanks.
 65. There are two to the knees and two to the cheeks.
 66. (There are two) to the thighs and (two) to the shoulders.
 67. (There are two) to the lower part of the temples, (two) to the palate, and (two) to the hips.
 68. There is one bone to the organs of generation.
 69. The backbone consists of forty-five (bones).
 70. The neck consists of fifteen (bones).
 71. The collar-bone consists of one (bone on each side).
 72. The jaw likewise.
 73. There are two (bones) at its root.
 74. There are two (bones) to the forehead, (two) to the eyes, and (two) to the cheeks.
 75. The nose has one bone, the nose-bone.
 76. The ribs together with the joints called 'arbuda,' and with the joints called 'sthânaka,' consist of seventy-two (bones).
 77. The breast contains seventeen bones.
-

76. 'There are thirteen ribs to each flank, which makes in all twenty-six ribs. There are twenty joints to them in the breast, called "arbuda," and twenty-six joints in the back, called "sthânaka," which makes a total of seventy-two bones.' (Nand.)

78. There are two temporal bones.
79. The head has four skull-bones. Thus (the bones have been enumerated).
80. There are in this human frame seven hundred tubular vessels (carrying bile and phlegm through the body, or arteries).
81. Of sinews, there are nine hundred.
82. Of tubes (conducting the vital airs, or nerves), there are two hundred.
83. Of muscles, there are five hundred.
84. Of tubular vessels (or arteries), the branches of the smaller tubular vessels, there are twenty-nine Lakshas (two millions nine hundred thousand) and nine hundred and fifty-six.'
85. Of hair-holes, of the hair of the beard and of the head, there are three hundred thousand.
86. Of sensitive parts of the body, there are one hundred and seven.
87. Of joints, there are two hundred.
88. Of (atoms of) hairs (of the body), there are fifty-four Kotis (or five hundred and forty millions) and sixty-seven Lakshas (making in all five hundred and forty-six millions and seven hundred thousand).
89. The navel, the principle of vital action (which dwells in the heart), the anus, semen, blood, the temples, the head, the throat, and the heart are the seats of the vital airs.
90. The two arms, the two legs, the belly, and the head are the six limbs.
91. Adeps, marrow, the left lung, the navel, the right lung, the liver, the spleen, the small cavity of the heart, the kidneys, the bladder, the rectum, the stomach, the heart, the large cavity (intestine), the

anus, the belly, and the two bowels in it (are the inner parts of the body).

92. The pupils of the eye, the eyelashes¹, the outer parts of the ears, the ears themselves, the tragus of each ear, the cheeks, the eyebrows, the temples, the gums, the lips, the cavities of the loins, the two groins, the scrotum, the two kidneys and breasts of females, which are composed of phlegm, the uvula, the hindparts, the arms, the shanks, the thighs, the fleshy parts of the shanks and thighs, the palate, the two bones (or muscles) at the upper end of the bladder, the chin, the soft palate, and² the nape of the neck: these are the 'places' (of vital energy) in the body.

93. Sound, tangibility, form or colour, savour, and odour are the (five) objects of sense.

94. Nose, eye, skin, tongue, and ear are the (five) organs of perception.

95. Hands, feet, anus, parts of generation, and tongue are the (five) organs of action.

96. Mind, intellect, the individual Self, and the indiscrete¹ are 'that which exceeds the senses.'

97. This human frame, O Earth, is called 'field.' He who knows (how to enter and how to leave) it is denominated, by those conversant with the

92. ¹ Others interpret *akshikû/e*, 'the eyelashes,' by 'the joints between the eyes and the nose.' (Nand.) See also Böhlingk's new Dictionary. — ² The use of the particle *ka* implies, according to Nand., that the feet, hands, and other limbs mentioned in an analogous passage of Yâgñavalkya (III, 99) have also to be included in this enumeration.

96. ¹ Nand. interprets *avyaktam*, 'the indiscrete,' by *pradhânam*, 'the chief one.' Both terms are in the Sâṅkhya system of philosophy synonyms of *prakṛti*, 'that which evolves or produces everything else.'

subject, 'the knower of the field' (i.e. Self or Soul).

98. Know me, O illustrious one, to be the Self of all fields (whether born from the womb, or arisen from an egg, or from sweat, or from a germ or shoot). Those striving after final emancipation must constantly seek to understand the 'field' and to obtain a knowledge of the knower of the field.

XCVII.

1. Sitting with the feet stretched out and crossed so as to touch the thighs, with the right hand (stretched out and) resting upon the left, with the tongue fixed in the palate, and without bringing the one row of teeth in contact with the other, with the eyes directed to the tip of the nose, and without glancing at any of the (four) quarters of the sky, free from fear, and with composure, let him meditate upon (Purusha), who is separate from the twenty-four entities,

XCVII. 1. Y. III, 198-200. — 9. Y. III, 111, 201. This chapter treats of the means for obtaining that knowledge of the Âtman or Self, which has been declared at the end of the last chapter to be the road to final emancipation. (Nand.)

1. 'The twenty-four (it should be twenty-five) entities are stated in the Sâṅkhya to consist of the root-principle (*mūlaprakṛiti*), the seven productions evolved from it (*vikṛitayaḥ*), the sixteen productions evolved from these, and Purusha (the soul), who is neither producer nor produced. (1) The "root-principle" is composed of the three qualities in equipoise: *sattva*, *ragas*, and *tamas* (the most accurate rendering of these terms is perhaps that proposed by Elliot, "pure unimpassioned virtue," "passion," and "depravity inclining to evil." See Fitz-Edward Hall, Preface to *Sâṅkhyapravāṇabhāṣya*, p. 44). (2) The "great entity" (*Mahat*) is the cause of apprehension. (3) The "self-consciousness" (*ahamkāra*) is the cause of refer-

✓ 2. He who is eternal, beyond the cognisance of the senses, destitute of qualities, not concerned with sound, tangibility, form, savour, or odour, knowing everything, of immense size,

✓ 3. He who pervades everything, and who is devoid of form,

4. Whose hands and feet are everywhere, whose eyes, head, and face are everywhere, and who is able to apprehend everything with all the senses.

5. Thus let him meditate.

6. If he remains absorbed in such meditation for a year, he obtains the accomplishment of Yoga (concentration of the thought and union with the Supreme).

7. If he is unable to fix his mind upon the being

ring all objects to self. (4-8) The "subtile elementary particles" (tan-mâtras) are identical with sound, tangibility, form, taste, and odour. (9-19) The eleven senses (i. e. the organs of perception and action enumerated in CXVI, 94, 95, and manas, "the mind"), and (20-24) the five "grosser elements" (ether, air, fire, water, and earth) are productions (from the former entities). Purusha, who is neither producer nor produced, is the twenty-fifth entity.' (Nand.)

2, 3. According to Nand., all the properties of Purusha mentioned in this Sûtra are such as distinguish him from the rest of the entities, the first two distinguishing him from 'self-consciousness' (ahamkâra), the voidness of quality distinguishing him from the 'root-principle' (mûlaprakṛiti), which is composed of three qualities, &c.

4. The properties of Pûrusha here mentioned are faculties only, so that there is no contradiction to the 'voidness of form' and the other properties enumerated in the preceding Sûtras. (Nand.)

6. The external signs of the accomplishment of Yoga, as stated by Yâgñavalkya (III, 202 seq.), are, the faculty of entering another body and of creating anything at will, and other miraculous powers and qualities. (Nand.)

destitute of form¹, he must meditate successively on earth, water, fire, air, ether, mind, intellect, self², the indiscrete³, and Purusha⁴: having fully apprehended one, he must dismiss it from his thoughts and fix his mind upon the next one in order.

8. In this way let him arrive at meditation upon Purusha.

9. If unable to follow this method also, he must meditate on Purusha¹ shining like a lamp in his heart, as in a lotus turned upside down.

10. If he cannot do that either, he must meditate upon Bhagavat Vāsudeva (Vishnu), who is adorned with a diadem, with ear-rings, and with bracelets, who has the (mystic mark) Śrīvatsa and a garland of wood-flowers on his breast, whose aspect is pleasing, who has four arms, who holds the shell, the discus, the mace, and the lotus-flower, and whose feet are supported (and worshipped) by the earth.

11. Whatever he meditates upon, that is obtained by a man (in a future existence): such is the mysterious power of meditation.

12. Therefore must he dismiss everything perish-

7. ¹ The term *nirākāra*, 'the being destitute of form,' evidently refers to Purusha here (cf. *Sūtra* 3), though Nand. interprets it as an epithet of 'Brahman.' — ² 'Intellect' (*buddhi*) and 'self' (*âtman*), according to Nand., mean 'the great entity' (*mahat*) and 'self-consciousness' (*ahamkāra*), cf. note on *Sūtra* 1. — ³ 'The indiscrete' (*avyaktam*) means 'the chief one' (*pradhānam*), i. e. the Sāṅkhya 'root-principle' (see XCVI, 96). — ⁴ Nand. takes Purusha in this *Sūtra* and in 13, 15 to mean 'the twenty-sixth entity;' but it appears clearly from *Sūtra* 1, as from 16 also, that the Vishnu-sūtra, like the Sāṅkhya system, assumes twenty-five entities only, not twenty-six, like Yama, upon whose authority Nand.'s statement is based.

9. ¹ Nand. interprets the term Purusha here by *âtman*, 'self.'

able from his thoughts and meditate upon what is imperishable only.

13. There is nothing imperishable except Purusha.

14. Having become united with him (through constant meditation), he obtains final liberation.

15. Because the great lord pervades the whole universe (pura), as he is lying there (sete), therefore is he denominated Puru-sha by those who reflect upon the real nature (of the Supreme Spirit).

16. In the first part and the latter part of the night must a man bent on contemplation constantly and with fixed attention meditate upon Purusha Vishnu, who is destitute of (the three) qualities (sattva, ragas, and tamas¹) and the twenty-fifth entity.

17. He (or it) is composed of the entities, beyond the cognisance of the senses, distinct from all the (other) entities, free from attachment (to the producer, &c.), supporting everything, devoid of qualities and yet enjoying (or witnessing the effect of) qualities.

18. It exists without and within created beings (as being enjoyed and as enjoyer), and in the shape both of immovable things (such as trees or stones) and of movable things (such as water or fire); it is undistinguishable on account of its subtlety; it is out of reach (imperceptible), and yet is found in the heart.

16. ¹ See Sûtra 1, note.

17. Thus according to the reading *asaktam*, which is mentioned and explained as a var. lect. by Nand. He himself reads *asaktam*, 'independent of Sakti, power, i. e. the producer, the power of creation (*prakṛiti*), or illusion (*mâyâ*).'
Mâyâ and *prakṛiti* are occasionally used as synonymous terms in the Sāṅkhya.

19. It is not distinct from creation, and yet distinct from it in outward appearance; it annihilates and produces by turns (the world), which consists of everything that has been, that will be, and that is.

20. It is termed the light of the sidereal bodies and the enemy of darkness (ignorance), it is knowledge, it should be known, it may be understood (by meditation), it dwells in every man's heart.

21. Thus the 'field,' knowledge (or meditation), and what should be known¹ have been concisely declared; that faithful adherent of mine who makes himself acquainted therewith, becomes united to me in spirit.

XCVIII.

1. When Vishṇu had finished his speech¹, the goddess of the earth inclined her knees and her head before him and said:

2. 'O Bhagavat! Four (out of the five) grosser elements¹ are receiving their support from thee, and are constantly about thee: the ether, in the form of the shell; the air, in the form of the discus; the fire, in the form of the mace; and the water, in the form of the lotus. Now I also desire to attend upon thee, in my own shape, as the ground which Bhagavat's feet tread upon.'

21. ¹ The 'field' has been discussed in XCVI, 43-97, 'knowledge' in XCVII, 1, and 'what should be known' in XCVII, 2-20. (Nand.)

XCVIII. 1. ¹ Vishṇu's speech is contained in Chapters II-XCVII. (Nand.)

2. ¹ The fifth grosser element is the earth. See XCVII, 1, note.

3. Having been addressed thus by the goddess of the earth, Bhagavat answered, 'So be it.'

4. And the goddess of the earth, her desire having been gratified, did as she had said.

5. And she praised the god of the gods (as follows):

6. 'Om. Adoration be to thee.

7. 'Thou art the god of the gods.

8. 'Thou art Vāsudeva.

9. 'Thou art the creator.

10. 'Thou art the god (who creates, preserves, and destroys) at will.

11. 'Thou art the gratifier of human desires.

12. 'Thou art the guardian of the earth.

13. 'There is neither beginning, nor middle, nor end in thee.

14. 'Thou art the lord (protector) of creatures.

15. 'Thou art the strong lord of creatures.

16. 'Thou art the exalted lord of creatures.

17. 'Thou art the lord of strength.

18. 'Thou art the lord of holy speech.

19. 'Thou art the lord (creator and preserver) of the world.

20. 'Thou art the lord of heaven.

21. 'Thou art the lord of woods (who makes the trees grow).

10. 'Or Kâmadeva means the god (or brilliant one) who is sought by those striving for religious merit, gain, love, or final liberation.' (Nand.) The same interpretation is given by Saṅkara in his Commentary on the Vishṇu-sahasranâma. The ordinary meaning of Kâmadeva is 'the god of love.'

15, 16. Nand. renders the terms supragâpati and mahâpragâpati by 'the protector of those who have a splendid progeny (such as Kasyapa)' and 'the lord of him who has a large progeny (Brahman).'

22. 'Thou art the lord (producer) of (mother's) milk.
23. 'Thou art the lord of the earth (and causest it to yield its produce)
24. 'Thou art the lord of the waters.
25. 'Thou art the lord of the (eight) quarters of the sky.
26. 'Thou art the lord of (the principle) Mahat.
27. 'Thou art the lord of the wind.
28. 'Thou art the lord of happiness.
29. 'Thou art Brahman personified.
30. 'Thou art dear to Brâhmaṇas.
31. 'Thou pervadest everything.
32. 'Thou surpassest all conception.
33. 'Thou art attainable by knowledge (meditation).
34. 'Thou art invoked at many (offerings).
35. 'Thou art praised with many (hymns of the Veda).
36. 'Thou likest everything sacred.
37. 'Thou art fond of Brahman (the Veda).
38. 'Thou belongest to the (gods called) Brahmakâyas.
39. 'Thy size is immense.
40. 'Thou belongest to the Mahârâgas.

26. See XCVII, 1, note.

28. Lakshmîpati has been translated according to Nand.'s interpretation. It usually denotes the husband of Lakshmî.

30. Or 'Brâhmaṇas are dear to thee.' Both explanations of the term brâhmaṇapriya are admissible, and mentioned by Nand. and by Saṅkara.

40, 41. Nand. interprets the two terms mahârâgika and taturmahârâgika by 'he whose series of transmigrations is immense,' and 'he whose immense series of transmigrations is fourfold,' and

41. 'Thou belongest to the four Mahârâgas.
42. 'Thou art brilliant.
43. 'Thou art most brilliant.
44. 'Thou art the seven (parts of a Sâman, or the seven divisions of the universe).
45. 'Thou art most blessed.
46. 'Thou art tone.
47. 'Thou art Tushita (or "satisfied with the honours shown to thee by faithful attendants").
48. 'Thou art Mahâtushita (or "highly satisfied even without being worshipped").
49. 'Thou art the tormentor (destroyer of the world).
50. 'Thou art wholly created.
51. 'Thou art uncreated.
52. 'Thou art obsequious (to thy followers).
53. 'Thou art sacrifice.
54. 'Thou art the (recipient of the) great sacrifice.
55. 'Thou art connected with sacrifices.
56. 'Thou art the fit recipient of offerings.
57. 'Thou art the consummation of offerings.
58. 'Thou art invincible.

he refers the latter epithet to the four parts, of which Purusha is said to consist. He quotes Rig-veda X, 90, 4, where it is said that Purusha ascended to the sky with three of his constituent parts, and that the fourth remained in this world. But both terms cannot be separated etymologically from Mahârâga, the name of a certain class of deities in the Buddhistic system of religion.

44. Thus Nand. Compare I, 56, note.

46. Nand.'s interpretation of the epithet *svara*, 'tone' (or 'air breathed through the nostrils'), as being a compound of the prefix *su* and the root *ri* in the sense of 'acquisition, insight,' and meaning 'most wise,' is inadmissible.

54. This epithet, according to Nand., refers to the sacrifice mentioned in a text of the Vâgasan. *Samhitâ* (XIX, 12), which begins with the words 'The gods prepared a sacrifice.'

59. 'Thou art *Vaikuntha*.
60. 'Thou art unbounded (both in time and space).
61. 'Thou surpassest (the organs of sense, mind, and intelligence).
62. 'Thou art of old.
63. 'Thou art friendly to the gods.
64. 'Thou art the protector of living beings.
65. 'Thou wearest radiant locks of hair.
66. 'Thou takest thy share of acts of worship.
67. 'Thou takest thy sacrificial cake.
68. 'Thou art lord over everything.
69. 'Thou art the support of all.
70. 'Thy ears are pure.
71. 'Never ceasing homage is paid to thee.
72. 'Thou art blazing fire (or "Thou art shining with clarified butter offered up to thee").
73. 'Thou cuttest (foes) to pieces with thy axe.
74. 'Thou hast a lotus springing from thy navel.
75. 'Thou holdest a lotus (in thy hand).
76. 'Thou wearest a garland of lotus-flowers.
77. 'Thou art the lord of the senses.
78. 'Thou hast one horn.

59. Nand. proposes two interpretations of this epithet: 1. the producer of *Mâyâ* (the power of illusion); 2. the son of *Vikuntâ*, the mother of *Vishnu* in one of his *Avatâras*. *Vaikuntha* is also the name of *Vishnu*'s paradise.

70. 'I.e. "thou hearest the sacred revelation." Or *sukîsraha* = "he whose names are pure." (Nand.) The same interpretation is given by *Saṅkara*. See also *Mahâbhârata* XII, 13250.

73. 'The epithet *khandaparasu* refers either to *Vishnu*'s slaying the *Daityas* in the form of *Siva*, or to his wearing an axe as the slayer of the *Kshatriyas* in the form of *Parasurâma*.' (Nand.) The latter interpretation is proposed by *Saṅkara* also, and *khandaparasu* is a very common epithet of *Parasurâma*.

78. The one horn is meant, by which *Vishnu*, in his descent as

79. 'Thou art the great boar.

80. 'Thou art the tormentor (of the Asuras, or of the righteous and the unrighteous).

81. 'Thou art eternal.

82. 'Thou art infinite. 83. Thou art Purusha.

84. Thou art the great (unbounded) Purusha. 85.

Thou art (the sage) Kapila. 86. Thou art the

teacher of the Sâṅkhya. 87. Thy powers are everywhere. 88. Thou art virtue. 89. Thou art

the giver of virtue. 90. Thy body is virtue (law).

91. Thou art the giver of both virtue and wealth.

92. Desires are gratified by thee. 93. Thou art

Vishṇu. 94. Thou art triumphant everywhere.

95. Thou art capable of bearing (the extremities of heat and cold and any others). 96. Thou

art *Kṛishṇa*. 97. Thou art the lotus-eyed god.

98. Thou art Nârâyana (the son of Nara). 99. Thou

art the final aim. 100. Thou art the resort of all beings. 101. Adoration, adoration (be to thee)!

102. The goddess of the earth, after her desire had been gratified, and after she had thus praised

a fish, is said to have dragged the ship of Manu behind him. (Nand.)

79. This epithet refers to Vishṇu's boar-incarnation. See I, 1 seq.

85, 86. See Introduction.

101. Nand. observes that the divers epithets which are given to Vishṇu in this chapter are precisely equal in number to the ninety-six chapters, of which the law part of the Vishṇu-sûtra is composed. This coincidence is curious enough, though it is not quite perfect. For it is by a highly artificial interpretation only that Nand. makes out Sûtra 101 to contain an epithet of Vishṇu, viz. by interpreting the two separate words *namo nama* as a compound, meaning 'he who is worshipped by the worshipful, i.e. by Brahman and the other gods;' and Sûtra 6 contains no epithet at all.

(Vishṇu) with a cheerful mind, addressed herself to the goddess (Lakshmi).

XCIX.

1. After having seen Śrī (Lakshmi), the goddess of the earth, highly pleased, questioned (in the following manner) that goddess, who was stroking the feet of Vishṇu, the god of the gods, who was shining with the splendour of her austerities, and whose face was radiant like melted gold.

2. 'O charming lady! Thy hands are as beautiful as the expanded red lotus. Thou art holding the feet of him whose navel resembles the expanded red lotus. Thou art constantly residing in an abode resembling the expanded red lotus. Thy waist has the colour of the expanded red lotus.

3. 'Thy eyes resemble blue lotus-flowers; thy hue is radiant like gold; thy robe is white; thy body is adorned with gems; thy face is radiant like the moon; thou art resplendent like the sun; thy power is immense; thou art the sovereign (or producer) of the world.

4. 'Thou art repose (final liberation), the highest among the (four) objects of human pursuit; thou art Lakshmi; thou art a support (in danger); thou art Śrī; thou art indifference (the freedom from all worldly pursuits and appetites, which is the consequence of final emancipation); thou art victory;

4. The 'four objects of human pursuit' are, kâma, 'desire' (and its gratification), artha, 'gain,' dharma, 'religious merit,' and moksha, 'final emancipation.' The goddess is called Lakshmi, because she is the aim (lakshyate) of all beings. She is called Śrī, because she serves Purushottama (Vishṇu), or because she is the resort of all. (Nand.)

thou art beauty; thou art the splendour (of the sun and moon personified); thou art renown; thou art prosperity; thou art wisdom; thou art the power of expression; thou art the purifier.

5. 'Thou art the food of the manes; thou art forbearance; thou art the earth (or the repository of wealth); thou art fixity; thou art the basis (or stability); thou art the source of the benefit derived from sacrifices; thou art highest prudence; thou art wide-spread renown; thou art freedom from envy; thou art the food given to the gods; thou art mental power; thou art intelligence.

6. 'As the first of the gods (Vishnu) pervades the whole aggregate of the three worlds (sky, atmosphere, and earth), even so doest thou, O black-eyed bestower of gifts. Yet I inquire for the dwelling, in which thy superhuman power is residing.'

7. The goddess of the earth having thus spoken to her, Lakshmî, standing by the side of the chief of the gods, enunciated the following answer: 'I am constantly at the side of the brilliant destroyer of Madhu, O goddess, who shinest like gold.

8. 'But learn from me, where I reside (besides), O support of the world, from the instruction of him, whom I am constantly reflecting upon in my mind, and whom the virtuous call the husband of Sri, and from my own recollection.

9. 'I reside in the sun, in the moon, and in the cloudless atmosphere in which the flock of the stars is spread out. (I reside) in that cloud, from which the waters of the rain pour down, in that cloud

6. Lakshmî is said to pervade everything, like Vishnu himself, because she is his Sakti, i.e. his energy or active power personified as his wife. (Nand.)

which is adorned with Indra's bow, and in that cloud from which the rays of lightning flash forth.

10. '(I reside) in bright gold and silver, and in spotless gems and clothes, O goddess of the earth. (I reside) in rows of whitewashed palaces and in temples decorated with the attributes of deities.

11. '(I reside) in fresh cow-dung, in a noble elephant in rut, in a horse exulting in his vigour, in a proud bull, and in a Brâhmana who studies the Veda.

12. 'I reside in a throne, in an Âmalaka (Dhâtri) shrub, in a Bèl tree, in an umbrella, in a shell (trumpet), in a lotus-flower, in blazing fire, and in a polished sword or mirror.

13. 'I reside in jars filled with water and in painted (halls), in which there are chowries and fans; in splendid golden vessels, and in earth recently thrown up.

14. '(I reside) in milk, butter, fresh grass, honey, and sour milk; in the body of a married woman, in the frame of an unmarried damsel, and in the frame of (images of) gods, of ascetics, and of officiating priests.

15. '(I reside) in an arrow, in one who has returned (victorious) from battle, and in one who has fallen on the field of honour and proceeded to a seat in heaven; in the sound of (repeating) the Veda, in the flourish of the shell (trumpet), in the sacrificial exclamations addressed to the gods and to the manes, and in the sound of musical instruments.

16. '(I reside) in the consecration of a king, in the marriage ceremony, in a sacrifice, in a bridegroom, in one who has washed his head, in white flowers, in mountains, in fruits, in (islets in the

middle of a river and other) pleasant spots, and in large streams.

17. '(I reside) in lakes filled with water, in (pure) waters, and in ground covered with fresh grass, in a wood abounding in lotuses (and fruits), in a new-born infant, in a suckling, in one exulting in joy, in a virtuous man, and in one wholly bent upon practising the law.

18. '(I reside) in a man who observes approved usages, in one who constantly acts up to the sacred law, in one modestly, and in one splendidly attired, in one who keeps his organs of sense and his mind under control, in one free from sin, in one whose food is pure, and in one who honours his guests.

19. '(I reside) in one who is satisfied with his own wife (and does not covet other men's wives), in one bent upon doing his duty, in one eminently virtuous, in one who refrains from eating too often (i. e. three or four times a day), in one constantly adorned with flowers, in one who associates with such as anoint their limbs with fragrant unguents, in one who is scented with perfumes (himself), and in one adorned (with bracelets and ear-rings).

20. '(I reside) in one habitually veracious, in one friendly towards all creatures, in a married householder, in one forbearing, in one free from wrath, in one skilled in his own business, and in one skilled in other men's business, in one who never thinks of any but propitious things, and in one constantly humble.

21. '(I reside) in women who wear proper ornaments always, who are devoted to their husbands, whose speeches are kind, who keep up saving habits, who have sons, who keep their household utensils in

good order, and who are fond of offering domestic oblations.

22. '(I reside) in women who keep the house clean (by scouring it, plastering it with cow-dung, and the like), who keep their organs of sense under control, who are not quarrelsome, contented, strictly observing the law, and charitable; and I always reside in the destroyer of Madhu.

23. 'I do not remain separated from Purushotama¹ for a single moment.'

C.

1. Those among the twice-born who will act according to (the precepts promulgated in) this excellent law-code, which has been proclaimed by the god himself, shall obtain a most excellent abode in heaven.

2. It purifies from sin, it is auspicious, it leads to heaven, procures long life, knowledge (of the four objects of human pursuit) and renown, and increases wealth and prosperity.

3. It must be studied, it must be borne in mind, it must be recited, it must be listened too, and it must be constantly repeated at *Srâddhas* by persons desirous of prosperity.

[4. This most sublime, mysterious collection of doctrines has been proclaimed to thee, O goddess of the earth. In a kindly spirit and for the best of the world (have I promulgated) this body of eternal

23. ¹ See I, 51.

C. 2. See XCIX, 4, note.

4. This last clause I consider, for divers reasons, to be an addition made by a modern copyist. 1. It is not commented upon in

laws, which is conducive to happiness, the best means of purification, destructive of bad dreams, productive of a great deal of religious merit, and the source of prosperity.]

Dr. Bühler's copy of the Vaigyanî. 2. It takes up, without any purpose, the speech of Vishnu, which had been concluded in XCVII, 21. 3. Recommendations to study and recite the laws just promulgated, like those contained in C, 1-3, form the conclusion of several other Dharmaśāstras. 4. The substantive saubhāgyam is used like an adjective. 5. The first part of the whole passage is a detached hemistich.

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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

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Notes: page 12, *after* -4-9 *add* (14) *and after* -16, 17. *add* M. x, 63; Y. I, 122 — p. 14, note 1, *before* -79, 80. *add* 77, 78. Y. I, 308, 313. — 78. M. VII, 79. — p. 25, note 1, *read* 140-146 . . . XLV, L. *Add at the end of this note* -196. M. VIII, 386 — p. 30 *add* 52. I have translated the reading *pañkâsatam*, which however is hardly so appropriate as the reading *pañkâsatam*, 'fifty' *kârshâpanas*. See M. VIII, 2, 97 — p. 32 *add* 88. It is perhaps more advisable to translate '(shall pay) . . . (as a fine),' than to supply the above parentheses. The reading of Nand.'s gloss is doubtful — p. 42, l. 7 from below, *after* 45 *add*; Colebrooke, Dig. I, 5, CLXXXV. — 37. Y. II, 48. — p. 54 *add* 20, 22. The translation of *jîrsha* by 'fine' rests upon Nand.'s comment — p. 62 *add* Gautama (XVIII, 6) speaks of the appointment of 'one who belongs to the same caste' (Bühler); but the term *yonimâtra* is ambiguous, and may be referred to 'relatives on the mother's side' as well. — p. 123, note 1, *read* 34-38 *and* 43-47 — p. 131, 17, *read* The next proverb (18) — p. 132, 3, *read* XXXIII — p. 138, 35, *read* XLVII *and* XLVI, 18. — p. 162 *add* 5. Thus Nand. Taken as part of a Dvandva compound, *vrâtâni* would mean 'and the Vratas.' See M. XI, 152 — p. 185, 3 *and* p. 186, 26 *read* x, 190 *and* x, 90. — p. 190 *read* LIX, 1. M. III, 67 — p. 198, 5 *add* 'ekakara, "one who has one hand only" (Nand.), may also mean "with one hand."' See Âpast. I, 1, 4, 21; Gaut. IX, 11. — p. 202, 36.¹ Professor Max Müller points out to me, that the Buddhist Bhikshus do 'wear the marks of an order to which they do not belong'—*na vidhivat pravraganti*. Viewed in this light, Nand.'s interpretation tends to confirm my own. Cf. Âpast. I, 6, 18, 31.

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.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.									
Gutturales.												
1 Tenuis	k	. . . . .	. . . . .	क	𐬕	𐬕	ک	ك	כ	k	kh
2 " aspirata	kh	. . . . .	. . . . .	ख	𐬖	𐬖	خ	خ	ח	kh	kh
3 Media	g	. . . . .	. . . . .	ग	𐬗	𐬗	گ	گ	ג	. . . . .	. . . . .
4 " aspirata	gh	. . . . .	. . . . .	घ	𐬘	𐬘	غ	غ	ח	. . . . .	. . . . .
5 Gutturo-labialis	q	. . . . .	. . . . .	ङ	𐬙	𐬙	ق	ق	ק	. . . . .	. . . . .
6 Nasalis	h (ng)	. . . . .	. . . . .	ङ	𐬚	𐬚	ن	ن	נ	. . . . .	. . . . .
7 Spiritus asper	h	. . . . .	. . . . .	ह	𐬛	𐬛	ه	ه	ה	h, hs	h, hs
8 " lenis . . . . .	,	. . . . .	. . . . .	ह	𐬜	𐬜	ه	ه	ה	. . . . .	. . . . .
9 " asper faucalis	'h	. . . . .	. . . . .	ह	𐬝	𐬝	ه	ه	ה	. . . . .	. . . . .
10 " lenis faucalis	'h	. . . . .	. . . . .	ह	𐬞	𐬞	ه	ه	ה	. . . . .	. . . . .
11 " asper fricatus . . . . .	. . . . .	'h	. . . . .	ह	𐬟	𐬟	ه	ه	ה	. . . . .	. . . . .
12 " lenis fricatus . . . . .	. . . . .	'h	. . . . .	ह	𐬠	𐬠	ه	ه	ה	. . . . .	. . . . .
Gutturales modificatae (palatales, &c.)												
13 Tenuis . . . . .	. . . . .	k	. . . . .	क	𐬡	𐬡	ک	ک	כ	k	kh
14 " aspirata . . . . .	. . . . .	kh	. . . . .	ख	𐬢	𐬢	خ	خ	ח	kh	kh
15 Media . . . . .	. . . . .	g	. . . . .	ग	𐬣	𐬣	گ	گ	ג	. . . . .	. . . . .
16 " aspirata . . . . .	. . . . .	gh	. . . . .	घ	𐬤	𐬤	غ	غ	ח	. . . . .	. . . . .
17 " Nasalis	ñ	. . . . .	. . . . .	ङ	𐬥	𐬥	ن	ن	נ	. . . . .	. . . . .

CONSONANTS (continued).	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.				Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlevi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.								
18 Semivocalis	y	. . .	. . .		य	𐬨𐬀 𐬨𐬀 𐬨𐬀	𐬨	𐬨	𐬨	י	y
19 Spiritus asper . . . . .	. . .	(y)	. . .		. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
20 " lenis . . . . .	. . .	(y)	. . .		. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
21 " asper assibilatus . . . . .	. . .	s	. . .		श	𐬱𐬀	𐬱	𐬱	𐬱	. . .	. . .
22 " lenis assibilatus . . . . .	. . .	z	. . .		. . .	𐬱𐬀	𐬱	𐬱	𐬱	. . .	z
Dentales.											
23 Tenuis	t	. . .	. . .		त	𐬢𐬀	𐬢	𐬢	𐬢	ת	t
24 " aspirata	th	. . .	. . .		थ	𐬢𐬀	𐬢	𐬢	𐬢	ת	th
25 " assibilata . . . . .	. . .	. . .	TH		. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
26 Media	d	. . .	. . .		द	𐬢𐬀	𐬢	𐬢	𐬢	. . .	. . .
27 " aspirata	dh	. . .	. . .		ध	𐬢𐬀	𐬢	𐬢	𐬢	. . .	. . .
28 " assibilata . . . . .	. . .	. . .	DH		. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
29 Nasalis	n	. . .	. . .		न	𐬢𐬀	𐬢	𐬢	𐬢	נ	n
30 Semivocalis	l	. . .	. . .		ल	𐬢𐬀	𐬢	𐬢	𐬢	ל	l
31 " mollis 1 . . . . .	. . .	l	. . .		. . .	. . .	𐬢𐬀	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
32 " mollis 2 . . . . .	. . .	. . .	L		. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
33 Spiritus asper 1	s	. . .	. . .		स	𐬢𐬀	𐬢	𐬢	𐬢	ס	s
34 " asper 2 . . . . .	. . .	s	. . .		. . .	. . .	𐬢𐬀	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
35 " lenis	z	. . .	. . .		. . .	. . .	𐬢𐬀	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
36 " asperimus 1 . . . . .	. . .	. . .	z (z)		. . .	. . .	𐬢𐬀	. . .	. . .	. . .	z
37 " asperimus 2 . . . . .	. . .	. . .	z (z)		. . .	. . .	𐬢𐬀	. . .	. . .	. . .	z

Dentales modificatae (linguales, &c.)		Labiales.	
38 Tenuis	t	38 Tenuis	p
39 " aspirata	th	39 " aspirata	ph
40 Media	d	40 Media	b
41 " aspirata	dh	41 " aspirata	bh
42 Nasalis	n	42 Tenuissima	p
43 Semivocalis	r	43 Nasalis	m
44 " fricata	r	44 Semivocalis	w
45 " diacritica	R	45 " aspirata	hw
46 Spiritus asper	sh	46 Spiritus asper	f
47 " lenis	zh	47 " lenis	v
		48 Tenuis	m
		49 " aspirata	hw
		50 Media	f
		51 " aspirata	v
		52 Tenuissima	m
		53 Nasalis	w
		54 Semivocalis	hw
		55 " aspirata	f
		56 Spiritus asper	v
		57 " lenis	m
		58 Anusvāra	h
		59 Visarga	

VOWELS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlevi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.		III Class.							
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
1 Neutralis	0			...	...	...	...	...	...	ǎ
2 Laryngo-palatalis	ě			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
3 " labialis	ö			...	...	fin.	...	...	...	...
4 Gutturalis brevis	a			अ	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	ا	א	a
5 " longa	ā	(a)		आ	𐬁	𐬁	𐬁	آ	אָ	ā
6 Palatalis brevis	i			इ	𐬂	𐬂	𐬂	ي	י	i
7 " longa	ī	(i)		ई	𐬃	𐬃	𐬃	יִ	יִ	ī
8 Dentalis brevis	k			क	𐬵	𐬵	𐬵	ك		...
9 " longa	k			क	𐬵	𐬵	𐬵	ك		...
10 Lingualis brevis	ri			रि	𐬚	𐬚	𐬚	ر		...
11 " longa	rf			रि	𐬚	𐬚	𐬚	ر		...
12 Labialis brevis	u			उ	𐬜	𐬜	𐬜	و		...
13 " longa	ū	(u)		ऊ	𐬝	𐬝	𐬝	و		...
14 Gutturo-palatalis brevis	e			ए	𐬥	𐬥	𐬥	ه	ה	e
15 " longa	é (ai)			ऐ	𐬦	𐬦	𐬦	هَ	הֶ	é
16 Diphthongus gutturo-palatalis	ai	(ai)		इ	𐬧	𐬧	𐬧	هَی	הֵ	ai
17 " "	ei (ēi)			ई	𐬨	𐬨	𐬨	هֵי	הֵי	ei, éi
18 " "	oi (ōu)			औ	𐬩	𐬩	𐬩	هَو	הו	...
19 Gutturo-labialis brevis	o			ओ	𐬪	𐬪	𐬪	و		...
20 " longa	ô (au)	(o)		औ	𐬪	𐬪	𐬪	و		...
21 Diphthongus gutturo-labialis	au	(au)		औ	𐬫	𐬫	𐬫	هَو	הו	au
22 " "	eu (ēu)			औ						...
23 " "	ou (ōu)			औ						...
24 Gutturalis fracta	ä									...
25 Palatalis fracta	ï									...
26 Labialis fracta	ü									ü
27 Gutturo-labialis fracta	ö									...

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26 I have declared my ways, and	* ver. 12. Pa. 25. 4.
thou heardest me: * teach me thy	* 27. 11.
statutes.	* 86. 11.
27 Make me to understand the way	* Pa. 145.
of thy precepts: so * shall I talk of	5, 6.
thy wondrous works.	* Pa. 107. 26.
28 * My soul * melteth for heaviness:	

PSALMS. <i>and professions of obedience.</i>	
D;	* ver. 40. Pa. 143. 11.
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word.	
26 I have declared my ways, and	* ver. 12. Pa. 25. 4.
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LORD;	* ver. 40. Pa. 143. 11.
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word.	
26 I have declared my ways, and	* ver. 12. Pa. 25. 4.
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thy wondrous works.	* Pa. 107. 26.
28 * My soul * melteth for heaviness:	

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to the LORD;	* ver. 40. Pa. 143. 11.
quicken thou me according to thy	
word.	
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thou heardest me: * teach me thy	* 27. 11.
statutes.	* 86. 11.
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2 He maketh me to lie down
in green pastures: he leadeth
me beside the still waters.

4 He that hath clean
and a pure heart; who
not lifted up his soul in
vanity, nor sworn deceitfully:
5 He shall receive the

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for a wave offering before the Lord;
and it shall be thine, and thy sons'
with thee, by a statute for ever; as
the Lord hath commanded.

16 ¶ And Moses diligently sought
the goat of the sin offering, and, be-
hold, it was burnt; and he was angry
with Eleazar and Ithamar, the sons of
Aaron which were left alive, saying,

CHAPTER XI.

1 What beasts may, 4 and what may
not be eaten. 9 What fishes. 13
What fowls. 29 The creeping things
which are unclean.

AND the Lord spake unto Moses
and to Aaron, saying unto them,
2 Speak unto the children of Israel,
saying, These are the beasts which ye

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THE
SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST

HENRY FROWDE, M.A.
PUBLISHER TO THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD



LONDON, EDINBURGH, AND NEW YORK

THE
SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST

TRANSLATED

BY VARIOUS ORIENTAL SCHOLARS

AND EDITED BY

F. MAX MÜLLER

VOL. VIII

SECOND EDITION

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1898

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PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY

THE BHAGAVADGÎTĀ
WITH
THE SANATSUGĀTĪYA
AND
THE ANUGÎTĀ

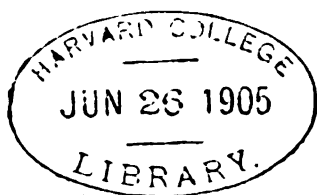
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BHAGAVADGÎTÂ.

INTRODUCTION

TO

BHAGAVADGÎTÂ.

IT has become quite a literary commonplace, that—to borrow the words of Professor Max Müller in one of his recent lectures—history, in the ordinary sense of the word, is almost unknown in Indian literature¹. And it is certainly a remarkable irony of fate, that we should be obliged to make this remark on the very threshold of an introduction to the Bhagavadgîtâ; for according to the eminent French philosopher, Cousin², this great deficiency in Sanskrit literature is due, in no inconsiderable measure, to the doctrines propounded in the Bhagavadgîtâ itself. But however that may be, this much is certain, that the student of the Bhagavadgîtâ must, for the present, go without that reliable historical information touching the author of the work, the time at which it was composed, and even the place it occupies in literature, which one naturally desires, when entering upon the study of any work. More especially in an attempt like the present, intended as it mainly is for students of the history of religion, I should have been better pleased, if I could, in this Introduction, have concentrated to a focus, as it were, only those well ascertained historical results, on which there is something like a consensus of opinion among persons qualified to judge. But there is no exaggeration in saying, that it is almost impossible to lay down even a single proposition respecting any important

¹ Hibbert Lectures, p. 131.

² Lectures on the History of Modern Philosophy (translated by O. W. Wight), vol. i, pp. 49, 50. At p. 433 seq. of the second volume, M. Cousin gives a general view of the doctrine of the Gîtâ. See also Mr. Maurice's and Ritter's Histories of Philosophy.

matter connected with the Bhagavadgītā, about which any such consensus can be said to exist. The conclusions arrived at in this Introduction must, therefore, be distinctly understood to embody individual opinions only, and must be taken accordingly for what they are worth.

The full name of the work is Bhagavadgītā. In common parlance, we often abbreviate the name into Gītā, and in Sanskrit literature the name occurs in both forms. In the works of Śaṅkarācārya, quotations from the Gītā are introduced, sometimes with the words 'In the Gītā,' or 'In the Bhagavadgītā,' and sometimes with words which may be rendered 'In the Gītās,' the plural form being used¹. In the colophons to the MSS. of the work, the form current, apparently throughout India, is, 'In the Upanishads sung (Gītās) by the Deity.' Śaṅkarācārya, indeed, sometimes calls it the Īśvara Gītā², which, I believe, is the specific title of a different work altogether. The signification, however, of the two names is identical, namely, the song sung by the Deity, or, as Wilkins translates it, the Divine Lay.

This Divine Lay forms part of the Bhishma Parvan of the Mahābhārata—one of the two well-known national epics of India. The Gītā gives its name to a subdivision of the Bhishma Parvan, which is called the Bhagavadgītā Parvan, and which includes, in addition to the eighteen chapters of which the Gītā consists, twelve other chapters. Upon this the question has naturally arisen, Is the Gītā a genuine portion of the Mahābhārata, or is it a later addition? The question is one of considerable difficulty. But I cannot help saying, that the manner in which it has been generally dealt with is not altogether satisfactory to my mind. Before going any further into that question, however, it is desirable to state some of the facts on which the decision must be based. It appears, then, that the royal family of Hastināpura was divided into two branches: the one called the Kauravas, and the other the Pāṇḍavas. The

¹ Ex gr. Śāstraka Bhāṣya, vol. ii, p. 840. It is also often cited as a Smṛiti, ibid. vol. i, p. 152.

² See inter alia Śāstraka Bhāṣya, vol. i, p. 455, vol. ii, p. 687, and Colebrooke's Essays, vol. i, p. 355 (Madras; Lassen's edition of the Gītā, XXXV.

former wished to keep the latter out of the share of the kingdom claimed by them; and so, after many attempts at an amicable arrangement had proved fruitless, it was determined to decide the differences between the two parties by the arbitrament of arms. Each party accordingly collected its adherents, and the hostile armies met on the 'holy field of Kurukshetra,' mentioned in the opening lines of our poem. At this juncture, *Krishna* Dvaipâyana, alias Vyâsa, a relative of both parties and endowed with more than human powers, presents himself before *Dhrítarâshtra*, the father of the Kauravas, who is stated to be altogether blind. Vyâsa asks *Dhrítarâshtra* whether it is his wish to look with his own eyes on the course of the battle; and on *Dhrítarâshtra*'s expressing his reluctance, Vyâsa deposes one *Saṅgaya* to relate to *Dhrítarâshtra* all the events of the battle, giving to *Saṅgaya*, by means of his own super-human powers, all necessary aids for performing the duty. Then the battle begins, and after a ten days' struggle, the first great general of the Kauravas, namely *Bhishma*, falls'. At this point *Saṅgaya* comes up to *Dhrítarâshtra*, and announces to him the sad result, which is of course a great blow to his party. *Dhrítarâshtra* then makes numerous enquiries of *Saṅgaya* regarding the course of the conflict, all of which *Saṅgaya* duly answers. And among his earliest answers is the account of the conversation between *Krishna* and *Arguna* at the commencement of the battle, which constitutes the *Bhagavadgītā*. After relating to *Dhrítarâshtra* that 'wonderful and holy dialogue,' and after giving an account of what occurred in the intervals of the conversation, *Saṅgaya* proceeds to narrate the actual events of the battle.

With this rough outline of the framework of the story before us, we are now in a position to consider the opposing arguments on the point above noted. Mr. Talboys Wheeler writes on that point as follows²: 'But there remains one

¹ The whole story is given in brief by the late Professor Goldstücker in the *Westminster Review*, April 1868, p. 392 seq. See now his *Literary Remains*, II, 114 seq.

² *History of India*, vol. i, p. 293.

other anomalous characteristic of the history of the great war, as it is recorded in the Mahābhārata, which cannot be passed over in silence; and that is the extraordinary abruptness and infelicity with which Brahmanical discourses, such as essays on law, on morals, sermons on divine things, and even instruction in the so-called sciences are recklessly grafted upon the main narrative. . . . *Krishna* and *Arguna* on the morning of the first day of the war, when both armies are drawn out in battle-array, and hostilities are about to begin, enter into a long and philosophical dialogue respecting the various forms of devotion which lead to the emancipation of the soul; and it cannot be denied that, however incongruous and irrelevant such a dialogue must appear on the eve of battle, the discourse of *Krishna*, whilst acting as the charioteer of *Arguna*, contains the essence of the most spiritual phases of Brahmanical teaching, and is expressed in language of such depth and sublimity, that it has become deservedly known as the *Bhagavad-gītā* or Divine Song. . . . Indeed no effort has been spared by the Brahmanical compilers to convert the history of the great war into a vehicle for Brahmanical teaching; and so skilfully are many of these interpolations interwoven with the story, that it is frequently impossible to narrate the one, without referring to the other, however irrelevant the matter may be to the main subject in hand.' It appears to me, I own, very difficult to accept that as a satisfactory argument, amounting, as it does, to no more than this—that 'interpolations,' which must needs be referred to in narrating the main story even to make it intelligible, are nevertheless to be regarded 'as evidently the product of a Brahmanical age¹,' and presumably also a later age, because, forsooth, they are irrelevant and incongruous according to the 'tastes and ideas¹'—not of the time, be it remembered, when the 'main story' is supposed to have been written, but—of this enlightened nineteenth century. The support, too, which may be sup-

¹ History of India, vol. i, p. 288; and compare generally upon this point the remarks in Gladstone's *Homer*, especially vol. i, p. 70 seq.

posed to be derived by this argument from the allegation that there has been an attempt to Brahmanize, so to say, the history of the great war, appears to me to be extremely weak, so far as the *Gītā* is concerned. But that is a point which will have to be considered more at large in the sequel¹.

While, however, I am not prepared to admit the cogency of Mr. Wheeler's arguments, I am not, on the other hand, to be understood as holding that the *Gītā* must be accepted as a genuine part of the original *Mahābhārata*. I own that my feeling on the subject is something akin to that of the great historian of Greece regarding the Homeric question, a feeling of painful diffidence regarding the soundness of any conclusion whatever. While it is impossible not to feel serious doubts about the critical condition of the *Mahābhārata* generally; while, indeed, we may be almost certain that the work has been tampered with from time to time²; it is difficult to come to a satisfactory conclusion regarding any particular given section of it. And it must be remembered, also, that the alternatives for us to choose from in these cases are not only these two, that the section in question may be a genuine part of the work, or that it may be a later interpolation: but also this, as suggested recently, though not for the first time, by Mr. Freeman³ with reference to the Homeric question, that the section may have been in existence at the date of the original epos, and may have been worked by the author of the epos into his own production. For that absence of dread, 'either of the law or sentiment of copyright,' which Mr. Freeman relies upon with regard to a primitive Greek poet, was by no means confined to the Greek people, but may be traced amongst us also. The commentator *Madhusūdana Sarasvatī* likens the *Gītā* to those dialogues which occur in sundry Vedic works, particularly the *Upanishads*⁴. Possibly—I will not use a stronger word—possibly the *Gītā*

¹ *Infra*, p. 21 seq.

² Compare the late Professor Goldstücker's remarks in the *Westminster Review* for April 1868, p. 389. ³ *Contemporary Review* February 1879.

⁴ *Madhusūdana* mentions the dialogue between *Ganaka* and *Yāgyavalkya* as a specific parallel.

may have existed as such a dialogue before the Mahābhārata, and may have been appropriated by the author of the Mahābhārata to his own purposes¹. But yet, upon the whole, having regard to the fact that those ideas of unity on which Mr. Wheeler and others set so much store are scarcely appropriate to our old literature; to the fact that the Gītā fits pretty well into the setting given to it in the Bhīshma Parvan; to the fact that the feeling of Arguna, which gives occasion to it, is not at all inconsistent, but is most consonant, with poetical justice; to the fact that there is not in the Gītā, in my judgment, any trace of a sectarian or 'Brahmanizing' spirit², such as Mr. Wheeler and also the late Professor Goldstücker³ hold to have animated the arrangers of the Mahābhārata; having regard, I say, to all these facts, I am prepared to adhere, I will not say without diffidence, to the theory of the genuineness of the Bhagavadgītā as a portion of the original Mahābhārata.

The next point to consider is as to the authorship of the Gītā. The popular notion on this subject is pretty well known. The whole of the Mahābhārata is, by our traditions, attributed to Vyāsa, whom we have already noticed as a relative of the Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas; and therefore the Bhagavadgītā, also, is naturally affiliated to the same author. The earliest written testimony to this authorship, that I can trace, is to be found in Śaṅkarācārya's commentary on the Gītā⁴ itself and on the *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad*⁵. To a certain extent, the mention of Vyāsa in the body of the Gītā would, from a historic standpoint, seem to militate against this tradition. But I have not seen in any of the commentaries to which I have had access, any consideration of this point, as there is of the mention in some

¹ See to this effect M. Fauriel, quoted in Grote's Greece, II, 195 (Cabinet ed.)

² Compare also Weber's History of Indian Literature English translation, p. 187. The instruction, however, as to 'the reverence due to the priesthood' from 'the military caste,' which is there spoken of, appears to me to be entirely absent from the Gītā; see p. 21 seq. *infra*.

³ Westminster Review, April 1868, p. 388 seq.; and Remains, I, 104, 105.

⁴ P. 6 (Calcutta ed., Samvat, 1927).

⁵ P. 841 (Bibl. Indic. ed.; also Śvetāsvatara, p. 278.

Smṛitis and *Sūtras* of the names of those to whom those *Smṛitis* and *Sūtras* are respectively ascribed¹.

We must now leave these preliminary questions, unluckily in a state far from satisfactory, and proceed to that most important topic—the date when the *Gītā* was composed, and the position it occupies in Sanskrit literature. We have here to consider the external evidence bearing on these points, which is tantalizingly meagre; and the internal evidence, which is, perhaps, somewhat more full. And taking first the internal evidence, the various items falling under that head may be marshalled into four groups. Firstly, we have to consider the general character of the *Gītā* with reference to its mode of handling its subject. Secondly, there is the character of its style and language. Thirdly, we have to consider the nature of the versification of the *Gītā*. And fourthly and lastly, we must take note of sundry points of detail, such as the attitude of the *Gītā* towards the Vedas and towards caste, its allusions to other systems of speculation, and other matters of the like nature. On each of these groups, in the order here stated, we now proceed to make a few observations.

And first about the manner in which the *Gītā* deals with its subject. It appears to me, that the work bears on the face of it very plain marks indicating that it belongs to an age prior to the system-making age of Sanskrit philosophy. In 1875, I wrote as follows upon this point: ‘My view is, that in the *Gītā* and the Upanishads, the philosophical part has not been consistently and fully worked out. We have there the results of free thought, exercised on different subjects of great moment, unfettered by the exigencies of any foregone conclusions, or of any fully developed theory. It is afterwards, it is at a later stage of philosophical progress, that system-making arises. In that stage some thinkers interpret whole works by the light of some particular doctrines or expressions. And the result is the development of a whole multitude of philosophical sects, following the lead of those thinkers, and all professing to

¹ See, as to this, Colebrooke's *Essays*, vol. i, p. 328 (Madras).

draw their doctrine from the Gītā or the Upanishads, yet each differing remarkably from the other¹. Since this was written, Professor Max Müller's Hibbert Lectures have been published. And I am happy to find, that as regards the Upanishads, his view coincides exactly with that which I have expressed in the words now quoted. Professor Max Müller says: 'There is not what may be called a philosophical system in these Upanishads. They are in the true sense of the word guesses at truth, frequently contradicting each other, yet all tending in one direction².' Further corroboration for the same view is also forthcoming. Professor Fitz-Edward Hall, in a passage which I had not noticed before, says³: 'In the Upanishads, the Bhagavad-gītā, and other ancient Hindu books, we encounter, in combination, the doctrines which, after having been subjected to modifications that rendered them as wholes irreconcilable, were distinguished, at an uncertain period, into what have for many ages been styled the Sāṅkhya and the Vedānta.' We have thus very weighty authority for adhering to the view already expressed on this important topic. But as Professor Weber appears to have expressed an opinion⁴ intended perhaps to throw some doubt on the correctness of that view, it is desirable to go a little more into detail to fortify it by actual reference to the contents of the Gītā, the more especially as we can thus elucidate the true character of that work. Before doing so, however, it may be pointed out, that the proposition we have laid down is one, the test of which lies more in a comprehensive review of the whole of the Gītā, than in the investigation of small details on which there is necessarily much room for difference of opinion.

And first, let us compare that indisputably systematized work, the current Yoga-sûtras⁵, with the Bhagavadgītā on

¹ See the Introductory Essay to my Bhagavadgītā, translated into English blank verse, p. lxvii. See also Goldstucker's Remains, I, 48, 77; II, 10.

² P. 317; cf. also p. 338.

³ Preface to Sāṅkhya Sāra, p. 7 (Bibl. Indic. ed.)

⁴ History of Indian Literature, p. 28.

⁵ Are we to infer from the circumstance mentioned in Weber's History of

one or two topics, where they both travel over common ground. In the *Gītā*, chapter VI, stanzas 33, 34 (p. 71), we have *Arguna* putting what is, in substance, a question to *Krishna*, as to how the mind, which is admittedly 'fickle, boisterous, strong, and obstinate,' is to be brought under control—such control having been declared by *Krishna* to be necessary for attaining devotion (*yoga*)? *Krishna* answers by saying that the mind may be restrained by 'practice (*abhyāsa*) and indifference to worldly objects (*vairāgya*).' He then goes on to say, that devotion cannot be attained without self-restraint, but that one who has self-restraint, and works to achieve devotion, may succeed in acquiring it. Here the subject drops. There is no further explanation of 'practice' or 'indifference to worldly objects,' no exposition of the mode in which they work, and so forth. Contrast now the *Yoga-sūtras*. The topic is there discussed at the very outset of the work. As usual the author begins with 'Now therefore the *Yoga* is to be taught.' He then explains *Yoga* by the well-known definition 'Yoga is the restraint of the movements of the mind.' And then after pointing out what the movements of the mind are, he proceeds: 'Their restraint is by means of practice and indifference to worldly objects¹,'—the very terms, be it remarked in passing, which are used in the *Bhagavadgītā*. But having come thus far, the author of the *Sūtras* does not drop the subject as the author of the *Gītā* does. He goes on in this wise: 'Practice is the effort for keeping it steady.' 'And that becomes firmly grounded when resorted to for a long time, without interruption, and with correct conduct.' So far we have a discussion of the first requisite specified, namely, practice. *Patañjali* then goes on to his second requisite for mental restraint. 'Indifference to worldly objects is the consciousness of having subdued desires &c. (*Vasikāra sañgīhā*) which belongs to one having no longing for objects visible and those which

Indian Literature (p. 223, note 235), that the author of these *Sūtras* was older than Buddha?

¹ *Sūtra* 12, *Abhyāsa-vairāgyābhyāsa tannirodhaḥ*.

are heard of' (from Sāstras &c., such as heaven and so forth). He next proceeds to distinguish another and higher species of 'indifference,' and then he goes on to point out the results of that self-restraint which is to be acquired in the mode he has expounded. That is one instance. Now take another. In chapter VI, stanza 10 and following stanzas, the Gītā sets forth elaborately the mode of practically achieving the mental abstraction called Yoga. It need not be reproduced here. The reader can readily find out how sundry directions are there given for the purpose specified, but without any attempt at systematizing. Contrast the Yoga-sūtras. In the Sādhana-pāda, the section treating of the acquisition of Yoga, Patañjali states in the twenty-ninth aphorism the well-known eight elements of Yoga. Then he subdivides these elements, and expatiates on each of them distinctly, defining them, indicating the mode of acquiring them, and hinting at the results which flow from them. 'That inordinate love of subdivision,' which Dr. F. E. Hall¹ has somewhere attributed to the Hindus, appears plainly in these aphorisms, while there is not a trace of it in the corresponding passage in the Bhagavadgītā. In my opinion, therefore, these comparisons strongly corroborate the proposition we have laid down regarding the unsystematic, or rather non-systematic, character of the work. In the one we have definition, classification, division, and subdivision. In the other we have a set of practical directions, without any attempt to arrange them in any very scientific order. In the one you have a set of technical terms with specific significations. In the other no such precision is yet manifest. In one word, you have in the Gītā the germs, and noteworthy germs too, of a system², and you have most of the raw material of a system, but you have no system ready-made.

Let us look at the matter now from a slightly different point of view. There are sundry words used in the Bhaga-

¹ In the Preface to his Sāṅkhya Sāra, I think.

² This is all that we can infer from the few cases of division and classification which we do meet with in the Gītā. A subject like that treated of in this work could not well be discussed without some classifications &c.

vadgitâ, the significations of which are not quite identical throughout the work. Take, for instance, the word 'yoga,' which we have rendered 'devotion.' At Gitâ, chapter II, stanza 48 (p. 49), a definition is given of that word. In chapter VI, the signification it bears is entirely different. And again in chapter IX, stanza 5, there is still another sense in which the word is used¹. The word 'Brahman' too occurs in widely varying significations. And one of its meanings, indeed, is quite singular, namely, 'Nature' (see chapter XIV, stanza 3). Similar observations, to a greater or less extent, apply to the words Buddhi, Âtman, and Svabhâva². Now these are words which stand for ideas not unimportant in the philosophy of the Bhagavadgitâ. And the absence of scientific precision about their use appears to me to be some indication of that non-systematic character of which we have already spoken.

There is one other line of argument, which leads, I think, to the same conclusion. There are several passages in the Gitâ which it is not very easy to reconcile with one another; and no attempt is made to harmonise them. Thus, for example, in stanza 16 of chapter VII, *Krishna* divides his devotees into four classes, one of which consists of 'men of knowledge,' whom, *Krishna* says, he considers 'as his own self.' It would probably be difficult to imagine any expression which could indicate higher esteem. Yet in stanza 46 of chapter VI, we have it laid down, that the devotee is superior not only to the mere performer of penances, but even to the men of knowledge. The commentators betray their gnostic bias by interpreting 'men of knowledge' in this latter passage to mean those who have acquired erudition in the Sâstras and their significations. This is not an interpretation to be necessarily rejected. But there is in it a certain twisting of words, which, under the circumstances here, I am not inclined to accept. And on the other hand, it must not be forgotten, that the implication fairly derivable

¹ In chapter X the word occurs in two different senses in the same stanza (st. 7).

² Compare the various passages, references to which are collected in the Sanskrit Index at the end of this volume.

from chapter IV, stanza 38 (pp. 62, 63), would seem to be rather that knowledge is superior to devotion—is the higher stage to be reached by means of devotion as the stepping-stone. In another passage again at Gītā, chapter XII, stanza 12, concentration is preferred to knowledge, which also seems to me to be irreconcilable with chapter VII, stanza 16. Take still another instance. At Gītā, chapter V, stanza 15, it is said, that ‘the Lord receives the sin or merit of none.’ Yet at chapter V, stanza 29, and again at chapter IX, stanza 24, *Krishna* calls himself ‘the Lord and enjoyer’ of all sacrifices and penances. How, it may well be asked, can the Supreme Being ‘enjoy’ that which he does not even ‘receive?’ Once more, at chapter X, stanza 29, *Krishna* declares that ‘none is hateful to me, none dear.’ And yet the remarkable verses at the close of chapter XII seem to stand in point-blank contradiction to that declaration. There through a most elaborate series of stanzas, the burden of *Krishna*’s eloquent sermon is ‘such a one is dear to me.’ And again in those fine verses, where *Krishna* winds up his Divine Lay, he similarly tells *Arguna*, that he, *Arguna*, is ‘dear’ to *Krishna*. And *Krishna* also speaks of that devotee as ‘dear’ to him, who may publish the mystery of the Gītā among those who reverence the Supreme Being¹. And yet again, how are we to reconcile the same passage about none being ‘hateful or dear’ to *Krishna*, with his own words at chapter XVI, stanza 18 and following stanzas? The language used in describing the ‘demoniac’ people there mentioned is not remarkable for sweetness towards them, while *Krishna* says positively, ‘I hurl down such people into demoniac wombs, whereby they go down into misery and the vilest condition.’ These persons are scarcely characterised with accuracy ‘as neither hateful nor dear’ to *Krishna*. It seems to me, that all these are real inconsistencies in the Gītā, not such, perhaps, as might not be explained away, but such, I think, as indicate a mind making guesses at truth, as Professor Max

¹ And see, too, chapter VII, stanza 17, where the man of knowledge is declared to be ‘dear’ to *Krishna*.

Muller puts it, rather than a mind elaborating a complete and organised system of philosophy. There is not even a trace of consciousness on the part of the author that these inconsistencies exist. And the contexts of the various passages indicate, in my judgment, that a half-truth is struck out here, and another half-truth there, with special reference to the special subject then under discussion ; but no attempt is made to organise the various half-truths, which are apparently incompatible, into a symmetrical whole, where the apparent inconsistencies might possibly vanish altogether in the higher synthesis. And having regard to these various points, and to the further point, that the sequence of ideas throughout the verses of the *Gītā* is not always easily followed, we are, I think, safe in adhering to the opinion expressed above, that the *Gītā* is a non-systematic work, and in that respect belongs to the same class as the older Upanishads.

We next come to the consideration of the style and language of the *Bhagavadgītā*. And that, I think, furnishes a strong argument for the proposition, that it belongs to an age considerably prior to the epoch of the artificial department of Sanskrit literature—the epoch, namely, of the dramas and poems. In its general character, the style impresses me as quite archaic in its simplicity. Compounds, properly so called, are not numerous ; such as there are, are not long ones, and very rarely, if ever, present any puzzle in analysing. The contrast there presented with what is called the classical literature, as represented by *Bāna* or *Dandin*, or even *Kālidāsa*, is not a little striking. In *Kālidāsa*, doubtless, the love for compounds is pretty well subdued, though I think his works have a perceptibly larger proportion of them than the *Gītā*. But after *Kālidāsa* the love for compounds goes through a remarkable development, till in later writings it may be said almost to have gone mad. Even in *Bāna* and *Dandin*, *Subandhu* and *Bhavabhūti*, the plethora of compounds is often wearisome. And the same remark applies to many of the copper-plate and other inscriptions which have been recently

deciphered, and some of which date from the early centuries of the Christian era. Take again the exuberance of figures and tropes which is so marked in the classical style. There is little or nothing of that in the Gītā, where you have a plain and direct style of natural simplicity, and yet a style not by any means devoid of æsthetic merit like the style of the Sūtra literature. There is also an almost complete absence of involved syntactical constructions; no attempt to secure that jingle of like sounds, which seems to have proved a temptation too strong even for Kālidāsa's muse entirely to resist. But on the contrary, we have those repetitions of words and phrases, which are characteristic, and not only in Sanskrit, of the style of an archaic period¹. Adverting specially to the language as distinguished from the style of the Gītā, we find such words as *Anta*, *Bhāshā*, *Brahman*, some of which are collected in the Sanskrit Index in this volume, which have gone out of use in the classical literature in the significations they respectively bear in the Gītā. The word 'ha,' which occurs once, is worthy of special note. It is the equivalent of 'gha,' which occurs in the Vedic *Samhitās*. In the form 'ha' it occurs in the *Brāhmaṇas*. But it never occurs, I think, in what is properly called the classical literature. It is, indeed, found in the *Purāṇas*. But that is a class of works which occupies a very unique position. There is a good deal in the *Purāṇas* that, I think, must be admitted to be very ancient²; while undoubtedly also there is a great deal in them that is very modern. It is, therefore, impossible to treat the use of 'ha' in that class of works as negating an inference of the antiquity of any book where the word occurs; while its use in Vedic works and its total absence from modern works indicate such

¹ Compare Muir, *Sanskrit Texts*, vol. i, p. 5. See, too, Goldstücker's *Remains*, I, 177.

² This opinion, which I had expressed as long ago as 1874 in the Introduction to my edition of *Bhartṛhari's Satakas*, is, I find, also held by Dr. Buhler; see his Introduction to *Āpastamba* in this series, p. xx seq., note. *Purāṇas* are mentioned in the *Sutta Nipāta* (p. 115), as to the date of which, see *inter alia* Swamy's Introduction, p. xvii.

antiquity pretty strongly. We may, therefore, embody the result of this part of the discussion in the proposition, that the Gîtâ is removed by a considerable linguistic and chronological distance from classical Sanskrit literature. And so far as it goes, this proposition agrees with the result of our investigation of the first branch of internal evidence.

The next branch of that evidence brings us to the character of the versification of the Gîtâ. Here, again, a survey of Sanskrit verse generally, and the verse of the Gîtâ in particular, leads us to a conclusion regarding the position of the Gîtâ in Sanskrit literature, which is in strict accord with the conclusions we have already drawn. In the verse of the Vedic *Samhitâs*, there is almost nothing like a rigidly fixed scheme of versification, no particular collocation of long and short syllables is absolutely necessary. If we attempt to chant them in the mode in which classical Sanskrit verse is chanted, we invariably come across lines where the chanting cannot be smooth. If we come next to the versification of the *Upanishads*, we observe some progress made towards such fixity of scheme as we have alluded to above. Though there are still numerous lines, which cannot be smoothly chanted, there are, on the other hand, a not altogether inconsiderable number which can be smoothly chanted. In the *Bhagavadgîtâ* a still further advance, though a slight one, may, I think, be marked. A visibly larger proportion of the stanzas in the Gîtâ conform to the metrical schemes as laid down by the writers on prosody, though there are still sundry verses which do not so conform, and cannot, accordingly, be chanted in the regular way. Lastly, we come to the *Kâvyas* and *Nâtakas*—the classical literature. And here in practice we find everywhere a most inflexible rigidity of scheme, while the theory is laid down in a rule which says, that 'even *mâsha* may be changed to *masha*, but a break of metre should be avoided.' This survey of Sanskrit verse may, I think, be fairly treated as showing, that adhesion to the metrical schemes is one test of the chronological position of a work—the later the work, the

more undeviating is such adhesion. I need not stay here to point out, how this view receives corroboration from the rules given on this subject in the standard work of Piṅgala on the *Kṛandas Sâstra*. I will only conclude this point by saying, that the argument from the versification of the *Gītā*, so far as it goes, indicates its position as being prior to the classical literature, and nearly contemporaneous with the *Upanishad* literature.

We now proceed to investigate the last group of facts falling under the head of internal evidence, as mentioned above. And first as regards the attitude of the *Gītā* towards the *Vedas*. If we examine all the passages in the *Gītā*, in which reference is made to the *Vedas*, the aggregate result appears to be, that the author of the *Gītā* does not throw the *Vedas* entirely overboard. He feels and expresses reverence for them, only that reverence is of a somewhat special character. He says in effect, that the precepts of the *Vedas* are suitable to a certain class of people, of a certain intellectual and spiritual status, so to say. So far their authority is unimpeached. But if the unwise sticklers for the authority of the *Vedas* claim anything more for them than this, then the author of the *Gītā* holds them to be wrong. He contends, on the contrary, that acting upon the ordinances of the *Vedas* is an obstacle to the attainment of the summum bonum¹. Compare this with the doctrine of the *Upanishads*. The coincidence appears to me to be most noteworthy. In one of his recent lectures, Professor Max Müller uses the following eloquent language regarding the *Upanishads*²: 'Lastly come the *Upanishads*; and what is their object? To show the utter uselessness, nay, the mischievousness of all ritual performances (compare our *Gītā*, pp. 47, 48, 84³); to condemn every sacrificial act which has for its motive a desire or hope of reward (comp. *Gītā*, p. 119⁴); to deny, if not the existence, at least the exceptional and exalted character

¹ Compare the passages collected under the word *Vedas* in our Index.

² Hibbert Lectures, p. 340 seq.

³ II, 42-45; IX, 20, 21.

⁴ XVII, 12.

of the Devas (comp. *Gîtâ*, pp. 76-84¹); and to teach that there is no hope of salvation and deliverance except by the individual self recognising the true and universal self, and finding rest there, where alone rest can be found² (comp. our *Gîtâ* Translation, pp. 78-83).

The passages to which I have given references in brackets will show, that Professor Max Müller's words might all be used with strict accuracy regarding the essential teaching of the *Bhagavadgîtâ*. We have here, therefore, another strong circumstance in favour of grouping the *Gîtâ* with the *Upanishads*. One more point is worthy of note. Wherever the *Gîtâ* refers to the *Vedas* in the somewhat disparaging manner I have noted, no distinction is taken between the portion which relates to the ritual and the portion which relates to that higher science, viz. the science of the soul, which Sanatkumâra speaks of in his famous dialogue with Nârada³. At *Gîtâ*, chapter II, stanza 45, Arjuna is told that the *Vedas* relate only to the effects of the three qualities, which effects Arjuna is instructed to overcome. At *Gîtâ*, chapter VI, stanza 44, Arjuna is told that he who has acquired some little devotion, and then exerts himself for further progress, rises above the Divine word—the *Vedas*. And there are also one or two other passages of the like nature. They all treat the *Vedas* as concerned with ritual alone. They make no reference to any portion of the *Vedas* dealing with the higher knowledge. If the word *Vedânta*, at *Gîtâ*, chapter XV, stanza 15 (p. 113), signifies, as it seems to signify, this latter portion of the *Vedas*, then that is the only allusion to it. But, from all the passages in the *Gîtâ* which refer to the *Vedas*, I am inclined to draw the inference, that the *Upanishads* of the *Vedas* were composed at a time not far removed from the time of the composition of the *Gîtâ*, and that at that period the *Upanishads* had not yet risen to the position of

¹ VII, 21-23; IX, 23-24.

² VIII, 14-16; IX, 29-33.

³ See *A'kândogya-upanishad*, p. 473, or rather I ought to have referred to the *Mundaka-upanishad*, where the superiority and inferiority is more distinctly stated in words, pp. 266, 267.

high importance which they afterwards commanded. In the passage referred to at chapter XV, the word Vedāntas probably signifies the Āraṇyakas, which may be regarded as marking the beginning of the epoch, which the composition of the Upanishads brought to its close. And it is to the close of this epoch, that I would assign the birth of the Gītā, which is probably one of the youngest members of the group to which it belongs.

It appears to me, that this conclusion is corroborated by the fact that a few stanzas in the Gītā are identical with some stanzas in some of the Upanishads. With regard to the epic age of Greece, Mr. E. A. Freeman has said that, in carrying ourselves back to that age, 'we must cast aside all the notions with which we are familiar in our own age about property legal or moral in literary compositions. It is plain that there were phrases, epithets, whole lines, which were the common property of the whole epic school of poetry¹.' It appears to me that we must accept this proposition as equally applicable to the early days of Sanskrit literature, having regard to the common passages which we meet with in sundry of the Vedic works, and also sometimes, I believe, in the different Purāṇas. If this view is correct, then the fact that the Gītā contains some stanzas in the very words which we meet with in some of the Upanishads, indicates, to my mind, that the conclusion already drawn from other data about the position of the Gītā with regard to the Upanishads, is not by any means unwarranted, but one to which the facts before us rather seem to point.

And here we may proceed to draw attention to another fact connected with the relation of the Gītā to the Vedas. In stanza 17 of the ninth chapter of the Gītā, only *Rik*, *Sāman*, and *Yagus* are mentioned. The *Atharva-veda* is not referred to at all. This omission does certainly seem a very noteworthy one. For it is in a passage where the Supreme Being is identifying himself with everything, and where, therefore, the fourth Veda might fairly be expected

¹ Contemporary Review, February 1879.

to be mentioned. I may add that in commenting on Śaṅkara's remarks on this passage, Ānandagiri (and Madhusūdana Sarasvatī also) seems evidently to have been conscious of the possible force of this omission of the Atharva-veda. He accordingly says that by force of the word 'and' in the verse in question, the Atharvāṅgirasas, or Atharva-veda, must also be included. Are we at liberty to infer from this, that the Atharva-veda did not exist in the days when the Gītā was composed? The explanation ordinarily given for the omission of that Veda, where such omission occurs, namely, that it is not of any use in ordinary sacrificial matters, is one which can scarcely have any force in the present instance; though it is adequate, perhaps, to explain the words 'those who know the three branches of knowledge,' which occur only a few lines after the verse now under consideration. The commentators render no further help than has been already stated. Upon the whole, however, while I am not yet quite prepared to say, that the priority of the Gītā, even to the recognition of the Atharva-veda as a real Veda, may be fairly inferred from the passage in question, I think that the passage is noteworthy as pointing in that direction. But further data in explanation of the omission referred to must be awaited.

If the conclusions here indicated about the relative positions of the Gītā and certain Vedic works are correct, we can fairly take the second century B.C. as a terminus before which the Gītā must have been composed. For the Upanishads are mentioned in the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali, which we are probably safe in assigning to the middle of that century. The epoch of the older Upanishads, therefore, to which reference has been so frequently made here, may well be placed at some period prior to the beginning of the second century B.C. The Atharva-veda is likewise mentioned by Patañjali¹, and as 'ninefold,' too, be it remembered; so that if we are entitled to draw the conclusion which has been mentioned above from chapter IX, stanza 17, we come to the same period for the date of the Gītā.

¹ See also Sutta Nipāta, p. 115.

Another point to note in this connexion is the reference to the Sâma-veda as the best of the Vedas (see p. 88). That is a fact which seems to be capable of yielding some chronological information. For the estimation in which that Veda has been held appears to have varied at different times. Thus, in the Aitareya-brâhmana¹, the glory of the Sâman is declared to be higher than that of the *Rik*. In the *Khândogya-upanishad*² the Sâman is said to be the essence of the *Rik*, which Saṅkara interprets by saying that the Sâman is more weighty. In the *Prasna-upanishad*³, too, the implication of the passage V, 5 (in which the Sâman is stated as the guide to the Brahmaloka, while the *Yagus* is said to guide to the lunar world, and the *Rik* to the human world) is to the same effect. And we may also mention as on the same side the *Nṛisimha Tâpini-upanishad* and the Vedic passage cited in the commentary of Saṅkara on the closing sentence of the first *khaṇḍa* of that *Upanishad*⁴. On the other side, we have the statement in *Manu* that the sound of the Sâma-veda is unholy; and the consequent direction that where the sound of it is heard, the *Rik* and *Yagus* should not be recited⁵. We have also the passages from some of the *Purâṇas* noted by Dr. Muir in his excellent work, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, which point in the same direction⁶. And we have further the direction in the *Āpastamba Dharma-sûtra*, that the Sâman hymns should not be recited where the other Vedas are being recited⁷, as well as the grouping of the sound of the Sâman with various classes of objectionable and unholy noises, such as those of dogs and asses. It is pretty evident that the view of *Āpastamba* is based on the same theory as that of *Manu*. Now in looking at the two classes of authorities thus marshalled, it is plain that the *Gîtâ* ranges itself with those which are unquestionably the more ancient.

¹ Haug's edition, p. 68.

² Bibl. Ind. ed., p. 12.

³ Bibl. Ind. ed., p. 221 seq.

⁴ Bibl. Ind. ed., p. 11.

⁵ Chapter IV, stanzas 123, 124.

⁶ Vol. iii (2nd ed.), p. 11 seq. Cf. Goldstûcker's *Remains*, I, 4, 28, 266; II, 67.

⁷ *Āpastamba* Buhler's ed., I, 3, 17, 18 (pp. 38, 39 in this series); see further on this point Mr. Burnell's *Devatâdhyâya-brâhmana*, *Intro.*, pp. viii, ix, and notes.

And among the less ancient works, prior to which we may place the *Gītā* on account of the facts now under consideration, are *Manu* and *Āpastamba*. Now *Manu*'s date is not ascertained, though, I believe, he is now generally considered to belong to about the second or third century B.C.¹ But Dr. Bühler, in the Preface to his *Āpastamba* in the present series, has adduced good reasons for holding that *Āpastamba* is prior to the third century B.C.², and we therefore obtain that as a point of time prior to which the *Gītā* must have been composed.

The next important item of internal evidence which we have to note, is the view taken of caste in the *Bhagavadgītā*. Here, again, a comparison of the doctrine of the *Gītā* with the conception of caste in *Manu* and *Āpastamba* is interesting and instructive. The view of *Manu* has been already contrasted by me with the *Gītā* in another place³. I do not propose to dwell on that point here, as the date of *Manu* is far from being satisfactorily ascertained. I prefer now to take up *Āpastamba* only, whose date, as just now stated, is fairly well fixed by Dr. Bühler. The division of castes, then, is twice referred to in the *Bhagavadgītā*. In the first passage (p. 59) it is stated that the division rests on differences of qualities and duties; in the second (pp. 126, 127) the various duties are distinctly stated according to the differences of qualities. Now in the first place, noting as we pass along, that there is nothing in the *Gītā* to indicate whether caste was hereditary, according to its view, whereas *Āpastamba* distinctly states it to be such, let us compare the second passage of the *Gītā* with the *Sūtras* of *Āpastamba* bearing on the point. The view enunciated in the *Gītā* appears to me plainly to belong to an earlier age—to an age of considerably less advancement in social and religious development. In the *Gītā*, for instance, the duties of a *Brāhmaṇa* are said to be tranquillity, self-restraint, and

¹ Professor Tiele (*History of Ancient Religions*, p. 127) considers the 'main features' of *Manu* to be 'pre-Buddhistic.'

² P. xxv.

³ See the Introductory Essay to my *Bhagavadgītā* in English verse, published in 1875, p. cxii.

so forth. In Āpastamba, they are the famous six duties, namely, study, imparting instruction, sacrificing, officiating at others' sacrifices, making gifts, and receiving gifts; and three others, namely, inheritance, occupancy, and gleaning ears of corn, which, it may be remarked *en passant*, are not stated in Manu. The former seem to my mind to point to the age when the qualities which in early times gave the Brāhmaṇas their pre-eminence in Hindu society were still a living reality¹. It will be noted, too, that there is nothing in that list of duties which has any necessary or natural connexion with any privilege as belonging to the caste. The Law lays down these duties, in the true sense of the word. In Āpastamba, on the contrary, we see an advance towards the later view on both points. You have no reference to moral and religious qualities now. You have to do with ceremonies and acts. You have under the head 'duties' not mere obligations, but rights. For the duty of receiving gifts is a right, and so is the duty of teaching others and officiating at others' sacrifices; as we know not merely from the subsequent course of events, but also from a comparison of the duties of Brāhmaṇas on the one hand, and Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, and Sūdras on the other, as laid down by Manu and Āpastamba themselves. Āpastamba's rules, therefore, appear to belong to the time when the Brāhmaṇas had long been an established power, and were assuming to themselves those valuable privileges which they have always claimed in later times. The rules of the Gītā, on the other hand, point to a time considerably prior to this—to a time when the Brāhmaṇas were by their moral and intellectual qualities laying the foundation of that pre-eminence in Hindu society which afterwards enabled them to lord it over all castes. These observations *mutatis mutandis* apply to the rules regarding the other castes also. Here again, while the Gītā still insists on the inner qualities, which properly constitute the military profession, for instance, the rules of Āpastamba indicate the powerful

¹ The remarks in the text will show how little there is in the Gītā of that 'Brahmanizing' which has been shortly noticed on a previous page.

influence of the Brāhmaṇas¹. For, as stated before, officiating at others' sacrifices, instructing others, and receiving presents, are here expressly prohibited to Kshatriyas as also to Vaisyas. The result of that is, that the Brāhmaṇas become indispensable to the Kshatriyas and Vaisyas, for upon both the duty of study, of offering sacrifices, and making gifts and presents is inculcated. In his outline of the History of Ancient Religions, Professor Tiele, speaking of the 'increasing influence of the Brāhmans,' writes as follows: 'Subject at first to the princes and nobles, and dependent on them, they began by insinuating themselves into their favour, and representing it as a religious duty to show protection and liberality towards them. Meanwhile they endeavoured to make themselves indispensable to them, gradually acquired the sole right to conduct public worship, and made themselves masters of instruction².' And after pointing out the high position thus achieved by the Brāhmans, and the low position of the *Kāṇḍālas* and others of the inferior castes, he adds: 'Such a position could not long be endured; and this serves to explain not only the rise of Buddhism, but also its rapid diffusion, and the radical revolution which it brought about³.' To proceed, however, with our comparison of the *Gītā* and *Āpastamba*. The superiority distinctly claimed by the latter for the Brāhmaṇa is not quite clearly brought out in the *Gītā*. 'Holy Brāhmaṇas and devoted royal saints' are bracketed together at p. 86; while the Kshatriyas are declared to have been the channel of communication between the Deity and mankind as regards the great doctrine of devotion propounded by the *Bhagavadgītā*. That indicates a position for the Kshatriyas much more like what the *Upanishads* disclose⁴, than even that which

¹ As to the Kshatriyas the contrast with Manu's rules is even stronger than with *Āpastamba*'s. See our Introduction to the *Gītā* in English verse, p. cxiii.

² P. 120.

³ Pp. 129, 130.

⁴ See p. 38 *infra*; and compare with this Weber's remarks on one of the classes into which he divides the whole body of *Upanishads*, *History of Indian Literature*, p. 165. See also Muir, *Sanskrit Texts*, vol. i, p. 508; Max Muller, *Upanishads*, vol. i, p. lxxv.

Āpastamba assigns to them. The fact is further noteworthy, that in the Gītā each caste has its own entirely distinct set of duties. There is no overlapping, so to say. And that is a circumstance indicating a very early stage in the development of the institution¹. Besides, as already indicated, the duties laid down by Āpastamba and Manu as common to Kshatriyas and Vais̥yas are the very duties which make those castes dependent to a very great extent on the Brāhmaṇas. Lastly, it is not altogether unworthy of note, that in the elaborate specification of the best of every species which we find in chapter X, the Brāhmaṇa is not mentioned as the best of the castes, there is nothing to indicate the notion contained in the well-known later verse, 'The Brāhmaṇa is the head of the castes.' On the contrary, the ruler of men is specified as the highest among men², indicating, perhaps, a state of society such as that described at the beginning of the extract from Professor Tiele's work quoted above.

We come now to another point. What is the position of the Gītā in regard to the great reform of Sākya Muni? The question is one of much interest, having regard particularly to the remarkable coincidences between Buddhistic doctrines and the doctrines of the Gītā to which we have drawn attention in the foot-notes to our translation. But the materials for deciding the question are unhappily not forthcoming. Professor Wilson, indeed, thought that there was an allusion to Buddhism in the Gītā³. But his idea was based on a confusion between the Buddhists and the Kārvākas or materialists⁴. Failing that allusion, we have nothing very tangible but the unsatisfactory 'negative argument' based on mere non-mention of Buddhism in the Gītā. That argument is not quite satisfactory to my own mind, although, as I have elsewhere pointed out⁵, some of

¹ Cf. Sutta Nipāta, p. 32; and also Mr. Davids' note on that passage in his Buddhism, p. 131.

² P. 89 infra.

³ Essays on Sanskrit Literature, vol. iii, p. 150.

⁴ See our remarks on this point in the Introductory Essay to our Gītā in verse, p. li seq.

⁵ Introduction to Gītā in English verse, p. v seq.

the ground occupied by the Gîtâ is common to it with Buddhism, and although various previous thinkers are alluded to directly or indirectly in the Gîtâ. There is, however, one view of the facts of this question, which appears to me to corroborate the conclusion deducible by means of the negative argument here referred to. The main points on which Buddha's protest against Brahmanism rests, seem to be the true authority of the Vedas and the true view of the differences of caste. On most points of doctrinal speculation, Buddhism is still but one aspect of the older Brahmanism¹. The various coincidences to which we have drawn attention show that, if there is need to show it. Well now, on both these points, the Gîtâ, while it does not go the whole length which Buddha goes, itself embodies a protest against the views current about the time of its composition. The Gîtâ does not, like Buddhism, absolutely reject the Vedas, but it shelves them. The Gîtâ does not totally root out caste. It places caste on a less untenable basis. One of two hypotheses therefore presents itself as a rational theory of these facts. Either the Gîtâ and Buddhism were alike the outward manifestation of one and the same spiritual upheaval which shook to its centre the current religion, the Gîtâ being the earlier and less thorough-going form of it; or Buddhism having already begun to tell on Brahmanism, the Gîtâ was an attempt to bolster it up, so to say, at its least weak points, the weaker ones being altogether abandoned. I do not accept the latter alternative, because I cannot see any indication in the Gîtâ of an attempt to compromise with a powerful attack on the old Hindu system; while the fact that, though strictly orthodox, the author of the Gîtâ still undermines the authority, as unwisely venerated, of the Vedic revelation; and the further fact, that in doing this, he is doing what others also had done before him or about his time; go, in my opinion, a considerable way towards

¹ Cf. Max Müller's Hibbert Lectures, p. 137; Weber's *Indian Literature*, pp. 288, 289; and Mr. Rhys Davids' excellent little volume on Buddhism, p. 151; and see also p. 83 of Mr. Davids' book.

fortifying the results of the negative argument already set forth. To me Buddhism is perfectly intelligible as one outcome of that play of thought on high spiritual topics, which in its other, and as we may say, less thorough-going manifestations, we see in the Upanishads and the Gītā¹. But assume that Buddhism was a protest against Brahmanism prior to its purification and elevation by the theosophy of the Upanishads, and those remarkable productions of ancient Indian thought become difficult to account for. Let us compare our small modern events with those grand old occurrences. Suppose our ancestors to have been attached to the ceremonial law of the Vedas, as we are now attached to a lifeless ritualism, the Upanishads and the Gītā might be, in a way, comparable to movements like that of the late Raja Rammohun Roy. Standing, as far as possible, on the antique ways, they attempt, as Raja Rammohun attempted in these latter days, to bring into prominence and to elaborate the higher and nobler aspects of the old beliefs. Buddhism would be comparable to the further departure from old traditions which was led by Babu Keshub Chander Sen. The points of dissent in the olden times were pretty nearly the same as the points of dissent now. The ultimate motive power also was in both cases identical—a sense of dissatisfaction in its integrity with what had come down from old times encrusted with the corruptions of years. In this view the old system, the philosophy of the Upanishads and the Gītā, and the philosophy of Buddha, constitute a regular intelligible progression. But suppose the turn events took was different, as is supposed by the alternative theory indicated above. Suppose Babu Keshub's movement was chronologically prior, and had begun to tell on orthodox society. Is it likely, that then one of the orthodox party

¹ Cf. Weber's *History of Indian Literature*, p. 285. In Mr. Davids' *Buddhism*, p. 94, we have a noteworthy extract from a standard Buddhistic work, touching the existence of the soul. Compare that with the corresponding doctrine in the Gītā. It will be found that the two are at one in rejecting the identity of the soul with the senses &c. The Gītā then goes on to admit a soul separate from these. Buddhism rejects that also, and sees nothing but the senses.

would take up the position which Rammohun Roy took? Would he still rely on old authorities, but with sundry qualifications, and yet earnestly assail the current forms of orthodoxy? I do not think so. I think the true view to be, as already stated, very different. The Upanishads, with the *Gîtâ*, and the precepts of Buddha appear to me to be the successive¹ embodiments of the spiritual thought of the age, as it became more and more dissatisfied with the system of mere ceremonial then dominant.

There are several other points of much interest in the *Bhagavadgîtâ*, such as the reference to the *Sāṅkhya* and *Yoga*; the place assigned to the *Mārgaśīrsha* month; the allusion to the doctrines of materialism; the nearly entire coincidence between a stanza of the *Gîtâ* and one in the *Manu Smṛiti*. But in the present state of our knowledge, I do not think that we can extract any historical results from any of them. Without dwelling on them any further², therefore, I will only state it as my opinion, that the *Sāṅkhya* and *Yoga* of the *Gîtâ* are not identical with the systems known to us under those names, and that the *Manu Smṛiti* has probably borrowed from the *Gîtâ* the stanza common to the two works.

We now proceed to a discussion of some of the external evidence touching the age of the *Bhagavadgîtâ*. It is, of course, unnecessary to consider any evidence of a date later than the eighth century A. C., that being the date generally received, though not on very strong grounds, as the date of *Śaṅkarācārya*, the celebrated commentator of the *Gîtâ*³. For the period prior to that limit, the first testimony to consider is that of *Bāṇabhaṭṭa*, the author of the *Kādambari*. The date of *Bāṇa* is now fairly well settled as the

¹ The word *Brahma-nirvāṇa*, which occurs so often at the close of chapter V and also at chapter II, 72, seems to me to indicate that *nirvāṇa* had not yet become technically pinned down, so to say, to the meaning which Buddhism subsequently gave to it, as the name of what it deemed the summum bonum. *Nirvāṇa* by itself occurs at VI, 15.

² See some further remarks on these points in my Introduction to the *Gîtâ* in *verse*.

³ Professor Tiele (*History of Ancient Religions*, p. 140) says *Śaṅkara* was born in 788 A. D.; on the authority, I presume, of the *Āryavidyāsudhākara*, p. 226.

middle of the seventh century A.C. The doubt which the late Dr. Bhāu Dāji had cast upon its correctness¹, by impugning the received date of king Harshavardhana, appears to me to have been satisfactorily disposed of by the paper of my friend Professor R. G. Bhāṇḍārkar on the Kālukya dates². In the Kādambārī, then, we have testimony to the existence of the Bhagavadgītā in the middle of the seventh century A.C. For in that work, which, as is well known, abounds with equivoques, we have a passage which compares the royal palace to the Mahābhārata, both being 'Anantagītākarṇanānanditanaram³,' which, as applied to the royal palace, means 'in which the people were delighted by hearing innumerable songs;' and as applied to the Mahābhārata means 'in which Arguna was delighted at hearing the Anantagītā.' Anantagītā is evidently only another name here for Bhagavadgītā. The conclusion deducible from this fact is not merely that the Gītā existed, but that it existed as a recognised portion of the Bhārata, in the seventh century A.C. Now the Kādambārī shows, in numerous passages, in what high esteem the Mahābhārata was held in its days. The queen Vilāsavati used to attend at those readings and expositions of the Mahābhārata, which have continued down to our own times; and it was even then regarded as a sacred work of extremely high authority, in the same way as it is now. It follows, therefore, that the Gītā must have been several centuries old in the time of Bāṇabhaṭṭa.

Prior in time to Bāṇa is the Indian Shakespeare, Kālidāsa, as he is referred to in Bāṇabhaṭṭa's Harsha-*karita*⁴, and also in a copperplate inscription of the early part of the seventh century, as a poet who had then already acquired a high reputation⁵. Unfortunately, it is not yet possible to fix exactly the date at which Kālidāsa flourished. Still,

¹ Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. viii, p. 250; and see, too, Indian Antiquary, vol. vi, p. 61 (Dr. Buhler).

² Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. xiv, p. 16 seq.

³ P. 182 (Tārānātha's ed.)

⁴ See F. E. Hall's *Vāsavadattā*, p. 14 note.

⁵ See Indian Antiquary, vol. v, p. 70.

I think, we have pretty satisfactory evidence to show that the middle of the fifth century A. C. is the very latest date to which he can be referred. In a small tract (written by me in 1873), discussing Professor Weber's theory about the *Rāmāyana*, I have pointed out¹ that the *Pañkatantra* quotes from Kālidāsa a passage which there is good reason to believe formed part of the *Pañkatantra* when it was translated for king Nushirvan of Persia about the beginning of the sixth century A.C.² Allowing for the time required to raise Kālidāsa to the position of being cited as an authority, and for the time required for the spread of the fame of an Indian work to Persia in those early days, I think, that the middle of the fifth century is a date to which Kālidāsa cannot well have been subsequent. Now in the works of Kālidāsa we have some very remarkable allusions to the *Bhagavadgītā*. It is not necessary to go through all these allusions. I will only mention the most remarkable, one from the *Raghuvamśa*, and one from the *Kumārasambhava*. In *Raghu*, canto X, stanza 67, the gods addressing Vishṇu say: 'There is nothing for you to acquire which has not been acquired. The one motive in your birth and work is the good of the worlds.' The first sentence here reminds one at once of *Gītā*, chapter III, stanza 22, the coincidence with which in sense as well as expression is very striking. The second sentence contains the words 'birth and work,' the precise words employed at *Gītā* IV, 9; and the idea of 'good of the worlds' is identical with the idea expressed in *Gītā* III, 20-24, the words only in which it is clothed being different. Couple this passage with the one from *Kumārasambhava*, canto VI, 67, where the seven *Rishis* say to the Himālaya mountain, 'Well hast thou been called Vishṇu in a firmly-fixed form.' The allusion there to the *Gītā*, chapter X, stanza 25 (p. 89), is, I venture to think,

¹ 'Was the *Rāmāyana* copied from Homer?' See pp. 36-59.

² Cf. Colebrooke's *Essays*, vol. ii, p. 166 seq. It may be remarked that this argument is not affected by the attempt to distinguish the Kālidāsa of the *Akuntalā* from the Kālidāsa of the *Raghuvamśa*. Because the work cited in the *Pañkatantra* is the *Kumārasambhava*, which indisputably belongs to the same author as the *Raghuvamśa*.

unmistakable. The word 'firmly-fixed' is identical in both passages; the idea is identical, and Mallinātha refers to the passage in the Gītā as the authority which Kālidāsa had in view. It follows, therefore, that the Gītā must be prior to Kālidāsa's time. It may be added, that Kālidāsa in his *Raghu* XV, 67, cites *Manu* as an authority for the proposition that a king must protect all castes and all orders or āśramas. *Manu*, therefore, must have lived considerably earlier than Kālidāsa, and the Gītā, as we have already argued, must be considerably earlier, not only than *Manu*, but also than his predecessor Āpastamba. The Gītā may, therefore, be safely said to belong to a period several centuries prior to the fifth century A. C.

The next piece of external evidence is furnished by the Vedānta-sūtras of Bādarāyaṇa. In several of those Sūtras, references are made to certain Smṛitis as authorities for the propositions laid down. Take, for instance, I, 2, 6, or I, 3, 23, and many others. Now three of these Sūtras are very useful for our present purpose. The first we have to consider is Sūtra II, 3, 45. The commentators Saṅkarācārya, Rāmānuja, Madhva, and Vallabha¹ are unanimous in understanding the passage in Gītā, chapter XV, stanza 7 (p. 112), to be the one there referred to by the words of the Sūtra, which are, 'And it is said in a Smṛiti.' Now a glance at the context of the Sūtra will, I think, satisfy us that the commentators, who are unanimous though representing different and even conflicting schools of thought, are also quite right. Sūtra 43, in the elliptical language characteristic of that branch of our literature, says, 'A part, from the statement of difference, and the reverse also: some lay down that it is a fisherman or a cheat.' Sūtra 44 runs thus, 'And also from the words of the Mantra.' And then comes Sūtra 45 as set out above. It is plain, that the Sūtra No. 45 indicates an authority for something not specified, being regarded as part of some other thing also not

¹ I am indebted to Professor M. M. Kunte for a loan of Vallabhācārya's commentary on the Sūtras noted in the text. I had not seen it in 1875, when I last discussed this question.

specified. Now the discussion in previous Sûtras has been about the soul; so we can have little difficulty in accepting the unanimous interpretation of the commentators, that the proposition here sought to be made out is that the individual soul is part of the Supreme Soul, which is the proposition laid down in the Gîtâ in the passage referred to. The next Sûtra to refer to is IV, 1, 10. I shall not set forth the other relevant Sûtras here as in the preceding case. I only state that the three commentators, Saṅkara, Rāmānuga, and Madhva, agree that the Gîtâ is here referred to, namely, chapter VI, stanza 11 seq. Vallabha, however, I am bound to add, does not agree with this, as he interprets the Sûtra in question and those which precede and follow as referring to an entirely different matter. If I may be permitted to say so, however, I consider his interpretation not so satisfactory as that of the three other and older commentators. Lastly, we come to Sûtra IV, 2-19. On this, again, all the four commentators are unanimous, and they say that Gîtâ, chapter VIII, stanza 24 seq. (p. 80), is the authority referred to. And I think there can be very little doubt that they are right. These various pieces of evidence render it, I think, historically certain, that the Gîtâ must be considerably prior to the Vedānta-sûtras; and that the word Brahma-sûtras, which occurs at Gîtâ, chapter XIII, stanza 4 (p. 102), is correctly interpreted by the commentators as not referring to the Vedānta-sûtras, which are also called Brahma-sûtras, but to a different subject altogether¹. When were the Vedānta-sûtras composed? The question must at once be admitted to be a difficult one; but I think the following considerations will show that the date of those Sûtras must, at the latest, be considerably earlier than the period which we have already reached in this part of our investigation. We may take it as fairly well settled, that Bhaṭṭa Kumārila, the celebrated commentator of the Pūrva Mīmāṃsā school, flourished not later than the end of the seventh century

¹ Cf. Weber's *Indian Literature*, p. 242. See also Lassen's Preface to his edition of Schlegel's Gîtâ, XXXV. Rāmānuga takes the other view.

A.C.¹ A considerable time prior to him must be placed the great commentator on the *Mīmāṃsā-sūtras*, namely, Sabarasvāmin. If we may judge from the style of his great commentary, he cannot have flourished much later than Patañjali, who may now be taken as historically proved to have flourished about 140 B.C.² Now a considerable time must have intervened between Sabarasvāmin and another commentator on the *Pūrva Mīmāṃsā*, whom Sabara quotes with the highly honorific title Bhagavān, the Venerable, namely, Upavarsha. Upavarsha appears from Saṅkara's statement to have commented on the *Vedānta-sūtras*³. We have thus a long catena of works from the seventh century A.C., indicating a pretty high antiquity for the *Vedānta-sūtras*, and therefore a higher one for the *Bhagavadgītā*. The antiquity of the *Vedānta-sūtras* follows also from the circumstance, which we have on the testimony of Rāmānuga, repeated by Mādhavācārya, that a commentary on the *Sūtras* was written by Baudhāyanācārya⁴, which commentary Rāmānuga says he followed. Baudhāyana's date is not accurately settled. But he appears to be older than Āpastamba, whose date, as suggested by Dr. Bühler, has already been mentioned⁵. The *Vedānta-sūtras*, then, would appear to be at least as old as the fourth century B.C.; if the information we have from Rāmānuga may be trusted. A third argument may be mentioned, bearing on the date of the *Vedānta-sūtras*. In *Sūtra* 110 of the third *Pāda* of the fourth *Adhyāya* of Pāṇini's *Sūtras*, a *Pārāsarya* is mentioned as the author of a *Bhikshu-sūtra*. Who is this *Pārāsarya*, and what the *Bhikshu-sūtra*? Unluckily Patañjali gives us no information on this head, nor

¹ See Burnell's *Sāmavidhāna-brahmaṇa*, Introduction, p. vi note.

² The authorities are collected in our edition of *Bhārtrihari* (Bombay Series of Sanskrit Classics). Introd. p. xi note. See also Bühler's *Āpastamba* in this series, Introd. p. xxviii.

³ See Colebrooke's *Essays*, vol. i, p. 332. An Upavarsha is mentioned in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* as living in the time of king Nanda, and having Pāṇini, Kātyāyana, and Vyāṣi for his pupils.

⁴ See the *Rāmānuga Bhāṣya*; and the *Rāmānuga Darśana* in *Sarvadarsana-saṅgraha*.

⁵ *Āpastamba*, p. xvi.

does the *Kārikā Vṛtti*. But a note of Professor Tārānātha Tarkavāṣpati, of Calcutta, says that Pārāśarya is Vyāsa, and the Bhikshu-sūtra is the Vedānta-sūtra¹. If this is correct, the Vedānta-sūtras go very far indeed into antiquity. For Pāṇini can certainly not be assigned to a later date than the fourth century B.C., while that learned scholar, Professor Goldstücker, on grounds of considerable strength, assigned him to a much earlier date². The question thus comes to this, Is the remark of Professor Tārānātha, above set out, correct? I find then, from enquiries made of my venerable and erudite friend Yagñeśvar Sāstrin, the author of the *Āryavidyāsudhākara*, that the note of Tārānātha is based on the works of Bhaṭṭogī Dikshita, Nāgogī Bhaṭṭa, and Gṛānendra Sarasvatī, who all give the same interpretation of the Sūtra in question. It is certainly unfortunate that we have no older authority on this point than Bhaṭṭogī. The interpretation is in itself not improbable. Vyāsa is certainly by the current tradition³ called the author of the Vedānta-sūtras, and also the son of Parāśara. Nor is Bhikshu-sūtra a name too far removed in sense from Vedānta-sūtra, though doubtless the former name is not now in use, at all events as applied to the Sūtras attributed to Bādarāyaṇa, and though, it must also be stated, a Bhikshu-sūtra Bhāshya Vārtika is mentioned *eo nomine* by Professor Weber as actually in existence at the present day⁴. Taking all things together, therefore, we may provisionally understand the Bhikshu-sūtra mentioned by Pāṇini to be identical with the Vedānta-sūtras. But even apart from that identification, the other testimonies we have adduced prove, I think, the high antiquity of those Sūtras, and consequently of the Bhagavadgītā.

We have thus examined, at what, considering the importance and difficulty of the subject, will not, I trust, be regarded as unreasonable length, some of the principal pieces of internal and external evidence touching the age

¹ See *Siddhānta Kaumudī*, vol. i, p. 592.

² See his *Pāṇini*; and see also Bühler's *Āpastamba* in this series, *Introd.* p. xxxii note.

³ The correctness of this tradition is very doubtful.

⁴ *Indische Studien* I, 470.

of the Bhagavadgītā and its position in Sanskrit literature. Although, as stated at the very outset, the conclusions we have deduced in the course of that examination are not all such as at once to secure acceptance, I venture to think that we have now adequate grounds for saying, that the various and independent lines of investigation, which we have pursued, converge to this point, that the Gītā, on numerous and essential topics, ranges itself as a member of the Upanishad group, so to say, in Sanskrit literature. Its philosophy, its mode of treating its subject, its style, its language, its versification, its opinions on sundry subjects of the highest importance, all point to that one conclusion. We may also, I think, lay it down as more than probable, that the latest date at which the Gītā can have been composed, must be earlier than the third century B.C., though it is altogether impossible to say at present how much earlier. This proposition, too, is supported by the cumulative strength of several independent lines of testimony.

Before closing this Introduction, it is desirable to add a word concerning the text of the Bhagavadgītā. The religious care with which that text has been preserved is very worthy of note. Schlegel and Lassen¹ have both declared it as their opinion, that we have the text now almost exactly in the condition in which it was when it left the hands of the author. There are very few real various readings, and some of the very few that exist are noted by the commentators. Considering that the Mahābhārata must have been tampered with on numerous occasions, this preservation of the Gītā is most interesting. It doubtless indicates that high veneration for it which is still felt, and has for long been felt, by the Hindus, and which is embodied in the expression used in the colophons of the MSS. describing the Gītā as the 'Upanishad sung by God².' In view of the facts and deductions set forth in

¹ See the latter's edition of the Gītā, Preface, p. xxvii.

² In the edition of the Gītā published in Bombay in Saka 1782, there is a stanza which says that the Upanishads are the cows, *Kṛishṇa* the milkman, *Arguna* the calf, and the milk is the nectar-like Gītā, which indicates the tradi-

this essay, that expression existing as, I believe, it does, almost universally in Indian MSS. of the *Gītā*, is not altogether devoid of historical value.

Schlegel draws attention to one other circumstance regarding the text of the *Gītā*, which is also highly interesting, namely, that the number of the stanzas is exactly 700. Schlegel concludes that the author must have fixed on that number deliberately, in order to prevent, as far as he could, all subsequent interpolations¹. This is certainly not unlikely; and if the aim of the author was such as Schlegel suggests, it has assuredly been thoroughly successful. In the chapter of the *Mahābhārata* immediately succeeding the eighteenth chapter of the *Gītā*, the extent of the work in *slokas* is distinctly stated. The verses in which this is stated do not exist in the *Gauda* or *Bengal* recension, and are doubtless not genuine. But, nevertheless, they are interesting, and I shall reproduce them here. 'Kṛṣṇa spoke 620 *slokas*, Arjuna fifty-seven, Sañjaya sixty-seven, and Dhṛitarāṣṭra one *sloka*; such is the extent of the *Gītā*.' It is very difficult to account for these figures. According to them, the total number of verses in the *Gītā* would be 745, whereas the number in the current MSS., and even in the *Mahābhārata* itself, is, as already stated, only 700². I cannot suggest any explanation whatever of this discrepancy.

In conclusion, a few words may be added regarding the general principles followed in the translation contained in this volume. My aim has been to make that translation as close and literal a rendering as possible of the *Gītā*, as interpreted by the commentators Saṅkarākārya, Sṛidhara-svāmin, and Madhusūdana Sarasvatī. Reference has also been frequently made to the commentary of Rāmānugākārya, and also to that of Nilakanṭha, which latter forms part of the author's general commentary on the *Mahābhārata*.

usual view of the *Gītā*—a view in consonance with that which we have been led to by the facts and arguments contained in this Introduction.

¹ P. xi (Lassen's ed.)

² Saṅkara's commentary states in so many words that the *Gītā* he used contained only 700 *slokas*.

In some places these commentators differ among themselves, and then I have made my own choice. The foot-notes are mainly intended to make clear that which necessarily remains obscure in a literal translation. Some of the notes, however, also point out the parallelisms existing between the Gītā and other works, principally the Upanishads and the Buddhistic Dhammapada and Sutta Nipāta. Of the latter I have not been able to procure the original Pāli; I have only used Sir M. C. Swamy's translation. But I may here note, that there are some verses, especially in the Salla Sutta (see pp. 124-127 of Sir M. C. Swamy's book), the similarity of which, in doctrine and expression, to some of the verses of the Gītā is particularly striking. The analogies between the Gītā and the Upanishads have been made the basis of certain conclusions in this Introduction. Those between the Gītā and these Buddhistic works are at present, to my mind, only interesting; I am unable yet to say whether they may legitimately be made the premises for any historical deductions.

There are two indexes: the first a general index of matters, the second containing the principal words in the Gītā which may prove useful or interesting for philological, historical, or other kindred purposes.

BHAGAVADGÎTÂ.

CHAPTER I.

Dhrîtarâshtra said :

What did my (people) and the *Pândavas* do, O *Saṅgaya* ! when they assembled together on the holy field of Kurukshetra, desirous to do battle ?

Saṅgaya said :

Seeing the army of the *Pândavas* drawn up in battle-array¹, the prince Duryodhana approached his preceptor, and spoke (these) words : ' O preceptor ! observe this grand army of the sons of *Pându*, drawn up in battle-array by your talented pupil, the son of Drupada. In it are heroes (bearing) large bows, the equals of *Bhîma* and *Arguna* in battle—(namely), *Yuyudhâna*, *Virâta*, and Drupada, the master of a great car², and *Dhrishṭaketu*, *Kekitâna*, and the valiant king of *Kâsi*, *Purugit* and *Kuntibhoga*, and that eminent man *Saibya* ; the heroic *Yudhâmanyu*, the valiant *Uttamaugas*, the son of *Subhadra*, and the sons of

¹ Several of these modes of array are described in *Manu* VII, 187, like a staff, like a wain, like a boar, &c. That of the *Pândavas*, here referred to, appears to have been like the thunderbolt, as to which see *Manu* VII, 191.

² This is a literal rendering ; the technical meaning is ' a warrior proficient in military science, who single-handed can fight a thousand archers.'

Draupadī—all masters of great cars. And now, O best of Brāhmaṇas! learn who are most distinguished among us, and are leaders of my army. I will name them to you, in order that you may know them well. Yourself, and Bhīshma, and Karṇa, and Kṛipā the victor of (many) battles; Asvatthāman, and Vikarṇa, and also the son of Somadatta, and many other brave men, who have given up their lives for me, who fight with various weapons, (and are) all dexterous in battle. Thus our army which is protected by Bhīshma is unlimited; while this army of theirs which is protected by Bhīma is very limited. And therefore do ye all, occupying respectively the positions¹ assigned to you, protect Bhīshma² only.'

Then his powerful grandsire, Bhīshma, the oldest of the Kauravas, roaring aloud like a lion, blew his conch, (thereby) affording delight to Duryodhana. And then all at once, conchs, and kettledrums, and tabors, and trumpets were played upon; and there was a tumultuous din. Then, too, Mādhava and the son of Pāṇḍu (Arguna), seated in a grand chariot to which white steeds were yoked, blew their heavenly conchs. Hṛishīkeśa³ blew the Pāñḍaganya⁴, and Dhanañjaya the Devadatta, and Bhīma, (the doer) of fearful deeds, blew the great conch Paundra. King Yudhishthīra, the son of Kuntī⁵, blew the Anan-

¹ The original word means, according to Sridhara, 'the ways of entrance into a Vyūha or phalanx.'

² Who, as generalissimo, remained in the centre of the army.

³ Literally, according to the commentators, 'lord of the senses of perception.'

⁴ Schlegel renders the names of these conchs by Gigantea, Theodotes, Arundinea, Triumphatrix, Dulcisona, and Gemmiflorea respectively.

⁵ So called, *par excellence*, apparently.

tavigaya, and Nakula and Sahadeva (respectively) the Sughosha and Manipushpaka. And the king of Kâsi, too, who has an excellent bow, and Sikhan-
 ḍin, the master of a great car, and Dhṛishadyumna, Virāṭa, and the unconquered Sâtyaki, and Drupada, and the sons of Draupadi, and the son of Subhadrâ, of mighty arms, blew conchs severally from all sides, O king of the earth! That tumultuous din rent the hearts of all (the people) of Dhṛitarâshtra's (party), causing reverberations throughout heaven and earth. Then seeing (the people of) Dhṛitarâshtra's party regularly marshalled, the son of Pându, whose standard is the ape, raised his bow¹, after the discharge of missiles had commenced, and O king of the earth! spake these words to Hṛishikesa: 'O undegraded one! station my chariot between the two armies, while I observe those, who stand here desirous to engage in battle, and with whom, in the labours of this struggle, I must do battle. I will observe those who are assembled here and who are about to engage in battle, wishing to do service in battle² to the evil-minded son of Dhṛitarâshtra.'

Saṅgaya said:

Thus addressed by Gudâkesa³, O descendant of Bharata⁴! Hṛishikesa stationed that excellent chariot between the two armies, in front of Bhishma

¹ I.e. to join in the fight.

² In the original, several derivatives from the root yudh, meaning 'to fight,' occur with the same frequency as 'battle' here.

³ Generally interpreted 'lord of sleep,' i.e. not indolent. Nilakantha also suggests, that it may mean 'of thick hair.'

⁴ The son of Dushyanta and Sakuntalâ, after whom India is called 'Bhâratavarsha,' and from whom both Pândavas and Kauravas were descended.

and Drona and of all the kings of the earth, and said : 'O son of Prithā! look at these assembled Kauravas.' There the son of Prithā saw in both armies, fathers and grandfathers, preceptors, maternal uncles, brothers, sons¹, grandsons, companions, fathers-in-law, as well as friends. And seeing all those kinsmen standing (there), the son of Kuntī was overcome by excessive pity, and spake thus despondingly.

Arguna said :

Seeing these kinsmen, 'O Krishna! standing (here) anxious to engage in battle, my limbs droop down; my mouth is quite dried up; a tremor comes over my body; and my hairs stand on end; the Gāndīva (bow) slips from my hand; my skin burns intensely. I am unable, too, to stand up; my mind whirls round, as it were; O Kesava! I see adverse omens²; and I do not perceive any good (likely to accrue) after killing (my) kinsmen in the battle. I do not wish for victory, O Krishna! nor sovereignty, nor pleasures: what is sovereignty to us, O Govinda! what enjoyments, and even life? Even those, for whose sake we desire sovereignty, enjoyments, and pleasures, are standing here for battle, abandoning life and wealth—preceptors, fathers, sons as well as grandfathers, maternal uncles, fathers-in-law, grandsons, brothers-in-law, as also (other) relatives. These I do not wish to kill, though they kill (me), O destroyer of Madhu³! even for the sake of sovereignty over

¹ The words in this list include all standing in similar relationships to those directly signified.

² Such as the appearance of vultures, cars moving without horses, &c., mentioned in the Bhīshma Parvan II, 17. Cf. Sutta Nipāta, p. 100.

³ A demon of this name.

the three worlds, how much less then for this earth (alone)? What joy shall be ours, O *Ganârdana*! after killing *Dhṛitarâshṭra*'s sons? Killing these felons¹ we shall only incur sin. Therefore it is not proper for us to kill our own kinsmen, the sons of *Dhṛitarâshṭra*. For how, O *Mâdhava*! shall we be happy after killing our own relatives? Although they have their consciences corrupted by avarice, they do not see the evils flowing from the extinction of a family, and the sin in treachery to friends; still, O *Ganârdana*! should not we, who do see the evils flowing from the extinction of a family, learn to refrain from that sin? On the extinction of a family, the eternal rites of families are destroyed². Those rites being destroyed, impiety predominates over the whole family³. In consequence of the predominance of impiety, O *Krishna*! the women of the family become corrupt⁴; and the women becoming corrupt, O descendant of *Vrishni*! intermingling of castes results; that intermingling necessarily leads the family and the destroyers of the family to hell; for when the ceremonies of (offering) the balls of food and water (to them) fail⁵, their ancestors fall down (to hell). By these transgressions of the destroyers of families, which occasion interminglings of castes, the eternal rites of castes and rites of families are

¹ Six classes are mentioned: an incendiary; one who administers poison; one who assaults another—weapon in hand; one who destroys property; one who robs another of his wife; or his fields.

² I.e. there being none to attend to the 'rites,' women being ineligible.

³ I.e. the surviving members.

⁴ I.e. either by the mere fact of relationship to such men, or by following their bad example.

⁵ There being no qualified person to perform them; 'their ancestors'—that is to say, of the 'destroyers of families.'

subverted. And O Ganârdana! we have heard that men whose family-rites are subverted, must necessarily live in hell. Alas! we are engaged in committing a heinous sin, seeing that we are making efforts for killing our own kinsmen out of greed of the pleasures of sovereignty. If the sons of Dhṛita-râshṭra, weapon in hand, were to kill me in battle, me being weaponless and not defending (myself), that would be better for me.

Saṅgaya said :

Having spoken thus, Arguna cast aside his bow together with the arrows, on the battle-field, and sat down in (his) chariot, with a mind agitated by grief.

CHAPTER II.

Saṅgaya said :

To him, who was thus overcome with pity, and dejected, and whose eyes were full of tears and turbid, the destroyer of Madhu spoke these words.

The Deity said :

How (comes it that) this delusion, O Arguna! which is discarded by the good, which excludes from heaven, and occasions infamy, has overtaken you in this (place of) peril? Be not effeminate, O son of Prithâ! it is not worthy of you. Cast off this base weakness of heart, and arise, O terror of (your) foes!

Arguna said :

How, O destroyer of Madhu! shall I encounter with arrows in the battle Bhīshma and Drona—both, O destroyer of enemies! entitled to reverence?

Without killing (my) preceptors—(men) of great glory—it is better to live even on alms in this world. But if killing them, though they are avaricious of worldly goods, I should only enjoy blood-tainted enjoyments. Nor do we know which of the two is better for us—whether that we should vanquish them, or that they should vanquish us. Even those, whom having killed, we do not wish to live—even those sons of *Dhṛitarāshṭra* stand (arrayed) against us. With a heart contaminated by the taint of helplessness¹, with a mind confounded about my duty, I ask you. Tell me what is assuredly good for me. I am your disciple; instruct me, who have thrown myself on your (indulgence). For I do not perceive what is to dispel that grief which will dry up my organs² after I shall have obtained a prosperous kingdom on earth without a foe, or even the sovereignty of the gods³.

Saṅgaya said :

Having spoken thus to *Hṛishīkeśa*, O terror of (your) foes! *Gudākeśa* said to Govinda, 'I shall not engage in battle;' and verily remained silent. To him thus desponding between the two armies, O descendant of *Bharata*! *Hṛishīkeśa* spoke these words with a slight smile.

The Deity said :

You have grieved for those who deserve no grief,

¹ The commentators say that 'heart' here signifies the dispositions which are stated in chapter XVIII *infra*, p. 126. The feeling of 'helplessness' is incompatible with what is there stated as the proper disposition for a Kshatriya.

² I.e. by the heat of vexation; the meaning is, 'which will cause constant vexation of spirit.'

³ I.e. if the means employed are the sinful acts referred to.

and you speak words of wisdom¹. Learned men grieve not for the living nor the dead. Never did I not exist, nor you, nor these rulers of men; nor will any one of us ever hereafter cease to be. As in this body, infancy and youth and old age (come) to the embodied (self)², so does the acquisition of another body; a sensible man is not deceived about that. The contacts of the senses³, O son of Kuntl! which produce cold and heat, pleasure and pain, are not permanent, they are for ever coming and going. Bear them, O descendant of Bharata! For, O chief of men! that sensible man whom they⁴ afflict not, (pain and pleasure being alike to him), he merits immortality. There is no existence for that which is unreal; there is no non-existence for that which is real. And the (correct) conclusion about both⁵ is perceived by those who perceive the truth. Know that to be indestructible which pervades all this; the destruction of that inexhaustible (principle) none can bring about. These bodies appertaining to the embodied (self) which is eternal, indestructible, and indefinable, are declared⁶ to be perishable; therefore do engage in battle, O descendant of Bharata! He who thinks one to be the killer and he who thinks

¹ Scil. regarding family-rites. &c., for, says Nīlakanṭha, they indicate knowledge of soul as distinct from body.

² A common word in the Gītā, that which presides over each individual body.

³ Scil. with external objects.

⁴ I.e. the 'contacts.'

⁵ The sense is this—there are two things apparently, the soul which is indestructible, and the feelings of pain &c. which 'come and go.' The true philosopher knows that the former only is real and exists; and that the latter is unreal and non-existent. He therefore does not mind the latter.

⁶ Scil. by those who are possessed of true knowledge.

one to be killed, both know nothing. He kills not, is not killed¹. He is not born, nor does he ever die, nor, having existed, does he exist no more. Unborn, everlasting, unchangeable, and very ancient, he is not killed when the body is killed². O son of Prithā! how can that man who knows the self thus to be indestructible, everlasting, unborn, and imperishable, kill any one, or cause any one to be killed? As a man, casting off old clothes, puts on others and new ones, so the embodied (self), casting off old bodies, goes to others and new ones. Weapons do not divide the self (into pieces); fire does not burn it; waters do not moisten it; the wind does not dry it up. It is not divisible; it is not combustible; it is not to be moistened; it is not to be dried up. It is everlasting, all-pervading, stable, firm, and eternal³. It is said to be unperceived, to be unthinkable, to be unchangeable. Therefore knowing it to be such, you ought not to grieve. But even if you think that the self is constantly born, and constantly dies, still, O you of mighty arms! you ought not to grieve thus. For to one that is born, death is certain; and to one that dies, birth is certain⁴. Therefore about (this)

¹ Cf. *Kaṭha-upanishad*, p. 104. ² *Kaṭha-upanishad*, pp. 103, 104.

³ 'Eternal.' Nilakanṭha explains this by 'unlimited by time, place,' &c. Saṅkara and others as 'uncreated,' 'without cause.' Stable = not assuming new forms; firm = not abandoning the original form. (Śrīdhara.) The latter signifies a slight change; the former a total change.

⁴ Cf. the following from the *Sutta Nipāta* (Sir M. C. Swamy's translation), pp. 124, 125: 'There is, indeed, no means by which those born could be prevented from dying.' 'Even thus the world is afflicted with death and decay; therefore wise men, knowing the course of things in the world, do not give way to grief.'

unavoidable thing, you ought not to grieve. The source of things, O descendant of Bharata! is unperceived; their middle state is perceived; and their end again is unperceived. What (occasion is there for any) lamentation regarding them¹? One looks upon it² as a wonder; another similarly speaks of it as a wonder; another too hears of it as a wonder; and even after having heard of it, no one does really know it³. This embodied (self), O descendant of Bharata! within every one's body is ever indestructible. Therefore you ought not to grieve for any being. Having regard to your own duty also, you ought not to falter, for there is nothing better for a Kshatriya⁴ than a righteous battle. Happy those Kshatriyas, O son of Prithā! who can find such a battle (to fight)—come of itself⁵—an open door to heaven! But if you will not fight this righteous battle, then you will have abandoned your own duty and your fame, and you will incur sin. All beings, too, will tell of your everlasting infamy; and to one who has been honoured, infamy is (a) greater (evil) than death. (Warriors who are) masters of great cars will think that you abstained from the battle through fear, and having been highly thought of by them, you will fall down to littleness. Your enemies, too, decrying your power, will speak much about you that should not be spoken. And what, indeed, more lamentable than that? Killed,

¹ Cf. Sutta Nipāta, p. 125. 'In vain do you grieve, not knowing well the two ends of him whose manner either of coming or going you know not.'

² I. e. the self spoken of above.

³ Kaṭha-upanishad, p. 96.

⁴ One of the warrior caste.

⁵ Without any effort, that is to say, of one's own.

you will obtain heaven ; victorious, you will enjoy the earth. Therefore arise, O son of Kuntī ! resolved to (engage in) battle. Looking on pleasure and pain, on gain and loss, on victory and defeat as the same, prepare for battle, and thus you will not incur sin. The knowledge here declared to you is that relating to the Sāṅkhya¹. Now hear that relating to the Yoga. Possessed of this knowledge, O son of Prithā ! you will cast off the bonds of action. In this (path to final emancipation) nothing that is commenced becomes abortive ; no obstacles exist ; and even a little of this (form of) piety protects one from great danger². There is here³, O descendant of Kuru ! but one state of mind consisting in firm understanding. But the states of mind of those who have no firm understanding are manifold and endless. The state of mind which consists in firm understanding regarding steady contemplation⁴ does not belong to those, O son of Prithā ! who are strongly attached to (worldly) pleasures and power, and whose minds are drawn away by that flowery talk which is full of (the ordinances of) specific acts for the attainment of (those) pleasures and (that) power, and which promises birth as the fruit of acts⁵—(that flowery

¹ Sāṅkhya is explained in different modes by the different commentators, but the meaning here seems to be, that the doctrine stated is the doctrine of true knowledge and of emancipation by means of it. See *infra*, p. 52.

² *Viz.* this mortal mundane life.

³ *I.e.* for those who enter on this 'path.'

⁴ *I.e.* of the supreme Being ; Yoga meaning really the dedication of all acts to that Being.

⁵ See *Sutta Nipāta*, p. 4.

talk) which those unwise ones utter, who are enamoured of Vedic words, who say there is nothing else, who are full of desires, and whose goal is heaven¹. The Vedas (merely) relate to the effects of the three qualities²; do you, O Arguna! rise above those effects of the three qualities, and be free from the pairs of opposites³, always preserve courage⁴, be free from anxiety for new acquisitions or protection of old acquisitions, and be self-controlled⁵. To the instructed Brāhmaṇa, there is in all the Vedas as much utility as in a reservoir of water into which waters flow from all sides⁶. Your business is with action alone; not by any means with fruit. Let not the fruit of action be your motive (to action). Let not your attachment be (fixed) on inaction⁷. Having recourse to devotion, O Dhanañjaya! perform actions, casting off (all) attachment, and being equable in success or ill-success; (such) equability is called devotion. Action,

¹ This is a merely temporary good, and not therefore deserving to be aspired to before final emancipation.

² I.e. the whole course of worldly affairs. As to qualities, see chapter XIV.

³ Heat and cold, pain and pleasure, and so forth. Cf. Manu I, 26.

⁴ Cf. Sutta Nipāta, p. 17 and other places.

⁵ Keeping the mind from worldly objects.

⁶ The meaning here is not easily apprehended. I suggest the following explanation:—Having said that the Vedas are concerned with actions for special benefits, *Kṛishṇa* compares them to a reservoir which provides water for various special purposes, drinking, bathing, &c. The Vedas similarly prescribe particular rites and ceremonies for going to heaven, or destroying an enemy, &c. But, says *Kṛishṇa*, man's duty is merely to perform the actions prescribed for him, and not entertain desires for the special benefits named. The stanza occurs in the Sanatsugātiya, too.

⁷ Doing nothing at all.

O Dhanañjaya! is far inferior to the devotion of the mind. In that devotion seek shelter. Wretched are those whose motive (to action) is the fruit (of action). He who has obtained devotion in this world casts off both merit and sin¹. Therefore apply yourself to devotion; devotion in (all) actions is wisdom. The wise who have obtained devotion cast off the fruit of action; and released from the shackles of (repeated) births², repair to that seat where there is no unhappiness³. When your mind shall have crossed beyond the taint of delusion, then will you become indifferent to all that you have heard or will hear⁴. When your mind, that was confounded by what you have heard⁵, will stand firm and steady in contemplation⁶, then will you acquire devotion.

Arguna said :

What are the characteristics, O Kesava! of one whose mind is steady, and who is intent on contemplation? How should one of a steady mind speak, how sit, how move?

The Deity said :

When a man, O son of Prithā! abandons all the desires of his heart, and is pleased in his self only

¹ Merit merely leads to heaven, as to which see note on last page. Cf. Sutta Nipāta, pp. 4, 136, 145 note.

² Sutta Nipāta, pp. 3-7, &c.

³ Sutta Nipāta, p. 21.

⁴ This, according to Ānandagiri, means all writings other than those on the science of the soul.

⁵ I.e. about the means for the acquisition of various desired things.

⁶ I.e. of the soul (Saṅkara), of the supreme Being (Śrīdhara). Substantially they both mean the same thing.

and by his self¹, he is then called of a steady mind. He whose heart is not agitated in the midst of calamities, who has no longing for pleasures, and from whom (the feelings of) affection, fear, and wrath² have departed, is called a sage of a steady mind. His mind is steady, who, being without attachments anywhere, feels no exultation and no aversion on encountering the various agreeable and disagreeable³ (things of this world). A man's mind is steady, when he withdraws his senses from (all) objects of sense, as the tortoise (withdraws) its limbs from all sides. Objects of sense withdraw themselves from a person who is abstinent; not so the taste (for those objects). But even the taste departs from him, when he has seen the Supreme⁴. The boisterous senses, O son of Kuntl! carry away by force the mind even of a wise man, who exerts himself (for final emancipation). Restraining them all, a man should remain engaged in devotion, making me his only resort. For his mind is steady whose senses are under his control. The man who ponders over objects of sense forms an attachment to them; from (that) attachment is produced desire; and from desire anger is produced⁵; from anger results want of discrimination⁶; from want of dis-

¹ I. e. pleased, without regard to external objects, by self-contemplation alone.

² Cf. Sutta Nipāta, p. 3.

³ The word *subhāsubha* in this sense also occurs in the Dhammapada, stanza 78, and in the Maitrī-upanishad, p. 34.

⁴ See on this, Wilson's Essays on Sanskrit Literature, vol. iii, p. 130.

⁵ I. e. when the desire is frustrated.

⁶ I. e. between right and wrong. Confusion of memory = forgetfulness of Sāstras and rules prescribed in them.

crimination, confusion of the memory ; from confusion of the memory, loss of reason ; and in consequence of loss of reason he is utterly ruined. But the self-restrained man who moves among¹ objects with senses under the control of his own self, and free from affection and aversion, obtains tranquillity². When there is tranquillity, all his miseries are destroyed, for the mind of him whose heart is tranquil soon becomes steady. He who is not self-restrained has no steadiness of mind ; nor has he who is not self-restrained perseverance³ in the pursuit of self-knowledge ; there is no tranquillity for him who does not persevere in the pursuit of self-knowledge ; and whence can there be happiness for one who is not tranquil ? For the heart which follows the rambling senses leads away his judgment, as the wind leads a boat astray upon the waters. Therefore, O you of mighty arms ! his mind is steady whose senses are restrained on all sides from objects of sense. The self-restrained man is awake, when it is night for all beings ; and when all beings are awake, that is the night of the right-seeing sage⁴. He into whom all objects of desire enter, as waters enter the ocean, which, (though) replenished, (still) keeps its position unmoved,—he only obtains tranquillity ; not he who desires (those) objects of desire. The man who,

¹ Cf. Sutta Nipāta, p. 45.

² Cf. Maitri-upanishad, p. 134, where the commentator explains it to mean freedom from desires.

³ For a somewhat similar use of the word bhāvanā in this sense, comp. Dhammapada, stanza 301.

⁴ Spiritual matters are dark as night to the common run of men, while they are wide awake in all worldly pursuits. With the sage the case is exactly the reverse.

casting off all desires, lives free from attachments, who is free from egoism¹, and from (the feeling that this or that is) mine², obtains tranquillity. This, O son of *Prithā*! is the Brahmic³ state; attaining to this, one is never deluded; and remaining in it in (one's) last moments, one attains (*brahma-nirvāṇa*) the Brahmic bliss⁴.

CHAPTER III.

Arguna said :

If, O *Ganârdana*! devotion is deemed by you to be superior to action, then why, O *Kesava*! do you prompt me to (this) fearful action? You seem, indeed, to confuse my mind by equivocal words. Therefore, declare one thing determinately, by which I may attain the highest good.

The Deity said :

O sinless one! I have already declared, that in this world there is a twofold path⁵—that of the *Sāṅkhyas* by devotion in the shape of (true) knowledge; and that of the *Yogins* by devotion in the shape of action. A man does not attain freedom from action⁶ merely by not engaging in action; nor does he attain perfection⁷ by mere⁸ renunciation. For nobody ever remains even for an instant without

¹ Either pride or, better, the false notion mentioned *infra*, p. 55.

² An almost identical expression occurs in the *Dhammapada*, stanza 367, and *Maitrī-ūpanishad*, p. 37.

³ The state of identification of oneself with the Brahman, which results from a correct knowledge of the Brahman.

⁴ *Infra*, p. 66.

⁵ *Supra*, p. 47.

⁶ I.e., according to *Saṅkara*, identification of oneself with Brahman.

⁷ Final emancipation.

⁸ I.e. not coupled with knowledge and purity of heart.

performing some action ; since the qualities of nature constrain everybody, not having free-will (in the matter), to some action ¹. The deluded man who, restraining the organs of action ², continues to think in his mind about objects of sense, is called a hypocrite. But he, O Arguna ! who restraining his senses by his mind ³, and being free from attachments, engages in devotion (in the shape) of action, with the organs of action, is far superior. Do you perform prescribed action, for action is better than inaction, and the support of your body, too, cannot be accomplished with inaction. This world is fettered by all action other than action for the purpose of the sacrifice ⁴. Therefore, O son of Kuntl ! do you, casting off attachment, perform action for that purpose. The Creator, having in olden times created men together with the sacrifice, said : ' Propagate with this. May it be the giver to you of the things you desire. Please the gods with this, and may those gods please you. Pleasing each other, you will attain the highest good. For pleased with the sacrifices, the gods will give you the enjoyments you desire. And he who enjoys himself without giving them what they have given, is, indeed, a thief.' The good, who eat the leavings of a sacrifice, are released from all sins. But the unrighteous ones, who prepare food for themselves only, incur sin ⁵.

¹ Cf. *infra*, pp. 122-128.

² Hands, feet, &c.

³ By means of true discrimination keeping the senses from attachments to worldly objects, which lead to sin and evil.

⁴ Cf. *infra*, pp. 60, 61. Probably the 'sacrifices' spoken of in that passage must be taken to be the same as those referred to in the Creator's injunction mentioned in this passage.

⁵ Cf. *Maitri-upanishad*, p. 143.

From food are born (all) creatures ; from rain is the production of food ; rain is produced by sacrifices ; sacrifices are the result of action ; know that action has its source in the Vedas ; the Vedas come from the Indestructible. Therefore the all-comprehending Vedas are always concerned with sacrifices¹. He who in this world does not turn round the wheel revolving thus, is of sinful life, indulging his senses, and, O son of *Prithā* ! he lives in vain. But the man who is attached to his self only, who is contented in his self, and is pleased with his self², has nothing to do. He has no interest at all in what is done, and none whatever in what is not done, in this world³ ; nor is any interest of his dependent on any being. Therefore⁴ always perform action, which must be performed, without attachment. For a man, performing action without attachment, attains the Supreme. By action alone, did *Ganaka* and the rest work for perfection⁵. And having regard also to the keeping of people (to their duties) you should perform action. Whatever a great man does, that other men also do. And people follow whatever he receives as authority. There is nothing, O son of *Prithā* ! for me to do in (all) the three worlds,

¹ The commentators explain this to mean that though the Vedas elucidate all matters, their principal subject is the sacrifice.

² The distinctions here are rather nice,—an ordinary man is ‘attached’ to worldly objects, is ‘contented’ with goods &c., and is ‘pleased’ with special gains.

³ No good or evil accrues to him from anything he does or omits to do.

⁴ *Srīdhara* says that *Arguna* is here told to perform action, as freedom from it is only for the man of true knowledge, which *Arguna* is not as yet.

⁵ I. e. final emancipation ; cf. p. 59 *infra*, and *Īsopanishad*, p. 6.

nothing to acquire which has not been acquired. Still I do engage in action. For should I at any time not engage without sloth in action, men would follow in my path from all sides, O son of Prithā! If I did not perform actions, these worlds would be destroyed, I should be the cause of caste-interminglings; and I should be ruining these people. As the ignorant act, O descendant of Bharata! with attachment to action, so should a wise man act without attachment, wishing to keep the people (to their duties). A wise man should not shake the convictions of the ignorant who are attached to action, but acting with devotion (himself) should make them apply themselves to all action. He whose mind is deluded by egoism thinks himself the doer of the actions, which, in every way, are done by the qualities of nature¹. But he, O you of mighty arms! who knows the truth about the difference from qualities and the difference from actions², forms no attachments, believing that qualities deal with qualities³. But those who are deluded by the qualities of nature form attachments to the actions of the qualities⁴. A man of perfect knowledge should not shake these men of imperfect knowledge (in their convictions). Dedicating all actions to me with a mind knowing the relation of the supreme and individual self, engage in battle without

¹ The active principle is nature, the aggregate of the three qualities; the soul is only the looker-on; cf. *inter alia*, p. 104 *infra*.

² Scil. the difference of the soul from the collection of qualities, viz. the body, senses, &c., and from the actions of which they are the authors.

³ Qualities (i. e. senses) deal with qualities, i. e. objects of sense.

⁴ I. e. all mundane affairs.

desire, without (any feeling that this or that is) mine, and without any mental trouble¹. Even those men who always act on this opinion of mine, full of faith, and without carping, are released from all actions. But those who carp at my opinion and do not act upon it, know them to be devoid of discrimination, deluded as regards all knowledge², and ruined. Even a man of knowledge acts consonantly to his own nature³. All beings follow nature. What will restraint effect? Every sense has its affections and aversions towards its objects fixed. One should not become subject to them, for they are one's opponents⁴. One's own duty, though defective, is better than another's duty well performed. Death in (performing) one's own duty is preferable; the (performance of the) duty of others is dangerous.

Arguna said :

But by whom, O descendant of *Vrishni*! is man impelled, even though unwilling, and, as it were, constrained by force, to commit sin?

¹ About the consequences of your actions.

² Of actions, or of the Brahman in its various forms.

³ Which is the result of the virtues and vices of a preceding life. The sequence of ideas here is as follows:—The true view stated here about the 'difference from qualities and actions' is disregarded by some, owing to their 'nature' as now explained. Then the question is, If nature is so potent, what is the good of the *Sāstras*? The answer is, Nature only acts through our likes and dislikes. Withstand them and then you can follow the *Sāstras*. It is under the influence of these likes and dislikes, that some may say, we shall practise duties prescribed for others (our own being bad ones) as they are equally prescribed by the *Sāstras*. That, as stated in the last sentence here, is wrong.

⁴ Cf. *Sutta Nipāta*, p. 101, as to 'likings and dislikings.'

The Deity said :

It is desire, it is wrath¹, born from the quality of passion ; it is very ravenous, very sinful. Know that that is the foe in this world. As fire is enveloped by smoke, a mirror by dust, the fœtus by the womb, so is this² enveloped by desire. Knowledge, O son of Kuntī! is enveloped by this constant foe of the man of knowledge, in the shape of desire, which is like a fire³ and insatiable. The senses, the mind, and the understanding are said to be its seat⁴; with these it deludes the embodied (self) after enveloping knowledge. Therefore, O chief of the descendants of Bharata! first restrain your senses, then cast off this sinful thing which destroys knowledge and experience⁵. It has been said⁶, Great are the senses, greater than the senses is the mind, greater than the mind is the understanding. What is greater than the understanding is that⁷. Thus knowing that which is higher than the understanding, and restraining (your)self by (your)self, O you of

¹ Vide p. 50 supra.

² I.e. knowledge, mentioned in the next sentence, for which construction p. 71 and p. 98 may be compared.

³ Which becomes more powerful the more it is fed.

⁴ The mind is that which ponders over things as such or such; the understanding is that which finally determines (cf. Lewes' History of Philosophy, II, 463-465). These and the senses are the 'seat' of desire, because the perception of an object by the sense, the pondering over it by the mind, and the determination about it by the understanding are the preliminaries to the awakening of the desire; supra, p. 50.

⁵ Knowledge is from books or teachers, experience is the result of personal perception.

⁶ Ka/hopanishad, p. 114; and see also pp. 148, 149.

⁷ I. e. the supreme Being, as in the Ka/hopanishad.

mighty arms! destroy this unmanageable enemy in the shape of desire.

CHAPTER IV.

The Deity said :

This everlasting ¹ (system of) devotion I declared to the sun, the sun declared it to Manu ², and Manu communicated it to Ikshvâku. Coming thus by steps, it became known to royal sages. But, O terror of (your) foes! that devotion was lost to the world by long (lapse of) time. That same primeval devotion I have declared to you to-day, seeing that you are my devotee and friend, for it is the highest mystery.

Arguna said :

Later is your birth ; the birth of the sun is prior. How then shall I understand that you declared (this) first ?

The Deity said :

I have passed through many births, O Arguna! and you also. I know them all, but you, O terror of (your) foes! do not know them. Even though I am unborn and inexhaustible in (my) essence, even though I am lord of all beings, still I take up the control of my own nature ³, and am born by

¹ Because its fruit is imperishable, viz. final emancipation.

² In the *Kândogya-upanishad*, Manu is the channel of communication for some doctrine taught by Pragâpati, which Manu teaches the 'people,' interpreted by Sâṅkara to mean Ikshvâku, &c. (p. 178 ; see too p. 625).

³ Nature is what goes to the formation of the material form in which he is born; the 'power' includes knowledge, omnipotence, &c. It is delusive because he is still really 'unborn.'

means of my delusive power. Whensoever, O descendant of Bharata! piety languishes, and impiety is in the ascendant, I create myself. I am born age after age, for the protection of the good, for the destruction of evil-doers, and the establishment of piety. Whoever truly knows thus my divine birth and work, casts off (this) body and is not born again. He comes to me, O Arguna! Many from whom affection, fear¹, and wrath have departed, who are full of me, who depend on me, and who are purified by the penance of knowledge², have come into my essence. I serve men in the way in which they approach me³. In every way, O son of Prithâ! men follow in my path⁴. Desiring the success of actions⁵, men in this world worship the divinities, for in this world of mortals, the success produced by action is soon obtained. The fourfold division of castes was created by me according to the apportionment of qualities and duties. But though I am its author, know me to be inexhaustible, and not the author. Actions defile me not. I have no attachment to the fruit of actions. He who knows me thus is not tied down by actions. Knowing this, the men of old who wished for final emancipation, performed action. Therefore do you, too, perform action as was done by men of old in olden times. Even sages are confused as to what is

¹ Cf. Sutta Nipâta, p. 73.

² Cf. infra, p. 61.

³ I. e. I give to each worshipper what is proper for him.

⁴ The original words used here occur before in a different sense (see p. 55). Here the meaning is that to whomsoever directly addressed, all worship is worship of me (see p. 84). In the whole passage, Krishna says that the Deity is not chargeable with partiality on account of the variety of human qualities and states.

⁵ Such as acquisition of sons, cattle, &c.

action, what inaction. Therefore I will speak to you about action, and learning that, you will be freed from (this world of) evil. One must possess knowledge about action ; one must also possess knowledge about prohibited action ; and again one must possess knowledge about inaction. The truth regarding action is abstruse. He is wise among men, he is possessed of devotion, and performs all actions ¹, who sees inaction in action, and action in inaction. The wise call him learned, whose acts are all free from desires and fancies, and whose actions are burnt down by the fire of knowledge. Forsaking all attachment to the fruit of action, always contented, dependent on none, he does nothing at all, though he engages in action. Devoid of expectations, restraining the mind and the self, and casting off all belongings ², he incurs no sin, performing actions merely for the sake of the body ³. Satisfied with earnings coming spontaneously ⁴, rising above the pairs of opposites, free from all animosity, and equable on success or ill-success, he is not fettered down, even though he performs (actions). The acts of one who is devoid of attachment, who is free ⁵, whose mind is fixed on knowledge, and who performs action for (the purpose of) the sacrifice ⁶ are all

¹ Devoted though performing all actions.

² 'Appropriating nothing,' at Sutta Nipāta, p. 101, seems to be the same idea. 'Self' just before this means senses.

³ Preferably, perhaps, 'with the body only.' But Sāṅkara rejects this.

⁴ Cf. *infra*, p. 101 ; and Sutta Nipāta, p. 12.

⁵ The commentators vary in their interpretations of this word (*mukta*), but the common point appears to be 'free from attachment to worldly concerns.' Cf. Sutta Nipāta, p. 8.

⁶ Sacrifice here apparently means every act for the attainment of

destroyed. Brahman is the oblation ; with Brahman (as a sacrificial instrument) it is offered up ; Brahman is in the fire ; and by Brahman it is thrown ; and Brahman, too, is the goal to which he proceeds who meditates on Brahman in the action ¹. Some devotees perform the sacrifice to the gods, some offer up the sacrifice by the sacrifice itself in the fire of Brahman ². Others offer up the senses, such as the sense of hearing and others, in the fires of restraint ³ ; others offer up the objects of sense, such as sound and so forth, into the fires of the senses ⁴. Some again offer up all the operations of the senses and the operations of the life-breaths into the fire of devotion by self-restraint ⁵, kindled by knowledge. Others perform the sacrifice of wealth, the sacrifice of penance, the sacrifice of concentration of mind, the sacrifice of Vedic study ⁶, and of knowledge, and others are ascetics of rigid vows. Some offer up the upward life-breath into the downward life-breath, and the downward life-breath into the upper life-breath, and stopping up the motions of the upward and downward life-breaths, devote themselves to the restraint of the life-breaths ⁷. Others, who (take)

the supreme ; cf. *supra*, p. 53. In *Ârvalâyana Grîhya-sûtra* I, 1, 5, a text is cited meaning 'salutation verily is a sacrifice.'

¹ This thorough identification with the Brahman explains why the action is 'destroyed' and does not 'fetter' the doer.

² I. e. all acts, religious and other, offered up to the Brahman in the mode above stated.

³ Practise 'yoga' and other like exercises.

⁴ Remaining unattached to sensuous enjoyments.

⁵ Stopping the bodily operations mentioned, and engaging in contemplation.

⁶ This is called *Brahmayagña*, *Ârvalâyana Grîhya-sûtra* III, 1, 3.

⁷ *Maitri-upanishad*, p. 129.

limited food, offer up the life-breaths into the life-breaths. All of these, conversant with the sacrifice, have their sins destroyed by the sacrifice. Those who eat the nectar-like leavings of the sacrifice repair to the eternal Brahman¹. This world is not for those who perform no sacrifice, whence (then) the other, O best of the Kauravas! Thus sacrifices of various sorts are laid down in the Vedas. Know them all to be produced from action², and knowing this you will be released (from the fetters of this world). The sacrifice of knowledge, O terror of (your) foes! is superior to the sacrifice of wealth, for action, O son of *Prithâ*! is wholly and entirely comprehended in knowledge. That³ you should learn by salutation, question, and service⁴. The men of knowledge who perceive the truth will teach knowledge to you. Having learnt that, O son of *Pāṇdu*! you will not again fall thus into delusion; and by means of it, you will see all beings, without exception, first in yourself, and then in me⁵. Even if you are the most sinful of all sinful men, you will cross over all trespasses by means of the boat of knowledge alone. As a fire well kindled, O *Arguna*! reduces fuel to ashes, so the fire of knowledge reduces all actions to ashes⁶. For there is in this world no means of sanctification like knowledge⁷, and that one perfected by devotion finds

¹ Supra, p. 53.

² Operations of mind, senses, &c.; cf. supra, p. 54.

³ I. e. knowledge.

⁴ Addressed to men of knowledge. Cf. *Mundakopaniṣad*, p. 282.

⁵ The essential unity of the supreme and individual soul and the whole universe. Cf. *Īsopaniṣad*, pp. 13, 14.

⁶ Supra, p. 60.

⁷ *Sutta Nipāta*, p. 48.

within one's self in time. He who has faith, whose senses are restrained, and who is assiduous, obtains knowledge¹. Obtaining knowledge, he acquires, without delay, the highest tranquillity. He who is ignorant and devoid of faith, and whose self is full of misgivings, is ruined. Not this world, not the next, nor happiness, is for him whose self is full of misgivings. Actions, O Dhanañgaya! do not fetter one who is self-possessed², who has renounced action by devotion, and who has destroyed misgivings by knowledge. Therefore, O descendant of Bharata! destroy, with the sword of knowledge, these misgivings of yours which fill your mind, and which are produced from ignorance. Engage in devotion. Arise!

CHAPTER V.

Arguna said :

O *Krishna*! you praise renunciation of actions and also the pursuit (of them). Tell me determinately which one of these two is superior.

The Deity said :

Renunciation and pursuit of action are both instruments of happiness. But of the two, pursuit of action is superior to renunciation of action. He should be understood to be always an ascetic³, who has no aversion and no desire. For, O you of mighty arms! he who is free from the pairs of opposites is easily released from (all) bonds. Children—not wise men—talk of *sāṅkhya* and *yoga* as dis-

¹ *Sutta Nipāta*, p. 49.

² Cautious, free from heedlessness.

³ I. e. one who has performed 'renunciation.'

tinct. One who pursues either well obtains the fruit of both. The seat which the sâṅkhyas obtain is reached by the yogas¹ also. He sees (truly), who sees the sâṅkhyā and yoga as one. Renunciation, O you of mighty arms! is difficult to reach without devotion; the sage possessed of devotion attains Brahman² without delay. He who is possessed of devotion, whose self is pure, who has restrained his self³, and who has controlled his senses, and who identifies his self with every being, is not tainted though he performs (actions). The man of devotion, who knows the truth, thinks he does nothing at all, when he sees⁴, hears, touches, smells, eats, moves, sleeps, breathes, talks, throws out⁵, takes, opens or closes the eyelids; he holds that the senses deal with the objects of the senses. He who, casting off (all) attachment, performs actions dedicating them to Brahman, is not tainted by sin, as the lotus-leaf⁶ (is not tainted) by water. Devotees, casting off attachment, perform actions for attaining purity of self, with the body, the mind, the understanding, or even the senses⁷—(all) free (from

¹ Those who follow the yoga 'path.' The form is noteworthy, grammatically.

² I. e. 'attains true renunciation,' says Sāṅkara; Sridhara says, 'attains Brahman, after becoming a "renouncer."'

³ Here self is explained as body; in the line which goes before it is explained as heart.

⁴ These are the various operations of the organs of perception, action, &c.

⁵ Excretions, &c.

⁶ A very common simile. Cf. inter alia *A'ḥāndogya-upanishad*, p. 276; *Sūta Nipāta*, pp. 107-134; and *Dauids' Buddhism*, p. 158 note.

⁷ Body=bathing, &c.; mind=meditation, &c.; understanding=ascertainment of truth; senses=hearing and celebrating God's name.

egoistic notions). He who is possessed of devotion, abandoning the fruit of actions, attains the highest tranquillity. He who is without devotion, and attached to the fruit (of action), is tied down by (reason of his) acting in consequence of (some) desire. The self-restrained, embodied (self) lies at ease within the city of nine portals¹, renouncing all actions by the mind, not doing nor causing (anything) to be done. The Lord is not the cause of actions, or of the capacity of performing actions amongst men, or of the connexion of action and fruit. But nature only works. The Lord receives no one's sin, nor merit either. Knowledge is enveloped by ignorance, hence all creatures are deluded². But to those who have destroyed that ignorance by knowledge of the self, (such) knowledge, like the sun, shows forth that supreme (principle). And those whose mind is (centred) on it, whose (very) self it is, who are thoroughly devoted to it, and whose final goal it is, go never to return, having their sins destroyed by knowledge. The wise look upon a Brāhmaṇa possessed of learning and humility, on a cow, an elephant, a dog, and a Svapāka, as alike³. Even here, those have conquered the material world, whose mind rests in equability⁴; since Brahman is free from defects and equable, therefore they rest in

¹ Cf. *Pramoanishad*, p. 202; *Svetāsvatara*, p. 332; *Sutta Nipāta*, p. 52. The *Kaṭhōpanishad* has eleven portals (p. 132). The nine are the eyes, nostrils, ears, mouth, and the two for excretions.

² As regards the Lord's relation to man's merit or sin.

³ As manifestations of Brahman, though of different qualities and classes. As to *Svapāka*, a very low caste, see *Sutta Nipāta*, p. 36.

⁴ As stated in the preceding words.

Brahman. He who knows Brahman, whose mind is steady, who is not deluded, and who rests in Brahman, does not exult on finding anything agreeable, nor does he grieve on finding anything disagreeable¹. One whose self is not attached to external objects, obtains the happiness that is in (one's) self; and by means of concentration of mind, joining one's self (with the Brahman), one obtains indestructible happiness. For the enjoyments born of contact (between senses and their objects) are, indeed, sources of misery; they have a beginning as well as an end². O son of Kuntī! a wise man feels no pleasure in them. He who even in this world, before his release from the body, is able to bear the agitations produced from desire and wrath, is a devoted man, he is a happy man. The devotee whose happiness is within (himself), whose recreation is within (himself), and whose light (of knowledge) also is within (himself), becoming (one with) the Brahman³, obtains the Brahmic bliss⁴. The sages whose sins have perished, whose misgivings are destroyed, who are self-restrained, and who are intent on the welfare of all beings⁵, obtain the Brahmic bliss. To the ascetics, who are free from desire and wrath⁶, and whose minds are restrained, and who have knowledge of the self, the Brahmic bliss is on both sides (of death). The sage who excludes (from his mind)

¹ Kaṭhōpanishad, p. 100.

² Cf. supra, p. 44.

³ He is one with the Brahman as he is intent exclusively on the Brahman.

⁴ The bliss of assimilation with the Brahman, or, as Rāmānuga puts it, the bliss of direct knowledge of the self.

⁵ Sutta Nipāta, p. 39; also Davids' Buddhism, p. 109.

⁶ Cf. Sutta Nipāta, p. 3.

external objects, (concentrates) the visual power between the brows¹, and making the upward and downward life-breaths even, confines their movements within the nose, who restrains senses, mind, and understanding², whose highest goal is final emancipation, from whom desire, fear, and wrath have departed, is, indeed, for ever released (from birth and death). He knowing me to be the enjoyer of all sacrifices and penances, the great Lord of all worlds, and the friend of all beings, attains tranquillity.

CHAPTER VI.

The Deity said :

He who, regardless of the fruit of actions, performs the actions which ought to be performed, is the devotee and renouncer ; not he who discards the (sacred) fires³, nor he who performs no acts. Know, O son of Pāṇḍu ! that what is called renunciation is devotion ; for nobody becomes a devotee who has not renounced (all) fancies⁴. To the sage who wishes to rise to devotion, action is said to be a means, and, to him, when he has risen to devotion, tranquillity⁵ is said to be a means. When one does not attach oneself to objects of sense, nor to action, renouncing all fancies, then one is said to have risen to devotion. (A man) should elevate his self by his self⁶; he should not debase his self, for even (a man's) own self is his

¹ Cf. *infra*, p. 78.

² P. 57 and *Kaṭhōpanishad*, p. 157.

³ Which are required for ordinary religious rites.

⁴ Which are the cause of desires ; see *supra*, p. 50.

⁵ Abandonment of distracting actions ; means scil. to perfect knowledge, says Śrīdhara.

⁶ I. e. by means of a mind possessed of true discrimination.

friend, (a man's) own self is also his enemy¹. To him who has subjugated his self by his self², his self is a friend; but to him who has not restrained his self, his own self behaves inimically, like an enemy. The self of one who has subjugated his self and is tranquil, is absolutely concentrated (on itself), in the midst of cold and heat, pleasure and pain, as well as honour and dishonour. The devotee whose self is contented with knowledge and experience³, who is unmoved⁴, who has restrained his senses, and to whom a sod, a stone, and gold are alike, is said to be devoted. And he is esteemed highest, who thinks alike⁵ about well-wishers, friends, and enemies, and those who are indifferent, and those who take part with both sides, and those who are objects of hatred, and relatives, as well as about the good and the sinful. A devotee should constantly devote his self to abstraction, remaining in a secret place⁶, alone, with his mind and self⁷ restrained, without expectations, and without belongings. Fixing his seat firmly in a clean⁸ place, not too high nor too low, and covered over with a sheet of cloth, a deer-skin, and (blades of) Kusa (grass),—and there seated on (that) seat, fixing his mind exclusively on one

¹ Self is here explained as mind, the unsteadiness of which prevents the acquisition of devotion, p. 71.

² This means restraining senses by mind. See Maitrī-upanishad, p. 180.

³ Supra, p. 57.

⁴ By any of the vexations of the world.

⁵ I. e. is free from affection or aversion towards them.

⁶ 'Release from society' is insisted on at Sutta Nipāta, p. 55.

⁷ Self is here explained as senses; in the previous clause as mind.

⁸ This requisite is prescribed by many authorities. Cf. Āṅgīrśya-upanishad, p. 626; Maitrī, p. 156; Svetāśvatara, pp. 318, 319; and Āśvalāyana (Gṛhyasūtra) III, 2, 2, for Vedic study too.

point, with the workings of the mind and senses restrained, he should practice devotion for purity of self. Holding his body, head, and neck even and unmoved, (remaining) steady, looking at the tip of his own nose¹, and not looking about in (all) directions, with a tranquil self, devoid of fear, and adhering to the rules of Brahma-kârins², he should restrain his mind, and (concentrate it) on me, and sit down engaged in devotion, regarding me as his final goal. Thus constantly devoting his self to abstraction, a devotee whose mind is restrained, attains that tranquillity which culminates in final emancipation, and assimilation with me. Devotion is not his, O Arguna ! who eats too much, nor his who eats not at all ; not his who is addicted to too much sleep, nor his who is (ever) awake. That devotion which destroys (all) misery is his, who takes due food and exercise³, who toils duly in all works, and who sleeps and awakes (in) due (time)⁴. When (a man's) mind well restrained becomes steady upon the self alone, then he being indifferent to all objects of desire, is said to be devoted. As a light standing in a windless (place) flickers not, that is declared to be the parallel for a devotee, whose mind is restrained, and who devotes his self to abstraction. That (mental condition), in which the mind restrained by practice of abstraction, ceases to work ; in which

¹ Cf. Kumârasambhava, Canto III, 47. This is done in order to prevent the sight from rambling—a total closing of the eyes being objectionable as leading to sleep.

² See these in Âpastamba (p. 7 in this series); and cf. Sutta Nipâta, pp. 159, 160; and Max Müller's Hibbert Lectures, p. 158.

³ Cf. Sutta Nipâta, pp. 28, 95.

⁴ Buddhism shows similar injunctions. Cf. Sutta Nipâta, pp. 21, 28, 95; and Dhammapada, stanza 8.

- too, one seeing the self by the self¹, is pleased in the self; in which one experiences that infinite happiness which transcends the senses, and which can be grasped by the understanding only; and adhering to which, one never swerves from the truth; acquiring which, one thinks no other acquisition higher than it; and adhering to which, one is not shaken off even by great misery; that should be understood to be called
- devotion in which there is a severance of all connexion with pain. That devotion should be practised with steadiness and with an undesponding heart. Abandoning, without exception, all desires², which are produced from fancies, and restraining the whole group of the senses on all sides by the mind only³, one should by slow steps become quiescent⁴, with a firm resolve coupled with courage⁵; and fixing the mind upon the self, should think of nothing. Wherever the active and unsteady mind breaks forth⁶, there one should ever restrain it, and fix it steadily on the self alone. The highest happiness
 - comes to such a devotee, whose mind is fully tranquil, in whom the quality of passion has been suppressed, who is free from sin, and who is become (one with) the Brahman. Thus constantly devoting his self to abstraction, a devotee, freed from sin,
 - easily obtains that supreme happiness—contact with the Brahman⁷. He who has devoted his self to abstraction, by devotion, looking alike on everything.

¹ Sees the highest principle by a mind purified by abstraction.

² Cf. Sutta Nipāta, p. 62.

³ Cf. supra, p. 53.

⁴ I. e. cease to think of objects of sense. Cf. supra, p. 69.

⁵ I. e. an undespairing and firm resolution that devotion will be achieved ultimately.

⁶ Cf. Sutta Nipāta, p. 106.

⁷ Assimilation with the Brahman.

sees the self abiding in all beings, and all beings in the self¹. To him who sees me in everything, and everything in me, I am never lost, and he is not lost to me². The devotee who worships me abiding in all beings, holding that all is one³, lives in me, however he may be living⁴. That devotee, O Arguna! is deemed to be the best, who looks alike on pleasure or pain, whatever it may be, in all (creatures), comparing all with his own (pleasure or pain)⁵.

Arguna said :

I cannot see, O destroyer of Madhu! (how) the sustained existence (is to be secured) of this devotion by means of equanimity which you have declared—in consequence of fickleness. For, O *Krishna*! the mind is fickle, boisterous⁶, strong, and obstinate; and I think that to restrain it is as difficult as (to restrain) the wind.

The Deity said :

Doubtless, O you of mighty arms! the mind is difficult to restrain, and fickle⁷. Still, O son of Kuntl! it may be restrained by constant practice and by indifference (to worldly objects). It is my belief, that devotion is hard to obtain for one who does not restrain his self. But by one who is self-restrained

¹ Realises the essential unity of everything.

² He has access to me, and I am kind to him.

³ Cf. *Īṣopaniṣad*, p. 13.

⁴ 'Even abandoning all action,' says *Sṛīdhara*; and cf. *infra*, p. 105.

⁵ Who believes that pleasure and pain are as much liked or disliked by others as by himself, and puts himself in fact in the place of others.

⁶ Troublesome to the body, senses, &c.

⁷ Cf. *Dhammapada*, stanza 33 seq.

and assiduous, it can be obtained through (proper) expedients.

Arguna said :

What is the end of him, O *Krishna* ! who does not attain the consummation of his devotion, being not assiduous¹, and having a mind shaken off from devotion, (though) full of faith? Does he, fallen from both (paths)², go to ruin like a broken cloud, being, O you of mighty arms! without support, and deluded on the path (leading) to the Brahman? Be pleased, O *Krishna* ! to entirely destroy this doubt of mine, for none else than you can destroy this doubt.

The Deity said :

O son of *Prithā* ! neither in this world nor the next, is ruin for him ; for, O dear friend ! none who performs good (deeds) comes to an evil end. He
 • who is fallen from devotion attains the worlds of those who perform meritorious acts, dwells (there) for many a year, and is afterwards born into a family of holy and illustrious³ men. Or he is even born into a family of talented devotees ; for such a birth as that in this world is more difficult to obtain. There he comes into contact with the knowledge which belonged to him in his former body, and then again, O descendant of Kuru ! he works for perfection⁴. For even though reluctant⁵, he is led away by the

¹ Cf. p. 73 infra.

² The path to heaven, and that to final emancipation.

³ 'Kings or emperors,' says *Madhusūdana*.

⁴ I. e. final emancipation.

⁵ 'As *Arguna* himself,' says *Madhusūdana*, 'receives instruction in knowledge, though he comes to the battle-field without any such object ; hence it was said before, "nothing is here abortive."' See p. 47.

self-same former practice, and although he only wishes to learn devotion, he rises above the (fruits of action laid down in the) divine word. But the devotee working with great efforts¹, and cleared of his sins, attains perfection after many births, and then reaches the supreme goal. The devotee is esteemed higher than the performers of penances, higher even than the men of knowledge, and the devotee is higher than the men of action; therefore, O Arguna! become a devotee. And even among all devotees, he who, being full of faith, worships me, with his inmost self intent on me, is esteemed by me to be the most devoted.

CHAPTER VII.

The Deity said :

O son of Prithā! now hear how you can without doubt know me fully, fixing your mind on me, and resting in me, and practising devotion. I will now tell you exhaustively about knowledge together with experience; that being known, there is nothing further left in this world to know. Among thousands of men, only some² work for perfection³; and even of those who have reached perfection, and who are assiduous, only some know me truly. Earth, water, fire, air, space, mind, understanding,

¹ As distinguished from the others who work half-heartedly, so to say. See p. 72.

² 'Some one' in the original.

³ I. e. knowledge of the self. Sāṅkara says, as to the next clause, that those even who work for final emancipation must be deemed to have 'reached perfection.'

and egoism¹, thus is my nature divided eightfold. But this is a lower (form of my) nature. Know (that there is) another (form of my) nature, and higher than this, which is animate, O you of mighty arms ! and by which this universe is upheld. Know that all things have these (for their) source². I am the producer and the destroyer of the whole universe. There is nothing else, O Dhanañgaya ! higher than myself ; all this is woven upon me, like numbers of pearls upon a thread³. I am the taste in water, O son of Kuntī ! I am the light of the sun and moon. I am 'Om ' in all the Vedas, sound⁴ in space, and manliness in human beings ; I am the fragrant smell in the earth, refulgence in the fire ; I am life in all beings, and penance⁵ in those who perform penance. Know me, O son of Prithā ! to be the eternal seed of all beings ; I am the discernment of the discerning ones, and I the glory of the glorious⁷. I am also the strength, unaccompanied by fondness or desire⁸, of the strong. And, O chief of the descendants of Bharata ! I am love unopposed to piety⁹ among all

¹ This accords with the Sāṅkhya philosophy. See chapter I, sūtra 61 of the current aphorisms.

² Cf. *infra*, p. 105.

³ Cf. *Mundakopaniṣad*, p. 298.

⁴ *Infra*, p. 79. Cf. Goldstücker's *Remains*, I, 14, 122 ; *Yoga-sūtras* I, 27.

⁵ I. e. the occult essence which underlies all these and the other qualities of the various things mentioned.

⁶ I. e. power to bear the pairs of opposites.

⁷ Glory here seems to mean dignity, greatness.

⁸ Desire is the wish to obtain new things ; fondness is the anxiety to retain what has been obtained. The strength here spoken of, therefore, is that which is applied to the performance of one's own duties only.

⁹ I. e. indulged within the bounds allowed by the rules of the *Sāstras*, namely, for the procreation of sons &c. only.

beings. And all entities which are of the quality of goodness, and those which are of the quality of passion and of darkness, know that they are, indeed, all from me ; I am not in them, but they are in me ¹. The whole universe deluded by these three states of mind, developed from the qualities, does not know me, who am beyond them and inexhaustible ; for this delusion of mine, developed from the qualities, is divine and difficult to transcend. Those who resort to me alone cross beyond this delusion. Wicked men, doers of evil (acts), who are deluded, who are deprived of their knowledge by (this) delusion, and who incline to the demoniac state of mind ², do not resort to me. But, O Arguna ! doers of good (acts) of four classes worship me : one who is distressed, one who is seeking after knowledge, one who wants wealth, and one, O chief of the descendants of Bharata ! who is possessed of knowledge. Of these, he who is possessed of knowledge, who is always devoted, and whose worship is (addressed) to one (Being) only, is esteemed highest. For to the man of knowledge I am dear above all things, and he is dear to me. All these are noble. But the man possessed of knowledge is deemed by me to be my own self. For he with (his) self devoted to abstraction, has taken to me as the goal than which there is nothing higher. At the end of many lives, the man possessed of knowledge approaches me, (believing) that Vāsudeva is everything. Such a high-souled man is very hard to find. Those who are deprived of knowledge by various desires approach other

¹ They do not dominate over me, I rule them.

² *Infra*, p. 115.

divinities, observing various regulations ¹, and controlled by their own natures ². Whichever form (of deity) any worshipper wishes to worship with faith, to that form I render his faith steady. Possessed of that faith, he seeks to propitiate (the deity in) that (form), and obtains from it those beneficial things which he desires, (though they are) really given by me. But the fruit thus (obtained) by them, who have little judgment, is perishable. Those who worship the divinities go to the divinities ³, and my worshippers, too, go to me. The undiscerning ones, not knowing my transcendent and inexhaustible essence, than which there is nothing higher, think me, who am unperceived, to have become perceptible ⁴. Surrounded by the delusion of my mystic power ⁵, I am not manifest to all. This deluded world knows not me unborn and inexhaustible. I know, O Arguna! the things which have been, those which are, and those which are to be. But me nobody knows. All beings, O terror of (your) foes! are deluded at the time of birth by the delusion, O descendant of Bharata! caused by the pairs of opposites arising from desire and aversion. But the men of meritorious actions, whose sins have terminated, worship me, being released from the delusion (caused) by the pairs of

¹ Fasts and so forth.

² Which are the result of the actions done in previous lives.

³ And the divinities are not eternal, so the fruit obtained is ephemeral.

⁴ The ignorant do not know the real divinity of Vishṇu, thinking him to be no higher than as he is seen in the human form. This gives them an inadequate notion of the purity and eternity of the happiness to be obtained by worshipping him; cf. *infra*, p. 83.

⁵ The veil surrounding me is created by my mysterious power, and that everybody cannot pierce through; cf. *Kaṭha*, p. 117.

opposites, and being firm in their beliefs¹. Those who, resting on me, work for release from old age and death², know the Brahman³, the whole Adhyâtma, and all action. And those who know me with the Adhibhûta, the Adhidaiva, and the Adhiyagñā, having minds devoted to abstraction, know me at the time of departure (from this world).

CHAPTER VIII.

Arguna said :

What is that Brahman, what the Adhyâtma, and what, O best of beings ! is action ? And what is called the Adhibhûta ? And who is the Adhiyagñā, and how in this body, O destroyer of Madhu ? And how, too, are you to be known at the time of departure (from this world) by those who restrain their selfs ?

The Deity said :

The Brahman is the supreme, the indestructible. Its manifestation (as an individual self) is called the Adhyâtma. The offering (of an oblation to any divinity), which is the cause of the production and development of all things, is named action. The Adhibhûta is all perishable things. The Adhidai-
vata is the (primal) being. And the Adhiyagñā, O best of embodied (beings) ! is I myself in this body⁴.

¹ Concerning the supreme principle and the mode of worshipping it.

² Cf. *infra*, p. 109.

³ See the next chapter.

⁴ Adhyâtma where it occurs before (e.g. p. 55) has been rendered 'the relation between the supreme and individual soul.' As to

And he who leaves this body and departs (from this world) remembering me in (his) last moments, comes into my essence. There is no doubt of that. Also whichever form ¹ (of deity) he remembers when he finally leaves this body, to that he goes, O son of Kuntī! having been used to ponder on it. Therefore, at all times remember me, and engage in battle. Fixing your mind and understanding on me, you will come to me, there is no doubt. He who thinks of the supreme divine Being, O son of Prithā! with a mind not (running) to other (objects), and possessed of abstraction in the shape of continuous meditation (about the supreme), goes to him. He who, possessed of reverence (for the supreme Being) with a steady mind, and with the power of devotion, properly concentrates the life-breath between the brows ², and meditates on the ancient Seer, the ruler, more minute than the minutest atom ³, the supporter of all, who is of an unthinkable form, whose brilliance is like that of the sun, and who is beyond all darkness ⁴, he attains to that transcendent and divine Being. I ⁵ will tell you briefly about the seat, which those who know the Vedas declare to be indestructible; which is entered by ascetics from whom all desires have departed; and wishing for which, people pursue the

action, cf. pp. 53, 54. Adhibhūta is apparently the whole inanimate creation, and Adhidaivata is the being supposed to dwell in the sun. Adhiyagñā is *Kṛishṇa*. Cf. too pp. 113, 114.

¹ Some commentators say 'whatever thing' generally. The 'form' remembered in one's last moments would be that which had been most often meditated on during life.

² Cf. *supra*, p. 67. ³ *Kaṭha*, p. 105; *Svetâsvatara*, p. 333.

⁴ Cf. *Svetâsvatara-upanishad*, p. 327.

⁵ *Kaṭhupanishad*, p. 102.

mode of life of Brahmatârins¹. He who leaves the body and departs (from this world), stopping up all passages², and confining the mind within the heart³, placing the life-breath in the head, and adhering to uninterrupted meditation⁴, repeating the single syllable 'Om,' (signifying) the eternal Brahman⁵, and meditating on me, he reaches the highest goal. To the devotee who constantly practises abstraction, O son of Prithâ! and who with a mind not (turned) to anything else, is ever and constantly meditating on me, I am easy of access. The high-souled ones, who achieve the highest perfection, attaining to me, do not again come to life, which is transient, a home of woes⁶. All worlds, O Arguna! up to the world of Brahman, are (destined) to return⁷. But, O son of Kuntî! after attaining to me, there is no birth again. Those who know a day of Brahman to end after one thousand ages, and the night to terminate after one thousand ages, are the persons

¹ As to Brahmatârins, see supra, p. 69.

² 'The senses,' say the commentators. Might it not refer to the 'nine portals' at p. 65 supra? See also, however, p. 108.

³ I.e. thinking of nothing, making the mind cease to work. Cf. Maitri-upanishad, p. 179.

⁴ Cf. Maitri-upanishad, p. 130, uninterrupted, like 'oil when poured out,' says the commentator.

⁵ Cf. *K'ândogya-upanishad*, p. 151; *Mândukya*, pp. 330-388 (Om is all—past, present, and future); *Nṛsiṃha Tâpinī*, pp. 110, 117, 171; *Maitri*, p. 140; *Prasna*, p. 220. On the opening passage of the *K'ândogya*, Sāṅkara says, 'Om is the closest designation of the supreme Being. He is pleased when it is pronounced, as people are at the mention of a favourite name.' See also Max Müller, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 84; Goldstücker's *Remains*, I, 122.

⁶ See infra, p. 86; and cf. *Sutta Nipāta*, p. 125.

⁷ They are only temporary, not the everlasting seats of the soul.

who know day and night¹. On the advent of day, all perceptible things are produced from the unperceived; and on the advent of night they dissolve in that same (principle) called the unperceived. This same assemblage of entities, being produced again and again, dissolves on the advent of night, and, O son of *Prithā*! issues forth on the advent of day, without a will of its own². But there is another entity, unperceived and eternal, and distinct from this unperceived (principle), which is not destroyed when all entities are destroyed. It is called the unperceived, the indestructible; they call it the highest goal. Attaining to it, none returns³. That is my supreme abode. That supreme Being, O son of *Prithā*! he in whom all these entities dwell⁴, and by whom all this is permeated, is to be attained to by reverence not (directed) to another. I will state the times, O descendant of *Bharata*! at which devotees departing (from this world) go, never to return, or to return. The fire, the flame⁵, the day,

¹ Cf. *Manu* I, 73. *Saṅkara* says, that this explains why the abodes of *Brahmā* and others are said to be not lasting. They are limited by time. As to ages, *Sṛīdhara* says, a human year is a day and night of the gods. Twelve thousand years made of such days and nights make up the four ages: one thousand such 'quaternions of ages' make up a day, and another thousand a night of *Brahmā*. Of such days and nights *Brahmā* has a hundred years to live. At the close of his life, the universe is destroyed.

² Cf. p. 82 *infra*; also *Manu-smṛiti* I, 52; and *Kālidāsa's Kumārasambhava* II, 8.

³ Cf. *Kaṭhōpanishad*, p. 149; and also p. 112 *infra*.

⁴ I. e. by whom, as the cause of them, all these entities are supported; cf. p. 82 *infra*.

⁵ *Sṛīdhara* understands 'the time when,' in the sentence preceding this, to mean 'the path indicated by a deity presiding over

the bright fortnight, the six months of the northern solstice, departing (from the world) in these, those who know the Brahman go to the Brahman. Smoke, night, the dark fortnight, the six months of the southern solstice, (dying) in these, the devotee goes to the lunar light and returns¹. These two paths, bright and dark, are deemed to be eternal in this world². By the one, (a man) goes never to return, by the other he comes back. Knowing these two paths, O son of Prithā! no devotee is deluded³. Therefore at all times be possessed of devotion, O Arguna! A devotee knowing all this⁴, obtains all the holy fruit which is prescribed for (study of) the Vedas, for sacrifices, and also for penances and gifts, and he attains to the highest and primeval seat.

CHAPTER IX.

Now I will speak to you, who are not given to carping, of that most mysterious knowledge, accompanied by experience, by knowing which you will be released from evil. It is the chief among the sciences, the chief among the mysteries. It is the best means of sanctification. It is imperishable, not

time, by which;' and the fire-flame as included in this, though having no connexion with time. Saṅkara agrees, though he also suggests that fire means a deity presiding over time. I own I have no clear notion of the meaning of these verses. Cf. *Kāṇḍogya*, p. 342; *Bṛhad-Āraṇyaka-upanishad*, p. 1057 seq.

¹ Cf. *Prana-upanishad*, p. 64; and *Sāṅkhya Bhāṣya*, p. 747 seq.

² I. e. for those who are fitted for knowledge or action.

³ I. e. does not desire heaven, but devotes himself to the supreme Being, seeing that heavenly bliss is only temporary.

⁴ All that is stated in this chapter.

opposed to the sacred law. It is to be apprehended directly¹, and is easy to practise. O terror of your foes! those men who have no faith in this holy doctrine, return to the path of this mortal world, without attaining to me. This whole universe is pervaded by me in an unperceived form. All entities live in me, but I do not live in them². Nor yet do all entities live in me. See my divine power. Supporting all entities and producing all entities, my self lives not in (those) entities. As the great and ubiquitous atmosphere always remains in space, know that similarly all entities live in me³. At the expiration of a Kalpa, O son of Kuntl! all entities enter my nature; and at the beginning of a Kalpa, I again bring them forth. Taking the control of my own nature⁴, I bring forth again and again this whole collection of entities, without a will of its own⁵, by the power of nature. But, O Arguna! these actions do not fetter⁶ me, who remain like one unconcerned, and who am unattached to those actions. Nature gives birth to movables and immovables through me, the supervisor, and by reason of that⁷, O son of Kuntl! the universe revolves. Deluded people of vain hopes, vain acts, vain know-

¹ I. e. by immediate consciousness, not mediately; 'not opposed to the sacred law,' i. e. like the Syena sacrifice for destroying a foe.

² Because he is untainted by anything. And therefore also the entities do not live in him, as said in the next sentence. See p. 80 *supra*.

³ As space is untainted and unaffected by the air which remains in it, so am I by the entities.

⁴ *Supra*, p. 58. Nature = the unperceived principle.

⁵ Cf. p. 80 *supra*.

⁶ I am not affected by the differences in the conditions of these entities.

⁷ Viz. the supervision.

ledge¹, whose minds are disordered, and who are inclined to the delusive nature of Asuras and Rākshasas, not knowing my highest nature as great lord of all entities, disregard me as I have assumed a human body². But the high-souled ones, O son of Prithā! who are inclined to the godlike nature, knowing me as the inexhaustible source of (all) entities, worship me with minds not (turned) elsewhere. Constantly glorifying me, and exerting themselves³, firm in their vows⁴, and saluting me with reverence, they worship me, being always devoted. And others again, offering up the sacrifice of knowledge, worship me as one, as distinct, and as all-pervading in numerous forms⁵. I am the Kratu⁶, I am the Yagña, I am the Svadhā, I the product of the herbs. I am the sacred verse. I too am the sacrificial butter, and I the fire, I the offering⁷. I am the father of this universe, the mother, the creator, the grandsire, the thing to be known, the means of sanctification, the syllable Om⁸, the *Rik*, Sāman, and Yagus also; the goal, the sustainer, the lord, the supervisor, the

¹ Hope, viz. that some other deity will give them what they want; acts, vain as not offered to the supreme; knowledge, vain as abounding in foolish doubts, &c.

² Cf. p. 76 supra.

³ For a knowledge of the supreme, or for the means of such knowledge.

⁴ Vows=veracity, harmlessness, &c.

⁵ Sacrifice of knowledge, viz. the knowledge that Vāsudeva is all; as one=believing that all is one; as distinct=believing that sun, moon, &c. are different manifestations of 'me.'

⁶ Kratu is a Vedic sacrifice; Yagña, a sacrifice laid down in Smṛiti. Svadhā=offering to the manes; 'product of the herbs'=food prepared from vegetables, or medicine.

⁷ Cf. p. 61 supra.

⁸ P. 79 supra.

residence¹, the asylum, the friend, the source, and that in which it merges, the support, the receptacle, and the inexhaustible seed. I cause heat and I send forth and stop showers. I am immortality and also death ; and I, O Arguna ! am that which is and that which is not². Those who know the three (branches of) knowledge, who drink the Soma juice, whose sins are washed away, offer sacrifices and pray to me for a passage into heaven ;, and reaching the holy world of the lord of gods, they enjoy in the celestial regions the celestial pleasures of the gods. And having enjoyed that great heavenly world, they enter the mortal world when (their) merit is exhausted³. Thus those who wish for objects of desire, and resort to the ordinances of the three (Vedas), obtain (as the fruit) going and coming. To those men who worship me, meditating on me and on no one else, and who are constantly devoted, I give new gifts and preserve what is acquired by them⁴. Even those, O son of Kuntī ! who being devotees of other divinities worship with faith, worship me only, (but) irregularly⁵. For I am the enjoyer as well as the lord⁶ of all sacrifices. But they know me not truly, therefore do they fall⁷. Those who make vows⁸ to the gods go to the gods ;

¹ I.e. the seat of enjoyment ; receptacle=where things are preserved for future use, say the commentators.

² The gross and the subtle elements, or causes and effects.

³ Cf. *Mundakopanishad*, p. 279 ; and *Khândogya*, p. 344.

⁴ Cf. *Dhammapada*, stanza 23. I.e. attainment to the Brahman and not returning from it.—*Râmânuga*.

⁵ Because in form they worship other divinities.

⁶ Giver of the fruit. As to enjoyer, cf. p. 67 supra.

⁷ I.e. return to the mortal world.

⁸ I.e. some regulation as to mode of worship. Cf. also p. 76 supra.

those who make vows to the manes go to the manes; those who worship the Bhûtas go to the Bhûtas; and those likewise who worship me go to me. Whoever with devotion offers me leaf, flower, fruit, water, that, presented with devotion, I accept from him whose self is pure. Whatever you do, O son of Kuntl! whatever you eat, whatever sacrifice you make, whatever you give, whatever penance you perform, do that as offered to me¹. Thus will you be released from the bonds of action, the fruits of which are agreeable or disagreeable. And with your self possessed of (this) devotion, (this) renunciation², you will be released (from the bonds of action) and will come to me. I am alike to all beings; to me none is hateful, none dear. But those who worship me with devotion (dwell) in me³, and I too in them. Even if a very ill-conducted man worships me, not worshipping any one else, he must certainly be deemed to be good, for he has well resolved⁴. He soon becomes devout of heart, and obtains lasting tranquillity. (You may) affirm, O son of Kuntl! that my devotee is never ruined. For, O son of Prithâ! even those who are of sinful birth⁵, women, Vaisyas, and Sûdras likewise, resorting to me, attain the supreme goal. What then (need

¹ Cf. p. 55 supra, and other passages.

² This mode of action is at once devotion and renunciation: the first, because one cares not for fruit; the second, because it is offered to the supreme.

³ 'They dwell in me' by their devotion to me; I dwell in them as giver of happiness to them.

⁴ Viz. that the supreme Being alone should be revered.

⁵ Saṅkara takes Vaisyas &c. as examples of this; not so Sridhara. Cf. as to women and Sûdras, *Nṛsiṃha-tāpinī*, p. 14. 'Of sinful birth' = of low birth (Sridhara) = birth resulting from sins (Saṅkara).

be said of) holy Brāhmanas and royal saints who are (my) devotees? Coming to this transient unhappy¹ world, worship me. (Place your) mind on me, become my devotee, my worshipper; reverence me, and thus making me your highest goal, and devoting your self to abstraction, you will certainly come to me.

CHAPTER X.

Yet again, O you of mighty arms! listen to my excellent² words, which, out of a wish for your welfare, I speak to you who are delighted (with them). Not the multitudes of gods, nor the great sages know my source; for I am in every way³ the origin of the gods and great sages. Of (all) mortals, he who knows me to be unborn, without beginning, the great lord of the world, being free from delusion, is released from all sins. Intelligence, knowledge, freedom from delusion, forgiveness, truth, restraint of the senses, tranquillity, pleasure, pain, birth, death, fear, and also security, harmlessness, equability, contentment, penance, (making) gifts, glory, disgrace, all these different tempers⁴ of living beings are from me alone. The seven great sages, and likewise the four ancient Manus⁵, whose descendants are (all) these people in the world, were all born from my

¹ Cf. p. 79 supra.

² As referring to the supreme soul.

³ As creator, as moving agent in workings of the intellect, &c.

⁴ The names are not always names of 'tempers,' but the corresponding 'temper' must be understood.

⁵ The words are also otherwise construed, 'The four ancients (Sanaka, Sanandana, Sanātana, Sanatkumāra) and the Manus.' According to the later mythology the Manus are fourteen.

mind¹, (partaking) of my powers. Whoever correctly knows these powers and emanations of mine, becomes possessed of devotion free from indecision; of this (there is) no doubt. The wise, full of love², worship me, believing that I am the origin of all, and that all moves on through me. (Placing their) minds on me, offering (their) lives to me, instructing each other, and speaking about me, they are always contented and happy. To these, who are constantly devoted, and who worship with love, I give that knowledge by which they attain to me. And remaining in their hearts, I destroy, with the brilliant lamp of knowledge, the darkness born of ignorance in such (men) only, out of compassion for them.

Arguna said :

You are the supreme Brahman, the supreme goal, the holiest of the holy. All sages, as well as the divine sage Nārada, Asita³, Devala, and Vyâsa, call you the eternal being, divine, the first god, the unborn, the all-pervading. And so, too, you tell me yourself, O Kesava ! I believe all this that you tell me (to be) true ; for, O lord ! neither the gods nor demons understand your manifestation⁴. You only know your self by your self. O best of beings ! creator of all things ! lord of all things ! god of gods ! lord of the universe ! be pleased to declare without

¹ By the mere operation of my thought. As to ancients, cf. *Aitareya-Āraṇyaka*, p. 136.

² Śaṅkara renders the word here by perseverance in pursuit of truth.

³ Ānandagiri calls Asita father of Devala. See also Davids' *Buddhism*, p. 185 ; Max Müller's *Anc. Sansk. Lit.*, p. 463.

⁴ Scil. in human form for the good of the gods and the destruction of demons.

exception your divine emanations, by which emanations you stand pervading all these worlds. How shall I know you, O you of mystic power! always meditating on you? And in what various entities¹, O lord! should I meditate on you? Again, O *Ganârdana*! do you yourself declare your powers and emanations; because hearing this nectar, I (still) feel no satiety.

The Deity said :

Well then, O best of Kauravas! I will state to you my own divine emanations; but (only) the chief (ones), for there is no end to the extent of my (emanations). I am the self, O *Gudâkēsa*! seated in the hearts of all beings². I am the beginning and the middle and the end also of all beings. I am *Vishṇu* among the *Âdityas*³, the beaming sun among the shining (bodies); I am *Martī* among the *Maruts*⁴, and the moon among the lunar mansions⁵. Among the *Vedas*, I am the *Sâma-veda*⁶. I am *Indra* among the gods. And I am mind among the senses⁷. I am consciousness in (living) beings. And I am *Śaṅkara*⁸ among the *Rudras*, the lord of wealth⁹ among *Yakshas* and *Rakshases*. And I am fire among the *Vasus*, and *Meru*¹⁰ among the high-

¹ To know you fully being impossible, what special manifestation of you should we resort to for our meditations?

² P. 129 *infra*. .

³ 'Âditya is used in the Veda chiefly as a general epithet for a number of solar deities.' Max Müller, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 264.

⁴ The storm-gods, as Max Müller calls them.

⁵ Cf. *Sutta Nipâta*, p. 121.

⁶ As being, probably, full of music.

⁷ Cf. *Khândogya*, p. 121, where *Śaṅkara* says, 'Mind is the chief of man's inner activities.'

⁸ Now the third member of our Trinity.

⁹ *Kubera*.

¹⁰ The Golden Mount.

topped (mountains). And know me, O Arguna ! to be *Bṛihaspati*, the chief among domestic priests. I am *Skanda* among generals. I am the ocean among reservoirs of water ¹. I am *Bhrigu* among the great sages. I am the single syllable (*Om* ²) among words. Among sacrifices I am the *Gapa* sacrifice ³; the *Himālaya* among the firmly-fixed (mountains); the *Asvattha* ⁴ among all trees, and *Nārada* among divine sages; *Kitraratha* among the heavenly choristers, the sage *Kapila* among the *Siddhas* ⁵. Among horses know me to be *Ukkaissravas* ⁶, brought forth by (the labours for) the nectar; and *Airāvata* among the great elephants, and the ruler of men among men ⁷. I am the thunderbolt among weapons, the wish-giving (cow) among cows. And I am love which generates ⁸. Among serpents I am *Vāsuki*. Among *Nāga* ⁹ snakes I am *Ananta*; I am *Varuṇa* among aquatic beings. And I am *Aryaman* among the manes, and *Yama* ¹⁰ among rulers. Among demons, too, I am *Prahlāda*. I am the king of death (*Kāla*, time) among those that count ¹¹. Among beasts

¹ Cf. *Sutta Nipāta*, p. 121.

² Vide p. 79 supra.

³ *Gapa* is the silent meditation. *Madhusūdana* says it is superior owing to its not involving the slaughter of any animal, &c.

⁴ The fig tree. It is the symbol of 'life' in chapter XV infra.

⁵ Those who even from birth are possessed of piety, knowledge, indifference to the world, and superhuman power. Cf. *Svetāsvatara-upanishad*, p. 357.

⁶ This is *Indra's* horse, brought out at the churning of the ocean. *Airāvata* is *Indra's* elephant.

⁷ Cf. *Sutta Nipāta*, p. 121.

⁸ I.e. not the merely carnal passion. Cf. p. 74 supra.

⁹ *Nāgas* are without poison, says *Sṛīdhara*. *Varuṇa* is the sea-god.

¹⁰ *Yama* is death, and *Prahlāda* the virtuous demon for whom *Vishnu* became incarnate as the man-lion. As to manes, see *Goldstücker's Remains*, I, 133.

¹¹ 'Counts the number of men's sins,' *Rāmānuga*; *Sṛīdhara* says

I am the lord of beasts, and the son of Vinatā¹ among birds. I am the wind among those that blow². I am Rāma³ among those that wield weapons. Among fishes I am Makara⁴, and among streams the Gāhnavī⁵. Of created things I am the beginning and the end and the middle also, O Arguna ! Among sciences, I am the science of the Adhyātma, and I am the argument of controversialists. Among letters I am the letter A⁶, and among the group of compounds the copulative⁷ compound. I myself am time inexhaustible, and I the creator whose faces are in all directions. I am death who seizes all, and the source of what is to be. And among females, fame⁸, fortune, speech, memory, intellect, courage, forgiveness. Likewise among Sāman hymns, I am the Brīhat-sāman⁹, and I the Gâyatrī¹⁰ among metres. I am Mârgaśrsha among the months, the

this refers to 'time, with its divisions into years, months,' &c.; while a little further on it means 'time eternal.'

¹ I.e. the Garuḍa or eagle, who is the vehicle of Viṣṇu in Hindu mythology.

² 'Those who have the capacity of motion,' says Rāmānuja.

³ The hero of the Hindu epos, Rāmāyana, translated into verse by Mr. R. T. H. Griffiths.

⁴ The dolphin.

⁵ The Ganges.

⁶ That letter is supposed to comprehend all language. Cf. Aitareya-āranyaka, p. 346, and another text there cited by Mādhava in his commentary (p. 348).

⁷ This is said to be the best, because all its members are co-ordinate with one another, not one depending on another.

⁸ I.e. the deities of fame, &c.

⁹ See, as to this, Muir, Sanskrit Texts, vol. i, p. 16. Sāṅkara says this hymn relates to final emancipation.

¹⁰ Cf. *Āḥāndogya-upanishad*, p. 181, where Sāṅkara says, 'Gâyatrī is the chief metre, because it is the means to a knowledge of the Brahman.' It is the metre of the celebrated verse 'Om Tatsavitur,' &c.

spring among the seasons¹; of cheats, I am the game of dice; I am the glory of the glorious; I am victory, I am industry, I am the goodness of the good. I am Vāsudeva among the descendants of *Vṛishṇi*², and Arguna among the *Pāṇḍavas*. Among sages also, I am Vyāsa³; and among the discerning ones, I am the discerning Usanas⁴. I am the rod of those that restrain, and the policy⁵ of those that desire victory. I am silence respecting secrets. I am the knowledge of those that have knowledge. And, O Arguna! I am also that which is the seed of all things. There is nothing movable or immovable which can exist without me. O terror of your foes! there is no end to my divine emanations. Here I have declared the extent of (those) emanations only in part. Whatever thing (there is) of power, or glorious, or splendid, know all that to be produced from portions of my energy. Or rather, O Arguna! what have you to do, knowing all this at large? I stand supporting all this by (but) a single portion (of myself)⁶.

¹ Cf. *Āṇḍogya-upanishad*, p. 126. *Mārgaśīrsha* is November-December. *Madhusūdana* says this is the best month, as being neither too hot nor too cold; but see *Schlegel's Bhagavadgītā*, ed. Lassen, p. 276.

² One of *Kṛishṇa's* ancestors.

³ The compiler of the *Vedas*.

⁴ The preceptor of the *Dāityas* or demons. A work on politics is ascribed to him.

⁵ Making peace, bribing, &c.

⁶ Cf. *Purusha-sūkta* (*Muir, Sanskrit Texts*, vol. i, p. 9).

CHAPTER XI.

Arguna said :

In consequence of the excellent and mysterious words concerning the relation of the supreme and individual soul, which you have spoken for my welfare, this delusion of mine is gone away. O you whose eyes are like lotus leaves ! I have heard from you at large about the production and dissolution of things, and also about your inexhaustible greatness. O highest lord ! what you have said about yourself is so. I wish, O best of beings ! to see your divine form. If, O lord ! you think that it is possible for me to look upon it, then, O lord of the possessors of mystic power¹ ! show your inexhaustible form to me.

The Deity said :

In hundreds and in thousands see my forms, O son of Prithā ! various, divine, and of various colours and shapes. See the Âdityas, Vasus, Rudras, the two Asvins, and Maruts likewise. And O descendant of Bharata ! see wonders, in numbers, unseen before. Within my body, O Gudâkesa ! see to-day the whole universe, including (everything) movable and immovable, (all) in one, and whatever else you wish to see. But you will not be able to see me with merely this eye of yours. I give you an eye divine. (Now) see my divine power.

Saṅgaya said :

Having spoken thus, O king ! Hari, the great

¹ Madhu-ûdana takes power to mean capacity of becoming small or great, of obtaining what is wanted, &c.; the so-called eight Bhûtis.

lord of the possessors of mystic power, then showed to the son of *Prithâ* his supreme divine form, having many mouths and eyes, having (within it) many wonderful sights, having many celestial ornaments, having many celestial weapons held erect, wearing celestial flowers and vestments, having an anointment of celestial perfumes, full of every wonder, the infinite deity with faces in all directions¹. If in the heavens, the lustre of a thousand suns burst forth all at once, that would be like the lustre of that mighty one. There the son of *Pându* then observed in the body of the god of gods the whole universe (all) in one, and divided into numerous² (divisions). Then *Dhanañgaya* filled with amazement, and with hair standing on end, bowed his head before the god, and spoke with joined hands.

Arguna said :

O god ! I see within your body the gods, as also all the groups of various beings ; and the lord Brahman seated on (his) lotus seat, and all the sages and celestial snakes. I see you, who are of countless forms, possessed of many arms, stomachs, mouths, and eyes on all sides. And, O lord of the universe ! O you of all forms ! I do not see your end or middle or beginning. I see you bearing a coronet and a mace and a discus—a mass of glory, brilliant on all sides, difficult to look at, having on

¹ Cf. p. 90 supra. Sāṅkara explains it as meaning 'pervading everything.' The expression occurs in the *Nṛsiṃha-tāpini-upaniṣad*, p. 50, where it is said, 'as, without organs, it sees, hears, goes, takes from all sides and pervades everything, therefore it has faces on all sides.'

² Gods, manes, men, and so forth.

all sides the effulgence of a blazing fire or sun, and indefinable. You are indestructible, the supreme one to be known. You are the highest support¹ of this universe. You are the inexhaustible protector of everlasting piety. I believe you to be the eternal being. I see you void of beginning, middle, end—of infinite power, of unnumbered arms, having the sun and moon for eyes, having a mouth like a blazing fire, and heating the universe with your radiance. For this space between heaven and earth and all the quarters are pervaded by you alone. Looking at this wonderful and terrible form of yours, O high-souled one! the three worlds are affrighted. For here these groups of gods are entering into you. Some being afraid are praying with joined hands, and the groups of great sages and Siddhas are saying 'Welfare²!' and praising you with abundant (hymns) of praise. The Rudras, and Âdityas, the Vasus, the Sâdhya, the Visvas, the two Asvins, the Maruts, and the Ushmapas, and the groups of Gandharvas, Yakshas, demons, and Siddhas are all looking at you amazed. Seeing your mighty form, with many mouths and eyes, with many arms, thighs, and feet, with many stomachs, and fearful with many jaws, all people, and I likewise, are much alarmed, O you of mighty arms! Seeing you, O Vishnu! touching the skies, radiant, possessed of many hues, with a gaping mouth, and with large blazing eyes, I am much alarmed in my inmost self, and feel no courage, no tranquillity. And seeing your mouths terrible by the jaws, and

¹ The words are the same as at p. 97 infra, where see the note.

² Seeing signs of some great cataclysm, they say, 'May it be well with the universe,' and then proceed to pray to you.

resembling the fire of destruction, I cannot recognise the (various) directions, I feel no comfort. Be gracious, O lord of gods! who pervadest the universe. And all these sons of *Dhṛitarāshṭra*, together with all the bands of kings, and *Bhīṣma* and *Droṇa*, and this charioteer's son¹ likewise, together with our principal warriors also, are rapidly entering your mouths, fearful and horrific² by (reason of your) jaws. And some with their heads smashed are seen (to be) stuck in the spaces between the teeth. As the many rapid currents of a river's waters run towards the sea alone, so do these heroes of the human world enter your mouths blazing all round. As butterflies, with increased velocity, enter a blazing fire to their destruction, so too do these people enter your mouths with increased velocity (only) to their destruction. Swallowing all these people, you are licking them over and over again from all sides, with your blazing mouths. Your fierce splendours, O *Vishṇu*! filling the whole universe with (their) effulgence, are heating it. Tell me who you are in this fierce form. Salutations be to thee, O chief of the gods! Be gracious. I wish to know you, the primeval one, for I do not understand your actions.

The Deity said :

I am death, the destroyer of the worlds, fully developed, and I am now active about the over-

¹ I.e. *Karna*, who was really the eldest brother of the *Pāṇḍavas*, but having been immediately on birth abandoned by Kunti, was brought up by a charioteer. *Karna* was told of his true origin by *Bhīṣma* on his deathbed, and advised to join the *Pāṇḍavas*, but he declined.

² By reason of the ruggedness and distortion of face.

throw of the worlds. Even without you, the warriors standing in the adverse hosts, shall all cease to be. Therefore, be up, obtain glory, and vanquishing (your) foes, enjoy a prosperous kingdom. All these have been already killed by me. Be only the instrument, O Savyasâkin¹! Drona, and Bhishma, and Gayadratha, and Karna, and likewise other valiant warriors also, whom I have killed, do you kill. Be not alarmed. Do fight. And in the battle you will conquer (your) foes.

Saṅgaya said :

Hearing these words of Kesava, the wearer of the coronet², trembling, and with joined hands, bowed down; and sorely afraid, and with throat choked up, he again spoke to Krishna after saluting him.

Arguna said :

It is quite proper, O Hrishikesa! that the universe is delighted and charmed by your renown, that the demons run away affrighted in all directions, and that all the assemblages of Siddhas bow down (to you). And why, O high-souled one! should they not bow down to you (who are) greater than Brahman, and first cause? O infinite lord of gods! O you pervading the universe! you are the indestructible, that which is, that which is not, and what is beyond them³. You are the primal

¹ Arguna, as he could shoot with his left hand as well as the right.—Sridhara.

² Arguna, who had this coronet given him by Indra.—Madhusûdana.

³ The commentators interpret this to mean the perceptible, the unperceived, and the higher principle. Cf. p. 84 *supra*, and also pp. 103, 113 *infra* and notes there.

god, the ancient being, you are the highest support of this universe¹. You are that which has knowledge, that which is the object of knowledge, you are the highest goal. By you is this universe pervaded, O you of infinite forms! You are the wind, Yama, fire, Varuṇa, the moon, you Prajāpati, and the great grandsire². Obeisance be to thee a thousand times, and again and again obeisance to thee! In front and from behind obeisance to thee! Obeisance be to thee from all sides, O you who are all! You are of infinite power, of unmeasured glory; you pervade all, and therefore you are all! Whatever I have said contemptuously,—for instance, ‘O *Kṛishṇa*!’ ‘O *Yādava*!’ ‘O friend!’—thinking you to be (my) friend, and not knowing your greatness (as shown in) this (universal form), or through friendliness, or incautiously; and whatever disrespect I have shown you for purposes of merriment, on (occasions of) play, sleep, dinner, or sitting (together), whether alone or in the presence (of friends),—for all that, O undegraded one! I ask pardon of you who are indefinable³. You are the father of the world—movable and immovable—you its great and venerable master; there is none equal to you, whence can there be one greater, O you whose power is unparalleled in all the three worlds? Therefore I bow and prostrate myself, and would propitiate you, the praiseworthy lord. Be pleased,

¹ See p. 94 supra. Here the commentators say the words mean ‘that in which the universe is placed at deluge-time.’

² Professor Tiele mentions great-grandfather as a name for the Creator among Kaffirs (History of Religion, p. 18). Cf. p. 83 supra.

³ I.e. of whom it is impossible to ascertain whether he is such or such. Cf. p. 94 supra.

O god! to pardon (my guilt) as a father (that of his) son, a friend (that of his) friend, or a husband (that of his) beloved. I am delighted at seeing what I had never seen before, and my heart is also alarmed by fear. Show me that same form, O god! Be gracious, O lord of gods! O you pervading the universe! I wish to see you bearing the coronet and the mace, with the discus in hand, just the same (as before)¹. O you of thousand arms! O you of all forms! assume that same four-handed form.

The Deity said :

O Arguna! being pleased (with you). I have by my own mystic power shown you this supreme form, full of glory, universal, infinite, primeval, and which has not been seen before by any one else but you, O you hero among the Kauravas! I cannot be seen in this form by any one but you, (even) by (the help of) the study of the Vedas, or of² sacrifices, nor by gifts, nor by actions, nor by fierce penances. Be not alarmed, be not perplexed, at seeing this form of mine, fearful like this. Free from fear and with delighted heart, see now again that same form of mine.

Saṅgaya said :

Having thus spoken to Arguna, Vāsudeva again showed his own form, and the high-souled one becoming again of a mild form, comforted him who had been affrighted.

¹ This is the ordinary form of *Krishna*.

² This is the original construction. One suspects that sacrifices and study of the Vedas are meant. Cf. the speech of *Krishna* on the next page.

Arguna said :

O Ganardana! seeing this mild, human form of yours, I am now in my right mind, and have come to my normal state.

The Deity said :

Even the gods are always desiring to see this form of mine, which it is difficult to get a sight of, and which you have seen. I cannot be seen, as you have seen me, by (means of) the Vedas, not by penance, not by gift, nor yet by sacrifice. But, O Arguna! by devotion to me exclusively, I can in this form be truly known, seen, and assimilated¹ with, O terror of your foes! He who performs acts for (propitiating) me, to whom I am the highest (object), who is my devotee, who is free from attachment, and who has no enmity towards any being, he, O son of Pandu! comes to me.

CHAPTER XII.

Arguna said :

Of the worshippers, who thus, constantly devoted, meditate on you, and those who (meditate) on the unperceived and indestructible, which do best know devotion ?

The Deity said :

Those who being constantly devoted, and possessed of the highest faith, worship me with a mind fixed on me, are deemed by me to be the most devoted. But those, who, restraining the (whole) group of the senses, and with a mind at all times

¹ Literally, 'entered into;' it means final emancipation. See p. 128.

equable, meditate on the indescribable, indestructible, unperceived (principle) which is all-pervading, unthinkable, indifferent ¹, immovable, and constant, they, intent on the good of all beings, necessarily attain to me. For those whose minds are attached to the unperceived, the trouble is much greater. Because the unperceived goal ² is obtained by embodied (beings) with difficulty. As to those, however, O son of Prithā! who, dedicating all their actions to me, and (holding) me as their highest (goal), worship me, meditating on me with a devotion towards none besides me, and whose minds are fixed on me, I, without delay, come forward as their deliverer from the ocean of this world of death. Place your mind on me only; fix your understanding on me. In me you will dwell ³ hereafter, (there is) no doubt. But if you are unable to fix your mind steadily on me, then, O Dhanañgaya! endeavour ⁴ to obtain me by the abstraction of mind (resulting) from continuous meditation ⁵. If you are unequal even to continuous meditation, then let acts for (propitiating) me be your highest (aim). Even performing actions for (propitiating) me, you will attain perfection. If you are unable to do even this, then resort to devotion ⁶ to me, and, with self-restraint, abandon all fruit of action. For knowledge is better than continuous meditation; concentration ⁷

¹ Passively looking on what occurs on earth; immovable = changeless; constant = eternal.

² Viz. the indestructible.

³ I.e. assimilated with me, as expressed before.

⁴ Literally, 'wish.'

⁵ Cf. p. 78 supra.

⁶ Performing actions, but dedicating them to me.

⁷ Fixing the mind with effort on the object of contemplation. Cf. Maitri-upanishad, p. 130.

is esteemed higher than knowledge; and the abandonment of fruit of action than concentration; from (that) abandonment, tranquillity soon (results). That devotee of mine, who hates no being, who is friendly and compassionate, who is free from egoism, and from (the idea that this or that is) mine, to whom happiness and misery are alike, who is forgiving, contented, constantly devoted, self-restrained, and firm in his determinations, and whose mind and understanding are devoted to me, he is dear to me. He through whom the world is not agitated¹, and who is not agitated by the world, who is free from joy and anger and fear and agitation, he too is dear to me. That devotee of mine, who is unconcerned², pure, assiduous³, impartial, free from distress⁴, who abandons all actions (for fruit⁵), he is dear to me. He who is full of devotion to me, who feels no joy and no aversion, who does not grieve and does not desire, who abandons (both what is) agreeable and (what is) disagreeable, he is dear to me. He who is alike to friend and foe, as also in honour and dishonour, who is alike in cold and heat, pleasure and pain, who is free from attachments, to whom praise and blame are alike, who is taciturn⁶, and contented with anything whatever (that comes), who is homeless⁷, and of a steady mind, and full of

¹ No disturbance results from him to other men, or from other men to him. Cf. Sutta Nipāta, p. 56.

² Indifferent to worldly objects.

³ Ready to do work as it arises.

⁴ Not feeling afflicted by other people's doing an injury to him.

⁵ 'For fruit' must be understood here.

⁶ I.e. governs his tongue properly. Cf. Sutta Nipāta, p. 55, and Dhammapada, stanza 96.

⁷ Cf. Sutta Nipāta, pp. 94, 101, 122; Âpastamba, Dharma-sûtra,

- devotion, that man is dear to me. But those devotees who, imbued with faith, and (regarding) me as their highest (goal), resort to this holy (means for attaining) immortality, as stated, they are extremely dear to me.

CHAPTER XIII.

The Deity said :

This body, O son of Kuntl! is called Kshetra ¹, and the learned call him who knows it the Kshetragñā ². And know me also, O descendant of Bharata! to be the Kshetragñā in all Kshetras. The knowledge of Kshetra and Kshetragñā is deemed by me (to be real) knowledge. Now hear from me in brief what that Kshetra (is), what (it is) like, what changes (it undergoes), and whence (it comes), and what is he ³, and what his powers, (all which) is sung in various ways by sages in numerous hymns ⁴, distinctly, and in well-settled texts full of argument, giving indications or full instruction about the Brahman. The great elements ⁵, egoism, the understanding, the unperceived also, the ten senses, and the one, and the five objects of sense, desire,

p. 86 (p. 152 in this series); and Dhammapada, stanzas 40-91 (where the identical word is used).

¹ I retain the original for want of a good equivalent.

² Cf. Svetārvataropaniṣad, p. 368, and Maitrī, pp. 25-72.

³ I. e. the Kshetragñā.

⁴ Hymns=scil. from the Vedas about ordinary or special actions and so forth. Argument=e. g. in texts like 'How can entity come from non-entity?' 'Who could breathe, if &c.?'

⁵ Cf. Aitareya-āraṇyaka, p. 97. The subtle elements, earth, fire, &c., are meant. The unperceived=nature; the one=mind; courage=that by which the drooping body and senses are supported; egoism=self-consciousness—the feeling 'this is I.'

aversion, pleasure, pain, body, consciousness, courage, thus in brief has been declared the Kshetra with changes¹. Absence of vanity, absence of ostentatiousness, absence of hurtfulness, forgiveness, straightforwardness, devotion to a preceptor, purity², steadiness, self-restraint, indifference towards objects of sense, and also absence of egoism; perception of the misery and evil of birth, death³, old age, and disease; absence of attachment, absence of self-identifying regard for son, wife⁴, home, and so forth; and constant equability on the approach of (both what is) agreeable and (what is) disagreeable; unswerving devotion to me, without meditation on any one else; resorting to clean places, distaste for assemblages of men⁵, constancy in knowledge of the relation of the individual self to the supreme, perception of the object⁶ of knowledge of the truth, this is called knowledge; that is ignorance which is opposed to this. I will declare that which is the object of knowledge, knowing which, one reaches immortality; the highest Brahman, having no beginning nor end, which cannot be said to be existent or non-existent⁷. It has hands and feet on all sides, it has eyes, heads, and faces on all sides, it has ears on all sides, it

¹ See the last page. Changes=development.

² Internal as well as external; as to devotion to a preceptor, cf. *Āpastamba*, p. 11 (p. 23 in this series); *Taittiriya-upanishad*, p. 38; *Svetārvatara*, p. 117; and *Sutta Nipāta*, p. 87; as to egoism, see p. 53 *supra*.

³ Cf. *Sutta Nipāta*, pp. 18-95.

⁴ Cf. *Sutta Nipāta*, p. 12.

⁵ Cf. *Sutta Nipāta*, p. 11.

⁶ Viz. removal of ignorance and acquisition of happiness.

⁷ Words indicate a class, a quality, an action, or a relation, says *Saṅkara*. None of these can be predicated of the Brahman; so you cannot apply either of these words to it. Cf. pp. 84, 96 *supra*, also *Svetārvatara*, p. 346.

stands pervading everything in the world. Possessed of the qualities of all the senses, (but) devoid of all senses¹, unattached, it supports all, is devoid of qualities, and the enjoyer² of qualities. It is within all things and without them; it is movable and also immovable; it is unknowable through (its) subtlety; it stands afar and near³. Not different in (different) things⁴, but standing as though different, it should be known to be the supporter of (all) things, and that which absorbs and creates (them). It is the radiance even of the radiant (bodies); it is said (to be) beyond darkness. It is knowledge, the object of knowledge, that which is to be attained to by knowledge, and placed in the heart of all⁵. Thus in brief have Kshetra, knowledge, and the object of knowledge been declared. My devotee, knowing this, becomes fit for assimilation with me. Know nature and spirit both (to be) without beginning, and know all developments and qualities⁶ (to be) produced from nature. Nature is said to be the origin of the capacity of working (residing) in the body and the senses; and spirit is said (to be) the origin of the capacity of enjoying pleasures and

¹ Cf. Svetâsvatara, p. 331. He has no ears, but has the quality of hearing, and so forth; unattached=really out of relation to everything, though seeming to be connected with other things through delusion.

² I.e. he perceives them.

³ Îsopanishad, p. 12; *Mundaka*, p. 313.

⁴ Everything being really one. Cf. *inter alia*, p. 124 *infra*. The various manifestations of the Brahman are really one in essence, though apparently different, like foam and water.

⁵ Cf. p. 88.

⁶ Developments=body, senses,&c. Qualities=pleasure, pain,&c.; altogether the expression means the body and feelings and so forth.

pains¹. For spirit with nature joined, enjoys the qualities born of nature. And the cause of its birth in good or evil wombs is the connexion with the qualities². The supreme spirit in this body is called supervisor, adviser³, supporter, enjoyer, the great lord, and the supreme self also. He who thus knows nature and spirit, together with the qualities, is not born again, however living⁴. Some by concentration see the self in the self by the self; others by the Sāṅkhya-yoga; and others still by the Karma-yoga⁵; others yet, not knowing this, practise concentration, after hearing from others⁶. They, too, being (thus) devoted to hearing (instruction) cross beyond death. Whatever thing movable or immovable comes into existence, know that to be from the connexion of Kshetra and Kshetragña, O chief of the descendants of Bharata! He sees (truly),

¹ Śrīdhara says that 'is said to be' means by Kapila and others. For the notion that activity is not a function of the soul, see *inter alia*. p. 55 *supra*. Enjoyment, however, is, according to this passage, the function of the soul, not of nature. See also *Maitrī-upa-nishad*, pp. 107, 108.

² I.e. 'the senses,' says Śrīdhara; good=gods, &c.; evil=beasts, &c.

³ Scil. concerning the operations of the body and senses. Cf. *Nṛsiṃha-tāpinī*, p. 224. He is adviser because, though he does not interfere, he sees and therefore may be said to sanction the operations alluded to. Supporter, i.e. of body &c. in their workings.

⁴ I.e. though he may have transgressed rules.

⁵ Concentration=fixing of the mind exclusively on the soul, the senses being quiescent. 'See the self,' i.e. the soul; 'in the self,' i.e. within themselves; 'by the self,' i.e. by the mind. Sāṅkhya-yoga=belief that qualities are distinct from the self, which is only a passive spectator of their operations. Cf. *Svetāsvatara*, p. 109. Karma-yoga=dedication of actions to the supreme. Cf. as to this the gloss on Śaṅkara's *Bhāṣya* on *Vedānta-sūtra* IV, 2, 21.

⁶ Cf. *Sutta Nipāta*, p. 49.

who sees the supreme lord abiding alike in all entities, and not destroyed though they are destroyed. For he who sees the lord abiding everywhere alike, does not destroy himself¹ by himself, and then reaches the highest goal. He sees (truly), who sees (all) actions (to be) in every way done by nature alone, and likewise the self (to be) not the doer. When a man sees all the variety of entities as existing in one², and (all as) emanating from that, then he becomes (one with) the Brahman. This inexhaustible supreme self, being without beginning and without qualities, does not act, and is not tainted, O son of Kuntī! though stationed in the body. As by (reason of its) subtlety the all-pervading space is not tainted, so the self stationed in every body is not tainted. As the sun singly lights up all this world, so the Kshetragñā, O descendant of Bharata! lights up the whole Kshetra. Those who, with the eye of knowledge, thus understand the difference between Kshetra and Kshetragñā, and the destruction of the nature of all entities³, go to the supreme.

CHAPTER XIV.

The Deity said :

Again I will declare (to you) the highest knowledge, the best of (all sorts of) knowledge, having

¹ Not to have true knowledge is equivalent to self-destruction. Cf. *Īsopanishad*, pp. 9, 15, 16.

² I.e. absorbed at the time of the deluge in nature, one of the energies of the supreme; 'emanating,' i.e. at the time of creation.

³ Nature, which is the material cause from which all entities are produced; the destruction of it results from true knowledge of the soul. See the third note on p. 107 *infra*.

learnt which, all sages have reached perfection beyond (the bonds of) this (body). Those who, resorting to this knowledge, reach assimilation with my essence, are not born at the creation, and are not afflicted ¹ at the destruction (of the universe). The great Brahman ² is a womb for me, in which I cast the seed. From that, O descendant of Bharata! is the birth of all things. Of the bodies, O son of Kuntl! which are born from all wombs, the (main) womb is the great Brahman, and I (am) the father, the giver of the seed. Goodness, passion, darkness, these qualities ³ born from nature, O you of mighty arms! bind down the inexhaustible soul in the body. Of these, goodness, which, in consequence of being untainted, is enlightening and free from (all) misery, binds the soul, O sinless one! with the bond of pleasure and the bond of knowledge ⁴. Know that passion consists in being enamoured, and is produced from craving and attachment. That, O son of Kuntl! binds down the embodied (self) with the

¹ I.e. 'are not destroyed,' Madhusūdana; 'do not fall,' Saṅkara; 'are not born,' Śrīdhara, and apparently Rāmānuga.

² I.e. the 'nature' spoken of before.

³ These constitute nature. We must understand nature, with Professor Bhāṇḍārkar, as the hypothetical cause of the soul's feeling itself limited and conditioned. If nature is understood, as it usually is, to mean matter, its being made up of the qualities is inexplicable. Interpreted idealistically, as suggested by Professor Bhāṇḍārkar, the destruction of it spoken of at the close of the last chapter also becomes intelligible. By means of knowledge of the soul, the unreality of these manifestations is understood and nature is destroyed.

⁴ Pleasure and knowledge appertain to the mind, not the self, hence they are described as constituting bonds, when erroneously connected with the self, Saṅkara and Śrīdhara. They constitute 'bonds,' because the self when brought into contact with them, strives to obtain them, Rāmānuga.

bond of action. Darkness (you must) know to be born of ignorance, it deludes all embodied (selves). And that, O descendant of Bharata! binds down (the self) with heedlessness¹, indolence, and sleep. Goodness unites (the self) with pleasure; passion, O descendant of Bharata! with action; and darkness with heedlessness, after shrouding up knowledge. Passion and darkness being repressed, goodness stands, O descendant of Bharata! Passion and goodness (being repressed), darkness; and likewise darkness and goodness (being repressed), passion². When in this body at all portals³ light (that is to say) knowledge prevails, then should one know goodness to be developed. Avarice, activity⁴, performance of actions, want of tranquillity, desire, these are produced, O chief of the descendants of Bharata! when passion is developed. Want of light, want of activity⁵, heedlessness, and delusion, these are produced, O descendant of Kuru! when darkness is developed. When an embodied (self) encounters death, while goodness is developed, then he reaches the untainted worlds of those who know the highest⁶. Encountering death during (the preva-

¹ Carelessness about duty, owing to being intent on something else. Cf. Sutta Nipāta, pp. 51-91; Dhammapada, stanza 21; Kaṭhopanishad, p. 152.

² The effects of each quality assert themselves, when the other two are held in check. ³ I. e. the senses of perception.

⁴ Activity=always doing something or another; performance, &c.=rearing large mansions, &c.; want of tranquillity=perpetual agitation of mind, 'this I will do now, then that, and next the other;' desire=to obtain everything that one comes across.

⁵ I. e. doing absolutely nothing.

⁶ The highest manifestations of Brahman, viz. the Hiraṇyagarbha, &c., say Śrīdhara and Madhusūdana. Nīlakaṇṭha also suggests that 'those who know the highest' means gods.

lence of) passion, he is born among those attached to action. Likewise, dying during (the prevalence of) darkness, he is born in the wombs of the ignorant¹. The fruit of meritorious action is said to be good, untainted; while the fruit of passion is misery; and the fruit of darkness ignorance. From goodness is produced knowledge, from passion avarice², and from darkness heedlessness and delusion and ignorance also. Those who adhere to (the ways of) goodness go up³; the passionate remain in the middle; while those of the qualities of darkness, adhering to the ways of the lowest quality, go down. When a right-seeing person sees none but the qualities (to be) the doers (of all action), and knows what is above the qualities⁴, he enters into my essence. The embodied (self), who transcends these three qualities, from which bodies are produced⁵, attains immortality, being freed from birth and death and old age and misery.

Arguna said :

What are the characteristics, O lord ! of one who has transcended these three qualities ? What is his conduct, and how does he transcend these three qualities⁶ ?

¹ Lower creation, such as birds, beasts, &c.

² Cf. Sutta Nipāta, p. 15.

³ I.e. are born as gods, &c.; 'middle,' as men, &c.; 'down,' as brutes, &c.

⁴ I.e. what has been called Kshetragña before, the supervising principle within one.

⁵ Bodies are developments of the qualities, say the commentators, which is not incompatible with the explanation of qualities given above. As to transcending qualities, cf. p. 48 supra.

⁶ Cf. as to what follows what is said in chapter II about 'one whose mind is steady.'

The Deity said :

He is said to have transcended the qualities. O son of Pāṇḍu! who is not averse to light and activity and delusion (when they) prevail, and who does not desire (them when they) cease¹; who sitting like one unconcerned is never perturbed by the qualities²; who remains steady and moves³ not, (thinking) merely that the qualities⁴ exist; who is self-contained⁵; to whom pain and pleasure are alike; to whom a sod and a stone and gold are alike; to whom what is agreeable and what is disagreeable are alike; who has discernment; to whom censure and praise of himself are alike; who is alike in honour and dishonour; who is alike towards the sides of friends and foes; and who abandons all action⁶. And he who worships me with an unswerving devotion, transcends these qualities, and becomes fit for (entrance into) the essence of the Brahman. For I am the embodiment of the Brahman⁷, of indefeisable immortality, of eternal piety, and of unbroken happiness.

¹ I.e. who does not feel troubled, for instance, thinking now I am actuated by a motive of passion or darkness, and so forth.

² So as to lose all discrimination.

³ I.e. from his determination to pursue truth, by worldly pleasures or pains.

⁴ Cf. p. 55 supra.

⁵ Intent on the self only.

⁶ For the whole passage, cf. p. 101 supra.

⁷ Nilakantha interprets this to mean 'the ultimate object of the Vedas.' I here means *Krishna*. Śrīdhara suggests this parallel, as light embodied is the sun, so is the Brahman embodied identical with Vāsudeva.

CHAPTER XV.

The Deity said :

They say the inexhaustible Asvattha¹ has (its) roots above, (its) branches below ; the *Kṛāṇḍas* are its leaves. He who knows it knows the Vedas. Upwards and downwards extend its branches, which are enlarged by the qualities, and the sprouts of which are sensuous objects. And downwards to this human world are continued its roots which lead on to action. Its form is not thus known here, nor (its) end, nor beginning, nor support. But having with the firm weapon of unconcern, cut this Asvattha, whose roots are firmly fixed, then should one seek for that seat from which those that go there never return, (thinking) that one rests on that same primal being from whom the ancient course (of worldly life) emanated. Those who are free from pride and delusion, who have overcome the evils of attachment, who are constant in (contemplating) the relation of the supreme and individual self, from whom desire has departed, who are free from the pairs (of opposites) called pleasure and pain, go undeluded to that imperishable seat². The sun

¹ Cf. *Kaṭhopanishad*, p. 70, and *Sutta Nipāta*, p. 76.

² *Asvattha* stands here for the course of worldly life. Its roots are above, viz. the supreme being ; its boughs are *Hiraṇyagarbha* and others of the higher beings. The Vedas are its leaves, preserving it as leaves preserve trees (another interpretation is that they are the causes of the fruit which the tree bears, i. e. salvation, &c.) Upwards and downwards, from the highest to the lowest of created things. Enlarged—the qualities manifesting themselves, as body, senses, &c. ; objects of sense are sprouts as they are attached to the senses, which are the tips of the branches above stated. The roots which extend downwards are the desires for various

does not light it, nor the moon, nor fire¹. That is my highest abode, going to which none returns. An eternal portion of me it is, which, becoming an individual soul in the mortal world, draws (to itself) the senses with the mind as the sixth². Whenever the ruler (of the bodily frame) obtains or quits a body, he goes taking these (with him) as the wind (takes) perfumes from (their) seats³. And presiding over the senses of hearing and seeing, and touch, and taste, and smell, and the mind, he enjoys sensuous objects. Those who are deluded do not see (him) remaining in or quitting (a body), enjoying or joined to the qualities⁴; they see, who have eyes of knowledge. Devotees making efforts perceive him abiding within their selves⁵. But those whose selves have not been refined, and who have no discernment, do not perceive him even (after) making efforts. Know that glory (to be) mine which, dwelling in the sun, lights up the whole world, or in the moon or fire⁶.

enjoyments. Its form not thus known here, i.e. to those who live and move in this world, thus viz. as above described. The man who knows the tree thus is said to know the Vedas, because knowledge of it is knowledge of the substance of the Vedas, which is, that the course of worldly life springs from the supreme, is kept up by Vedic rites, and destroyed by knowledge of the supreme. As to freedom from pride, cf. Sutta Nipāta, p. 4.

¹ Cf. *Kāthopanishad*, p. 142; *Mundaka*, p. 304; *Nṛsiṃhātāpini*, p. 106; *Svetāsvatara*, p. 110.

² Five senses and the mind issue from nature, in which they are absorbed during sleep or at a dissolution of the world. Cf. Sutta Nipāta, p. 44.

³ Cf. *Kaushītaki-upanishad*, pp. 86, 87.

⁴ Perceiving objects of sense, or feeling pleasure, pain, &c.

⁵ 'Selves' = bodies, Rāmānuja and Śrīdhara; 'understandings,' Śaṅkara. In the next sentence 'self' means mind.

⁶ Cf. *Maitrī-upanishad*, p. 142. This sentence continues what has been stated at the top of the page. The intervening

Entering the earth¹, I by my power support all things; and becoming the juicy moon, I nourish all herbs. I becoming the fire, and dwelling in the bodies of (all) creatures, and united with the upward and downward life-breaths, cause digestion of the fourfold food². And I am placed in the heart of all³; from me (come) memory, knowledge, and their removal; I alone am to be learnt from all the Vedas; I am the author of the Vedāntas⁴; and I alone know the Vedas. There are these two beings in the world, the destructible and the indestructible⁵. The destructible (includes) all things. The unconcerned one is (what is) called the indestructible. But the being supreme is yet another, called the highest self, who as the inexhaustible lord, pervading the three worlds, supports (them). And since I transcend the destructible, and since I am higher also than the indestructible⁶, therefore

portion explains how souls do come back in some cases. As a general rule, 'all going ends in returning.' But the soul is an exception in some cases, as the 'going' to the Brahman is going to the fountain-head. Then the question arises, How does the severance come off at all? And that is what the lines up to this explain.

¹ 'Entering in the form of the goddess earth,' say Ânandagiri and Madhusûdana. Support, i.e. by keeping the earth from falling or crumbling away. The moon is said to nourish herbs by communicating to them some of her 'juice.' The moon, it may be noted, is called 'watery star' by Shakespeare. As to her relation to the vegetable kingdom, see Matsya-purāṇa XXIII, stanza 10 seq.

² I.e. what is drunk, what is licked, what is powdered with the teeth, and what is eaten without such powdering.

³ Cf. p. 104 supra.

⁴ See Introduction, p. 18.

⁵ Cf. Svetārvata, p. 294.

⁶ The two are the whole collection of things as they appear and their material cause. The supreme being is a third principle.

am I celebrated in the world and in the Vedas as the best of beings. He who, undeluded, thus knows me the best of beings, worships me every way¹, O descendant of Bharata! knowing everything. Thus, O sinless one! have I proclaimed this most mysterious science. He who knows this, has done all he need do, and he becomes possessed of discernment.

CHAPTER XVI.

Freedom from fear, purity of heart, perseverance in (pursuit of) knowledge and abstraction of mind, gifts², self-restraint², and sacrifice, study of the Vedas, penance, straightforwardness, harmlessness, truth², freedom from anger, renunciation³, tranquillity, freedom from the habit of backbiting⁴, compassion for (all) beings, freedom from avarice, gentleness, modesty, absence of vain activity, noble-mindedness, forgiveness, courage, purity, freedom from a desire to injure others, absence of vanity, (these), O descendant of Bharata! are his who is born to godlike endowments. Ostentatiousness, pride, vanity⁵, anger, and also harshness and ignorance (are) his, O son of Prîthâ! who is born to demoniac⁶ endowments. Godlike endowments are deemed to be (means) for

¹ Cf. p. 129 infra. Here Sâṅkara paraphrases it by 'thinking me to be the soul of everything.'

² Cf. Sutta Nipâta, p. 49.

³ See next chapter.

⁴ Sutta Nipâta, pp. 15, 101.

⁵ Ostentatiousness=making a show of piety; pride=scil. of wealth and learning; vanity=esteeming oneself too highly; harshness=mercilessness.

⁶ Cf. *Khândogya-upanishad*, p. 585, and Max Müller's *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 322.

final emancipation, demoniac for bondage¹. Grieve not, O descendant of Bharata ! you are born to godlike endowments. (There are) two classes of created beings in this world, the godlike and the demoniac ; the godlike (class) has been described at length ; now hear from me, O son of Prithâ ! about the demoniac. Demoniac persons know not action or inaction², neither purity nor yet (correct) conduct nor veracity are in them. They say the universe is devoid of truth³, devoid of fixed principle⁴, and devoid of a ruler, produced by union (of male and female) caused by lust⁵, and nothing else. Holding this view, (these) enemies of the world, of ruined⁶ selves, of little knowledge, and of ferocious actions, are born for the destruction (of the world). Entertaining insatiable desire, full of vanity, ostentatiousness, and frenzy, they adopt false notions⁷ through delusion, and engage in unholy observances. Indulging in boundless thoughts ending with death⁸, given up to the enjoyment of objects of desire, being resolved that that is all, bound down by nets of hopes in hundreds, given up to anger and desire, they wish

¹ Scil. to birth and death in this world.

² What should be done for the attainment of real good, and what should not be done as productive of mischief. See too p. 125.

³ I.e. contains nothing that is entitled to belief, as the Vedas, &c.

⁴ No principle based on virtue and vice in the government of the world.

⁵ They do not believe in any unseen cause, but say the lust of mankind is the cause of the universe.

⁶ I.e. who have none of the means of reaching the next world.

⁷ Such as that by propitiating a certain divinity by a certain rite they may obtain treasure and so forth.

⁸ Till their last moments, thinking of making new acquisitions and preserving old ones.

to obtain heaps of wealth unfairly for enjoying objects of desire. 'This have I obtained to-day; this wish I will obtain; this wealth is mine; and this also shall be mine; this foe I have killed; others too I will destroy; I am lord, I am the enjoyer, I am perfect¹, strong, happy; I have wealth; I am of noble birth; who else is like me? I will sacrifice²; I will make gifts; I will rejoice.' Thus deluded by ignorance, tossed about by numerous thoughts, surrounded by the net of delusion, and attached to the enjoyment of objects of desire, they fall down into impure hell. Honoured (only) by themselves, void of humility, and full of the pride and frenzy of wealth, these calumniators (of the virtuous) perform sacrifices, which are sacrifices only in name, with ostentatiousness and against prescribed rules³; indulging (their) vanity, brute force, arrogance, lust, and anger; and hating me in their own bodies and in those of others⁴. These enemies⁵, ferocious, meanest of men, and unholy, I continually hurl down to these worlds⁶, only into demoniac wombs. Coming into demoniac wombs, deluded in every birth, they go down to the vilest state, O son of Kuntī! without ever coming to me. Threefold is this way to hell,—

¹ Blessed with children, &c. Śrīdhara takes it to mean, 'one who has done all he need do,' and Rāmānuga 'sufficient in himself.'

² I. e. get higher renown for sacrifices than others.

³ That is, because of indulgence in vanity, &c. Vanity = believing oneself to have virtues which one has not; arrogance = proud disdain of others.

⁴ There is trouble to oneself in sacrifices and to the animals killed for them.

⁵ I. e. of God.

⁶ The commentators render the original here by 'the paths of life and death,' or 'path to hell.'

ruinous to the self¹,—lust, anger, and likewise avarice; therefore one should abandon this triad. Released from these three ways to darkness, O son of Kuntl! a man works out his own salvation, and then proceeds to the highest goal. He² who abandoning scripture ordinances, acts under the impulse of desire, does not attain perfection³, nor happiness, nor the highest goal. Therefore in discriminating between what should be done and what should not be done, your authority (must be) scripture. And knowing what is declared by the ordinances of scripture, you should perform action in this world.

CHAPTER XVII.

Arguna said :

What is the state of those, O *Kṛishna*! who worship with faith, (but) abandoning scripture ordinances—goodness, passion, or darkness?

The Deity said :

Faith is of three kinds in embodied (beings), it is produced from dispositions⁴. It is of the quality of goodness, of the quality of passion, and of the quality of darkness. Hear about it. The faith of all, O descendant of Bharata! is conformable to the

¹ I.e. rendering the self unfit for any of the highest ends of man.

² Here, says *Sṛīdhara*, it is laid down that the triad is not to be got rid of save by following scripture rules.

³ I.e. fitness for the attainment of the summum bonum. As to acting from desire, see also p. 65.

⁴ I.e. the result of the actions in a former birth, cf. p. 56 supra.

heart¹. A being here is full of faith, and whatever is a man's faith, that is a man himself². Those of the quality of goodness worship the gods; those of the quality of passion the Yakshas and Rakshases³; and the others, the people of the quality of darkness, worship departed (spirits) and the multitudes of Bhûtas. Know those to be of demoniac convictions, who practise fierce penance⁴ not ordained by scripture; who are full of ostentatiousness and egoism, and of desire, attachment, and stubbornness; who are without discernment; and who torment the groups of organs in (their) bodies, and me also seated within (those) bodies. The food also, which is liked by all, and likewise the sacrifice, the penance, and gifts, are of three kinds. Listen to the distinctions regarding them as follows. The kinds of food which increase life, energy, strength, health, comfort, and relish, which are savoury, oleaginous, full of nutrition, and agreeable, are liked by the good. The kinds of food which are bitter, acid, saltish, too hot, sharp, rough, and burning, and which cause pain, grief, and disease, are desired by the passionate. And the food⁵ which is cold, tasteless, stinking, stale, impure, and even leavings, are liked by the dark. That sacrifice is good which, being prescribed in (scripture) ordinances, is performed by persons

¹ The hearts of gods are said to be good, those of Yakshas &c. passionate, those of men mixed, and so forth.

² Faith is the dominant principle in man, and he is good, passionate, or dark, as his faith is.

³ Goldstücker, *Remains*, I, 154.

⁴ Troublesome to oneself and others, as standing on heated stones, &c. 'Egoism' (Ahaṅkāra) = the feeling that one is worthy of honour, Nilakantha.

⁵ Cf. *Sutta Nipāta*, p. 109, and *Āpastamba*, p. 31 (p. 62 in this series).

not wishing for the fruit (of it), and after determining (in their) mind that the sacrifice must needs be performed. But when a sacrifice is performed, O highest of the descendants of Bharata! with an expectation of fruit (from it), and for the purpose of ostentation, know that sacrifice (to be) passionate. They call that sacrifice dark, which is against the ordinances (of scripture), in which no food is dealt out (to Brâhmaṇas, &c.), which is devoid of Mantras¹, devoid of Dakṣiṇā presents, and which is without faith. Paying reverence to gods, Brâhmaṇas, preceptors, and men of knowledge; purity², straightforwardness, life as Brahmatârin, and harmlessness, (this) is called the penance bodily. The speech which causes no sorrow, which is true, agreeable, and beneficial, and the study³ of the Vedas, (this) is called the penance vocal. Calmness of mind, mildness, taciturnity⁴, self-restraint, and purity of heart, this is called the penance mental. This threefold penance, practised with perfect faith, by men who do not wish for the fruit, and who are possessed of devotion, is called good. The penance which is done for respect, honour, and reverence⁵, and with ostenta-

¹ Texts from the Vedas which ought to be recited on such occasions. Presents (Dakṣiṇā) to Brâhmaṇas are insisted on in *Bṛihad-Āraṇyaka-upaniṣad*, p. 661; *Āsvalāyana Gr̥hya* I, 23, 14.

² Cleanliness of body; straightforwardness = not doing prohibited acts; harmlessness = not injuring any living beings. These are 'bodily,' because the body is the main instrument in these actions.

³ I.e. recitation of the Vedas.

⁴ This is part of the 'mental penance,' because the government of the tongue is a consequence of mental restraint; the effect being, according to Saṅkara, put here for the cause.

⁵ Respect = people rising to receive one, &c.; honour = people saying 'this is a holy man,' &c.; reverence = people washing one's feet, &c.

tiousness, and which is uncertain and transient¹, is here called passionate. And that penance is described as dark, which is performed under a misguided conviction, with pain to oneself, or for the destruction of another. That gift is said (to be) good, which is given, because it ought to be given, to one who (can) do no service (in return), at a (proper) place and time, and to a (proper) person. But that gift which is given with much difficulty, for a return of services, or even with an expectation of fruit², is said to be passionate. And that gift is described as dark, which is given to unfit persons, at an unfit place and time, without respect, and with contempt. Om, Tad, and Sat, this is said (to be) the threefold designation of the Brahman. By that³, the Brāhmaṇas and the Vedas and sacrifices were created in olden times. Hence, the performance by those who study the Brahman, of sacrifices, gifts, and penances, prescribed by the ordinances (of scripture), always commence after saying 'Om⁴.' Those who desire final emancipation perform the various acts of sacrifice and penance, and the various acts of gift, without expectation of fruit, after (saying) 'Tad⁵.' 'Sat' is employed to express existence and goodness; and likewise, O son of Prithā! the word 'Sat' is used to express an auspicious act. Constancy in

¹ The fruit of which is uncertain or perishable.

² Heaven &c. as a reward for liberality.

³ I.e. the Brahman, according to Śrīdhara.

⁴ Cf. Āpastamba, p. 21 (p. 49 in this series). Nīlakanṭha cites texts to show that this and the other two words are used to designate the Brahman. The texts are from the Taittirīya, Aitareya, and Kāṇḍogya-upanishads.

⁵ Nīlakanṭha says, 'after "Tad"' means considering the act and all are Brahman, and cites p. 61 supra.

(making) sacrifices, penances, and gifts, is called 'Sat;' and (all) action, too, of which that¹ is the object, is also called 'Sat.' Whatever oblation is offered, whatever is given, whatever penance is performed, and whatever is done, without faith², that, O son of *Prithâ*! is called 'Asat,' and that is nought, both after death and here³.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Arguna said :

O you of mighty arms ! O *Hrishikesa* ! O destroyer of *Kesin* ! I wish to know the truth about renunciation and abandonment distinctly.

The Deity said :

By renunciation the sages understand the rejection of actions done with desires. The wise call the abandonment of the fruit of all actions (by the name) abandonment. Some wise men say, that action should be abandoned as being full of evil ; and others, that the actions of sacrifice, gift, and penance

¹ I.e. either the Brahman itself, or sacrifice, penance, and gift.

² Cf. *Sutta Nipâta*, p. 69.

³ The meaning of this whole passage seems to be that these three words, which designate the Brahman, have distinct uses, as specified. 'Om,' says *Nilakantha*, is employed whether the action is done with any special desire or not. Those who study the Brahman there means 'study the Vedas.' 'Tad' is employed in case of actions without desires only. 'Sat' is employed, according to *Saṅkara*, in case of existence, such as the birth of a first son ; 'goodness,' the reclamation of a bad man ; 'auspicious acts,' marriage, &c. The intelligent use of these terms as here specified is said to cure any defects in the actions, the various classes of which are mentioned before.

should not be abandoned. As to that abandonment, O best of the descendants of Bharata ! listen to my decision ; for abandonment, O bravest of men ! is described (to be) threefold. The actions of sacrifice, gift, and penance should not be abandoned ; they must needs be performed ; for sacrifices, gifts, and penances are means of sanctification to the wise. But even these actions, O son of Prithā ! should be performed, abandoning attachment and fruit ; such is my excellent and decided opinion. The renunciation of prescribed action is not proper. Its abandonment through delusion ¹ is described as of the quality of darkness. When a man abandons action, merely as being troublesome, through fear of bodily affliction, he does not obtain the fruit ² of abandonment by making (such) passionate abandonment. When prescribed action is performed, O Arguna ! abandoning attachment and fruit also, merely because it ought to be performed, that is deemed (to be) a good abandonment. He who is possessed of abandonment ³, being full of goodness, and talented, and having his doubts destroyed, is not averse from unpleasant actions, is not attached to pleasant ⁴ (ones). Since no embodied (being) can abandon actions without exception ⁵, he is said to be possessed of abandonment, who abandons the fruit of action. The threefold fruit of action, agreeable, disagreeable, and mixed, accrues after death to those who are not possessed of abandonment, but never to

¹ Without delusion no such abandonment will occur.

² Namely, final emancipation, by means of purity of heart.

³ I.e. who has the frame of mind necessary for a good abandonment.

⁴ Such as bathing at midday in summer. ⁵ Cf. p. 53 supra.

renouncers ¹. Learn from me, O you of mighty arms! these five causes of the completion of all actions, declared in the Sāṅkhya system ². The substratum, the agent likewise, the various sorts of organs, and the various and distinct movements, and with these the deities, too, as the fifth. Whatever action, just or otherwise, a man performs with his body, speech, and mind, these five are its causes. That being so, the undiscerning man, who being of an unrefined understanding, sees the agent in the immaculate self, sees not (rightly) ³. He who has no feeling of egoism ⁴, and whose mind is not tainted, even though he kills (all) these people, kills not, is not fettered ⁵ (by the action). Knowledge ⁶, the object of knowledge, the knower—threefold is the prompting to action. The instrument, the action, the agent, thus in brief is action threefold. Knowledge and action and agent

¹ The original is *sannyāsi*, but Śrīdhara is probably right in taking it to mean one who has command of 'abandonment.' Sāṅkara and Madhusūdana, however, take the word in its ordinary sense of 'ascetic.' What follows explains, says Śrīdhara, why 'the fruit does not accrue to renouncers.'

² Sāṅkara and Madhusūdana say this means Vedānta-sāstra. Śrīdhara suggests also the alternative Sāṅkhya-sāstra. Substratum = the body, in which desire, aversion, &c. are manifested; agent = one who egoistically thinks himself the doer of actions; organs = senses of perception, action, &c.; movements = of the vital breaths in the body; deities = the deities which preside over the eye and other senses (as to this cf. *Aitareya-upanishad*, p. 45; *Prasna*, pp. 216, 217; *Mundaka*, p. 314; *Aitareya-āranyaka*, pp. 88-270; and Max Müller's *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 204, note). ³ Cf. p. 106.

⁴ Egoism = the feeling that he is the doer of the action; taint = the feeling that the fruit of the action must accrue to him.

⁵ Cf. p. 45, and *Dhammapada*, stanza 294.

⁶ Knowledge, i.e. that something is a means to what is desired; object is the means; the knower is he who has this knowledge. When these co-exist we have action. The instrument = senses, &c.

are declared in the enumeration of qualities ¹ (to be) of three classes only, according to the difference of qualities. Hear about these also as they really are. Know that knowledge to be good, by which (a man) sees one entity, inexhaustible, and not different in all things (apparently) different ² (from one another). Know that knowledge to be passionate, which is (based) on distinctions ³ (between different entities), which sees in all things various entities of different kinds. And that is described as dark, which clings to one created (thing) only as everything, which is devoid of reason, devoid of real principle, and insignificant ⁴. That action is called good, which is prescribed, which is devoid of attachment, which is not done from (motives of) affection or aversion, (and which is done) by one not wishing for the fruit. That is described as passionate, which (occasions) much trouble, is performed by one who wishes for objects of desire, or one who is full of egotism ⁵. The action is called dark, which is commenced through delusion, without regard to consequences, loss, injury, or strength ⁶. That agent is called good, who has cast off attachment, who is free from egotistic talk, who is possessed of courage and energy, and unaffected by success or ill-success. That agent is called passionate, who is full of affections ⁷.

¹ The system of Kapila.

² Cf. p. 104.

³ Cf. *Kaṭhopanishad*, p. 129.

⁴ Reason=argument in support; real principle=truth, view of things as they are; insignificant, i.e. in comprehensiveness.

⁵ I.e. 'pride of learning,' &c., Sāṅkhya; 'egoism,' Rāmānuja.

⁶ Consequences=good or evil resulting; loss=of wealth or strength; injury=to others; strength=one's own capacity.

⁷ I.e. 'for children,' &c., according to Śrīdhara; 'for the action,' according to others.

who wishes for the fruit of actions, who is covetous, cruel, and impure, and feels joy and sorrow. That agent is called dark, who is without application¹, void of discernment, headstrong, crafty, malicious, lazy, melancholy, and slow. Now hear, O Dhanañgaya! the threefold division of intelligence² and courage, according to qualities, which I am about to declare exhaustively and distinctly. That intelligence, O son of Prithā! is good which understands action and inaction³, what ought to be done and what ought not to be done, danger and the absence of danger, emancipation and bondage. That intelligence, O son of Prithā! is passionate, by which one imperfectly understands piety and impiety, what ought to be done and also what ought not to be done. That intelligence, O son of Prithā! is dark, which shrouded by darkness, understands impiety (to be) piety, and all things incorrectly. That courage, O son of Prithā! is good courage, which is unswerving⁴, and by which one controls the operations of the mind, breath, and senses, through abstraction. But, O Arjuna! that courage is passionate, by which one adheres to piety, lust, and wealth⁵, and through attachment⁶ wishes,

¹ I.e. attention to work; melancholy=always desponding and wanting in energy.

² The nature of the faculty of understanding; and courage is the firmness of that faculty.

³ See p. 115. Sāhikara takes these to mean the 'paths' of action and knowledge, and Nīlakantha takes the next expression to mean that which is constant and that which is not constant—nitya, anitya.

⁴ Always co-existing with mental abstraction and supporting it.

⁵ Three of the aims of mankind, the highest being final emancipation. In the view of the Gītā, piety, leading only to heaven, is of doubtful benefit.

⁶ I.e. to the action for attaining them, in the belief that one is

O son of *Prithā*! for the fruit. That courage is dark, O son of *Prithā*! by which an undiscerning man does not give up sleep, fear, sorrow, despondency, and folly. Now, O chief of the descendants of *Bharata*! hear from me about the three sorts of happiness. That happiness is called good, in which one is pleased after repetition¹ (of enjoyment), and reaches the close of all misery, which is like poison first and comparable to nectar in the long run, and which is produced from a clear knowledge of the self². That happiness is called passionate, which (flows) from contact between the senses and their objects, and which is at first comparable to nectar and in the long run like poison. That happiness is described as dark, which arises from sleep, laziness, heedlessness, which deludes the self, both at first and in its consequences. There is no entity either on earth or in heaven among the gods, which is free from these three qualities born of nature. The duties of *Brāhmaṇas*, *Kshatriyas*, and *Vaiśyas*, and of *Sūdras*, too, O terror of your foes! are distinguished according to the qualities born of nature³. Tranquillity⁴, restraint of the senses, penance, purity, forgiveness, straightforwardness, also knowledge, experience, and belief (in a future world), this is the natural duty of *Brāhmaṇas*. Valour, glory, courage,

the doer of it; the 'fruit' scil. of the action performed with an eye to the three things named.

¹ Not at once, as in the case of sensuous pleasures.

² Cf. p. 51. The original has also been rendered by 'tranquillity of one's own mind.'

³ Cf. p. 59.

⁴ I.e. resulting from control of the mind, purity here is both external and internal. And see p. 119.

dexterity¹, not slinking away from battle, gifts, exercise of lordly power², this is the natural duty of Kshatriyas. Agriculture, tending cattle, trade, (this) is the natural duty of Vaisyas. And the natural duty of Sûdras, too, consists in service. (Every) man intent on his own respective duties obtains perfection³. Listen, now, how one intent on one's own duty obtains perfection. Worshipping, by (the performance of) his own duty, him from whom all things proceed, and by whom all this is permeated, a man obtains perfection. One's duty, though defective, is better than another's duty well performed⁴. Performing the duty prescribed by nature, one does not incur sin. O son of Kuntl! one should not abandon a natural duty though tainted with evil; for all actions are enveloped by evil, as fire by smoke⁵. One who is self-restrained, whose understanding is unattached everywhere, from whom affections have departed, obtains the supreme perfection of freedom from action⁶ by renunciation. Learn from me, only in brief, O son of Kuntl! how one who has obtained perfection attains the Brahman, which is the highest culmination of knowledge. A man possessed of a pure understanding, controlling his self by courage, discarding sound and other objects of sense, casting off

¹ I. e. in battle, Nîlakantha seems to say. Sâṅkara says it means ready resource whenever occasion arises.

² I. e. 'power to restrain people from going astray,' Nîlakantha.

³ Eligibility for the path of knowledge.

⁴ Cf. p. 56.

⁵ Cf. p. 121; the evil appears to be the quality of 'fettering' the soul.

⁶ Śrîdhara compares p. 65 (V, 13) and distinguishes this from p. 64 (V, 8 seq.) Sâṅkara says the perfection here spoken of is emancipation, and it is obtained by true knowledge.

affection and aversion ; who frequents clean places, who eats little, whose speech, body, and mind are restrained, who is always intent on meditation and mental abstraction¹, and has recourse to unconcern, who abandoning egoism², stubbornness, arrogance, desire, anger, and (all) belongings, has no (thought that this or that is) mine, and who is tranquil, becomes fit for assimilation with the Brahman. Thus reaching the Brahman³, and with a tranquil self, he grieves not, wishes not ; but being alike to all beings, obtains the highest devotion to me. By (that) devotion he truly understands who I am and how great. And then understanding me truly, he forthwith enters into my (essence). Even performing all actions, always depending on me, he, through my favour, obtains the imperishable and eternal seat. Dedicating in thought⁴ all actions to me, he constantly given up to me, (placing) your thoughts on me, through recourse to mental abstraction. (Placing) your thoughts on me, you will cross over all difficulties by my favour. But if you will not listen through egotism⁵, you will be ruined. If entertaining egotism, you think that you may not fight, vain, indeed, is that resolution of yours. Nature⁶ will constrain you. That, O son of Kuntl! which through delusion you do not wish to do, you will do involuntarily.

¹ Abstraction is concentrated and exclusive meditation, Sāṅkara. The other commentators take dhyānayoga as meditation simply,—as treated of in chapter VI, says Nīlakantha.

² See p. 52.

³ I. e. comprehending his identity with the Brahman.

⁴ Cf. p. 55.

⁵ Pride of learning and cleverness, or of piety. See p. 124, note 5.

⁶ The nature of a Kshatriya, Sāṅkara.

tied down by your own duty, flowing from your nature. The lord, O Arguna! is seated in the region of the heart¹ of all beings, turning round all beings (as though) mounted on a machine, by his delusion. With him, O descendant of Bharata! seek shelter in every way²; by his favour you will obtain the highest tranquillity, the eternal seat. Thus have I declared to you the knowledge more mysterious than any mystery. Ponder over it thoroughly, and then act as you like. Once more, listen to my excellent words—most mysterious of all. Strongly I like you, therefore I will declare what is for your welfare. On me (place) your mind, become my devotee, sacrifice to me, reverence me, and you will certainly come to me. I declare to you truly, you are dear to me. Forsaking all duties³, come to me as (your) sole refuge. I will release you from all sins. Be not grieved. This⁴ you should never declare to one who performs no penance⁵, who is not a devotee⁶, nor to one who does not wait on (some preceptor)⁷, nor yet to one who calumniates me. He who, with the highest devotion⁸ to me, will proclaim this supreme mystery among my devotees, will come to me, freed from (all) doubts. No one

¹ Svetârvatara-upanishad, pp. 333-345; Ka/âopanishad, p. 157.

² Cf. p. 114; by thought, word, and deed.

³ Of caste or order, such as Agnihotra and so forth.

⁴ All that has been taught in the Gîtâ.

⁵ Sridhara renders this to mean, 'who performs no pious acts.'

⁶ I. e. of God and a preceptor. Cf. last stanza of Svetârvatara-upanishad.

⁷ Cf. p. 62. Sâṅkara says all these elements must co-exist to give eligibility.

⁸ I. e. belief that in disseminating it, he is serving me. Cf. Ka/âopanishad, p. 120.

amongst men is superior to him in doing what is dear to me. And there will never be another on earth dearer to me than he. And he who will study this holy dialogue of ours, will, such is my opinion, have offered to me the sacrifice of knowledge¹. And the man, also, who with faith and without carping will listen (to this), will be freed (from sin), and attain to the holy regions of those who perform pious acts². Have you listened to this, O son of Prithâ ! with a mind (fixed) on (this) one point only ? Has your delusion (caused) by ignorance been destroyed, O Dhanañgaya ?

Arguna said :

Destroyed is my delusion ; by your favour, O un-degraded one ! I (now) recollect³ myself. I stand freed from doubts⁴. I will do your bidding.

Saṅgaya said :

Thus did I hear this dialogue between Vāsudeva and the high-minded son of Prithâ, (a dialogue) wonderful and causing the hair to stand on end. By the favour of Vyâsa, I heard this highest mystery, (this) devotion⁵, from Kṛishṇa himself, the lord of the possessors of mystic power, who proclaimed it in person. O king ! remembering and (again) remembering this wonderful and holy dialogue of Kesava and Arguna, I rejoice over and over again. And remembering and (again) remembering that

¹ Which is the best of sacrifices ; see p. 62.

² Cf. p. 72.

³ I.e. understand my real essence, what I am, &c.

⁴ As to whether the battle was right or not.

⁵ The work is so called, as it refers to devotion.

excessively wonderful form of Hari also, great is my amazement, O king! and I rejoice over and over again. Wherever (is) *Kṛishṇa*, the lord of the possessors of mystic power, wherever (is) the (great) archer, the son of *Prithā*, there in my opinion (are) fortune, victory, prosperity¹, and eternal justice.

¹ Prosperity is the greater development of fortune.

SANATSUGÂTÎYA.

INTRODUCTION

TO

S A N A T S U G Â T Î Y A.

THE Sanatsugâtîya is, like the Bhagavadgîtâ, one of the numerous episodes of the Mahâbhârata¹. It is true, that it has never commanded anything like that unbounded veneration which has always been paid in India to the Bhagavadgîtâ. Still it is sometimes studied even in our days, and it has had the high distinction of being commented on by the great leader of the modern Vedântic school—Sâṅkarâcârya². The Sanatsugâtîya purports to be a dialogue mainly between Sanatsugâta on the one side and Dhṛitarâshṭra on the other. Sanatsugâta, from whom it takes its name, is said to be identical with Sanatku-mâra, a name not unfamiliar to students of our Upanishad literature. And Dhṛitarâshṭra is the old father of those Kauravas who formed one of the belligerent parties in the bellum plusquam civile which is recorded in the Mahâbhârata. The connexion of this particular episode with the main current of the narrative of that epos is one of the loosest possible character—much looser, for instance, than that of the Bhagavadgîtâ. As regards the latter, it can fairly be contended that it is in accordance with poetical justice for Arguna to feel despondent and unwilling to engage in battle, after actual sight of 'teachers, fathers, sons,' and all the rest of them, arrayed in opposition to him; and that therefore it was necessary for the poet to adduce some specific explanation as to how Arguna was ultimately enabled to get over such natural scruples. But as regards the Sanatsugâtîya, even such a contention as this

¹ Mahâbhârata, Udyoga Parvan, Adhyâya 41-46.

² Mâdhavâcârya, in speaking of Sâṅkara's works, describes him as having commented on the Sanatsugâtîya, which is 'far from evil (persons,)' [*asatsudû-ras*]. Sâṅkara-vigaya, chapter VI, stanza 62.

can have no place. For this is how the matter stands. In the course of the negotiations for an amicable arrangement¹ between the Pāṇḍavas and the Kauravas, Sañgaya, on one occasion, came back to Dhṛitarāshṭra with a message from the Pāṇḍavas. When he saw Dhṛitarāshṭra, however, he said that he would deliver the message in the public assembly of the Kauravas the next morning, and went away after pronouncing a severe censure on Dhṛitarāshṭra for his conduct. The suspense thus caused was a source of much vexation to the old man, and so he sent for Vidura, in order, as he expresses it, that Vidura might by his discourse assuage the fire that was raging within him. Vidura accordingly appears, and enters upon an elaborate prelection concerning matters spiritual, or, perhaps, more accurately quasi-spiritual, and at the outset of the Sanatsugâtiya he is supposed to have reached a stage where, as being born a Sûdra, he hesitates to proceed. After some discussion of this point, between Vidura and Dhṛitarāshṭra, it is determined to call in the aid of Sanatsugâta, to explain the spiritual topics which Vidura felt a delicacy in dealing with; and Sanatsugâta is accordingly introduced on the scene in a way not unusual in our epic and purāṇic literature, viz. by Vidura engaging in some mystic process of meditation, in response to which Sanatsugâta appears. He is received then with all due formalities, and after he has had some rest, as our poem takes care to note, he is catechised by Dhṛitarāshṭra; and with one or two exceptions, all the verses which constitute the Sanatsugâtiya are Sanatsugâta's answers to Dhṛitarāshṭra's questions².

This brief statement of the scheme of this part of the Mahābhārata shows, as already pointed out, that the connexion of the Sanatsugâtiya with the central story of that epic is very loose indeed; and that it might have been entirely omitted without occasioning any æsthetical or other defect. And therefore, although there is nothing positive

¹ See p. 3 supra.

² After this dialogue is over, the dawn breaks, and Dhṛitarāshṭra and the Kaurava princes meet in general assembly.

tending to prove the Sanatsugātiya to be a later addition to the original epos, still the misgivings which are often entertained upon such points may well, in this case, be stronger than in the case of the Bhagavadgītā. The text, too, of the Sanatsugātiya is not preserved in nearly so satisfactory a condition as that of the Gītā. I have had before me, in settling my text, the editions of the Mahābhārata respectively printed and published at Bombay¹, Calcutta, and Madras, and three MSS., one of which was most kindly and readily placed at my disposal by my friend Professor Rāmkrishna Gopāl Bhāndārkar; the second by another friend, Professor Ābāt Vishṇu Kāthavaṭe; and the third was a copy made for me at Sāgar in the Central Provinces, through the good offices of a third friend, Mr. Vāman Mahādeva Kolhaṭkar. The copy lent me by Professor Bhāndārkar comes from Puṇa, and that lent by Professor Kāthavaṭe also from Puṇa. This last, as well as the Sāgar copy, and the edition printed at Madras, contains the commentary of Saṅkarācārya. And the text I have adopted is that which is indicated by the commentary as the text which its author had before him. But the several copies of the commentary differ so much from one another, that it is still a matter of some doubt with me, whether I have got accurately the text which Saṅkara commented upon. For instance, the Sāgar copy entirely omits chapter V, while the other copies not only give the text of that chapter, but also a commentary upon it which calls itself Saṅkarācārya's commentary². Again, take the stanzas which stand within brackets at pp. 167, 168³ of our translation. There is in none of the copies we have, any commentary of Saṅkarācārya on them. And yet the stanzas exist in the text of the Mahābhārata as given in those copies which do contain Saṅkara's commentary. The matter is evidently one for further investigation. I have not, however, thought it

¹ This contains Nilakanṭha's commentary, but his text avowedly includes the text of Saṅkara, and verses and readings contained in more modern copies.

² The commentary on the sixth chapter, however, takes up the thread from the end of the fourth chapter.

³ See p. 182, where one of the lines recurs.

absolutely necessary to make such an investigation for the purposes of the present translation. But to be on the safe side, I have retained in the translation everything which is to be found in those copies of the Sanatsugātiya which also contain Saṅkara's commentary. As to other stanzas—and there are some of this description—which other MSS. or commentators vouch for, but of which no trace is to be found in the MSS. containing Saṅkara's commentary¹, I have simply omitted them.

These facts show that, in the case of the Sanatsugātiya, the materials for a trustworthy historical account of the work are not of a very satisfactory character. The materials for ascertaining its date and position in Sanskrit literature are, indeed, so scanty, that poor as we have seen the materials for the Bhagavadgītā to be, they must be called superlatively rich as compared with those we have now to deal with. As regards external evidence on the points now alluded to, the first and almost the last fact falling under that head, is the fact of the work being quoted from and commented upon by Saṅkarākārya. In his commentary on the Svetāsvatara-upanishad², Saṅkara cites the passage about the flamingo at p. 189, introducing it with the words, 'And in the Sanatsugāta also.' In the same³ commentary some other passages from the Sanatsugātiya are also quoted, but without naming the work except as a Smṛiti, and mixing up together verses from different parts of the work.

This is really all the external evidence, that I am aware of, touching the date of the Sanatsugātiya. There is, however, one other point, which it is desirable to notice, though not, perhaps, so much because it is of any very great value in itself, as because it may hereafter become useful, should further research into the Mahābhārata and other works yield the requisite information. There are, then, eight stanzas in the thirty-sixth, thirty-seventh, thirty-ninth, and fortieth chapters of the Udyoga Parvan of the Mahābhā-

¹ See note 1, p. 137.

² P. 283.

³ P. 252. See, too, Śāṅkara Bhāṣya, p. 818.

rata (the Sanatsugāṭīya commencing at the forty-first chapter), seven of which are quoted in the *Pañkatantra*¹, and the eighth in the *Mahābhāshya*² of Patañjali. Of course, it almost goes without saying, that neither the *Pañkatantra* nor the *Mahābhāshya* mentions the source from which they derive the verses in question. But I do not think it unallowable to make the provisional assumption, that they were derived from the *Mahābhārata*, so long as we cannot produce any other, and more likely, source. It is true, that Professor Weber has, in another connexion, impugned the cogency of this argument. He seems to think, that the probability—in the case he was actually dealing with—of the *Rāmāyana* having borrowed from the *Mahābhāshya*, is quite as strong as the probability of the *Mahābhāshya* having borrowed from the *Rāmāyana*³. And doubtless, he would by parity of reason contend, in the case before us, that the probabilities, as between the *Mahābhārata* on the one hand, and the *Mahābhāshya* and the *Pañkatantra* on the other, bear the same mutual relation. I cannot accept this view. I am not now concerned to discuss the merits of the conclusion in support of which Professor Weber has advanced this argument⁴. I am only considering, how far it affects the question now before us. And as to that question, I may say, that the *Pañkatantra* expressly introduces the stanzas now under consideration with some such expression as, 'For it has been said,' indicating clearly that it was there quoting the words of another⁵. And so, too, does the *Mahābhāshya*,

¹ Cf. Kosegarten's *Pañkatantra*, p. 28 (I, 28, Bombay S. C. ed.), with *Udyoga Parvan*, chap. XI, st. 7 (Bombay ed.); *Pañkatantra*, pp. 112 and 209 (II, 10; IV, 5, Bombay ed.), with *Udyoga Parvan*, chap. XXXVIII, 9; p. 35 I, 37, Bombay ed.) with chap. XXXVI, st. 34; p. 140 (II, 40, Bombay ed.) with chap. XXXVII, st. 15; p. 160 (III, 62, Bombay ed.) with chap. XXXVII, st. 17, 18; p. 106 (II, 2, Bombay ed.) with chap. XXXVI, st. 59.

² *Udyoga Parvan*, chap. XXXVIII, st. 1, and *Mahābhāshya* VI, 1-4, p. 35 (Banāras ed.)

³ See *Indian Antiquary* IV, 247. The parallel from *Mādhava* which Professor Weber adduces is quite inconclusive, and as far as it goes appears to me to militate against the Professor's own view.

⁴ I may, however, admit at once, that I ought not to have expressed myself as strongly as I did in the note which Professor Weber criticises.

⁵ See p. 203 *infra*.

where the passage we refer to runs as follows : ‘(It is) laid down, (that there is) a sin in one of tender age not rising to receive (an elderly person), and (that there is) merit in rising to receive. How? Thus, “The life-winds of a youth depart upwards, when an elderly man approaches (him). By rising to receive (him), and salutation, he obtains them again.”’ It appears to me, that the indications of this being a quotation in the Bhāshya are very strong. But apart from that, I do demur to the proposition, that the probabilities are equal, of a work like the Mahābhārata or Rāmāyana borrowing a verse from the Mahābhāshya, and vice versa. It appears to me perfectly plain, I own, that the probability of a grammatical work like the Bhāshya borrowing a verse from a standard work like the Bhārata or Rāmāyana for purposes of illustration is very much the stronger of the two. And this, quite independently of any inquiry as to whether the Bhāshya does or does not show other indications of acquaintance with the Bhārata or the Rāmāyana.

If these arguments are correct, it seems to me that they carry us thus far in our present investigation—namely, that we may now say, that we have reason to believe some parts, at all events, of the thirty-sixth, thirty-seventh, thirty-eighth, and fortieth chapters of the Udyoga Parvan of the Mahābhārata to have probably been in existence prior to the sixth century A.C.¹; and that some parts of the thirty-seventh chapter were probably extant in the time of Patañjali, viz. the second century B.C.² Now, internal evidence does not yield any indications tending to show that the several chapters here referred to must have been prior in time to the chapters composing the Sanatsugâtīya, which come so soon after them in the Mahābhārata. On the contrary, it is not too much to maintain, that to a certain extent the style and language of the Sanatsugâtīya is, if anything, rather indicative of its priority in time over the five chapters immediately preceding it. And, therefore, so far as this argument goes, it enables us—provisionally only, it must be

¹ See p. 29 supra.

² See p. 32 supra.

remembered—to fix the second century B.C. as a terminus ad quem for the date of the Sanatsugātiya.

This is all the external evidence available for a discussion of the question—when the Sanatsugātiya was composed. We now turn to the internal evidence. Standing by itself, internal evidence is not, in my opinion, of much cogency in any case. Still in ascertaining, as best we can, the history of our ancient literature, even this species of evidence is not to be despised; it must only be used and received with caution. Under this head, then, we may note first the persons who are supposed to take part in the dialogue. Sanatsugāta¹—or Sanatkumāra—as already pointed out, is a name already familiar to the readers of one of our older Upanishads—the *Khândogya*. Dhṛitarāshṭra is not known in the Upanishads, but he is an important personage in the epic literature. And it is to be remarked, that his character as disclosed in the Sanatsugātiya is not at all similar to that which has attached itself to his name, alike in the later literature of our country, and in that popular opinion which was probably formed by this later literature. In the dialogue before us, he figures as an earnest inquirer after truth; he is described as the ‘talented king Dhṛitarāshṭra;’ and is addressed by Sanatsugāta as, ‘O acute sir!’ ‘O learned person!’ True it is, that Nilakanṭha in one place, as we have noticed in our note there², endeavours to bring out the later view of Dhṛitarāshṭra’s character³; but it seems to me that that endeavour, based as it is on a forced and far-fetched interpretation of a single word in our poem, is an unsuccessful one. None of the questions, which Dhṛitarāshṭra puts to Sanatsugāta in the course of their dialogue, indicates the avaricious old man who wished to deprive his innocent nephews of their just rights in the interests of his own wicked and misguided sons. They rather indicate the bona fide student of spiritual lore, and thus point to what is, perhaps, an earlier view of Dhṛitarāshṭra’s character.

¹ See Hall’s *Sākhyaśāstra*, preface, pp. 14, 15.

² P. 151, note 2.

³ Nilakanṭha himself, however, treats Dhṛitarāshṭra’s question later on as showing that he had attained indifference to worldly concerns. That question does not occur in Śaṅkara’s text, but is given at p. 158 infra.

If we look next to the general style of this poem, we find that it has none of that elaboration which marks what I have called the age of Kāvya and Nāṭakas. The remarks on this topic in the Introduction to the Gītā apply pretty accurately to this work also. We observe here the same paucity of long-drawn compounds, the same absence of merely ornamental adjectives, the same absence of figures and tropes¹; in one word, the same directness and simplicity of style. Furthermore, there is a somewhat greater want of finish about the syntax of our poem than there is even in the Gītā. Such constructions as we find *inter alia* at chapter II, stanza 2, or 25, or at chapter III, stanza 14, or chapter IV, stanza 12, or in the early verses of the last chapter, indicate a period in the history of the language, when probably the regulations of syntax were not quite thoroughly established in practice.

If we turn to the metre of the poem, an analogous phenomenon strikes us there. Similar irregularities in the collocation of long and short syllables, similar superfluities and deficiencies of syllables, meet us in the Sanatsugâtīya and the Bhagavadgītā. And in the former work, as in the latter, the irregularities are less observable in the Anuṣṭubh² than in the other metres used. Probably the explanation, apart from the great elasticity of that metre, is that the Anuṣṭubh had been more used, and had in consequence become comparatively more settled in its scheme even in practical composition.

Looking now more particularly to the language of the work before us, we find one word to be of most frequent occurrence, namely, the word *vai*, which we have rendered 'verily.' It is not a common word in the later literature, while in the Upanishad literature we meet with great frequency, not merely *vai*, but the words, which I think are cognate with it, *vā* and *vāva*. The former word, indeed,

¹ The five similes which occur, and which are nearly all that occur, in the poem, are the very primitive ones—of the hunter, of water on grass, the tiger of straw, death eating men like a tiger, dogs eating what is vomited, a branch of a tree and the moon, and birds and their nests.

² Cf. as to this the *Nṛsiṃha Tāpinī*, p. 105.

appears to me to stand in some passages of the Upanishads for vai by euphonic alterations. Thus in the passage *tvam vâ aham asmi bhagavo devate, aham vai tvam asi*, it is difficult not to suppose that the *vâ* of the first part of the sentence is the same word as the *vai* of the second part, only altered according to the rules of Sandhi in Sanskrit.

A second point of similarity between the language of the Upanishads and that of the Sanatsugâtîya is to be found in the phrase, 'He who knows this becomes immortal.' This sentence, or one of like signification, is, as is well known, of common occurrence in the Upanishads and in the Brâhmanas. In the Bhagavadgîtâ, the verses towards the end, which come after Krishna's summing-up of his instruction, seem to be of a somewhat analogous, though in some respects different, nature. And in the Purânas we meet sometimes with elaborate passages extolling the merits of a particular rite, or a particular pilgrimage, and so forth. This form of the Phalaruti, as it is called, appears to have been developed in process of time from the minute germ existing in the Brâhmanas and the Upanishads. In the Sanatsugâtîya, however, we are almost at the beginning of those developments; indeed, the form before us is identically the same as that which we see in the works where it is first met with. It is a short sentence, which, though complete in itself, still appears merely at the end of another passage, and almost as a part of such other passage.

There is one other point of a kindred nature which it may be well to notice here. As in the Gîtâ, so in the Sanatsugâtîya, we meet with a considerable number of words used in senses not familiar in the later literature. They are collected in the Index of Sanskrit words in this volume; but a few remarks on some of them will not, it is thought, be entirely out of place here. The word *mârگا*¹—in the sense of 'worldly life'—is rather remarkable. Saṅkara renders it by 'the path of *samsâra*' or worldly life. And he quotes as a parallel the passage from the *Khândogya-*

¹ I give no references here, as they can be found in the Index of Sanskrit words at the end of this volume.

upanishad which speaks of returning to the 'path.' There, however, Sāṅkara explains it to mean the 'path by which the self returns to worldly life,' namely, from space to the wind and so forth into vegetables, and food, ultimately appearing as a foetus. Another remarkable word is 'varga,' which occurs twice in the Sanatsugāṭīya. Sāṅkara and Nilakantha differ in their explanations of it, and Nilakantha indeed gives two different meanings to the word in the two passages where it occurs. We may also refer here specially to *utsa*, *ṛitvig*, and *matvā*. In Boehtlingk and Roth's Lexicon the only passages cited under 'utsa' are from Vedic works, except two respectively from Susruta and the Dasakumāra-karita. One passage, however, there cited, viz. *Vishṇoḥ pade parame madhva utsaḥ*, is plainly the original of the passage we are now considering. As to *ṛitvig* in the sense it bears here, we see, I think, what was the earlier signification of that word before it settled down into the somewhat technical meaning in which it is now familiar. And *matvā* in the sense of 'meditating upon' is to be found in the Upanishads, but not, I think, in any work of the classical literature. These words, therefore, seem to indicate that the Sanatsugāṭīya was composed at a stage in the development of the Sanskrit language which is a good deal earlier than the stage which we see completely reached in the classical literature.

Coming now to the matter of the Sanatsugāṭīya, it appears to me, that we there see indications pointing in a general way to the same conclusion as that which we have here arrived at. There is, in the first place, a looseness and want of rigid system in the mode of handling the subject, similar to that which we have already observed upon as characterising the Bhagavadgītā. There is no obvious bond of connexion joining together the various subjects discussed, nor are those subjects themselves treated after any very scientific or rigorous method. Again, if the fourth chapter is a genuine part of the Sanatsugāṭīya, we have an elaborate repetition in one part, of what has been said in another part of the work, with only a few variations in words, and

perhaps fewer still in signification. As, however, I am not at present prepared to stand finally by the genuineness of that chapter, I do not consider it desirable to further labour this argument than to point out, that similar repetitions, on a smaller scale, perhaps, are not uncommon in our older literature¹.

Coming now to the manner in which the Vedas are spoken of in the work before us, there are, we find, one or two noteworthy circumstances proper to be considered here. In the first place, we have the reference to the four Vedas together with *Ākhyānas* as the fifth Veda. This is in conformity with the old tradition recorded in the various works to which we have referred in our note on the passage. The mention of the *Atharva-veda*, which is implied in this passage, and expressly contained in another, might be regarded as some mark of a modern age. But without dwelling upon the fact, that the *Atharva-veda*, though probably modern as compared with the other Vedas, is still old enough to date some centuries before the Christian era², it must suffice to draw attention here to the fact that the *Kāṇḍogya-upanishad* mentions that Veda, and it is not here argued that the *Sanatsugātiya* is older than the *Kāṇḍogya-upanishad*. We have next to consider the reference to the *Sāman* hymns as 'vimala,' or pure. The point involved in this reference has been already sufficiently discussed in the Introduction to the *Gītā*³; and it is not necessary here to say more than that, of the two classes of works we have there made, the *Sanatsugātiya* appears from the passage under discussion to rank itself with the class which is prior in date.

The estimate of the value of the Vedas which is implied in the *Sanatsugātiya* appears to coincide very nearly with that which we have shown to be the estimate implied in the *Bhagavadgītā*. The Vedas are not here cast aside as useless any more than they are in the *Bhagavadgītā*. For, I do not think the word *Anṛitas* which occurs in one passage of the work can be regarded really as referring to those

¹ See p. 181, note 1 *infra*.

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² P. 19 *supra*.

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³ Pp. 19, 20.

who entirely reject the Vedic revelation. But without going as far as that, the Sanatsugâtiya seems certainly to join the Bhagavadgîtâ in its protest against those men of extreme views, who could see nothing beyond the rites and ceremonies taught in the Vedas. A study of the Vedas is, indeed, insisted on in sundry passages of the Sanatsugâtiya. But it is equally maintained, that the performance of the ceremonies laid down in the Vedas is not the true means of final emancipation. It is maintained, that action done with any desire is a cause of bondage to worldly life; that the gods themselves are ordinary creatures who have reached a certain high position owing to the practice of the duties of Brahmakârins, but that they are not only not superior to, but are really under the control of, the man who has acquired the true knowledge of the universal self. On all these points, we have opinions expressed in the Sanatsugâtiya, which conclusively establish an identity of doctrine as between the Upanishads and the Bhagavadgîtâ¹ on the one hand, and the Sanatsugâtiya on the other. Lastly, we have an explicit statement, that the mere study of Vedic texts avails nothing, and that sin is not to be got rid of by one who merely 'studies the *Rik* and the *Yagus* texts, and the *Sâma-veda*.' It is not necessary to repeat here the chronological deductions which may be based upon this relation between the Sanatsugâtiya and the Vedas. We have already argued in the Introduction to the Bhagavadgîtâ, that such a relation points to a period of Indian religious history prior to the great movement of Gautama Buddha².

There is, however, this difference, perhaps, to be noted between the Gîtâ and the Sanatsugâtiya—namely, that the latter work seems to afford more certain indications of the recognition, at the date of its composition, of a *Gñanakânda* as distinguished from a *Karmakânda* in the Vedas, than, we have seen, are contained in the Bhagavadgîtâ³. The passage, for instance, which speaks of the *Khandas* as

¹ Cf. p. 16 *supra*.

² Cf. pp. 25, 26.

³ P. 17.

referring 'of themselves' to the Brahman, and the passage which refers to an understanding of the Brahman by means of the Vedas, according to the principle of the moon and the branch—these seem rather to point to a portion of the Vedas which was regarded as giving instruction in true knowledge, as distinguished from merely laying down various sacrifices and ceremonials for special purposes. In fact, in one passage we have the germ of the whole Vedāntic theory as afterwards settled. For there we are told, that sacrifices and penances are laid down as the preliminary steps towards the acquisition of true knowledge. By those sacrifices one is purified of one's sins, and then acquires a knowledge of the supreme self as described in the Vedas—which, I apprehend, must mean the Upanishads. .

There is but one other point on which we need say anything further. And that is connected with the definition of a Brāhmaṇa. That definition appears to me, to point to an earlier stage in religious progress than is indicated in Āpastamba and Manu. The true Brāhmaṇa is he who is attached to the Brahman. Perhaps, this marks some little advance beyond the more general doctrine of the Gītā, but it is still very far short of the petrified doctrine, if I may so call it, of the later law-givers. The Brāhmaṇa has not yet degenerated into the mere receiver of fees and presents, but is still in possession of the truth.

We thus see, that the external and internal evidence bearing upon the question of the position of the Sanatsugātīya in Sanskrit literature, seems to point to nearly the same period and place for it as for the Bhagavadgītā. It is plain enough, that the evidence under both heads is extremely scanty and meagre. But such as it is, it appears to us to justify a provisional conclusion, that the Sanatsugātīya dates from a period prior to the rise of Buddhism, and forms part of that same movement in the religious history of ancient India of which the Gītā is another embodiment. More than this, we are not at present in a position to assert. To this extent, the evidence enables us, I think, to go. And we accordingly hold, that unless

other and further evidence requires a reversal of this judgment, the Sanatsugâtiya may be treated as a work nearly contemporary with the Bhagavadgītā, and occupying generally the same point of view.

One word, finally, about the translation. As stated already, the text adopted is that which appears to have been before Saṅkarākārya. And the translation follows mainly his interpretations in his commentary. Sometimes we have followed Nilakantha, whose commentary has been consulted as well as a very incorrect copy of another commentary by one Sarvagña Nārāyaṇa, contained in the MS. from Puna lent me by Professor Bhāṇḍārkar. In some places even the commentators have failed to clear up obscurities, and there we have given the best translation we could suggest, indicating the difficulties. There has been an endeavour made here, as in the case of the Bhagavadgītā, to keep the translation as close and faithful to the text as the exigencies of the English language permitted. The exegetical notes are mostly taken from the commentaries, even where the name of the commentator is not specified; while the references to parallel passages have been collected, mostly by myself, in the same way as in the case of the Bhagavadgītā.

SANATSUGÂTÎYA.

CHAPTER I.

Dhṛitarāshtra said :

If, O Vidura ! there is anything not (yet) said by you in (your) discourse, then do impart it to me who wish to hear, for you have spoken marvellous (things).

Vidura said :

O Dhṛitarāshtra ! the ancient youth Sanatsugâta, (otherwise called) Sanâtana¹, who declared that death exists not—he, O descendant of Bharata ! the best of all talented men, will explain all the doubts of your mind, both those (which are) secret², and those openly declared.

Dhṛitarāshtra said :

What, do you not yourself know more about this (subject), that Sanâtana should explain (it) to me ? Explain (it) yourself, O Vidura ! if there is any remnant of intelligence (left) in you.

¹ So Nilakanṭha. Saṅkara says Sanatsugâta is Sanatkumâra, and the component parts of the name he paraphrases by 'born from Brahman.' For Sanâtana, see *Bṛihadâraṇyaka*, p. 506, and note 1, p. 141 supra.

² I.e. relating to subjects which may be freely discussed by all, and those which may not. Nilakanṭha adopts a different reading, which he interprets to mean 'doctrines exoteric and esoteric,' e.g. self-restraint, &c., and the acquisition of mystic power, &c., respectively. The expression 'doubts of the mind' occurs, however, further on.

Vidura said :

I am born of a Sûdra womb, and do not like to say more than what (I have said). But the intelligence of that youth, I believe to be eternal¹. He who has come of a Brâhmaṇa womb, even though he may proclaim a great mystery, does not thereby become liable to the censure of the gods. Therefore do I say this to you.

Dhṛitarâshṭra said :

Do you, O Vidura! speak to the ancient Sanâtana for me, so that there may be a meeting even here, between (myself in) this body (and him).

Vaisampâyana² said :

(Then) Vidura meditated on that sage whose vows are laudable³. And he, too, O descendant of Bharata! knowing of such meditation, made his appearance. And he⁴, too, received him with the ceremonies prescribed in the ordinances. After he had been comfortably seated, and had taken rest, Vidura then spoke to him : 'Venerable sir! there is some doubt in Dhṛitarâshṭra's mind, which cannot

¹ I.e., I suppose, never-failing, and such as can deal with all sorts of topics. Sanatkumâra, it need scarcely be stated, is the teacher of Nârada in the famous dialogue in the *Khândogyaopaniṣad*, p. 473.

² Vaisampâyana is the narrator of the grand story of which pieces like the present form parts.

³ The reading is sometimes different, so as to mean 'of rigid vows,' as at *Gitâ*, p. 61 *supra*.

⁴ The pronouns here are too numerous. Does 'he' here refer to Dhṛitarâshṭra? Vidura seems more likely, though the express mention of him in the next sentence might be treated as pointing the other way.

be explained by me. Do you be pleased to explain (it) to him. Hearing it (explained), this lord of men may cross beyond all misery, so that gain and loss¹, (what is) agreeable and (what is) odious, old age and death, fear and vindictiveness, hunger and thirst, frenzy and worldly greatness, disgust and also laziness, desire and wrath, ruin and prosperity, may not trouble him.'

CHAPTER II.

Vaisampāyana said :

Then the talented king, Dhṛitarāshṭra, bowed² to those words uttered by Vidura, and, in a secluded place³, interrogated Sanatsugāta regarding the highest knowledge⁴, wishing to become (a) high-souled (man)⁵.

Dhṛitarāshṭra said :

O Sanatsugāta ! which of the two is correct, your teaching⁶, about which I have heard, that death exists not, or that⁷ the gods and demons practised

¹ Comp. Gītā passim ; disgust, scil. that resulting from a general dissatisfaction with everything. As to 'ruin and prosperity,' Nilakanṭha adds, 'and their causes, sin and merit.'

² Literally 'respected.' Nilakanṭha says it means 'rejoiced over,' for Dhṛitarāshṭra thought, that in spite of his treachery he was safe, as death was taught by Sanatsugāta to have no existence.

³ I.e. free from the presence of ignorant and vulgar people. Cf. Gītā, p. 68 supra.

⁴ I.e. knowledge concerning the supreme Self.

⁵ Saṅkara's construction seems different, but is not quite clear. He says, 'wishing to become—Brahman—the meaning is wishing to acquire the self lost through ignorance.'

⁶ I.e. imparted to your pupils, Saṅkara adds ; 'heard,' scil. from Vidura.

⁷ The construction is imperfect, but the sense is clear. Is your

the life of Brahmaċārins¹, for freedom from death?

Sanatsugāta said:

Some (say), that freedom from death (results) from action²; and others that death exists not. Hear me explain (this), O king! have no misgiving about it³. Both truths, O Kshatriya! have been current from the beginning⁴. The wise maintain what (is called) delusion (to be) death. I⁵ verily call heedlessness death, and likewise I call freedom from heedlessness immortality. Through heedlessness, verily, were the demons⁶ vanquished; and through freedom

view correct, or the view involved in the practice of gods and demons?

¹ See Gītā, p. 69 supra; *Kāthopanishad*, p. 102; *Prasna*, p. 162. As to the gods being afraid of death, see *Khândogya*, p. 50; and *Nṛsiṃha Tāpinī*, p. 32; and as to gods and demons practising the life of Brahmaċārins, see *Khândogya*, p. 571; and cf. *Bṛhad-āraṇyaka*, p. 964.

² I.e. action prescribed in the Vedas.

³ I.e. as to how I shall be able to reconcile the seeming contradiction between the 'two truths.'

⁴ I.e. of creation.

⁵ Sanatsugāta says he differs from 'the wise;' delusion=thinking the not-self to be the self; heedlessness=falling off from one's natural condition as the Brahman—which is the cause of delusion (*Saṅkara*). See p. 153 infra; *Kaṭha*, p. 152; and *Taittiriya-upanishad*, p. 80.

⁶ *Saṅkara* suggests that demons might mean creatures attached to worldly objects; and gods those who are pleased in their own self; and he cites a stanza in support of this suggestion. The allusion, however, seems to be plainly to the story at *Khândogya*, p. 571 seq., where the idea and expression of 'being vanquished' also occurs (p. 583). That word *Saṅkara* interprets in connexion with his suggested interpretation to mean 'are born in lower species.' See *Khândogya*, p. 585, and *Maitrī*, p. 211, about asuras or demons. It is interesting to note that in the Introduction to the *Mahābhāṣya*, there is an allusion to a story of the 'demons' being 'vanquished' in consequence of their grammatical blunders.

from heedlessness the gods attained to the Brahman. Death, verily, does not devour living creatures like a tiger; for, indeed, his form is not to be perceived. Some¹ say that death is different from this, (named) Yama, who dwells in the self²; the (practice of the) life of Brahmacārins (being) immortality. That god governs his kingdom in the world of the *Pitr̥is*, (being) good to the good, and not good to (those who are) not good. That death, (or) heedlessness, develops in men as desire, and afterwards as wrath, and in the shape of delusion³. And then travelling in devious paths⁴ through egoism, one does not attain to union⁵ with the self. Those who are deluded by it⁶, and who remain under its influence, depart from this (world), and there again fall down⁷. Then the deities⁸ gather around them. And then he undergoes death after death⁹. Being attached to the fruit of action, on action presenting itself, they follow after it¹⁰, and do not cross

¹ Those deluded by worldly objects; 'this' means 'heedlessness.'

² Saṅkara cites a stanza from Manu, which says that king Yama Vaivasvata dwells in the heart of every one. Cf. *Aitareya-upanishad*, p. 187. The following clause he understands to contain two epithets of Yama, meaning 'immortal, and intent on the Brahman.' I follow *Nīlakaṇṭha*, but not very confidently.

³ Cf. *Gītā*, p. 57. Here we have the developments, the varying forms, of death or heedlessness.

⁴ I.e. paths contrary to *Sr̥utis* and *Sm̥ritis*.

⁵ Concentration of mind on the self or Brahman.

⁶ I.e. the egoism spoken of before.

⁷ I.e. to this mortal world. Cf. *Gītā*, p. 84, and *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, pp. 855, 856. There = from the next world. Saṅkara says, 'having lived there.'

⁸ I.e. the senses. Cf. *Gītā*, p. 123, and *inter alia* *Īsopanishad*, p. 10.

⁹ Cf. *Kaṭha*, p. 129, and *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, p. 889.

¹⁰ I.e. the fruit. Cf. *Kaṭha*, p. 155, and *Mundaka*, p. 317.

beyond death. And the embodied (self), in consequence of not understanding union¹ with the real entity, proceeds on all hands² with attachment to enjoyments. That³, verily, is the great source of delusion to the senses; for by contact⁴ with unreal entities, his migrations⁵ are (rendered) inevitable; because having his inner self contaminated by contact with unreal entities, he devotes himself to objects of sense on all sides, pondering on them (only). (That) pondering, verily, first ruins⁶ him; and soon afterwards desire and wrath, after attacking him. These⁷ lead children to death. But sensible men cross beyond death by their good sense. He who pondering (on the self) destroys⁸ (the) fugitive (objects of sense), not even thinking of them through contempt (for them), and who being possessed of knowledge destroys desires in this way, becomes, as it were, the death of death (itself), and swallows (it) up⁹. The being who

¹ I.e. its identity with the Brahman.

² I.e. in various forms of life, *Nīlakanṭha*.

³ The going about in search of enjoyments.

⁴ The contact leads to pondering on them, and that to desire, &c., as described further on.

⁵ Through various lives. Birth and death are certain for him.

⁶ I.e. causes oblivion of his real nature, *Saṅkara*. Cf. the whole train of cause and effect at *Gītā*, p. 50 supra.

⁷ I.e. the pondering, desire, wrath, &c. As to 'children,' cf. *Kaṭha*, pp. 96 and 123, where *bāla* is contrasted with *dhīra*, as here. The 'good sense' is of help in withstanding the temptations of worldly objects.

⁸ Destroys=abandons; pondering, just before this, is rendered by *Saṅkara* to mean 'thinking of the objects as transient, impure,' &c.

⁹ *Saṅkara* cites on this a stanza of unknown authorship, which says, 'The learned and clever man who knows the self, and by discrimination destroys all objects of sense, is said to be the death of death.' See too p. 178 infra.

pursues desires, is destroyed (in pursuing) after the desires¹. But casting away desires, a being gets rid of all taint² whatever. This body, void of enlightenment³, seems (to be) a hell for (all) beings. Those who are avaricious run about⁴, going head-long to a ditch. A man, O Kshatriya! who contemns everything else⁵ learns nothing. To him (the body is) like a tiger made of straw⁶. And this internal self (joined to) delusion and fear⁷ in consequence of wrath and avarice, within your body,—that verily is death⁸. Understanding death⁹ to be thus produced, and adhering to knowledge, one is not afraid of death¹⁰ in this (world). In his province death is destroyed, as a mortal (is destroyed) on arriving in the province of death.

Dhṛitarāsh/ra said :

The good, eternal, and most holy worlds¹¹, which

¹ On this Nilakan/ta quotes these lines, 'The antelope, elephant, butterfly, bee, and fish—these five are destroyed by the five,' i.e. the five objects of sense, sound, &c. See Sānti Parvan (Moksha Dharma), chap. 174, st. 45.

² I.e. misery, Nilakan/ta; merit or sin, Saṅkara.

³ I.e. void of discrimination between the real and unreal, Nilakan/ta; result of ignorance, Saṅkara. 'A hell, as being full of filth,' says Saṅkara, 'such as phlegm, blood, excretions.' Cf. Maitrī, p. 48.

⁴ As blind men groping about fall into a ditch, so do these, Saṅkara.

⁵ I.e. other than the sensuous objects he loves; 'learns nothing' about the supreme Self which he disregards.

⁶ Useless for any good purpose.

⁷ Cf. Taittirīya-upanishad, p. 102.

⁸ As being ruinous to oneself. Saṅkara compares Gītā, p. 68. Cf. also Taittirīya-upanishad, p. 103, and see Brhadāraṇyaka, p. 61.

⁹ I.e. heedlessness and its developments as stated.

¹⁰ Saṅkara cites on this Taittirīya-upanishad, p. 78.

¹¹ Such as Satyaloka, &c.

are mentioned (as attainable) by the twice-born by means of worship¹, those, say the Vedas, are the highest aim². How is it, then, that one who understands this does not resort to action?

Sanatsugāta said :

(Thinking) so, an ignorant man does resort to action. The Vedas likewise do lay down various benefits³ (for him). But that⁴ (man) comes not hither⁵. (Becoming) the supreme self⁶, he attains the supreme, by the (right) path destroying the wrong paths⁷.

Dhṛitarāshṭra said :

Who⁸ is it that constrains this unborn primeval (self), if it is (itself) all this severally⁹? And what

¹ Gyotish/oma, Asvamedha, and other rites.

² As leading to final emancipation.

³ I.e. objects for which various ceremonies (or 'actions') should be performed.

⁴ I.e. the man of knowledge.

⁵ I.e. into the sphere of action. Cf. Gītā, p. 48.

⁶ Knowing the supreme self is identical with becoming the supreme self, *Mundaka*, p. 323.

⁷ I.e. getting rid of the paths which keep one away from the Brahman by means of contemplation of the Brahman, &c. *Nilakantha* renders 'right path' to mean the Sushumnā passage by which the soul proceeds to final emancipation, see *Khândogya*, p. 570; *Kaṭha*, p. 157.

⁸ Saṅkara says: 'Having shown that true death is heedlessness, and having shown that heedlessness in its forms of anger &c. is the cause of all evil, and having also shown that death is destroyed by true knowledge, and having shown further that heaven &c. are really not man's highest goal; the author has also implied the unity of the supreme and individual self. On that arises a doubt, which is stated in this passage.'

⁹ All this=all the developments of the Brahman, i.e. space, wind, fire, water, earth, vegetation, food, living creatures; see *Taittirīyopanishad*, p. 68.

has it to do, or what is its unhappiness¹? Tell me all that accurately, O learned person!

Sanatsugâta said :

There is great danger² in attributing distinctions to it. The everlasting³ (principles) exist by connexion with the beginningless⁴ (principle). So that his greatness is not lost at all⁵, and beings exist by connexion with the beginningless⁴ (principle). That which is the real—the supreme Being⁶—is eternal. He creates the universe by means of changes⁷, for such is his power held to be; and for such connexions of things the Vedas are (authority)⁸.

¹ What is the purpose of its existence, and what misery does it undergo on entering the course of worldly life?

² 'The danger,' says Sāṅkara, 'is that of contravening Vedic texts such as "I am the Brahman," "Thou art that," &c.' May it not rather be that pointed out at *Kaṭh*opanishad, p. 129, viz. never attaining final emancipation? Cf. also *Nṛsiṃha* Tāpini, p. 223.

³ The individual selfs, Sāṅkara.

⁴ Nature or *mâyā*.

⁵ The appearance of degradation to an inferior state being delusive.

⁶ The original word implies the possession of *aśvarya*, *dharma*, *varas*, *ṛt*, *vairāgya*, *moksha*. See *Svetāśvatara*, p. 329 (where the list is slightly different). For another definition, see *Maitrī*, p. 6 (gloss).

⁷ See note 9, p. 156.

⁸ Sāṅkara says: 'The question of *Dhṛitarāshtra* having suggested a difference between two principles, one of which constrains, and the other of which is constrained, the answer is—Such a difference ought not to be alleged, as it involves "danger." Then the question arises, How is the difference, which does appear, to be explained? The reply is, It is due to the beginningless principle—delusion or ignorance. The next sentence shows that the universe as it appears is also a result of delusion.' *Nilakantha* says expressly, changes=delusion. He renders the original which we have translated by 'beginningless' first, to mean 'collection of objects of enjoyments.' Sāṅkara's explanation seems tautological as regards the words 'connexion with the beginningless,' which occur twice in the above. *Nilā-*

Dhṛitarāshṭra said :

Since some practise piety¹ in this world, and some likewise practise impiety in this world; is the piety destroyed by the sin, or else does the piety destroy sin?

Sanatsugāta said :

Whichever² he adheres to, the man of understanding always destroys both by means of knowledge; (that is) settled³. Likewise, in the other case⁴, the embodied (self) obtains merit; and to such a one sin (also) accrues; (that too is) settled⁵. Departing (from this world), he enjoys by his actions both (kinds of) fruit, which are not enduring⁶—of actions (which are) pure, and of (those which are) sinful. The man of understanding casts aside sin by piety in this (world), for know that his piety is more powerful⁷. Those Brāhmaṇas, in whom there is emulation⁸ about (their) piety, as there is in strong men about (their) strength, after departing from this world, become glorious in heaven⁹. And

kantha's is not quite clear. May the expression on the second occasion mean, that the connexion by which beings are stated before to exist has had no beginning—has existed from eternity? The translation should then run thus: 'And beings exist by a connexion which had no beginning;' (see Sâriraka Bhâshya, p. 494.) Connexions of things=creation of universe by his power.

¹ E.g. Agnishōma, &c., Saṅkara.

² I.e. impiety or piety, sin or merit.

³ In *Srutis* and *Smṛtis*, which Saṅkara quotes. *Aḥāndogya*, p. 622; *Mundaka*, p. 309; *Bṛhadâraṇyaka*, p. 911. See, too, *Maitrī*, p. 131.

⁴ Of the man devoid of knowledge.

⁵ Cf. *Gītā*, p. 76, and *Bṛhadâraṇyaka*, p. 636.

⁶ See p. 164, note 9 *infra*.

⁷ The feeling of one's own superiority over others in piety.

⁸ 'In the shape of *Nakshatras*,' says Saṅkara, which is not quite intelligible. See *Aḥāndogya*, p. 258, and *Anugītā* *infra*, p. 240.

to those in whom there is no emulation about (their) piety, that (piety) is a means of (acquiring) knowledge¹. Such Brāhmaṇas released from this (world), go to the heaven which is free from the threefold source of pain². People who understand the Vedas call his conduct good. (But) people closely connected³, as well as strangers, do not pay much regard to him. Wherever he may believe food and drink for a Brāhmaṇa to exist in abundance, like water on grass in the autumn, there would he live and not be vexed⁴. (To him) only that person is good, and no other (as a companion), who does nothing in excess, and who occasions fear and injury to a taciturn man⁵. And his food is acceptable to the good, who does not vex the self of a taciturn man, and who does not destroy the property of a Brāhmaṇa⁶. A Brāhmaṇa should hold, that living in the midst of kinsmen, his actions should be always unknown⁷; and he should not

¹ According to the Vedāntic theory, the acts of piety purify the inner man, and are thus a stepping-stone to knowledge. See Introduction, p. 147 supra. Cf. Gītā, p. 122; and *Bṛihadāraṇyaka*, p. 899.

² I.e. physical, mental, and such as is caused by superhuman agency. This is Sāṅkara's explanation. It is somewhat far-fetched, but I can find none better. Cf. Gītā, p. 49. And see also *Bṛihadāraṇyaka*, p. 876, and the commentary of Sāṅkara there with Ānandagiri's gloss.

³ E.g. wife, children, &c.

⁴ I.e. vexed as to how his livelihood is to be earned, &c.

⁵ Excess, e.g. too much obsequiousness towards a 'taciturn man,' owing to his holiness, &c. Taciturn man = ascetic. Injury = disrespect, &c. Perhaps the protest against worldliness is here carried to an extreme. Sāṅkara cites *Manu* as a parallel, 'A Brāhmaṇa should be afraid of (worldly) respect as of poison.'

⁶ E.g. the Kura grass, deerskin, &c., mentioned at Gītā, p. 68.

⁷ I.e. he should not parade his actions. Sāṅkara compares *Vasiṣṭha* and a Vedic text. See, too, the quotation at *Taitt. Āraṇ.* p. 902.

think¹ (about them). What Brāhmaṇa ought to think of the inner self, which is void of symbols², immovable, pure, and free from all pairs of opposites, in this way³? What sin is not committed by that thief, who steals away his own self⁴, who regards his self as one thing, when it is a different thing. The far-seeing Brāhmaṇa, who knows the Brahman, is not wearied⁵, he receives nothing⁶; he is honoured, free from trouble⁷, and wise, but acts as if he was not wise⁸. As dogs eat what is vomited, so do they, enjoying their own bravery⁹, eat what is vomited, always with disaster (to themselves). Those twice-born persons, who are not

¹ Cf. *Gitā*, p. 103. Śaṅkara suggests an alternative explanation of this stanza, which will make it mean that one performing the operations of the senses, should devote oneself nevertheless to the unknown principle, and not consider the senses to be the self.

² I. e. beyond the reach of inference; 'subtle,' says Śaṅkara. Cf. *Svetāśvatara*, p. 364; *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, p. 855; *Maitrī*, p. 182; and *Kaṭha*, p. 149, where Śaṅkara suggests a somewhat different meaning. As to immovable, cf. *Īśa*, p. 10, and *Gitā*, p. 104. Śaṅkara renders it by 'void of activity'; and pure he paraphrases by 'free from ignorance and other taints.'

³ It is difficult to say what 'in this way' refers to. Śaṅkara renders it by 'as possessing qualities appertaining to the two kinds of body.' On Śaṅkara's suggested meaning of the stanza preceding (see note 1), it would refer to the confusion of the senses with the self.

⁴ Such a person is called a destroyer of his own self at *Īropanishad*, p. 9.

⁵ I. e. by the troubles of worldly life.

⁶ Cf. 'without belongings' at *Gitā*, p. 128.

⁷ Anger and other obstacles to concentration of mind.

⁸ I. e. unintelligent. The text of *Vasishṭha* referred to in note 7, p. 159, says he should act like an unintelligent man. Cf. also *Gaudapāda-kārikās*, p. 443, and *Sāṅkhya Bhāṣya*, p. 1041.

⁹ I. e. singing the praises of their own greatness and worth, instead of keeping their 'conduct unknown.'

first¹ in respect of human wealth, but who are first in the Vedas², are unconquerable, not to be shaken³; they should be understood to be forms of the Brahman. Whosoever may in this (world) know all the gods⁴—doers of favours—he is not equal to a Brâhmana, (nor even) he⁵ for whom he exerts himself. The man who makes no efforts⁶, and is respected, does not, being respected, think himself respected⁷, nor does he become vexed in consequence of disrespect. One who is respected⁸ should think it to be a natural operation of people, like their opening or closing of the eyelids, that the learned respect him in this world. One who is not respected should think, that the deluded people who do not understand piety, and who are devoid of (knowledge of) the world and the Sâstras, will never respect one who is worthy of respect. Respect and taciturnity⁹, verily, never dwell together; for this world is (the field) for respect, the next for taciturnity, as is understood¹⁰. For worldly wealth dwells in the

¹ Highly esteemed for or strongly attached to, Saṅkara. Human wealth=wife, offspring, property, &c. Cf. *A'hândogya*, p. 319; *Bṛhadâraṇyaka*, p. 262.

² I. e. veracity and other duties taught by the Vedas.

³ 'They need fear nought,' says Nīlakaṇṭha.

⁴ I. e. may sacrifice to them, Saṅkara.

⁵ Not even the deity to whom the sacrifice is offered is equal to one who knows the Brahman. Cf. *Taittirīya*, p. 23, and *Anugṛhā*, p. 250.

⁶ I. e. one who is 'taciturn' and does not parade his greatness.

⁷ He does not care for the respect shown him.

⁸ Because he knows the Brahman.

⁹ I. e. restraint of all senses, not of speech only. For the contrast compare that between *sreya* and *preya* at *Kaṭha*, p. 92.

¹⁰ I. e. by all men of understanding. Saṅkara's rendering is different: 'The next, which is known as *Tad*, is for taciturnity.' He cites for this *Gītā*, p. 120.

sphere of respect¹, and that, too, is an obstacle². While the Brahmic wealth³, O Kshatriya! is difficult to be attained by any one devoid of knowledge. The ways (to it) are stated by the good to be of various descriptions, and difficult to reach—truth, straightforwardness, modesty⁴, restraint (of senses), purity, knowledge, which are the six impediments (in the way) of respect and delusion.

CHAPTER III.

Dhṛitarāshṭra said :

Who possesses this taciturnity⁵, and which of the two⁶ is taciturnity? Describe, O learned person! the condition of taciturnity here. Does a learned man reach taciturnity⁷ by taciturnity? And how, O sage! do they practise taciturnity in this world?

¹ I. e. they both follow on devotion to worldly life.

² I. e. in the way to final emancipation.

³ The enjoyment of supreme felicity, *Brahmānanda* (*Saṅkara*); the greatness consisting of a knowledge of *Rik*, *Yagus*, *Sāman*, and the substance of their teaching, which is worthy of a *Brāhmaṇa* (*Nilakanṭha*). See, too, *Anugītā*, p. 232.

⁴ Modesty = being ashamed of doing wrong; restraint (of senses) = mental restraint; and purity is both internal and external,—*Saṅkara*; knowledge is, of course, knowledge of the Brahman.

⁵ I. e. that spoken of in the last chapter.

⁶ Viz. mere silence, or the contemplation of the self after restraining all the senses. In the *Bṛihadāranyaka-upanishad*, *Saṅkara* (p. 605) renders the original word, *mauna*, to mean, 'The fruit of the destruction of the consciousness of anything other than the self.' And his commentator makes it clearer thus: 'The conviction in the mind that one is the self—the supreme Brahman—and that there is nothing else existing but oneself.'

⁷ I. e. the highest seat—the Brahman; for mind, sense, &c. are all non-existent there. Cf. *Kaṭha*, p. 151, and *Maitrī*, p. 161.

Sanatsugâta said :

Since the Vedas, together with the mind ¹, fail to attain to him, hence (is he) taciturnity ²—he about whom the words of the Vedas were uttered ³, and who, O king! shines forth as consubstantial ⁴ with them.

Dhṛitarāshṭra said :

Does ⁵ the twice-born person who studies the *Rik* and the Yagus texts, and the Sâma-veda, committing sinful (acts), become tainted, or does he not become tainted ?

Sanatsugâta said :

Not the Sâman texts, nor yet the *Rik* texts, nor the Yagus texts ⁶ save him, O acute sir! from sinful

¹ Cf. Kenopanishad, p. 39 ; *Kaṭha*, p. 152 ; *Taittirīya*, p. 119.

² ' Taciturnity is his name,' says Nīlakanṭha.

³ Or, says Saṅkara, ' who is the author of the Vedas.'

⁴ I. e. ' with the Vedas,' says Nīlakanṭha, Om, the quintessence of the Vedas, being a name of the Brahman (as to which cf. *Gītā*, p. 79, and *Maitrī*, p. 84). Saṅkara takes the whole expression to mean *gyotirmaya*, consisting of light. Nīlakanṭha says this stanza answers the five following questions put in the stanza preceding, viz. of what use is taciturnity? which of the two is taciturnity? &c., as above. The first four questions are answered by the first two lines of this stanza—the substance of the answer being, that the use of taciturnity is to attain the seat which is not to be grasped even by the mind, that taciturnity includes both restraint of mind and of the external senses. By means of such restraint, the external and internal worlds cease to be perceived as existing, and the highest goal is attained.

⁵ This question arises naturally enough on Nīlakanṭha's interpretation of the preceding stanza, the meaning of which is in substance that the Vedas cannot grasp the Brahman fully, but they are of use towards a rudimentary comprehension of it, as is said further on, see p. 172 *infra*.

⁶ Cf. *Svetâsvatara-upanishad*, p. 339 ; see, too, *Nṛsiṃha Tâpinī*, pp. 81–98.

action. I do not tell you an untruth. 'The *Kṛāṇḍas* do not save a sinful deceitful¹ man who behaves deceitfully². At the time of the termination (of his life), the *Kṛāṇḍas* abandon³ him, as birds who have got wings (abandon their) nest.

Dhṛitarāshṭra said :

If, O acute sir! the Vedas are not able to save one who understands the Vedas, then whence is this eternal talk⁴ of the *Brāhmaṇas*?

Sanatsugāta said :

O you of great glory! this universe becomes manifest through his special forms—names⁵ and the rest. The Vedas proclaim (his form) after describing (it) well⁶, and (they⁷ also) state his difference from the universe. For that⁸ are this penance and sacrifice prescribed. By these a learned man acquires merit, and afterwards destroying sin by merit⁹, he has his self illuminated by knowledge. By knowledge the learned man attains

¹ I. e. one who parades his piety.

² I. e. hypocritically.

³ I. e. do not rise to his memory—*Nilakanṭha*, citing *Gītā*, p. 78 supra.

⁴ Scil. about the veneration due to one who has studied the Vedas—*Nilakanṭha*, citing one or two passages in point.

⁵ The universe consists of 'names and forms,' the reality being the Brahman only. Cf. *Kṛāṇḍogya*, p. 407 seq.

⁶ *Śaṅkara* refers to *Taittiriya-upanishad*, p. 68; *Kṛāṇḍogya*, p. 596 seq. &c.

⁷ *Śaṅkara* takes this to mean 'sages,' who, according to him, state the difference. He quotes *Parāśara* for this.

⁸ I. e. the Brahman, that is to say, for attaining to it. Penance = *tāṇḍrāyama* and other observances; sacrifice = *gyotishōma*, &c.

⁹ Cf. p. 158 supra, and *Taittiriya-āraṇyaka*, p. 888.

the self¹. But, on the other hand, one who wishes for the fruit—heaven²—takes with him³ all that he has done in this (world), enjoys it in the next, and then returns to the path⁴ (of this world). Penance is performed in this world; the fruit is enjoyed elsewhere. But the penance of Brāhmaṇas is further developed⁵; that of others remains only as much (as when first performed).

Dhṛitarāshṭra said :

How does the pure penance become developed and well developed⁶? O Sanatsugāta! tell (me) how I should understand that, O Lord!

Sanatsugāta said :

This penance, free from sin⁷, is called pure⁸; and this pure penance becomes developed and well developed, not otherwise⁹. All this¹⁰, O Kshatriya!

¹ Cf. Svetāśvatara, p. 327; *Mundaka*, p. 323.

² So Saṅkara. Nīlakanṭha takes the original word to mean 'the group of the senses,' and the whole phrase to mean 'enjoyments of sense.' Nīlakanṭha is supported by a passage further on, p. 167. But as to 'those who wish for heaven,' cf. Gītā, pp. 48-84.

³ I. e. in the form of merit, &c.

⁴ Cf. Gītā, p. 84.

⁵ Cf. *Khândogya*, p. 23. Brāhmaṇas=those that know the Brahman. See p. 171 *infra*.

⁶ I am not quite sure about the meaning of the original here. *Riddha*, which I have rendered 'developed,' Nīlakanṭha understands to mean 'what is performed merely for show.' What has been rendered 'well developed' in the text, Nīlakanṭha takes to mean 'performed from some desire,' &c.

⁷ Anger, desire, &c.

⁸ The original is *kevala*. Nīlakanṭha says it is so called as being a means of *kaivalya*, 'final emancipation.'

⁹ I. e. not that which is not free from sin, which latter is not developed at all.

¹⁰ All objects of enjoyment, Nīlakanṭha.

has for its root that penance about which you question me. By penance¹, those conversant with the Vedas attained immortality, after departing from this world.

Dhṛitarāshṭra said :

I have heard about penance free from sin, O Sanatsugāta ! Tell me what is the sin (connected) with penance, so that I may understand the eternal mystery².

Sanatsugāta said :

The twelve beginning with wrath, and likewise the seven cruelties, are the defects (connected) with it; and there are (stated) in the Śāstras twelve merits (connected) with it, beginning with knowledge, which are known to the twice-born, and may be developed. Wrath, desire³, avarice, delusion⁴, craving⁵, mercilessness, censoriousness, vanity, grief⁶, attachment⁷, envy⁸, reviling others—these twelve should always be avoided by a man of high quali-

¹ Cf. *Bṛihadāraṇyaka*, p. 899. Tapas is variously rendered. See inter alia, *Prasna*, pp. 162-170; *Svetāsvatara*, p. 307; *Mundaka*, pp. 270-280, 311-314; *Khândogya*, p. 136; *Anugītā*, pp. 247, 339.

² I. e. Brahma-vidyā, or science of the Brahman, *Nilakanṭha*; the Brahman itself, *Saṅkara*.

³ I. e. lust.

⁴ Want of discrimination between right and wrong.

⁵ Desire to taste worldly objects.

⁶ For the loss of anything desired.

⁷ Desire to enjoy worldly objects. The difference between this and craving, according to *Saṅkara*, appears to be between merely tasting and continual enjoyment. According to *Nilakanṭha*, the former is a desire which is never contented; the latter is merely a general liking.

⁸ Impatience of other people's prosperity; censoriousness being the pointing out of flaws in other people's merits; and reviling being an ignoring of the merits and merely abusing.

fications¹. These, O king of kings! attend each and every man, wishing to find some opening², as a hunter (watches) animals. [Boastful, lustful, haughty, irascible, unsteady³, one who does not protect (those dependent⁴ on him), these six sinful acts are performed by sinful men who are not afraid (even) in the midst of great danger⁵.] One whose thoughts are (all) about enjoyments, who prospers by injuring (others), who repents of generosity, who is miserly, who is devoid of the power⁶ (of knowledge), who esteems the group⁷ (of the senses), who hates his wife⁸—these seven, different (from those previously mentioned), are the seven forms of cruelty. Knowledge, truth, self-restraint, sacred learning, freedom from animosity (towards living beings), modesty⁹, endurance¹⁰, freedom from censoriousness, sacrifice, gift, courage¹¹, quiescence¹²,—these are the twelve great observances¹³ of a Brāhmaṇa. Whoever is not devoid of these twelve can govern this whole world, and those who are

¹ Scil. for attaining to the Brahman.

² Some weak point by which they may attack a man.

³ Fickle in friendship, &c.

⁴ Such as a wife, &c.

⁵ Connected with this or the next world, *Nīlakanṭha*. This and a stanza further on I place within brackets, as it is not quite certain whether Śaṅkara's copy had them, though they are now in some of our copies of the text with his commentary. See Introduction.

⁶ Cf. *Mundaka*, p. 319; *Kāṇḍogya*, p. 494.

⁷ See note 2, at page 165.

⁸ The wife having no other protector.

⁹ See note 4, at page 162.

¹⁰ Of pairs of opposites, such as heat and cold, &c.

¹¹ Restraint of senses in presence of their objects.

¹² Cf. *Gitā*, pp. 69, 70.

¹³ Which are serviceable in attaining the highest goal.

possessed of three, two, or even one (of these) become, in (due) course, distinguished (for knowledge) and identified with the Brahman¹. [Self-restraint, abandonment², and freedom from heedlessness—on these depends immortality. And the talented Brâhmanas say that truth is chief over them.] Self-restraint has eighteen defects; if (any one of them is) committed, it is an obstacle (to self-restraint). They are thus stated. Untruthfulness, backbiting, thirst³, antipathy (to all beings), darkness⁴, repining⁵, hatred⁶ of people, haughtiness, quarrelsomeness, injuring living creatures, reviling others, garrulity, vexation⁷, want of endurance⁸, want of courage⁹, imperfection¹⁰, sinful conduct, and slaughter. That is called self-restraint by the good, which is free from these defects. Frenzy has eighteen defects¹¹; and abandonment is of six kinds. The contraries of those which have been laid down¹² are stated to be the defects of frenzy. Abandonment of six kinds is excellent. Of those six, the third is hard to achieve. With it one certainly crosses

¹ The original is the word 'taciturnity' as at p. 162 *supra*.

² Offering one's acts to God (*Nilakantha*), as to which cf. *Gîtâ*, p. 64. See also p. 182 *infra* for this stanza.

³ I. e. for objects of sense.

⁴ Ignorance.

⁵ Discontent even when one obtains much.

⁶ This is active; antipathy is passive only.

⁷ Of oneself, by brooding on evil. Cf. *Taittirîya*, p. 119. One copy of Sankara's commentary says this means 'thinking ill of others without cause.'

⁸ Of pairs of opposites.

⁹ Restraint of senses in presence of their objects.

¹⁰ I. e. of piety, knowledge, and indifference to worldly objects.

¹¹ I. e. qualities which destroy it.

¹² Scil. as defects of self-restraint, viz. untruthfulness, &c.

beyond all misery without distinction¹. That being achieved, (everything) is accomplished². The (first is the) giving away of sons and wealth to a deserving man who asks (for them); the second is gifts at Vedic ceremonies, and gifts at ceremonies laid down in the *Smṛitis*³. The abandonment of desires, O king of kings! by means of indifference (to worldly objects) is laid down as the third⁴. With these one should become free from heedlessness. That freedom from heedlessness, too, has eight characteristics, and is (a) great (merit). Truthfulness, concentration, absorbed contemplation, reflexion⁵, and also indifference (to worldly objects), not stealing⁶, living the life of a *Brahmāṭarin*, and

¹ Scil. any distinction as to physical, mental, or that which is caused by superhuman agency.

² Literally, 'all is conquered.' Everything that needs to be done is done. Cf. *Kaṭhopanishad*, p. 155; *Mundaka*, p. 317.

³ Another interpretation of *ish/âpūrta* is 'offerings to gods, and offerings to the manes;' a third 'sacrifices, &c., and works of charity, such as digging tanks and wells;' for a fourth, see *Saṅkara* on *Mundaka*, p. 291.

⁴ Each of the three classes mentioned contains two sub-classes, and so the six are made up. It is not quite easy to see the two heads under the third class; but perhaps indifference, and the consequent abandonment of desire, may be the two intended. To indicate that, I have adopted the construction which takes the words 'by means of indifference' with abandonment, instead of with 'gifts at Vedic ceremonies,' &c. *Saṅkara* seems to understand 'giving away of wealth' with the words 'by means of indifference,' and thus to constitute the second head under the third class. But he is not quite clear.

⁵ Concentration=fixing the mind continuously on some object, such as the being in the sun, &c.; contemplation is that in which one identifies oneself with the Brahman; reflexion as to what one is, whence one comes, and so forth.

⁶ *Saṅkara* says this may refer to the 'stealing' mentioned at p. 160. The life of a *Brahmāṭarin* is here taken to mean con-

likewise freedom from all belongings¹. Thus have the defects of self-restraint been stated; one should avoid those defects. Freedom from (those) defects is freedom from heedlessness; and that, too, is deemed to have eight characteristics². Let truth be your (very) self, O king of kings! On truth all the worlds rest³. Truth is said to be their main (principle). Immortality depends on truth⁴. Getting rid of (these) defects, one should practise the observance of penance. This is the conduct prescribed by the Creator. Truth is the solemn vow of the good. The pure penance, which is free from these defects, and possessed of these characteristics, becomes developed, and well developed⁵. I will state to you, in brief, O king of kings! what you ask of me. This (observance)⁶ is destructive of sin, and pure, and releases (one) from birth and death and old age⁷. If one is free from the five senses, and also from the mind⁸, O descendant of Bharata! also from (thoughts regarding) the past and the future⁹, one becomes happy.

Dhṛitarāshṭra said :

Some people make great boasts in consequence of (their knowing) the Vedas with the Ākhyānas as

tinence by the commentators, as also at *Mundaka*, p. 311 inter alia. See also *Ahândogya*, p. 533.

¹ Son, wife, home, &c.; as to which cf. *Gîtâ*, p. 103, and *Nṛisimha Tâpinî*, p. 198, commentary.

² The eight mentioned already. ³ Cf. *Taitt. Âraṇ.* p. 885.

⁴ Cf. *Mundaka*, p. 312; *Sânti Parvan (Moksha)*, chap. 199, st. 64 seq. Immortality = final emancipation.

⁵ P. 165 supra.

⁶ Of penance, that is to say.

⁷ Cf. *Gîtâ*, p. 109 for the collocation.

⁸ *Kaṭhopanishad*, p. 151; *Maitrî*, p. 161. Saṅkara seems to take the five and the senses separately; the five meaning the five classes of sensuous objects. ⁹ Past losses and future gains, *Nilakantha*.

the fifth¹; others, likewise, are (masters) of four Vedas; others, too, of three Vedas; others are (masters) of two Vedas, and of one Veda; and others of no Veda². Tell me which of these is the greatest, whom I may know (to be) a Brāhmaṇa.

Sanatsugāta said :

Through ignorance of the one Veda³—the one truth—O king of kings! numerous Vedas came into existence. Some⁴ only adhere to the truth. The fancies of those who have fallen away from the truth are abortive, and through ignorance of the truth, ceremonies become amplified⁵. One should understand a Brāhmaṇa, who (merely) reads much, to be a man of many words⁶. Know him only to be the (true) Brāhmaṇa, who swerves not from the truth⁷. O you who are the highest among men⁸! the Kṛṇḍas, indeed, refer of themselves⁹ to it. There-

¹ Cf., as to this, Max Müller's *Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 38 seq.; and *Kṛṇḍogya*, pp. 164, 474, 493; *Bṛihadāraṇyaka*, pp. 456, 687, 926; *Maitrī*, p. 171; *Nṛsiṃha Tāpinī*, p. 105.

² The original is 'void of *Rita*.' The commentators give no explanation. Does it mean those who abandon the karma-mārga? Heretics who reject all Vedas are scarcely likely to be referred to in this way. Nīlakaṇṭha's interpretation of all this is very different. See his gloss.

³ Śaṅkara gives various interpretations of this. Perhaps the best is to take it as meaning knowledge. 'The one knowledge—the one truth'—would then be like the famous text—*Taittirīya*, p. 56—'The Brahman is truth, knowledge,' &c.

⁴ For this phrase cf. *Gītā*, p. 73.

⁵ Those who do not understand the Brahman lose their natural power of obtaining what they wish, and so go in for various ceremonies for various special benefits. Cf. *Kṛṇḍogya*, p. 541; *Gītā*, p. 47; and p. 184 *infra*.

⁶ Cf. *Bṛihadāraṇyaka*, p. 893.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 636.

⁸ Literally, 'highest among bipeds,' a rather unusual expression.

⁹ Nīlakaṇṭha says, 'The part of the Vedas which teaches the

fore, studying them, the learned persons who understand the *Kṛāndas*, attain to the Veda, not that which is to be known¹. Among the Vedas, there is none which understands². By the unintelligent³, one understands not the Veda, nor the object of knowledge⁴. He who knows the Veda knows the object of knowledge. He who knows the object of knowledge⁵ knows not the truth. He who understands the Vedas understands also the object of knowledge; but that⁶ is not understood by the Vedas or by those who understand the Vedas. Still the Brāhmaṇas who understand the Vedas, understand the Veda by means of the Vedas⁷. As the branch of a tree with regard to the part of a portion of the glorious⁸ one, so, they declare, are the Vedas with

knowledge of the supreme is enough by itself for its purpose; it is not like the part about rites, &c., which rites must be performed before they serve any useful purpose.' The *Gṛānakāṇḍa* is enough by itself for understanding the Brahman. Saṅkara compares *Gītā*, p. 113, and *Kaṭha*, p. 102.

¹ The Veda=the Brahman, as above, cf. *Svetāśvatara*, p. 372 and commentary; that which is to be known=the material world, which is a subject for human knowledge.

² Scil. understands the Veda—the Brahman.

³ 'The mind,' says *Nilakaṇṭha*; literally, 'that which is to be understood.'

⁴ Because a real knowledge of it requires a knowledge of the Brahman. As to the next clause cf. *inter alia Kṛāndogya*, p. 384; *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, p. 450.

⁵ This is the converse of the last sentence, as to which cf. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, p. 925.

⁶ The supreme.

⁷ The apparent contradiction is explained in the next sentence.

⁸ I.e. the moon. This refers to the well-known *sākṣātandra-nyāya*. As the small digit of the moon, which cannot be perceived by itself, is pointed out as being at the tip of a branch of a tree pointing towards the moon, so the Vedas are of use as pointing towards the Brahman, though inaccurately and imperfectly.

regard to the subject of understanding the supreme self. I understand him to be a Brâhmaṇa who is ingenious, and explains¹ (Vedic texts). He who apprehends (those texts) thus², does verily know that supreme (principle). One should not go in search of it among (things) antagonistic³ to it at all. Not looking (for him there) one sees that Lord by means of the Veda⁴. Remaining quiet, one should practise devotion, and should not even form a wish in the mind⁵. To him the Brahman presents⁶ itself, and directly afterwards he attains to the perfect⁷ (one). By taciturnity⁸, verily, does one become a sage; (one does) not (become) a sage by dwelling in a forest⁹. And he is called the highest sage, who understands that indestructible (principle). One is called an analyser¹⁰ (also) in consequence of

¹ Scil. in the manner just indicated.

² As giving an idea of the Brahman. The first step to a knowledge of the Brahman is to 'hear' about it from Vedic texts. Cf. *Bṛhadâraṇyaka*, p. 925.

³ Such as the body, the senses, &c., which must be distinguished as quite distinct from the self, though most often confounded with it.

⁴ Such passages, namely, as 'Thou art that, I am the Brahman,' &c.

⁵ About the objects of the senses.

⁶ Cf. *Kaṭha*, p. 155.

⁷ Cf. *Āṇḍogya*, p. 516. The Bhûman there is the same as the Bahu here, viz. the Brahman. Saṅkara says expressly in his comment on the Upanishad text, that Bahu and Bhûman, among other words, are synonyms.

⁸ Self-restraint, as explained before at p. 163.

⁹ Though this is not unimportant, as may be seen from the contrast between town and forest at *Āṇḍogya*, p. 340. See also *Maitrî*, p. 100; *Mundaka*, p. 240. As to the 'highest sage,' see *Bṛhadâraṇyaka*, p. 899, where the passage about 'sacrifice, gift, penance' should be compared with *Gitâ*, p. 122.

¹⁰ The construction in the original is not quite clear. I understand the sense to be as follows: In the science of the soul, the

analysing all objects. The analysis (is) from that as the root; and as he makes (such an) analysis, hence is he so (called). The man who sees the worlds directly sees everything¹. A Brâhmana, verily, adhering to the truth, understands it, and becomes omniscient. I say to you, O learned man! that adhering to knowledge and the rest² in this way, one sees the Brahman, O Kshatriya! by means of a course (of study) in the Vedas³.

CHAPTER IV.

Dhṛitarâshṭra said :

O Sanatsugâta! since you have spoken these words of highest significance, relating to the Brahman, and of numerous forms⁴, give me that advice which is excellent, and difficult to obtain in the

analyser (the word is the same as the word for grammarian) is he who analyses objects, not words merely. Now the true analysis of objects reduces them all to the Brahman (cf. *Khândogya*, p. 407; *Bṛihadâraṇyaka*, p. 152); and the sage understands this, and makes the analysis accordingly, so he is rightly called an analyser.

¹ This again is not clear, and the discrepancies of the MSS. make it more perplexing. The meaning, I take to be, that a man may perceive all material things, such as the worlds, Bhûr, &c. (as the commentators put it), but to be really omniscient, you must have knowledge of the truth—the Brahman. See *Sabhâ Parvan*, chapter V, stanza 7. And see, too, *Bṛihadâraṇyaka*, p. 613.

² P. 167 *supra*.

³ 'Hearing the Vedântas—Upanishads,' &c., says Sâṅkara. See note 2 *supra*, p. 173.

⁴ Does this mean referring to many aspects of the Brahman? Sâṅkara merely says *nânârûpâ*. Nīlakanṭha takes it differently, and as meaning that in which everything is elucidated; 'relating to the Brahman' Nīlakanṭha takes to mean 'leading to the Brahman,' or 'instrument for attaining to the Brahman.'

midst of these created objects¹. Such is my request, O youth!

Sanatsugâta said:

This Brahman, O king! about which you question me with such perseverance, is not to be attained by anybody who is in a hurry. When the mind is absorbed in the understanding², then can that knowledge, which must be deeply pondered over, be attained by living the life of a Brahmakârin³. For you are speaking of that primordial knowledge⁴, which consists in the truth; which is obtained by the good by living the life of Brahmakârins⁵; which being obtained, men cast off this mortal world; and which knowledge, verily, is to be invariably (found) in those who have been brought up under preceptors⁶.

Dhritarâshtra said:

Since that knowledge is capable of being truly acquired by living the life of a Brahmakârin, therefore tell me, O Brâhmaṇa! of what description the life of a Brahmakârin is⁷.

Sanatsugâta said:

Those who entering (as it were) the womb⁸ of a

¹ In this material world, the highest knowledge is not to be got. Cf. *Kaṭha*, p. 96.

² I. e. withdrawn from objects and fixed on the self only. Cf. *Gîtâ*, p. 79, and *Maitrî*, p. 179, where, however, we have *hrîd* for *buddhi*.

³ *Viroḥana* and *Indra* do so according to the *Khândogya*, p. 570. See also *Mundaka*, p. 311.

⁴ The object of which is the primal Brahman.

⁵ Cf. *Khândogya*, p. 534; and *Gîtâ*, pp. 78, 79, and the passage from the *Kaṭha* there cited.

⁶ *Khândogya*, pp. 264-459. ⁷ See *Khândogya*, p. 553 seq.

⁸ I. e. attending closely upon him; *foetus* = pupil.

preceptor, and becoming (as it were) a foetus, practise the life of Brahmaċārins, become even in this world authors of Sāstras¹, and they repair to the highest truth² after casting off (this) body. They subjugate desires here in this world, practising forbearance in pursuit of the Brahmic state³; and with courage, they even here remove the self out of the body⁴, like the soft fibres from the Muñga. Father and mother, O descendant of Bharata! only form the body. But the birth⁵ obtained from the preceptor, that verily is true⁶, and likewise immortal. He perfects⁷ (one), giving (one) immortality. Recognising what he has done (for one), one should not injure him. The disciple should always make obeisance to the preceptor⁸; and, free from heedlessness, should always desire sacred instruction. When the pure man obtains knowledge by this same course of discipleship⁹, that is the first quarter of his life as a Brahmaċārin. As (is) his conduct

¹ Learned, men of knowledge, Saṅkara.

² The supreme, which is described as 'truth, knowledge,' &c. In our ancient works the truth often means the real.

³ The state of being absorbed in the Brahman. Cf. Gītā, p. 52.

⁴ Cf. *Kaṭha*, p. 158.

⁵ Saṅkara cites Āpastamba (p. 11) in support of this, and *Prasna-upanishad*, p. 256. The consciousness of being one with the Brahman is a new birth. See, too, *Mundaka*, p. 282.

⁶ That birth is not merely delusive, and does not result in death.

⁷ Immortality or final emancipation is not to be achieved without knowledge, which can only be got from a preceptor. And one is not perfect without that immortality; one is limited by the conditions of human existence. See *Nirukta* (Roth's ed.), p. 41.

⁸ Saṅkara compares *Svetāsvatara*, p. 374; see also p. 203 *infra*. The necessity of having a Guru is often insisted on even in the Upanishads. Cf. *Mundaka*, p. 282; *Khândogya*, p. 264.

⁹ Stated at the beginning of this speech, Saṅkara.

always towards his preceptor, so likewise should he behave towards the preceptor's wife, and so likewise should he act towards the preceptor's son—(that) is said to be the second quarter. What one, recognising what the preceptor has done for one, and understanding the matter¹ (taught), feels with a delighted heart regarding the preceptor—believing that one has been brought into existence² by him—that is the third quarter of life as a Brahmatârin. One should do what is agreeable to the preceptor, by means of one's life and riches, and in deed, thought, and word³—that is said to be the fourth quarter. (A disciple) obtains a quarter by time⁴, so likewise a quarter by associating with the preceptor, he also obtains a quarter by means of his own energy; and then he attains to a quarter by means of the Sâstras. The life as a Brahmatârin of that man, whose beauty⁵ consists in the twelve beginning with knowledge, and whose limbs are the other (qualifications mentioned), and who has

¹ The meaning of the Vedic texts, &c., Saṅkara in one copy; the highest aim of man, according to another copy.

² See note 5 on p. 176.

³ I keep the order of the original, though I do not translate quite literally; 'thought and word' should be literally 'mind and speech.' See, on the collocation, Gîtâ, p. 123 *inter alia*.

⁴ Time=maturity of understanding which comes by time; energy=intellectual power; Sâstras=consultation about Sâstras with fellow-students—Saṅkara, who adds that the order is not material as stated, and quotes a stanza which may be thus rendered, 'The pupil receives a quarter from the preceptor, a quarter by his own talent; he receives a quarter by time; and a quarter through fellow-Brahmatârin.

⁵ The body being disregarded, these qualities are attributed to the self in this way. For the twelve, see p. 167; the others are abandonment, truthfulness, &c., p. 169.

strength¹, bears fruit, they say, by association with a preceptor, in (the shape of) contact with that entity—the Brahman. Whatever wealth may come to a man who lives in this way, he should even pay that over to the preceptor. He would thus be adopting the conduct of the good which is of many merits; and the same conduct is (to be adopted) towards the preceptor's son. Living thus, he prospers greatly² on all sides in this world; he obtains sons and position; the quarters³ and sub-quarters shower (benefits⁴) on him, and men pass their lives as Brahmacārins under him. By this life as a Brahmacārin, the divinities obtained their divinity. And the sages, too, became great by living the life of Brahmacārins. By this same (means), too, the Apsarasas, together with the Gandharvas, achieved for themselves beautiful forms. And by this life as a Brahmacārin, the sun illuminates (the universe). That man of knowledge, O king! who practising penance, may by penance pierce through or tear off his body, crosses beyond childhood⁵ by means of this (life as a Brahmacārin), and at the time of the termination (of life) overcomes death⁶. Those who understand this (life as a Brahmacārin) attain to a

¹ To observe the duties referred to, Sāṅkara. But see, too, p. 167, note 6.

² 'Obtains wealth, learning, and greatness,' says a commentator. For similar benefits, cf. *Khândogya*, p. 122.

³ Cf. *Khândogya*, p. 132.

⁴ 'Wealth,' says Nilakanṭha, as well as another commentator.

⁵ Ignorance; cf. note 7 at p. 154 *supra*. Nilakanṭha reads 'reaches' instead of 'crosses beyond,' and interprets 'bālya' to mean 'freedom from affection, aversion,' &c. Cf. *Bṛihadāraṇyaka*, p. 605. As to the divinity of divinities, cf. *Taitt. Āraṇ.* p. 886.

⁶ Nilakanṭha reads 'vanquishes death.' The meaning is, he reaches final emancipation. Cf. p. 154 *supra*.

condition like that of those who ask (for what they want) from the wish-granting stone¹, when they obtain the thing desired. By performing action, O Kshatriya! people conquer (for themselves only) perishable worlds². (But) the man of understanding attains by knowledge to the everlasting glory—for there is no other way to it³.

Dhṛitarāshṭra said:

Where a Brāhmaṇa possessed of knowledge, perceives it, does it appear as white⁴, as red, or again as black, or again as grey or tawny? What is the colour of that immortal, indestructible goal?

Sanatsugāta said:

It appears not as white, as red, nor again as black, nor again as grey, nor tawny⁵. It dwells not on earth, nor in the sky; nor does it bear a body in this ocean⁶-(like world). It is not in the stars, nor does it dwell in the lightning; nor is its form⁷ to be seen in the clouds, nor even in the air, nor in the deities; it is not to be seen in the moon, nor in the sun. It is not to be seen in *Rik* texts, nor in

¹ Called *Kintāmani*. The effect of Brahmatārya is that those who practise it can get what they desire.

² Cf. *Gītā*, p. 76; *Khândogya*, p. 538; *Mundaka*, p. 279.

³ Cf. *Svetāsvatara*, p. 327.

⁴ Cf. *Bṛihadāraṇyaka*, p. 877.

⁵ Cf. *Kaṭha*, p. 119; and *Mundaka*, p. 267. As to its not dwelling in earth, sky, &c., Sāṅkara refers to *Khândogya*, p. 518, as implying that.

⁶ Literally, 'it bears no water in the ocean.' 'Water' is said by the commentators to mean the five elements of which the body is composed. See *Manu* I, 5, and *Khândogya*, p. 330. In the *Svetāsvatara* it signifies mind (see p. 388). For ocean meaning world, or *samsāra*; cf. *Aitareya-upanishad*, p. 182.

⁷ Here I do not render *rūpa* by colour, as before.

Yagus texts; nor yet in the Atharvan texts, nor in the pure Sâman texts; nor yet, O king, in the Rathantara or *Bṛihadhratha*¹ hymns. It is seen in the self of a man of high vows². It is invincible, beyond darkness³, it comes forth from within⁴ at the time of destruction. Its form is more minute than the most minute (things), its form is larger even than the mountains⁵. That is the support⁶ (of the universe); that is immortal; (that is) all things perceptible⁷. That is the Brahman, that is glory⁸. From that all entities were produced⁹, in that they are dissolved. All this shines forth as dwelling in it in the form of light¹⁰. And it is perceived by means of knowledge¹¹ by one who understands the self; on it depends this whole universe. Those who understand this become immortal.

¹ See Muir, Sanskrit Texts, vol. i, p. 16; *Tândya-brâhmana*, p. 838; *Gîtâ*, p. 90; and Kaushîtaki, p. 21. *Bṛihadhratha* = *Bṛihat-sâman* (?).

² The twelve great vows—knowledge, &c., mentioned above, see p. 167. *Nilakantha* takes *Mahâvrata* to refer to the sacrifice of that name. It is described in the *Aitareya Âranyaka*.

³ See *Gîtâ*, p. 78, note 4.

⁴ Cf. *Gîtâ*, p. 82, and *Îsopanishad*, p. 12.

⁵ See *Gîtâ*, p. 78, note 3.

⁶ Cf. *Gîtâ*, p. 113; *Kaṭha*, p. 99.

⁷ So *Nilakantha*. The original word ordinarily means 'worlds.'

⁸ Cf. *Svetâsvatara*, p. 347.

⁹ Cf. the famous passage in the *Taittirîya*, p. 123: and also *Mundaka*, p. 289.

¹⁰ The explanations of the commentators are not quite clear as to the word *ahnâ*, 'in the form of light.' Probably the meaning is: The universe depends on the Brahman, and is, as it were, the light of the Brahman. *Saṅkara* compares the passages referred to at *Gîtâ*, p. 112, note 1.

¹¹ 'Not by means of action,' says *Saṅkara*.

CHAPTER V¹.

Grief and wrath, and avarice, desire, delusion, laziness, want of forgiveness, vanity, craving, friendship², censoriousness, and reviling others—these twelve great enormities are destructive of a man's life. These, O king of kings! attend on each and every man. Beset by these, a man, deluded in his understanding, acts sinfully. A man full of attachments, merciless, harsh (of speech), talkative, cherishing wrath in his heart, and boastful—these are the men of cruel qualities; (such) persons, even obtaining wealth, do not always enjoy (it)³. One

¹ The whole of this chapter is wanting in one of our copies of Sāṅkara's commentary. In the copy published in the *Mahābhārata* (Madras edition) there is, however, this passage: 'Wrath &c. have been already explained, still there are some differences here and there, and those only are now explained.' The chapter is for the most part a repetition of what we have already had. For such repetitions cf. *Bṛihadāraṇyaka*, pp. 317-1016; 444-930. The same copy of Sāṅkara's commentary gives this general statement of the object of this and the next chapter: 'The course of study of the science of the Brahman, in which knowledge is the principal thing, and concentration of mind &c. are subsidiary, has been described. Now is described the course of study in which concentration of mind is principal, and knowledge subsidiary. The first mode consists in understanding the meaning of the word "you" by means of concentration of mind, and then identifying it with the Brahman by means of a study of the Upanishads; the second, in first intellectually understanding the identity of the individual self and Brahman, by such study of the Upanishads, and then realising the identity to consciousness by contemplation, &c. In both modes the fruit is the same, and the means are the same; and to show this, the merits and defects already stated are here again declared.' This explanation is verbatim the same in Nilakantha's commentary.

² The original is 'pity,' which is explained to mean 'friendship' by Sāṅkara and Nilakantha.

³ 'Owing to there being in it no enjoyment for the self,' says one

whose thoughts are fixed on enjoyments, who is partial¹, proud², boastful when he makes a gift, miserly, and devoid of power³, who esteems the group (of the senses), and who hates (his) wife—thus have been stated the seven (classes of) cruel persons of sinful dispositions. Piety, and truthfulness, and penance, and self-restraint, freedom from animosity, modesty, endurance, freedom from censoriousness, liberality, sacred learning, courage, forgiveness—these are the twelve great observances of a Brāhmaṇa. Whoever does not swerve from these twelve may govern this whole world. And one who is possessed of three, two, or even one, of these, must be understood to have nothing of his own⁴. Self-restraint, abandonment, freedom from delusion, on these immortality depends⁵. These are possessed by those talented Brāhmaṇas to whom the Brahman is the principal⁶ (thing). A Brāhmaṇa's speaking ill of others, whether true or false, is not commended.

copy of Sāṅkara's commentary. Another reading, which is in the Madras edition and in Nīlakaṇṭha, may be rendered, 'even obtaining benefits, they do not respect one (from whom they obtain them).'

¹ The commentary says the meaning is the same as that of the expression used in the corresponding place before, viz. one who prospers by injuring others.

² One copy of Sāṅkara's commentary takes this to mean one who thinks the not-self to be the self. I adopt the other meaning, however, as agreeing with that of *atimānī*, which is the reading of some copies instead of *abhimānī*.

³ Nīlakaṇṭha reads *durbala* and does not explain it. See p. 167.

⁴ One commentator says this means that he should not be supposed to have incurred the demerit of having any attachment to this world. Nīlakaṇṭha says, he gives up everything in the pursuit of even one of these observances.

⁵ See p. 168.

⁶ I.e. the goal to be reached. The commentary takes Brahman to mean the Vedas, and the whole phrase to mean those who devote themselves to the performance of actions stated in the Vedas.

The men who act thus have their places in hell. Frenzy has eighteen defects—as already described here—hatred of men, factiousness¹, censoriousness, untruthful speech, lust, wrath, want of self-control², speaking ill of others, backbiting, mismanagement in business³, quarrelsomeness, animosity, troubling living creatures, want of forgiveness, delusion, flippancy, loss of reason⁴, censoriousness⁵; therefore a wise man should not be subject to frenzy, for it is always censured. Six characteristics should be understood as (belonging) to friendship—that one should rejoice at (anything) agreeable; and feel grieved at (anything) disagreeable; that with a pure heart one, when asked by a deserving (man), should give to him who asks what can⁶ certainly be given, (though it) may be beneficial to oneself, and even though it ought not to be asked, (namely) one's favourites, sons, wealth, and one's own wife; that one should not dwell there where one has bestowed (all one's) wealth, through a desire (to get a return for one's liberality); that one should enjoy

¹ One copy of Śaṅkara's commentary says this means 'obstructing other people's acts of piety,' &c.

² One copy of Śaṅkara's commentary says this means 'being given up to intoxicating drinks,' &c.; another copy says, 'doing another's bidding without thought.'

³ One copy says this means 'inattention to any work undertaken; another renders the original by 'destruction of property, i.e. squandering it on dancers,' &c.

⁴ I.e. discrimination between right and wrong.

⁵ This seems to be some error, for 'censoriousness' has occurred before. But neither the texts nor the commentaries give any help to correct the error. Perhaps the latter is to be distinguished as referring to the habit, and the former only to sporadic acts, of censoriousness. These qualities, I presume, constitute frenzy; they are not the 'defects.'

⁶ I.e. where the power to give exists.

(the fruit of one's¹ own) toils (only); and that one should forego one's own profit². Such a man, possessed of wealth, and possessed of merits, is a liberal man of the quality of goodness³; such a one diverts the five elements from the five⁴ (senses). This⁵ pure penance, acquired out of desire⁶ by those who are fallen off from the truth, even though developed, leads upwards⁷; since sacrifices are performed owing to a misapprehension of the truth⁸. (The

¹ Not a friend's. ² For a friend. ³ See Gītā, p. 120.

⁴ The commentators take this to mean objects of sense, and they interpret 'elements' before to mean senses.

⁵ 'Viz. the turning away of the senses from their objects,' says one copy of Sāṅkara.

⁶ Scil. to enjoy the higher enjoyments of superior worlds.

⁷ I. e. to the higher worlds; it does not lead to emancipation here.

⁸ Cf. *Mundaka*, p. 277. I must own that I do not quite understand this passage, nor its explanation as given in the commentaries. I do not quite see what the penance here mentioned has to do with sacrifice, and yet the commentators seem to take the words 'since sacrifices,' &c., with what precedes them, not with what follows. Taking them, however, with what follows, it is difficult to explain the word 'since.' As far as I can understand the passage I take the sense of it to be as follows: The author having said that penance performed out of a particular motive does not lead to final emancipation, he then proceeds to point out that all 'action' or 'sacrifice' is due to an imperfect understanding of the truth (cf. p. 171 supra), being mostly due to some particular motive. Then he goes on to show the different classes of sacrifice, and finally points out that he who is free from desires is superior to one who is actuated by desires. The original for 'misapprehension' is *ava-bodha*, which commonly means 'apprehension,' but Sāṅkara finally makes it mean *moha* or 'delusion.' The original for truth is rendered by *Nilakantha* to mean 'fancies.' *Nīlakantha* says that the sacrifice by the mind is the highest; that by speech, viz. *Brahmayagñā*, *Gāpā*, &c., is middling; and that by deed, viz. with clarified butter and other offerings, of the lowest class. 'Perfected by fancies' = one whose fancies are always fulfilled 'through a knowledge,' says *Nilakantha*, 'of the Brahma as possessing qualities.'

sacrifices) of some are by the mind, of others by speech, and also by deed. The man void of fancies takes precedence over the man perfected by fancies,—especially among Brâhmanas¹. And hear this further from me. One should teach this great and glorious² (doctrine); (other doctrines) the wise call mere arrangements of words. On this concentration of mind³, all this⁴ depends. Those who know this become immortal. Not by meritorious action only, O king! does man conquer the truth⁵. One may offer offerings, or sacrifice. By that the child(-like man) does not cross beyond death; nor, O king! does he obtain happiness in his last moments⁶. One should practise devotion quietly, and should not be active even in mind⁷; and then one should avoid delight and wrath (resulting) from praise and censure⁸. I say to you, O learned person! that adhering to this⁹, one attains the Brahman and perceives it, O Kshatriya! by a course (of study) of the Vedas.

¹ This also is far from clear. Should it be, 'and a Brâhmaṇa more especially?' This might be taken as referring to one who knows the Brahman as devoid of qualities, as Nīlakaṇṭha does take it. But his construction is not quite clear.

² As serviceable in attaining to 'the glory,' the Brahman; see p. 180.

³ See note 1 at p. 181. As to 'arrangements of words,' cf. Maitrī, p. 179.

⁴ 'Everything,' says one copy of Sāṅkara's commentary; 'all that is good and desirable,' says another.

⁵ Cf. *inter alia*, *Mundaka*, pp. 281-314.

⁶ For he has got to undergo migration from one life to another as the result of the action. Cf. *Bṛihadâraṇyaka*, p. 856; *Mundaka*, p. 278.

⁷ Cf. *Gītā*, p. 70.

⁸ *Ibid.* pp. 101-110.

⁹ I.e. the yoga or concentration of mind here described. This stanza, like many others in this chapter, occurs in chapter III with slight variations.

CHAPTER VI.

That pure¹, great light², which is radiant; that great glory³; that, verily, which the gods worship⁴; that by means of which the sun shines forth⁵—that eternal divine being is perceived by devotees. From (that) pure (principle) the Brahman⁶ is produced; by (that) pure (principle) the Brahman is developed⁷; that pure (principle), not illumined among all radiant (bodies), is (itself) luminous and illuminates (them)⁸. That eternal divine being is perceived by devotees. The perfect is raised out of the perfect. It (being raised) out of the perfect is called the perfect. The perfect is withdrawn from the perfect, and the perfect only remains⁹. That eternal divine being is perceived by devotees.

¹ Free from ignorance and other taints. See *Kaṭha*, p. 144.

² Saṅkara compares *Kaṭha*, p. 142. See, too, *Mundaka*, p. 303; and note 4 *infra*.

³ *Svetâsvatara*, p. 347, and p. 180 *supra*.

⁴ Saṅkara refers to *Bṛhadâraṇyaka*, p. 887.

⁵ Cf. *Gitâ*, p. 112, note 1.

⁶ 'Named *Hiranyagarbha*,' Saṅkara. Cf. *Gitâ*, p. 107; *Svetâsvatara*, p. 354; *Mundaka*, p. 309; *Maitrî*, p. 130; *Taitt. Âraṇ.* p. 894.

⁷ 'In the form of *Virâg*,' says Saṅkara. As to these two, cf. *Mundaka*, pp. 270-272; and Saṅkara's and Ânandagiri's notes there. See also *Svetâsvatara*, pp. 324, 325; and *Nṛisimha Tâpinî*, pp. 233, 234; *Colebrooke*, *Essays*, pp. 344, 368 (*Madras reprint*). The *Virâg* corresponds rather to the gross material world viewed as a whole; the *Hiranyagarbha* to the subtle elements similarly viewed, an earlier stage in the development. Cf. the *Vedântasâra*.

⁸ Cf. *Mundaka*, p. 303, and *Gitâ*, p. 112.

⁹ The individual self is part of the supreme (*Gitâ*, p. 112); perfect = not limited by space, time, &c.; as being part of a thing perfect in its essence, the individual soul also is perfect. The individual self is withdrawn from the perfect, viz. the whole aggregate of body, senses, &c. presided over by the self, and when so withdrawn it appears to be the pure self only. Cf. *Bṛhadâraṇyaka*, p. 948.

(From the Brahman), the waters¹ (are produced); and then from the waters, the gross body. In the space within that², dwelt the two divine (principles). Both enveloping the quarters and sub-quarters, support earth and heaven³. That eternal divine being is perceived by devotees. The horse⁴ (-like senses) lead towards heaven him, who is possessed of knowledge and divine, (who is) free from old age, and who stands on the wheel of this chariot (-like body), which is transient, but the operations of which are imperishable⁵. That eternal divine being⁶ is perceived by devotees. His form has no parallel⁷; no one sees him with the eye⁸. Those who apprehend him by means of the understanding, and also the mind and heart, become immortal⁹. That eternal

¹ 'The five elements,' says Sāṅkara, cf. Aitareya, p. 189; and for 'gross body,' the original is literally 'water;' see supra, p. 179, note 6; and see, too, Īropanishad, p. 11, and Svetāśvatara, p. 368, for different but kindred meanings.

² Viz. the lotus-like heart. Cf. Kāṇḍogya, p. 528.

³ The two principles between them pervade the universe, the individual self being connected with the material world, the other with heaven; 'divine' is, literally, 'the brilliant,' says Sāṅkara, who quotes Kaṭha, p. 305, as a parallel for the whole passage.

⁴ Cf. Kaṭha, p. 111; Maitrī, pp. 19-34; and Mahābhārata Śrī Parvan, chap. VII, st. 13. Heaven = the Brahman here (see Brīhadāraṇyaka, p. 876); divine = not vulgar, or unrefined—Sāṅkara, who adds that though the senses generally lead one to sensuous objects, they do not do so when under the guidance of true knowledge.

⁵ The body is perishable, but action done by the self while in the body leaves its effect.

⁶ To whom, namely, the man of knowledge goes, as before stated.

⁷ Cf. Svetāśvatara, p. 347.

⁸ Cf. Kaṭha, p. 152, and comment there, where the eye is said to stand for all the senses.

⁹ Kaṭha, p. 149; Svetāśvatara, pp. 346-348, also p. 330 (should it be *manśhā* there instead of *manviro*?). The meanings of the three words are difficult to fix accurately. Sāṅkara varies in his interpre-

divine being is perceived by devotees. The currents of twelve collections¹, supported by the Deity, regulate the honey²; and those who follow after it move about in (this) dangerous (world). That eternal divine being³ is perceived by devotees. The bee⁴ drinks that accumulated honey for half a month⁵. The Lord created the oblation for all beings⁶. That eternal divine being is perceived by devotees. Those who are devoid of wings⁷, coming

tations. Probably the meaning he gives here is the best. Mind and understanding have been explained at Gîtâ, p. 57. The heart is the place within, where the self is said to be, and it may be taken as indicating the self, the meaning would then be—a direct consciousness in the self of its unity with the Supreme. See, too, Taitt. Âraṇ. p. 896.

¹ The five organs of action, the five senses of perception, the mind and understanding make the twelve.

² Each current has its own honey regularly distributed to it under the supervision of the Deity, the Supreme. Honey=material enjoyment. Cf. Kaṭha, p. 126, where Sāṅkara renders it by *karmaphala*, 'fruit of action.'

³ Who supervises the distribution as stated. Cf. Vedānta-sūtra III, 2, 28-31.

⁴ Bhramara, which the commentators interpret to mean 'one who is given to flying about—the individual self.'

⁵ I. e. in one life in respect of actions done in a previous life.

⁶ Sāṅkara says this is in answer to a possible difficulty that action performed here cannot have its fruit in the next world, as the fruit is so far removed in time from the action. The answer is, The Lord, the Supreme, can effect this, and taking his existence into account there is no difficulty. Oblation=food, &c., Sāṅkara. The meaning of the whole passage, which is not very clear, seems to be that the Lord has arranged things so that each being receives some of this honey, this food, which is the fruit of his own action. Then the question arises, Do these beings always continue taking the honey and 'migrating,' or are they ever released? That is answered by the following sentence.

⁷ 'The wings of knowledge,' says Sāṅkara, citing a Brāhmaṇa text, 'those, verily, who have knowledge are possessed of wings, those who are not possessed of knowledge are devoid of wings.'

to the Asvattha of golden leaves¹, there become possessed of wings, and fly away happily². That eternal divine being³ is perceived by devotees. The upward life-wind swallows up the downward life-wind; the moon swallows up the upward life-wind; the sun swallows up the moon⁴; and another⁵ swallows up the sun. Moving about above the waters, the supreme self⁶ does not raise one leg⁷. (Should he raise) that, which is always performing sacrifices⁸, there will be no death, no immortality⁹. That eternal divine being¹⁰ is perceived by devotees.

¹ So, literally; Sāṅkara explains 'golden' to mean 'beneficial and pleasant,' by a somewhat fanciful derivation of the word *hiranya*. He refers to *Gītā*, p. 111, about the leaves of the *Asvattha*. *Nilakantha* takes the leaves to be son, wife, &c., which are 'golden,' attractive at first sight. 'Coming to the *Asvattha*,' Sāṅkara says, 'means being born as a *Brāhmaṇa*,' &c. 'Flying away' = obtaining final emancipation.

² The 'selves' are compared to birds in the famous passage at *Mundaka*, p. 306 (also *Svetāśvatara*, p. 337). See also *Bṛihadāraṇyaka*, p. 499.

³ Knowledge of whom leads to 'flying away happily.'

⁴ Cf. *Ātāndogya*, p. 441. Sāṅkara says that the author here explains the yoga by which the Supreme is to be attained. As to the life-winds, cf. *Gītā*, p. 61. 'The moon,' says Sāṅkara, 'means the mind, and the sun the understanding, as they are the respective deities of those organs' (cf. *Bṛihadāraṇyaka*, pp. 521-542, and *Āitareya*, p. 187, where, however, the sun is said to appertain to the eye).

⁵ I.e. the Brahman; the result is, one remains in the condition of being identified with the Brahman.

⁶ Literally, flamingo. Cf. *Svetāśvatara*, pp. 332, 367; see also p. 289; *Maitrī*, p. 99; and the commentary on *Svetāśvatara*, p. 283.

⁷ Viz. the individual self, Sāṅkara; that is, as it were, the bond of connexion between the Supreme and the world. Cf. *Gītā*, p. 112.

⁸ This is the meaning, though the word in the original is *Ritvig*, which in the later literature only means priest.

⁹ As the whole of the material world is dissolved, when the self is dis severed from the delusion which is the cause of it.

¹⁰ Viz. who moves about on the waters, as above stated.

The being which is the inner self, and which is of the size of a thumb¹, is always migrating in consequence of the connexion with the subtle body². The deluded ones do not perceive that praiseworthy lord, primeval and radiant, and possessed of creative power³. That eternal divine being is perceived by devotees. Leading mortals to destruction by their own action⁴, they conceal themselves like serpents in secret recesses⁵. The deluded men then become more deluded⁶. The enjoyments afforded by them cause delusion, and lead to worldly life⁷. That eternal divine being⁸ is perceived by devotees. This⁹ seems to be common to all mankind—whether possessed of resources¹⁰ or not possessed of resources—it is common to immortality and the other¹¹. Those who are possessed (of them)¹² attain there to the source of the honey¹³. That eternal divine being is perceived by devotees. They go,

¹ Svetâsvatara, pp. 330–355; Taitt. Âran. p. 858, and comments there.

² The life-winds, the ten organs or senses, mind, and understanding. See the same word similarly interpreted at Svetâsvatara, p. 306, and Sâṅkhya-sûtra III, 9.

³ According to Saṅkara, he who makes the distinct entities, after entering into them; he alludes apparently to *Khândogya*, p. 407.

⁴ Namely, that of giving the poison of sensuous objects.

⁵ I. e. the eye, ear, &c., like the holes of serpents.

⁶ I. e. can appreciate nought but those sensuous objects.

⁷ One reading is, 'lead to danger' = which means 'to hell,' according to Nilakantha.

⁸ Scil. delusion about whom leads to 'danger' or 'worldly life.'

⁹ The quality of being one with the Brahman in essence.

¹⁰ Self-restraint, tranquillity, &c.

¹¹ I. e. whether in the midst of worldly life, or in the state of perfect emancipation.

¹² Viz. the resources spoken of before.

¹³ Viz. the supreme Brahman. 'There' Saṅkara takes to mean 'in the supreme abode of Vishṇu.' See Introduction.

pervading both worlds by knowledge¹. Then the Agnihotra though not performed is (as good as) performed². Your (knowledge) of the Brahman, therefore, will not lead you to littleness³. Knowledge is (his)⁴ name. To that the talented ones attain. That eternal divine being is perceived by devotees. The self of this description absorbing the material cause⁵ becomes great. And the self of him who understands that being is not degraded here⁶. That eternal divine being is perceived by devotees. One should ever and always be doing good. (There is) no death, whence (can there be) immortality⁷? The real and the unreal have both the same real (entity) as their basis. The source of the existent and the non-existent is but one⁸. That eternal divine being is perceived by devotees. The

¹ Sāṅkara does not explain this. Nīlakaṇṭha says pervading = fully understanding; both worlds = the self and the not-self. Is the meaning something like that of the passage last cited by Sāṅkara under Vedānta-sūtra IV, 2, 14?

² He obtains the fruit of it, Sāṅkara. See as to Agnihotra, *Khândogya*, p. 381 seq.; and Vedānta-sūtra IV, 1, 16.

³ I.e. this mortal world, as action &c. would do.

⁴ I.e. of one who understands himself to be the Brahman. See *Aitareya-upanishad*, p. 246.

⁵ Sāṅkara says, 'the cause in which all is absorbed.' Cf. a similar, but not identical, meaning given to Vaisvānara at *Khândogya*, p. 264; and see Vedānta-sūtra I, 2, 24. Becomes great = becomes the Brahman, Sāṅkara.

⁶ Even in this body, Sāṅkara; degradation he takes to mean departure from the body, citing *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, p. 540.

⁷ There is no worldly life with birth and death for one who does good, and thinks his self to be the Brahman; hence no emancipation from such life either.

⁸ The Brahman is the real, and on that the unreal material world is imagined. Cf. *Taittirīya*, p. 97, and Sāṅkara's comments there, which are of use in understanding this passage.

being who is the inner self, and who is of the size of a thumb, is not seen, being placed in the heart¹. He is unborn, is moving about day and night, without sloth. Meditating on him, a wise man remains placid². That eternal divine being is perceived by devotees. From him comes the wind³; in him, likewise, is (everything) dissolved. From him (come) the fire and the moon; and from him comes life⁴. That is the support (of the universe); that is immortal; that is all things perceptible⁵; that is the Brahman, that glory. From that all entities were produced; and in that (they) are dissolved⁶. That eternal divine being is perceived by devotees. The brilliant (Brahman) supports the two divine principles⁷ and the universe, earth and heaven, and the quarters. He from whom the rivers flow in (various) directions, from him were created the great oceans⁸. That eternal divine being is perceived by devotees. Should one fly, even after furnishing oneself with thousands upon thousands of wings, and even though one should have the velocity of thought⁹, one would never reach the end of the (great) cause¹⁰. That eternal divine

¹ Cf. *Kaṭha*, pp. 130, 157; and *Bṛhadâraṇyaka*, p. 360.

² Cf. *Svetâsvatara*, p. 342; *Kaṭha*, pp. 100, 107; *Maitrî*, p. 134.

³ Cf. *Taittirîya*, p. 67; *Kaṭha*, p. 146; *Mundaka*, p. 293.

⁴ *Kaṭha*, p. 298; *Mundaka*, p. 288.

⁵ See p. 180, note 7.

⁶ See p. 180 supra.

⁷ 'The individual soul, and God,' say the commentators, the latter being distinct from the supreme self. 'The universe,' says *Nilakanṭha*, 'means earth,' &c., by which I suppose he means earth, heaven, quarters, mentioned directly afterwards.

⁸ *Kaṭha*, p. 293.

⁹ This figure is implied in the *Īropanishad*, p. 10.

¹⁰ 'Therefore it is endless,' says *Saṅkara*; and as to this, cf. *Taittirîya*, p. 51.

being is perceived by devotees. His form dwells in the unperceived¹; and those whose understandings are very well refined² perceive him. The talented man who has got rid (of affection and aversion) perceives (him) by the mind. Those who understand him³ become immortal. When one sees this self in all beings stationed in various places⁴, what should one grieve for after that⁵? The Brāhmaṇa has (as much interest) in all beings, as in a big reservoir of water, to which waters flow from all sides⁶. I alone am your mother⁷, father;

¹ 'In a sphere beyond the reach of perception,' says Saṅkara, who also quotes *Kaṭha*, p. 149, or *Svetāśvatara*, p. 347, where the same line also occurs.

² The original for understandings is *sattva*, which Saṅkara renders to mean *antaḥkarāṇa*. 'Refined,' he says, 'by sacrifices and other sanctifying operations.' In the *Kaṭha* at p. 148 *sattva* is rendered by Saṅkara to mean *buddhi*—a common use of the word.

³ 'As being,' says Saṅkara, 'identical with themselves.' It will be noted that the form of expression is slightly altered here. It is not 'those who understand this.'

⁴ I.e. in different aggregates of body, senses, &c. Cf. *Gītā*, pp. 104 and 124; also *Khāndogya*, pp. 475-551.

⁵ Cf. *Bṛihadāraṇyaka*, p. 882; Saṅkara also refers to *Īśopaniṣad*, p. 14.

⁶ The words are pretty nearly the same as at *Gītā*, p. 48. Saṅkara says, the Brāhmaṇa 'who has done all he need do' has no interest whatever in any being, as he has none in a big reservoir, and he cites *Gītā*, p. 54, in support of this. One copy of Saṅkara, however, differs from this; that runs thus: 'As a person who has done all he need do, has no interest in a big reservoir of water, so to a Brāhmaṇa who sees the self in all beings, there is no interest in all the actions laid down in the Vedas, &c.; as he has obtained everything by mere perception of the self.' Nīlakanṭha's reading is exactly the same as at *Gītā*, p. 48.

⁷ Saṅkara says that Sanatsugāta states here his own experiences, like Vāmadeva (about whom there is a reference at *Bṛihadāraṇyaka*, p. 216) and others, to corroborate what he has already said. Cf. also *Gītā*, p. 83, as to the whole passage.

and I too am the son. And I am the self of all this—that which exists and that which does not exist¹. (I am) the aged grandfather of this, the father, and the son, O descendant of Bharata! You dwell in my self only². You are not mine, nor I (yours). The self only is my seat³; the self too is (the source of) my birth⁴. I am woven through and through⁵ (everything). And my seat is free from (the attacks of) old age⁶. I am unborn, moving about day and night, without sloth. Knowing (me), verily, a wise man remains placid⁷. More minute than an atom⁸, possessed of a good mind⁹, I am stationed within all beings¹⁰. (The wise) know the father of all beings to be placed in the lotus¹¹—(like heart of every one).

¹ See Gîtâ, p. 84. Nilakantha takes what exists to mean 'present,' and what does not exist to mean 'past and future.' Cf. *Khândogya*, p. 532.

² See Gîtâ, p. 82, where there is also a similar apparent contradiction.

³ Cf. *Khândogya*, p. 518.

⁴ That is to say he is 'unborn,' says Nilakantha. Sankara seems to take 'my' with 'seat' only, and not with birth; for he says, 'everything has its birth from the self.'

⁵ Cf. *Mundaka*, p. 298; *Maitrî*, p. 84, and comment there.

⁶ Cf. Gîtâ, pp. 77, 109, and *Khândogya*, pp. 535, 550.

⁷ See p. 192, note 2.

⁸ Cf. Gîtâ, p. 78, and note 3 there.

⁹ I.e. a mind free from affection and aversion, hatred, &c., Sankara.

¹⁰ Cf. Gîtâ, p. 113, and note 3; and also *Îropanishad*, p. 12.

¹¹ *Khândogya*, p. 528; and cf. Gîtâ, p. 113.

ANUGÎTÂ.

INTRODUCTION

TO

ANUGÎTÂ.

LIKE the Bhagavadgîtâ and the Sanatsugâtîya, the Anugîtâ is one of the numerous episodes of the Mahâbhârata. And like the Sanatsugâtîya, it appears here for the first time in an English, or, indeed, it is believed, in any European garb. It forms part of the Asvamedha Parvan of the Mahâbhârata, and is contained in thirty-six chapters of that Parvan. These chapters—being chapters XVI to LI—together with all the subsequent chapters of the Asvamedha Parvan, form by themselves what in some of our copies is called the Anugîtâ Parvan—a title which affords a parallel to the title Bhagavadgîtâ Parvan, which we have already referred to. The Anugîtâ is not now a work of any very great or extensive reputation. But we do find some few quotations from it in the Bhâshyas of Saṅkarâcârya, and one or two in the Sâṅkhya-sâra of Viṣṇûna Bhikshu, to which reference will be made hereafter. And it is included in the present volume, partly because it affords an interesting glimpse of sundry old passages of the Upanishad literature in a somewhat modified, and presumably later, form; and partly, perhaps I may say more especially, because it professes to be a sort of continuation, or rather recapitulation, of the Bhagavadgîtâ. At the very outset of the work, we read, that after the great fratricidal war of the Mahâbhârata was over, and the Pândavas had become sole and complete masters of their ancestral kingdom, *Krishna* and *Arguna*—the two interlocutors in the Bhagavadgîtâ—happened to take a stroll together in the great magical palace built for the Pândavas by the demon *Maya*. In the course of the conversation which they held on the occasion, *Krishna* communicated to *Arguna* his wish to return to his own people at *Dvârakâ*, now that the business which had called

him away from them was happily terminated. Arguna, of course, was unable to resist the execution of this wish ; but he requested *Kṛishṇa*, before leaving for *Dvārakā*, to repeat the instruction which had been already conveyed to him on 'the holy field of *Kurukshetra*,' but which had gone out of his 'degenerate mind.' *Kṛishṇa* thereupon protests that he is not equal to a verbatim recapitulation of the *Bhagavad-gītā*, but agrees, in lieu of that, to impart to Arguna the same instruction in other words, through the medium of a certain 'ancient story'—or *purātana itihāsa*. And the instruction thus conveyed constitutes what is called the *Anugītā*, a name which is in itself an embodiment of this anecdote.

Now the first question which challenges investigation with reference to this work is, if we may so call it, the fundamental one—how much is properly included under the name? The question is not one quite easy of settlement, as our authorities upon it are not all reconcilable with one another. In the general list of contents of the *Asvamedha Parvan*, which is given at the end of that *Parvan* in the edition printed at Bombay, we read that the first section is the *Vyāsa Vākya*, and the second the *Saṃvartamaruttiya*. With neither of these have we aught to do here. The list then goes on thus : ' *Anugītā*, *Vāsudevāgamana*, *Brāhmaṇa Gītā*, *Gururishyasamvāda*, *Uttankopākhyāna*,' and so forth. With the later sections, again, we are not here concerned. Now let us compare this list with the list which may be obtained from the titles of the chapters in the body of the work itself. With the sixteenth chapter, then, of the *Asvamedha Parvan*, begins what is here called the *Anugītā Parvan* ; and that chapter and the three following chapters are described as the sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth chapters respectively of the *Anugītā Parvan*, which forms part of the *Asvamedha Parvan*. The title of the twentieth chapter contains a small, but important, addition. It runs thus, 'Such is the twentieth chapter of the *Anugītā Parvan*, forming part of the *Asvamedha Parvan*—being the *Brahma Gītā*.' This form is continued down to the thirty-fourth chapter, only *Brāhmaṇa*

Gītā being substituted for Brahma Gītā. At the close of the thirty-fifth chapter, there is another alteration caused by the substitution of Gurusishyasamvāda for Brāhmaṇa Gītā; and this continues down to the fifty-first chapter, where the thread of the narrative is again taken up—the philosophical parenthesis, if I may so say, having come to an end. With the fifty-first chapter our present translation also ends. Now it appears from the above comparison, that the list of contents set out above is accurate, save in so far as it mentions Vāsudevāgamaṇa as a distinct section of the Asvamedha Parvan. No such section seems to be in existence. And there appears to be nothing in the Asvamedha Parvan to which that title could be appropriately allotted. The edition printed at Madras agrees in all essential particulars with the Bombay edition; with this difference, that even at the close of the twentieth chapter, the name is Brāhmaṇa Gītā, and not Brahma Gītā as it is in the Bombay edition. The Calcutta edition also agrees in these readings. Turning now to a MS. procured for me by my excellent friend Professor Ābāṅī Vishṇu Kāthavāse at Ahmedabad, and bearing date the 15th of Phālguna Vadya 1823, Sunday, we find there at the end of the Asvamedha Parvan a list of contents like that which we have seen in the printed edition. The relevant portion of that list is as follows: 'Samvartamarut-tīya, Anugītā, Gurusishyasamvāda, and Uttankopākhyāna.' Here we find neither the erroneous entry of Vāsudevāgamaṇa, nor the correct entry of Brahma Gītā, which are both contained in the other list. In another MS. which I have now before me, and which has been lent me by Professor Bhāndārkar, who purchased it in Pura for the Government of Bombay—in this MS., which contains the commentary of Arguna Misra, the earlier chapters are described not as chapters of the Anugītā Parvan, but of the Anugītā contained in the Asvamedha Parvan, and they are numbered there as they are numbered in our translation, not continuously with the numbering of the previous chapters of the Asvamedha Parvan. At the close of chapter IV, we have an explicit statement that the Anugītā ends there. Then the Brahma Gītā begins. And the first chapter is

described as a chapter of the *Brahma Gitâ* in the *Asvamedha Parvan*. The numbering of each of these chapters of the *Brahma Gitâ* is not given in the copy before us—the titles and descriptions of the various chapters being throughout incomplete. Some of the later chapters are described as chapters of the *Brâhma Gitâ*, and some as chapters of the *Brâhmaṇa Gitâ*; but this discrepancy is probably to be put to the account of the particular copyist who wrote out the copy used by us. With what is chapter XX in our numbering the *Gurusishyasaṃvâda* begins. This MS. omits all reference to any *Anugîtâ Parvan*, and fails to number the various chapters. Its list of sections agrees with that in the Bombay edition. It bears no date.

So much for what may be described as our primary sources of information on this subject. Let us now glance at the secondary sources. And, first, *Nilakantha* in commenting on what is, according to his numbering, chapter XV, stanza 43, apparently distinguishes that chapter from what he speaks of as the *Brâhmaṇa Gitâ* and *Gurusishyasaṃvâda*, which, as he implies, follow after that chapter—thus indicating that he accepted in substance the tradition recorded in the passages we have already set forth, viz. that the first four chapters of our translation form the *Anugîtâ*, the next fifteen the *Brâhmaṇa Gitâ*, and the last seventeen the *Gurusishyasaṃvâda*. This is also the view of *Arguna Misra*. At the close of his gloss on chapter IV, he distinctly states that the *Anugîtâ* ends at that chapter; and again at the close of the gloss on chapter XIX, he explicitly says that the *Brâhmaṇa Gitâ* ends there. He also adds the following interesting observation: 'The feminine form (*Gitâ*, namely) is used in consequence of (the word) *Upanishad* being feminine.' The full title of that part of the *Mahâbhârata* would then be, according to this remark of *Arguna Misra*, 'the *Upanishads* sung by the *Brâhmaṇa*,' a title parallel to that of the *Bhagavadgîtâ*, 'the *Upanishads* sung by the Deity.' It is to be further remarked, that the last chapter of the *Gurusishyasaṃvâda* is called in this commentary the eighteenth chapter of the *Gurusishyasaṃvâda*, a fact which seems to indicate that *Arguna Misra* either

found in the MS. which he used, or himself established, a separate numbering for the chapters in the several sections¹ of which the Asvamedha Parvan is made up.

Although the information here set out from these various sources is not easily to be harmonised in all its parts, the preponderance of testimony seems to be in favour of regarding the portion of the Asvamedha Parvan embraced in our translation as containing three distinct sections, viz. the Anugītā, the Brāhmaṇa Gītā, and the Gurusishyasamvāda. And some indirect support for this conclusion may be derived from one or two other circumstances. In the Sāṅkhya-sāra of Vigñāna Bhikshu—a work which, as we shall see in the sequel, expressly mentions the Anugītā—we have a passage cited as from the 'Bhārata'² which coincides almost precisely with a passage occurring in chapter XXVII of our translation (see p. 335). And in the Bhāṣya of Saṅkarācārya on the Bhagavadgītā, chapter XV, stanza 1, we have a citation as from a 'Purāṇa' of a passage which coincides pretty closely with one which occurs in chapter XX of our translation (see p. 313). If the discrepancies between the quotations as given by Vigñāna Bhikshu and Saṅkara, and the passages occurring in our text, may be treated merely as various readings—and there is nothing inherently improbable in this being the case—it may be fairly contended, that neither Saṅkara nor Vigñāna Bhikshu would have used the vague expressions, 'a Purāṇa,' or even 'the Bhārata,' if they could have correctly substituted in lieu of them the specific name Anugītā. And this, it may be said, is a contention of some weight, when it is remembered, that both Saṅkara and Vigñāna show, in other parts of their writings, an acquaintance with this very Anugītā. If this reasoning is correct,

¹ In the beginning of his gloss on the Anugītā he says, that he proposes to explain difficult passages in the Anugītā, &c.—Anugītādīshu. And at the outset of his gloss on the whole Parvan he says, that in the Anugītā we have a statement of the miseries of birth, &c. as a protest against worldly life; in the Brāhma Gītā we have a recommendation of Prāyāṇa, &c.; and in the Gurusishyasamvāda we have a eulogium on the perception of the self as distinct from Prakṛiti or nature, and incidentally a protest against Pravṛtti or action.

² P. 21.

the conclusion to be derived from it must be, that Saṅkara and Vigñāna must have considered the chapters of the *Asvamedha Parvan* from which their respective quotations are taken as not forming part of the *Anugītā*.

The testimony we have thus collected is apparently of considerable weight. Against it, however, we have to weigh some testimony which appears to me to be entitled, upon the whole, to even greater weight. In the *Sāṅkhya-sāra* of Vigñāna Bhikṣu, to which we have already referred, we have two quotations¹ from the *Anugītā* which are distinctly stated to be taken from that work. The first occurs in our translation at p. 332, the second at p. 313. Now, if we adopt the conclusion above referred to, regarding the correct titles of the thirty-six chapters which we have translated, it is a mistake to attribute the passages in question to the *Anugītā*. They would, on that view, form part of the *Gurusishyasamvāda*. Again, in his commentary on the *Sanatsugātīya*, Saṅkara refers to sundry passages which he expressly says are taken from the *Anugītā*, but which are not contained in the *Anugītā* as limited by the evidence we have considered above. One of the passages referred to is taken from chapter XI of our translation, and others are contained in the comments on *Sanatsugātīya* I, 6, and on I, 20 and I, 41². It is difficult to resist the conclusion to which this positive evidence leads. One cannot possibly explain this evidence upon the view which we have first stated; while, on the other hand, the points which apparently support that view are capable of some explanation on the theory that the *Anugītā* includes all the chapters here translated. And that in this wise. The passages which we have referred to as cited by Saṅkara and Vigñāna from a *Purāṇa* and from the *Bhārata* may have been actually taken from some other work than the *Anugītā*. Even waiving the fact that the readings are different,—though in regard especially to the quotation given by Saṅkara it is not one to be entirely lost sight of,—there is this fact which is of great and almost conclusive weight on such a point as

¹ Pp. 15, 21. The latter corresponds to Saṅkara's quotation above referred to.

² See p. 206 note.

this, namely, that we have many instances of passages common, almost verbatim et literatim, to the Mahābhārata and other works. For one instance, take the very passage on which a chronological argument has been founded by us in the Introduction to the Sanatsugātiya¹. It ought to have been there pointed out, that the stanza about a young man being bound to rise to receive an elderly person, occurs in the Manu Smṛiti² also in exactly the same words. The omission to note this circumstance in its proper place in the Introduction to the Sanatsugātiya was due to a mere inadvertence. But the conclusion there hinted at was expressed in very cautious language, and with many qualifications, out of regard to circumstances such as those which we are now considering. Similar repetitions may be pointed out in other places. The passage about the Kshetragña and Sattva and their mutual relations (see p. 374) occurs, as pointed out in the note there, in at least two other places in the Mahābhārata. The passage likewise which occurs in Gītā, p. 103, about the 'hands, feet, &c., on all sides,' is one which may be seen, to my own knowledge, in about half a dozen places in the Mahābhārata. Such cases, I believe, may be easily multiplied; and they illustrate and are illustrated by Mr. Freeman's proposition respecting the epic age in Greece, to which we have already alluded. It follows, consequently, that the quotations from Saṅkara and Viṅḍana, to which we have referred above, do not militate very strongly against the final conclusion at which we have arrived. The testimony of the MSS. and the commentators is of considerably greater force. But Nilakanta, whatever his merits as an exegete—and even these are often marred by a persistent effort to read his own foregone conclusions into the text he comments on—Nilakanta is but an indifferent authority in the domain of historical criticism. In his commentary on the Sanatsugātiya, for instance, he tells us that he has admitted into his text sundry verses which were not in the copy used by Saṅkara, and for which he had none but a very modern voucher, and he very naively adds that he has done so on the principle of collecting all

¹ P. 139, and cf. p. 176 with Vishnu XXX, 44 seq.

² See II, 120.

good things to a focus. Arguna Misra is a very much more satisfactory commentator. But he is not likely to be a writer of a very remote date. I assume, that he must be more recent than Saṅkarākārya, though I cannot say that I have any very tenable ground for the assumption. But assuming that, I think it more satisfactory to adopt Saṅkarākārya's nomenclature, and to treat the thirty-six chapters here translated as constituting the Anugîtâ. It is not improbable, if our assumption is correct, that the division of the thirty-six chapters in the manner we have seen may have come into vogue after the date of Vigñāna Bhikshu, who, according to Dr. F. E. Hall, 'lived in all probability in the sixteenth or seventeenth century, and whom there is some slight reason for carrying back still further'.¹

Do these thirty-six chapters, then, form one integral work? Are they all the work of one and the same author? These are the questions which next present themselves for consideration. The evidence bearing upon them, however, is, as might be expected, excessively scanty. Of external evidence, indeed, we have really none, barring Saṅkara's statement in his commentary on the *Bṛihadâraṇyaka-upanishad*² that the verse which he there quotes from the Anugîtâ has Vyâsa for its author. That statement indicates that Saṅkara accepted the current tradition of Vyâsa's authorship of the Anugîtâ; and such acceptance, presumably, followed from his acceptance of the tradition of Vyâsa's authorship of the entire Mahâbhârata. If that tradition is incorrect, and Vyâsa is not the author of the Anugîtâ, we have no means of ascertaining who is the author. And as to the tradition in question, it is difficult, in the present state of our materials, to form any satisfactory judgment. We therefore proceed at once to consider whether the Anugîtâ is really one work. And I must admit at the outset that I find it difficult to answer this question. There are certainly some circumstances connected with the work which might be regarded as indicating a different authorship of different parts of it. Thus

¹ See Preface, Sâukhya-sâra, p. 37.

² P. 234.

in an early portion of the work, we find the first personal pronoun is used, where the Supreme Being is evidently intended to be signified, and yet the passage is not put into the mouth of *Kṛishṇa*, but of the *Brāhmaṇa*. A similar passage occurs a little later on also. Now it must be taken to be a somewhat strained interpretation of the words used in the passages in question to suppose that the speaker there used the first personal pronoun, identifying himself for the nonce with the Supreme Being¹. Again, in a passage still further on, we have the vocative O *Pārtha*! where the person addressed is not *Arguna* at all, but the *Brāhmaṇa*'s wife. Now these lapses are susceptible of two explanations—either we are to see in them so many cases of 'Homer nodding,' or we may suppose that they are errors occasioned by one writer making additions to the work of a previous writer, without a vivid recollection of the framework of the original composition into which his own work had to be set². I own, that on balancing the probabilities on the one side and the other, my mind rather leans to the hypothesis of one author making a slip in the plexus of his own story within story, rather than the hypothesis of a deliberate interpolator forgetting the actual scheme of the original work into which he was about to foist his own additions³. And this the rather, that we find a similar slip towards the very beginning of the work, where we have the *Brāhmaṇa Kāryapa* addressed as *Parantapa*, or destroyer of foes—an epithet which, I think, is exclusively reserved for *Kshatriyas*, and is, in any case, a very inappropriate one to apply to a humble seeker for spiritual light. This slip appears to me to be incapable of explanation on any theory of interpolation⁴. And hence the other slips above noted can hardly be regarded as supporting any such theory. Another circumstance, not indeed bearing

¹ In fact the *Brāhmaṇa* is not identified with the Supreme Being afterwards. But that fact has not much bearing on the question here.

² Cf. Wilson's *Darākumāravarita*, Introd. p. 22.

³ The third alternative, that a work independently written was afterwards bodily thrown into the *Mahābhārata*, is one which in the circumstances here seems to me improbable.

⁴ See also pp. 235, 252, 299.

out that theory, but rendering interpolations possible, deserves to be noted. The scheme of the Anugītā certainly lends itself to interpolations. A story might without much difficulty be added to the series of story joined to story which it contains. Against this, however, it must not be forgotten, that the Sānti Parvan of the Mahābhārata and the Yogavāsishṭha exhibit a precisely similar framework of contents, and that the Pañkātantra and the Kathāsaritsāgara, among other works, follow the same model. And from this fact it may be fairly argued, that while there is, doubtless, room for suspecting interpolations in such cases, there is this to be remembered, that with respect to any particular one of these cases, such suspicion can carry us but a very short way. And further, it is to be observed, valeat quantum, that the connexion of the several chapters of the Anugītā one with the other is not altogether a loose one, save at one or two points only, while they are all linked on to the main body of the narrative, only in what we have treated as the last chapter of the Anugītā, without any trace of any other connecting link anywhere else. Upon the whole, therefore, we here conclude, though not without doubt, that the whole of the Anugītā is the work of one author.

The next question to be discussed is the important one of the age of the work. The quotations already given above from Saṅkarākārya's works, and one other which is referred to in the note below¹, suffice to show that the Anugītā must have been some few centuries old in the time of Saṅkarākārya. For whether we treat the Anugītā as a part of the original Mahābhārata or not, it is not likely that such a scholar as Saṅkara would have accepted the book as a genuine part of the Mahābhārata, and as a work of Vyāsa, if it had not been in his day of some respectable antiquity, of antiquity sufficient to have thrown the real author into oblivion, and to have substi-

¹ See Saṅkara, Sātraka Bhāṣya, p. 726. That, however, may be a quotation from some other work. It may be noted that the passages quoted in the Bhāṣya on Sanatsugāthya I, 20 and I, 41 are not to be traced in our copies, though expressly stated there to have been taken from the Anugītā.

tuted in his place Vyāsa, who lived at the junction of the Dvāpara and Kali ages¹, upwards of thirty centuries before the Christian era. The calculation is avowedly a very rough one, but I think we may, as the result of it, safely fix the third century of the Christian era as the latest date at which the Anugītā can have been composed. Let us now endeavour to find out whether we can fix the date as lying within any better defined period. It is scarcely needful to say, that the Anugītā dates from a period considerably subsequent to the age of the Upanishads. The passages relating to the Prāṇasaṃvāda and so forth, which occur originally in the Upanishads, are referred to in the Anugītā as 'ancient stories'—an indication that the Upanishads had already come to be esteemed as ancient compositions at the date of the latter work. It is not necessary, therefore, to go through an elaborate examination of the versions of the ancient stories alluded to above, as contained in the Upanishads and in the Anugītā, more especially because it is possible for us to show that the Anugītā is later than the Bhagavadgītā, which latter work, as we have seen, is later than the Upanishads. And to this point we shall now address ourselves. We have already observed upon the story referred to at the opening of this Introduction, which, historically interpreted, indicates the priority of the Bhagavadgītā to the Anugītā. This conclusion is confirmed by sundry other circumstances, which we must now discuss in some detail, as they are also of use in helping to fix the position of the work in the history of Sanskrit literature and philosophy. First, then, it seems to me, that the state of society mirrored in the Anugītā indicates a greater advance in social evolution than we have already seen is disclosed in the Bhagavadgītā. Not to mention decorations of houses and so forth, which are alluded to in one passage of the Anugītā, we are here told of royal oppressions, of losses of wealth accumulated with great difficulty, and of fierce captivities; we are told, to adapt the language of a modern English poet, of laws grinding the weak, for strong men rule the

¹ Cf. Śāstraka Bhāṣya, p. 913.

law; we have references to the casting of images with liquefied iron, and to the use of elephants as vehicles¹; and we meet with protests against the amusements of music and dancing, and against the occupation of artisans². True it is, that all these indications put together, fail to constitute what, according to the standard of modern times, would be called a highly artificial state of society. But it seems to me to mark a very perceptible and distinct advance beyond the social condition when mankind was divided into four castes or classes, with such a division of duties, to put it briefly, as that of preparation for a future world, government of this world, agriculture and trade, and service respectively³. Artisans, it will be observed, are not even referred to in the Bhagavadgītā, nor is there any trace of royal oppressions, or unequal laws. Then as regards music, it may be noted, that there are references to it in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* and *Kaushītaki-upanishads*⁴, without any indications of disapprobation. The protest against music, therefore, and the sister art of dancing, is probably to be explained as evoked by some abuses of the two arts which must have come into prevalence about the time of the composition of the *Anugītā*. A similar protest is found recorded in the *Dharmasāstras* of Manu and *Āpastamba* and *Gautama*⁵. We shall consider in the sequel the chronological positions of the *Anugītā* with reference to those *Dharmasāstras*. But we have already pointed out that the *Gītā* stands prior to them both⁶.

Look again at the views on caste which are embodied in the *Anugītā* and the *Bhagavadgītā* respectively. The reference to the Kshatriya as representing the quality of passion, while the *Brāhmaṇa* represents the quality of goodness⁷, seems to place a considerably larger distance between the *Brāhmaṇa* and the Kshatriya than is suggested by the *Bhagavadgītā*, and thus marks an advance in the direction of the later doctrine on the subject. And in connexion

¹ Cf. *Lalita Vistara*, p. 17.

² See pp. 325-365.

³ See *Gītā*, p. 126.

⁴ See *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, p. 454, and *Kaushītaki*, p. 68.

⁵ See Buhler's *Āpastamba* I, 1, 3, 11, *Gautama* II, 13, and *Manu* II, 178.

⁶ P. 21 seq.

⁷ P. 329.

with this, perhaps, the discrepancy between the reading of the Bhagavadgītā at p. 85, and that of the Anugītā at p. 255, is not entirely without significance, though much weight would not be due to it, if it stood alone. The expression 'devoted royal sages,' which we find in the one work, makes way for 'well-read Kshatriyas who are intent on their own duties' in the other. Again, although the passage at p. 353 is undoubtedly susceptible of a different interpretation, it seems to me, that the word 'twice-born' there employed, was meant to be interpreted as meaning the Brāhmaṇas, and not the three twice-born castes; and if this interpretation is correct, we have here the very proposition upon the absence of which in the Bhagavadgītā we have already made some observations¹. That twice-born in the passage in question means Brāhmaṇa only, is, of course, not a proved fact. But having regard to the passages noted above and to the passage at p. 320, where reference is made to disparagement of Brāhmaṇas—it is not twice-born there—and in the same clause with disparagement of gods and Vedas, it seems to me that the interpretation we have suggested must be taken to be the true one. And it is to be further noted, that this conclusion is corroborated by a comparison of the passage now under consideration with a passage occurring in the Sānti Parvan², in the Rāgadharma section of it, where we read that 'the cow is the first among quadrupeds, gold among metals, a mantra among words, and the Brāhmaṇa is the first among bipeds.' The cow and gold occur in the passage in the Anugītā also, very near the clause we are now discussing. And it is allowable to argue, that reading the two together, twice-born in the Anugītā must be interpreted to be synonymous with Brāhmaṇa in the Rāgadharma. And the same conclusion is, to my mind, confirmed indirectly by comparing the clause 'the twice-born among men' of the Anugītā with 'the ruler of men among men' of that Bhagavadgītā, the teaching of which the former work professes to recapitulate.

¹ P. 24 *supra*.² See note at p. 353.

A similar inference seems to be derivable from a comparison of the specific doctrines as to the duties of Brâhmanas which are enunciated in the Gîtâ and the Anugîtâ. In the latter work, the famous six duties are expressly mentioned. We have already argued in our Introduction to the Gîtâ, that a comparison of the teaching of that work upon this point with the teaching of Âpastamba and Manu shows the former to have been older than the latter. The six duties mentioned in the Anugîtâ are those also mentioned by Manu and Âpastamba. It follows, therefore, that the Gîtâ is prior to the Anugîtâ also. Whether the Anugîtâ is prior or subsequent to Manu and Âpastamba, is a question which will have to be discussed in the sequel.

The net result of the whole of this comparison appears to me to clearly show the Anugîtâ to be a work of considerably more recent date than the Bhagavadgîtâ. What interval of time lay between the two, is a most interesting, but also a most difficult, question. The differences we have noted appear to me to indicate a pretty wide interval. If I am right in regarding the Gîtâ as a work of what may be called, for practical purposes, the age of the older Upanishads, I am inclined to think that the interval between the Gîtâ and the Anugîtâ must have been one of larger extent than even three or four centuries. For as we have already pointed out, the description of the various 'Itihâsas' mentioned in the Anugîtâ as 'purâtana'—ancient—points to at least three or four centuries having elapsed between the close of the Upanishad period and the composition of the Anugîtâ. It is obvious, however, that this result is not one with which we can rest satisfied. Even if it were more precise and accurate, it would only fix the age of the Anugîtâ with reference to the age of another work itself of unknown and unascertained date. We must therefore endeavour to compare the Anugîtâ with some other work, the date of which is better known. For this purpose, it seems to be not of any great use to refer to the Sâṅkhya and Yoga-sûtras, although it is not improbable that some materials might be forthcoming for a useful comparison between them and the Anugîtâ. Neither the Sâṅkhya nor the Yoga-sûtras can

be said to have their ages fixed with even any approach to accuracy. And in the case of the Sāṅkhya-sūtras, there is the further difficulty presented by the circumstance, that there is room for very serious doubts as to whether the current Sūtras are really of the authorship of Kapila, or whoever else was the original founder of the system. With regard to the Yoga, one or two observations from a different point of view may not, however, be entirely out of place. At p. 248 the Yoga Sāstra is referred to *eo nomine*. What Sāstra is here alluded to? Is it Patañjali's, or some other Sāstra dealing with similar topics? Or, again, is it an entirely different matter that is alluded to, and are we not to see in the expression in question an allusion to any system formally propounded? I own, as stated in the note on the passage, that my mind inclines to the last view. There is not very much to say on either side of the question, as far as I am able to understand it. But the view I incline to appears to have one small circumstance in its favour. At p. 249 we have an allusion to persons who understand the Yoga, and to a certain illustration propounded by them. Now who are these persons? My limited knowledge of Yoga literature has not enabled me to trace the illustration anywhere else than in the Kaṭhōpanishad, and in the Sanatsugātiya. It seems to me very unlikely, that the illustration can have been put forward in any work older than the Kaṭhōpanishad. And we may, I think, assume it as most probable that the Sanatsugātiya borrowed it from that work. If so, it is not likely that the Anugītā can have referred to any other master of the Yoga than the author of the Kaṭhōpanishad. And then it would seem to follow, that the Anugītā must have been composed at a time when, although the Upanishads were looked on with reverence and as works of authority, they were not yet regarded as part and parcel of the Vedic revelation¹. It is impossible not to perceive, that the train of reasoning here is at every stage hedged round with difficulties and doubts. And the inference therefore to which we are led by it must be accepted with proportionate

¹ This seems to be also the implication of the passage at p. 309, where the rules for final emancipation are alluded to.

caution. But if the reasoning is correct, it seems to be certain, that the Anugītā belongs to some period prior to the second, and probable, that it belongs to some period prior to the third century, before Christ. For in the second century before Christ was composed the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali, in which Rahasyas—which is another name for Upanishads—are mentioned as forming part of the Vedic literature. And in Āpastamba's Dharma-sūtras, which are older than Patañjali, Upanishads¹ are mentioned in the same way. I am aware that it may be said, that because Upanishads as a class of works are mentioned by Patañjali and Āpastamba, it does not follow that any particular Upanishad, such as the *Kaṭha*, for instance, also existed at that time. This is quite true. But without going now into the general question, it is sufficient to point out, that our argument here is concerned merely with the recognition of the Upanishads as a class of works forming part of the Vedic canon. Such recognition must have come later than the period at which the Anugītā could speak of a passage in the *Kaṭha*-upanishad as the utterance of Yogavids, or persons who understood the Yoga.

Turning now to the materials available for ascertaining the relative chronological positions of the Anugītā and the rise of Buddhism, we have again to complain of their unsatisfactory character. We will briefly note the two or three circumstances which appear to have a bearing upon this question. In the first place, we have the word *Nirvāṇa* used in one passage of the Anugītā in the sense of the highest tranquillity, and there the simile of the extinction of the fire is expressly adduced. On this it may be argued, that if the term *Nirvāṇa* had become the well-understood property of Buddhism, such a use of it as we find here would probably not have occurred. Again, we have the injunction that an ascetic must dwell in a town only for one day and no more, while he may stay at one place during the rains. This is very similar to an injunction prescribed by the Buddhistic teachers also. But

¹ They are also referred to in the Buddhistic *Lalitā Vistara*, p. 63.

this fact furnishes, I think, no safe ground for a chronological inference, more especially because, as pointed out by Dr. Bühler, the Buddhistic injunction is itself only borrowed from the Brahminical rules on the subject¹. It is impossible, therefore, to say that the *Anugītā* borrowed its doctrine from Buddhism. It is, of course, equally impossible on the other hand to say, that Buddhism borrowed its rule from the *Anugītā*. And, therefore, we can build no safe inference upon this fact either. We have next the very remarkable passage at chapter XXXIV, where various contradictory and mutually exclusive views of piety are stated, or rather passingly and briefly indicated—a passage which one most devoutly wishes had been clearer than it is. In that passage I can find no reference to Buddhism. True it is that *Nilakantha*'s commentary refers some of the doctrines there stated to Buddhistic schools². But that commentary, unsatisfactory enough in other places, is particularly unsatisfactory here. And its critical accuracy may be judged from its reference to *Saugatas* and *Yogākāras* apparently as two distinct schools, whereas in truth the *Saugatas* are Buddhists, and *Yogākāras* one of the four principal Buddhist sects. And it must be further remembered, that the interpretations of *Nilakantha*, upon which his specifications of the different schools are based, are by no means such as necessarily claim acceptance. If then we do not find any reference to Buddhism in this passage, that fact becomes certainly a remarkable one. Still, on the other hand, I am not prepared to apply the 'negative argument' here, and to say that inasmuch as Buddhism is not referred to where so many different opinions are referred to, Buddhism cannot have come into existence at the date of the *Anugītā*. It seems to me that the argument will here be a very hazardous one, because if the author of the *Anugītā* was, as we may assume he was, an orthodox Hindu, he might well have declined, although not unacquainted with Buddhism, to put into the mouths of the seven sages even as a possible view, that

¹ See *Gautama*, pp. lv and 191. ² See also the gloss on chap. XXXIV, st. 14.

which was the view of a school esteemed heretical by the author and his co-religionists. This passage, therefore, also fails to furnish any tangible ground for a chronological inference, at all events in the present state of our knowledge. Lastly, we come to the allusion to those who indulge in constant talk in disparagement of Vedas and Brâhmaṇas, the two being thus bracketed together in the original. That seems, at the first blush, to be a somewhat more distinct allusion to Buddhism than any of those we have noted above. But even that is not unambiguous. If the stanzas quoted by Mādhavākārya, in his Sarvadarsanasamgraha in its first section, are the composition of the original founder of the Kārvāka school, or even if they correctly represent the earliest opinions of that school, it is at least quite as likely that the Kārvākas were the target for the denunciations of the Anugîtâ in the passage in question as that the Buddhists were so. To me, indeed, it appears to be more likely. For Buddha's opinion with regard to the Vedas is, that they are inadequate; with regard to the Brâhmaṇas, that they are in no sense the chosen of God as they claim to be. The opinion of the Kārvākas, on the other hand, is a far more aggressive one, so to say. According to Mādhavākārya, they taught that the Vedas were either simple fatuity or imposture, and that the Brâhmaṇas were impostors. It seems to me much more likely, that this, which I have called a comparatively aggressive attitude, was the one at which the remarks of the Anugîtâ were levelled; and more especially does this appear to be correct when we remember, that the view taught by Gautama Buddha regarding the Vedas and the Brâhmaṇas was propounded by him only in its strongest form; and that even before his time, the doctrine of the inadequacy of the Vedas for the purpose of securing the summum bonum of humanity had been taught by other teachers. It is further to be recollected, that we have evidence showing that other thinkers also than Buddha, or Bṛhaspati, had in early days attacked the authority of the Vedas. Kautsa is the name of one who was probably the most distinguished among them. It is certainly possible that his followers

were the people branded as of 'the dark quality' by the *Anugītā* in the passage in question. We have, therefore, at least two different recognised bodies of thinkers, and one individual thinker, to whom the words under discussion may apply, and it is plainly unsafe, under these circumstances, to draw any chronological inference based on the hypothesis of one particular body out of those three being the one intended by the author. Before closing this part of the investigation, it may be interesting to note, that the phrase 'turning the wheel,' a phrase now so familiar to us as one of the household words of Buddhism, is used in the *Anugītā* with respect to king *Ganaka*. I do not think, however, that either alone, or even coupled with the word *Nirvāṇa*, that phrase can be made the basis of any legitimate deduction in favour of the priority of the *Anugītā* to Buddhism. At the outside, the only deduction admissible, if any deduction were admissible, would be, that the *Anugītā* was composed prior to the recognition, of *Nirvāṇa* and *Kakrapravartana* as specially Buddhistic words. But priority to such recognition is not, I apprehend, necessarily synonymous with priority to the rise of Buddhism.

The net result of this part of the investigation appears to be, that we have pretty strong grounds for holding the *Anugītā* to belong to a period very considerably removed from the period of the Upanishads and the *Bhagavadgītā*; but that we have no tangible grounds on which to base any deduction regarding its priority or otherwise to the *Sāṅkhya* and *Yoga* systems of philosophy, or to the great movement of *Gautama Buddha*. There is only one other point, which we can establish in a not entirely unsatisfactory way, and which enables us to draw closer the limits within which the *Anugītā* must have been composed. That point is the position of the *Anugītā* with reference to *Āpastamba's Dharma-sūtra*. I need not say again, that I accept here the proposition about the age of *Āpastamba* which has been laid down by *Dr. Bühler*, as a sufficiently satisfactory working hypothesis. And accepting that proposition, I venture to suggest the fourth century B.C. as a not unlikely date for the *Anugītā*. It appears to me, that a comparison of

the Anugītā and the rules of Āpastamba upon one important point which they both deal with shows the priority of the former work. I allude to the rules and regulations touching the four Āśramas or orders contained in the Anugītā and in the Dharma-sūtra of Āpastamba. One circumstance strikes us at once on comparing the two works on this point. Āpastamba goes into a very great deal of minute details more than the Anugītā, although the latter work does not deal with the topic in any very summary mode. Taking all the differences between the two works together, and the fact that the Anugītā sets about the discussion of the topic in a manner which seems intended to be—not, indeed, absolutely exhaustive, but still—very full, I am very strongly inclined to attribute the differences to an actual development and progress of doctrine. I will endeavour to illustrate this view by means of a few detailed instances¹. And let us first take the order of householders to which the Anugītā gives precedence over the others. One of the injunctions laid down by the Anugītā is that the householder should always be devoted to his wife. Against this simple precept, we have a very minute series of rules prescribed by Āpastamba, which it is not necessary to refer to specifically, but which may be seen in several of the Sūtras contained in the first Khanda of the first Pāṭala of the second Prasna. Compare again the excessive minuteness of the rules regarding the Bali-offering or the reception of guests, as given by Āpastamba, with the simple statement of the Anugītā that the five great sacrifices should be performed. There again, I think, we are to see in this difference of treatment the result of a pretty long course of ceremonial progress. Proceeding to the rules regarding the Brahmacārin or student, an analogous phenomenon meets us there. Taking first the subject of food, we have a considerable number of detailed injunctions in Āpastamba, compared with the simple rule of the Anugītā, that the student should, with the leave of his preceptor, eat his food without decrying it. Again with regard to alms, whereas the Anugītā simply

¹ Cf. pp. 358, 360 *infra* with Āpastamba, pp. 9 seq., 103 seq., 114 seq.

says that the student should take his food out of the alms received by him, Āpastamba has an elaborate catena of rules as to how the alms are to be collected, and from whom, and so forth. Take again the provisions in the two works regarding the description of the cloth, staff, and girdle of the student. Āpastamba refers to various opinions on this subject, of which there is not even a trace in the Anugītā¹. It appears that even before Āpastamba's time, distinctions had been laid down as to the description of girdle staff and cloth to be used by the different castes—distinctions of which there is no hint in the Anugītā, where all students, of whatever caste, are spoken of under the generic name. These distinctions appear to me to point very strongly to that ceremonial and doctrinal progress of which we have spoken above. The tendency is visible in them to sever the Brāhmaṇas from the other castes—by external marks. And that tendency, it seems to me, must have set in, as the merits which had given the Brāhmaṇa caste its original position at the head of Hindu society were ceasing to be a living reality, and that caste was intrenching itself, so to say, more behind the worth and work of the early founders of its greatness, than the worth and work of their degenerating representatives. These comparisons, taken together, appear to me to warrant the proposition we have already laid down with regard to the priority of the Anugītā to Āpastamba. If we have not referred to the rules relating to the two other orders of forester and ascetic, it is because the scope for a comparison of those is very limited. Those rules alone would scarcely authorise the inference drawn above; but I can perceive nothing in them to countervail the effect of the comparisons already made. And it must be remembered, that the rules as to foresters and ascetics would be less apt to undergo change than those as to students and householders.

It appears to me that the view we have now expressed may be also supported by a comparison of the doctrines of the Anugītā and Āpastamba touching the duties of Brāhmaṇas. According to Āpastamba, the occupations lawful

¹ Cf. also Bühler's *Gautama*, p. 175.

to Brāhmaṇas are the famous six referred to in our Introduction to the Bhagavadgītā, and two others superadded, namely, inheritance and gleanings in the fields. These last are not mentioned in the Anugītā, or in Manu either, and are, even according to Āpastamba, common to Brāhmaṇas with Kshatriyas and Vaisyas. But as regards the six above referred to, it is worthy of note, that the Anugītā apparently groups them into two distinct sets of three. The first set of three consists of those which, in our Introduction to the Bhagavadgītā, we have characterised as constituting rather the rights than the duties of Brāhmaṇas, and which the Anugītā describes as 'means of livelihood for Brāhmaṇas.' The other set of three consists of real duties, and these the Anugītā speaks of as 'pious duties.' This grouping appears to me to furnish powerful corroboration of the view put forward in our Introduction to the Bhagavadgītā. It would seem, that the possession of the moral and spiritual merits which, according to the Gītā, constituted the duty of Brāhmaṇas, in the simple and archaic society there disclosed, was developed, in a more advanced and artificial state of society, into the performance of the 'pious duties' of the Anugītā and the duties which are 'the means of livelihood.' Then in the further social evolution, in the course of which the old spiritual view began to be forgotten, and the actual facts of the past began to be transmuted into the dogmatic rules of the future, the occupations of receiving presents, imparting instruction, and officiating at sacrifices, became the special occupations of the Brāhmaṇas, and the distinction between these occupations from their higher duties was thrown into the background; and accordingly we find no allusion to any such distinction in Āpastamba or Manu, or, as far as I know, in any other later embodiment of the current ideas on the subject¹. If all this has been correctly argued, the conclusion derivable from it is in entire accord with that which we have already drawn, namely, that the Bhagavadgītā, the Anugītā, and the Dharma-sūtra of Āpastamba, belong to different

¹ In Gautama X, 1 3, the 'pious duties' are called 'obligatory,' the others 'additional for Brāhmaṇas.' See the note on the passage in Bühler's edition, and cf. Gautama VIII, 9, 10.

stages of ancient Indian history, and that the stage to which the *Gîtâ* belongs is the earliest, and that to which *Âpastamba* belongs, the latest of such stages.

I am unable to find anything else in the way of internal evidence bearing upon the date of the *Anugîtâ*. It appears to me, that the date to which the investigation we have now gone through leads us, is one which, in the present state of our information, may be fairly accepted as a provisional hypothesis. It does not appear to me to conflict with any ascertained dates, while it is pointed to as probable by the various lines of testimony which we have here considered. We now proceed to discuss one or two other points which may have a bearing upon this topic, but which at present cannot yield us any positive guidance in our search for the date of the *Anugîtâ*. And first among these, let us consider the various names of deities that occur in different parts of the work. We have, then, *Vishṇu*, *Sambhu*, *Gishṇu*, *Soma*, *Âditya*, *Sûrya*, *Mitra*, *Agni*, *Kandra*, *Rudra*, *Siva*, *Varuṇa*, *Pragâpati*, *Maghavat*, *Purandara*, *Indra*, *Brahman*, *Satakratu*, *Dharma*, *Nârâyana*, *Vâyu*, *Yama*, *Tvashtri*, *Hari*, *Īsvara*, and lastly *Umâ* under three different names, namely, *Umâ*, *Mâhesvari*, and *Pârvatî*. Now, leaving aside for the moment the three names of *Umâ*, which appear from the passage where they are used to be all three the names of the same goddess, there is no doubt that in the list above set out, some of the names are merely used in different passages, but still to indicate the same being. Thus, *Indra*, *Satakratu*, *Purandara*, and *Maghavat* are really the names of one and the same deity. But when *Soma* is mentioned as the deity presiding over the tongue, and *Kandramas* as the deity presiding over the mind, it becomes doubtful whether the two names do really indicate the same deity, albeit in later Sanskrit *Soma* and *Kandramas* both signify the moon. Similarly, when *Arka* is said to be the deity presiding over the eye, and *Mitra* over another organ, it seems open to question whether *Arka* and *Mitra* both signify the sun there, as they undoubtedly do in classical Sanskrit. True it is, that even in such a recent work as the *Sâṅkhya-sâra*, this mention

of Arka and Mitra as presiding deities of two several organs does occur. But it is plain, that that circumstance can have no bearing on the inquiry before us, for the Sāṅkhya-sāra is avowedly a compilation based on older authorities, and in the particular part under consideration, really reproduces a passage from some older work. It cannot, therefore, be argued, that because Arka and Mitra were identified with one another at the time of the Sāṅkhya-sāra, and yet are mentioned as deities of two separate organs, therefore, they must have also been regarded as one in the older original work where they are also mentioned as deities of two separate organs. And it may, perhaps, be remarked here in passing, that the Vedānta Paribhāṣhā has *Mṛityu* instead of *Mitra*, which would get rid of the difficulty here altogether ; while as regards *Soma* and *Kandramas*, the passage in the Sāṅkhya-sāra reads *Praketas* instead of *Soma*, which would get rid of the other difficulty above pointed out. Whether these discrepancies are owing to any tampering with the lists of organs and deities, at a time when the later identifications between different deities took place, or whether they are to be explained on some other theory, it is impossible at present to say. And, therefore, it is also unnecessary to pursue the inquiry here any further. It must suffice for the present to have drawn attention to the matter.

Akin to this point, though quite distinct from it, is one which arises on a passage where the emancipated being is identified with *Vishṇu*, *Mitra*, *Agni*, *Varuṇa*, and *Prajāpati*¹. Now it is reasonable to suppose, that the deities thus specified here must have been among those held in highest repute at the time, the whole significance of the passage where they are mentioned requiring that that should be so. But in our Pantheon as disclosed by our later literature, *Mitra* and *Agni* and *Varuṇa* occupy but a very subordinate position. Even in *Kālidāsa*², the subordination of these deities to our celebrated Trinity seems to be quite

¹ See p. 345.

² See inter alia, *Kumāra* II, 20 seq., and VII, 44 seq., and cf. our *Bhartṛhari* (Bombay Sanskrit Classics), Introd. p. xix.

fully established. But, on the other hand, in the Vedic theogony, they are among the most prominent deities. In the Taittiriya-upanishad, we have in the very first sentence Mitra, Varuṇa, Viṣṇu, and Brahman (who may be identified with Prajāpati) all mentioned together, and their blessings invoked. This does not help in fixing a date for the Anugītā; but it lends some support to the conclusion already arrived at on that point, by showing that the theogony of the Anugītā is not yet very far removed from the theogony of the Vedic times, while it is separated by a considerable interval from the theogony disclosed in the works of even such an early writer of the classical period as Kālidāsa.

Another point of similar bearing on our present investigation is the mode in which the story of Parasurāma is dealt with in the Anugītā. There is in the first place no allusion to his being an incarnation of Viṣṇu, nor to the encounter between him and his namesake, the son of Dasaratha and the hero of the Rāmāyana. We have, on the contrary, an explicit statement, that after the advice of the 'Pitris' he entirely abandons the slaughter of the Kshatriyas, and resorting to penance thereby achieves final emancipation. We have elsewhere argued¹, that the theory of Parasurāma being an incarnation of Viṣṇu, must have probably originated prior to the time of Bhartṛhari, but later than the time of Kālidāsa. The allusion to Parasurāma in the work before us does not, however, enable us to judge of its chronological position with reference to Kālidāsa. But the last point discussed renders it unnecessary to consider this question further. It may be noted, by the way, that the Anugītā represents Parasurāma, although living in the Āsrama or hermitage of his father, who was a Rishi, as mounting a chariot for the purpose of sweeping away the kinsmen of Kārtavīrya. Whence he obtained a chariot in a hermitage, the Anugītā does not explain.

In connexion with the episode of Parasurāma, may be noted the list which occurs in the course of it, of the

¹ See 'Was the Rāmāyana copied from Homer?' pp. 56, 57.

degraded Kshatriya tribes, of Dravidas, Sabaras, &c. I am unable to see that those names can give us any further help in our present investigation than in so far as they show that, at the time of the Anugītā, there must have been some information about the south of India available in the districts where the author of the Anugītā lived. Some of the tribes mentioned appear to have been located far in the south of the Indian peninsula. But this is a point on which we shall have to say something more in discussing the next item of internal evidence to which we shall refer. Here it is enough to point out that some of the tribes mentioned in the Anugītā are also referred to in no less a work than the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa¹.

We come next to the enumeration of the principal mountains which is contained in one passage of the Anugītā. Those mountains are the Himālaya, the Pāriyātra, the Sahya, the Vindhya, the Trikūṭavat, the Sveta, the Nīla, the Bhāsa, the Koshīṭavat, the Mahendra, the Mālyavat, and perhaps the Guruskandha. I am not sure whether the last name is intended to be taken as a proper name, or only as an epithet of Mahendra. Now compared with the mountains mentioned in the Bhagavadgītā, this is certainly a remarkable list. The Gītā mentions only Meru² and Himālaya; while here we have in the Anugītā the Sahya, and Malaya, and Trikūṭavat, and Nīla (the same, I presume, with the modern Nilgiri, the Sanatorium of the Madras Presidency), which take us far to the west and south of the Indian peninsula; and the Mahendra and Mālyavat, which, coupled with the mention of the river Ganges, cover a considerable part of the eastern districts. The Pāriyātra and Vindhya occupy the regions of Central India. The Anugītā, therefore, seems to belong to that period in the history of India, when pretty nearly the whole,

¹ Haug's ed., p. 183. And see generally on these tribes, Wilson's *Vishṇu Purāṇa* (Hall's ed., vol. ii, p. 170 seq., and *Sānti Parvan* (Moksha), chap. 207, st. 42.

² This is also mentioned in the Anugītā, but in a different passage. The Nīla is said by Professor Wilson to be a mountain in Orissa. But our suggestion has, I find, been already made by Dr. F. E. Hall also: see on this, and generally, Wilson's *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, vol. ii, p. 141 seq. (ed. Hall). See also *Indian Antiquary*, VI, 133 seq.

if not absolutely the whole, of the Indian continent was known to the Sanskrit-speaking population of the country. When was this knowledge reached? It is difficult to fix the precise period; and even if it could be fixed, it would not help us to fix satisfactorily any point of time to which the *Anugītā* could be attributed. But it may be pointed out here, that in Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* we have evidence of such knowledge having been possessed by the Āryas in the second century B.C. In truth, the evidence available in the *Mahābhāṣya* is even fuller than this in the *Anugītā*. For Patañjali tells us of a town or city in the south named *Kāñkīpura*¹; he speaks of the dominions of the *Pāṇḍya* kings, and of the *Kola* and *Kerala* districts²; he refers also to the large tanks of the south; and he makes allusions to linguistic usages current in the southern and other provinces³. Before Patañjali's time there had taken place Mahendra's invasion of Ceylon, and the invading army must have penetrated through the southern provinces. And there had been also put up the great Inscriptions of Asoka, which have attracted so much interest, and are proving such prolific sources of information in various departments of knowledge. One of these inscriptions was at *Gaṅgam*, which is not very far from the Mahendra mountain alluded to in the *Anugītā*⁴. All these facts support the conclusion drawn by General Cunningham from the correctness of the information given to Alexander the Great by the Hindus of his time, namely, that 'the Indians, even at that early date in their history, had a very accurate knowledge of the form and extent of their native land⁵.' And not only do they support that conclusion, they show that the knowledge covered other facts regarding

¹ Banāras ed., p. 74 (IV, 2, 2).

² P. 60 (IV, 1, 4). See also p. 65.

³ See *Mahābhāṣya*, p. 82 (I, 1, 5), p. 16 (I, 1, 1); and cf. Muir, *Sanskrit Texts*, vol. ii, pp. 152, 355.

⁴ See Cunningham's *Corpus Inscriptionum*, I, p. 1.

⁵ See *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 3. And compare also the information collected in the *Periplus of the Euxine Sea* (translated by Mr. McKindle), pp. 112-136, where a large number of ports is mentioned as existing on the Indian coasts. The *Periplus* seems to date from about 90 A.D. see *ibid.* p. 5).

their native land than its form and extent. It follows consequently that this enumeration of mountains does not require the date of the Anugītā to be brought down to a later period than the fourth century B.C., and leaves it open to us, therefore, to accept whatever conclusion the other evidence available may seem to justify. On the other hand, it is plain also, that it affords no positive information as to when the Anugītā was composed, and therefore we need not dwell any further upon the point on the present occasion.

There are a few other points which arise upon the contents of the Anugītā, but which are not, in the present condition of our knowledge, capable of affording any certain guidance in our present investigation. Thus we have the story of Dharma appearing before king Ganaka disguised as a Brāhmaṇa. I am not aware of any case of such disguises occurring in any of the Upanishads, although there are numerous parallel instances throughout the Purāṇik literature¹. It is, however, difficult to draw any definite chronological inference from this fact. There is further the reference to the attack of Rāhu on the sun. It is difficult, in the present state of our knowledge, to say for certain, when the theory of eclipses there implied was prevalent. In the *Khândogya-upanishad*² we have the emancipated self compared to the moon escaped from the mouth of Rāhu. And a text of the Rig-veda, quoted by Mr. Yagñesvara Sāstrin in his *Ārya-vidyāsudhākara*³, speaks of the demon Rāhu attacking the sun with darkness. Here again we have another matter of some interest; but I cannot see that any safe deduction can be derived from it, without a more ample knowledge of other relevant matters than is at present accessible. Take again the references to certain practices which look very much like the practices of the Gainas of the present day. Is the Anugītā, then, earlier or later than the rise of the Gaina system? It is not safe, I think, to found an answer to this question upon the very narrow basis afforded by the

¹ And see, too, Kālidāsa Kumāra V, st. 84.

² P. 622.

³ P. 26. In Kālidāsa's *Raghuvamśa* the true explanation of eclipses is alluded to. See Canto XIV, 40.

passage referred to. But it may be observed, that the precepts laid down in the passage in question are laid down as precepts for orthodox Hindus, and not as the doctrines of a heretical sect. They are also very general, and not so minute as those which the *Gainas* of the present day observe as binding upon them. If, therefore, any conclusion is to be drawn from these precepts, it must be that the *Anugītā* must have been composed prior to the rise of *Gainism*; and that *Gainism* must have appropriated and developed this doctrine which it obtained from the current *Brāhmanism*¹. If this is so, the *Anugītā* must be a very ancient work indeed. It is not, however, necessary to further work out this line of argument, having regard to the opinions recently expressed by Mr. Thomas², rehabilitating the views enunciated long ago by Colebrooke and others. If those views are correct, and if *Gainism* was a dominant system in this country prior even to the time of Gautama Buddha, and if, further, we are right in the suggestion—for it is no more, it must be remembered—that the *Anugītā* dates from a period prior to the rise of *Gainism*, then it would seem to follow that the *Anugītā* belongs to some period prior to the sixth century B.C. All this, however, is at present very hypothetical, and we draw attention to it only that the question may be hereafter considered when fuller materials for expressing a final judgment upon it become accessible. Meanwhile, having regard to the views above alluded to as so elaborately put forward by Mr. Thomas, it is possible for us still to hold that, in the present state of our knowledge, the third or fourth century B.C. is not too early a date to assign to the *Anugītā*, even on the assumption that the precepts contained in that work regarding the care to be taken of worms and insects were borrowed by it from the *Gaina* system. With this negative result, we must for the present rest contented.

One other fact of similar nature to those we have now

¹ As the Buddhists did in sundry instances. Cf. inter alia Buhler's *Gautama*, pp. lv and 191. And cf. also 'Was the *Kāmāyāna* copied from Homer?' pp. 48, 49.

² See Mr. Thomas's very elaborate discussion of the whole subject in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (New Series)*, vol. ix, p. 155 seq.

dealt with may, perhaps, be also noticed here. We allude to the stanzas which we find in the *Anugītā* and also in the *Sānti Parvan* of the *Mahābhārata* and in the *Manusmṛiti*. There is also one which the *Anugītā* has in common with the *Parisishṭa* of Yāska's *Nirukta*¹. It is not possible, I conceive, to say finally whether one of these works borrowed these stanzas from the other of them; while, on the other hand, it is quite possible, as already argued by us in the *Introduction* to the *Gītā*, that all these works were only reproducing from some entirely different work, or that the stanzas in question were the common property of the thinkers of the time. We have no means available for deciding between these conflicting hypotheses.

We have thus noticed all the salient points in the evidence, external and internal, which is available for determining the position of the *Anugītā* in our ancient literature. Nobody who has seen even a little of the history of that literature will be surprised at the quantity or quality of that evidence, or the nature of the conclusions legitimately yielded by it. We have endeavoured to express those conclusions in language which should not indicate any greater certainty attaching to them than can fairly be claimed for them. The net result appears to be this. The *Anugītā* may be taken with historical certainty to have been some centuries old in the time of the great *Śaṅkarācārya*. It was very probably older than the *Dharma-sūtras* of *Āpastamba*, but by what period of time we are not in a position at present to define. It was, perhaps, older also than the rise of *Buddhism* and *Gainism*, and of the *Yoga* philosophy; but on this it is impossible to say anything with any approach to confidence. It is, on the other hand, almost certain that it belongs to a period very considerably removed from the older *Upanishads*; probably removed by a distance of some centuries, during which 'stories' not contained in the *Upanishads* had not only obtained currency, but also come to be regarded as belonging to antiquity². And yet the period to

¹ Cf. *Anugītā* I, 36 with Yāska (ed. Roth), p. 190.

² Some of the *Purātana Itihāsas*, e. g. that of *Nārada* and *Devamata*, are not traceable in any Vedic work known to us. *Devamata*'s name I do not find referred to anywhere else.

which the work belongs was one in which the Upanishads were only revered as the authoritative opinions of eminent men, not as the words of God himself¹. In this respect, it may be said that the Anugītā seems rather to belong to an earlier stratum of thought than even the Sanatsugātiya, in which a *Gṇānakānda*, as forming a part of the Vedic canon, seems to be recognised². But it is abundantly clear, that the Anugītā stands at a very considerable chronological distance from the Bhagavadgītā.

Such are the results of our investigation. We have not thought it necessary to discuss the verse or the language of the work. But it must in fairness be pointed out, that upon the whole, the verse and language are both pretty near the classical model. There are, it is true, a few instances of the metrical anomalies we have noticed elsewhere, but having regard to the extent of the work, those instances are far from being very numerous. The language and style, too, are not quite smooth and polished; though, judging from them alone, I should rather be inclined to place the Sanatsugātiya prior to the Anugītā. But that suggests a question which we cannot now stop to discuss.

One word, in conclusion, about the translation. The text used has been chiefly that adopted in the commentary of Arguna Misra, a commentary which on the whole I prefer very much to that of Nilakanṭha, which has been printed in the Bombay edition of the Mahābhārata. Arguna Misra, as a rule, affords some explanation where explanation is wanted, and does not endeavour to suit his text to any foregone conclusion. His comments have been of the greatest possible help to me; and my only regret is that the only copy of his commentary which was available to me, and the use of which I owe to the kindness of my friend Professor Bhāndārkar, was not as correct a one as could be desired. I have also looked into the Vishamasloki, a short work containing notes on difficult passages of the Mahābhārata.

¹ See p. 211 *supra*.

² See p. 146 *supra*. The Buddhists seem to have borrowed the division of Karma and *Gṇānakānda*. See Dr. Ragendralāla Mitra's *Lalitā Vistara* (transl.), p. 21. The division, therefore, was probably older than the first century B. C.

The MS. of it belonging to the Government Collection of MSS. deposited in Deccan College was lent me also by Professor Bhândārkar. The principles adopted in the translation and notes have been the same as those followed in the other pieces contained in this volume.

P. S. I take this opportunity of stating that it is not at all certain that Arguna Misra is the name of the author of the commentary which I have used. I find that in supposing Arguna Misra to be the author, I confounded that commentary, which does not mention its author's name, with the commentary on another section of the Mahābhārata which does give its author's name as Arguna Misra, and which is also among the MSS. purchased by Professor Bhândārkar for the Government of Bombay. (See with regard to these MSS. Professor Bhândārkar's Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS. of 7th July, 1880.)

ANUGĪTĀ.

CHAPTER I.

Ganamegaya¹ said :

What conversation, O twice-born one²! took place between the high-souled Kesava and Arguna, while they dwelt in that palace³ after slaying their enemies?

Vaisampāyana said :

The son of Prithā, after becoming possessed of his kingdom (in an) undisturbed (state), enjoyed himself in the company of Kṛishṇa, full of delight in that heavenly palace. And once, O king! they happened to go, surrounded by their people, and rejoicing, to a certain portion of the palace which resembled heaven. Then Arguna, the son of Pāṇdu, having surveyed with delight that lovely palace, in the company of Kṛishṇa, spoke these words: 'O you of mighty arms! O you whose mother is Devakī⁴! when the battle was about to commence, I became aware of your greatness, and that divine

¹ This is the prince to whom the Mahābhārata, as we have it, purports to have been related.

² I. e. Vaisampāyana, who relates the Mahābhārata to Ganamegaya.

³ This appears to have been situated at Indraprastha, and to have been the one built for the Pāṇdavas by the demon Maya, as related in the Sabhā Parvan.

⁴ This is a rather unusual form of address.

form of yours¹. But that, O Kesava! which through affection (for me) you explained before², has all disappeared, O tiger-like man! from my degenerate mind. Again and again, however, I feel a curiosity about those topics. But (now), O Mādhava! you will be going at no distant date to Dvārakā.'

Vaisampāyana said :

Thus addressed, that best of speakers, *Kṛishṇa*, possessed of great glory, replied in these words after embracing *Arguna*.

Vāsudeva said :

From me, O son of *Prithā*! you heard a mystery, and learnt about the eternal³ (principle), about piety in (its true) form, and about all the everlasting worlds⁴. It is excessively disagreeable to me, that you should not have grasped it through want of intelligence. And the recollection (of it) now again is not possible (to me). Really, O son of *Pāṇḍu*! you are devoid of faith and of a bad intellect. And, O *Dhanañgaya*! it is not possible for me to repeat in full (what I said before). For that doctrine was perfectly adequate for understanding the seat⁵ of the Brahman. It is not possible for me to state it again in full in that way. For then accompanied by my mystic power⁶, I declared to you the Supreme Brahman. But I shall relate an ancient story upon

¹ Cf. *Bhagavadgītā*, chapters X and XI *passim*.

² I.e. in the *Bhagavadgītā*.

This may also be taken with piety thus : 'and learnt about the eternal piety in (its true) form.'

³ As to the plural, see *Saṅkara* on *Mundaka*, p. 320.

⁴ Cf. *Gītā*, p. 78. For 'understanding' here we might, perhaps, substitute 'attaining.' The original word means both understanding and attaining.

⁶ Cf. *Gītā*, p. 82.

that subject, so that adhering to this knowledge, you may attain the highest goal. O best of the supporters of piety ! listen to all that I say. (Once), O restrainer of foes ! there came from the heavenly world and the world of Brahman¹, a Brāhmaṇa difficult to withstand², and he was (duly) honoured by us. (Now) listen, without entertaining any misgivings, O chief of the descendants of Bharata ! O son of Prithā ! to what he said on being interrogated by us according to heavenly rules³.

The Brāhmaṇa said :

O *Krishna* ! O destroyer of Madhu ! I will explain to you accurately what you, out of compassion for (all) beings⁴, have asked me touching the duties (to be performed) for final emancipation. It is destructive of delusion, O Lord ! Listen to me with attention⁵, as I relate it, O Mādhava ! A certain Brāhmaṇa named Kāśyapa, who had performed (much) penance, and who best understood piety, approached a certain twice-born (person) who had learnt the Scriptures relating to (all) duties⁶, having heard (of him, as one) who had over and over again gone through all knowledge and experience about coming and going⁷, who was well versed in the true nature of all worlds⁸,

¹ This seems to mean not the Supreme Brahman, but the Creator.

² Cf. *Sanatsugātiya*, p. 161, 'not to be shaken.'

³ I suppose this to mean according to the forms proper in the case of such a being as the one in question. Cf. *Gītā*, p. 62, and note there.

⁴ This is not easy to understand. Perhaps the allusion is to the doctrine at *Gītā*, pp. 54, 55. ⁵ Cf. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, p. 447.

⁶ I.e. all prescribed acts of piety.

⁷ As to knowledge and experience, cf. *Gītā*, p. 57 ; and as to coming and going, cf. *ibid.* p. 84.

⁸ I.e. as stated, for instance, at *Gītā*, p. 79, or *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, p. 613.

who knew about happiness and misery¹, who knew the truth about birth and death², who was conversant with merit and sin, who perceived the migrations of embodied (souls) of high and low (degrees) in consequence of (their) actions, who moved about like an emancipated being, who had reached perfection³, who was tranquil, whose senses were restrained, who was illumined with the Brahmic splendour⁴, who moved about in every direction, who understood concealed movements⁵, who was going in company of invisible Siddhas and celestial singers⁶, and conversing and sitting together (with them) in secluded (places), who went about as he pleased, and was unattached (anywhere) like the wind. Having approached him, that talented ascetic possessed of concentration (of mind), that best of the twice-born, wishing to acquire piety, fell at his feet, after seeing that great marvel. And amazed on seeing that marvellous man, the best of the twice-born, Kāśyapa, pleased the preceptor by his great devotion. That was all appropriate⁷, (being) joined to sacred learning and correct conduct. And, O terror of your foes! he pleased that (being) by (his purity of) heart and behaviour (suitable) towards a preceptor⁸. Then being satisfied and pleased, he spoke to the pupil these words, referring to the

¹ Cf. *infra*, p. 245.

² Cf. *Gītā*, pp. 48, 103.

³ Cf. *Gītā*, *passim*.

⁴ Cf. *Sanatsugātīya*, p. 162.

⁵ I. e. moving about so as not to be seen by everybody.

⁶ Literally, 'holders of wheels,' which Arguna Misra interprets to mean 'Āśvins.' At *Sānti Parvan* (*Moksha Dharma*) CCXLIV, 26 *Nilakantha* renders *Kakradhara* by *Kakravartin* or Emperor.

⁷ I. e. as Kāśyapa was possessed of Vedic lore, and behaved as he ought to behave in his capacity of pupil, it was natural that the other should be pleased.

⁸ See p. 176 *seq.* *supra*.

highest perfection. Hear (them) from me, O Ganârdana !

The Siddha said :

Mortals, O dear friend¹ ! by their actions which are (of) mixed (character), or which are meritorious and pure, attain to this world as the goal, or to residence in the world of the gods². Nowhere is there everlasting happiness; nowhere eternal residence³. Over and over again is there a downfall from a high position attained with difficulty. Overcome by lust and anger, and deluded by desire, I fell into uncomfortable and harassing states (of life), in consequence of (my) committing sin. Again and again death, and again and again birth⁴. I ate numerous (kinds of) food, sucked at various breasts, saw various mothers, and fathers of different sorts; and, O sinless one ! (I saw) strange pleasures and miseries. Frequently (I suffered) separation from those I loved, association with those I did not love. Loss of wealth also came on me, after I had acquired that wealth with difficulty; ignominies full of affliction from princes and likewise from kinsmen; excessively poignant pain, mental and bodily. I also underwent frightful indignities, and fierce deaths and captivities; (I had a) fall into hell, and torments in the house of Yama⁵. I also suffered much from old age, continual ailments, and numerous misfortunes flowing from the pairs of opposites⁶. Then on one occasion, being much afflicted with misery, I abandoned the whole

¹ The same word as at Gîtâ, p. 72.

² Cf. *Khândogya-upanishad*, pp. 356-359, and Gîtâ, p. 84.

³ See Gîtâ, p. 76, and cf. *Ka/ha*, p. 90.

⁴ For the whole of this passage, cf. *Maitrî-upanishad*, p. 8.

⁵ See *Manu* VI, 61.

⁶ See Gîtâ, p. 48.

course of worldly life, through indifference (to worldly objects), and taking refuge with the formless (principle)¹. Having learnt about this path in this world, I exercised myself (in it), and hence, through favour of the self², have I acquired this perfection³. I shall not come here again⁴; I am surveying the worlds, and the happy migrations⁵ of (my) self from the creation of beings to (my attaining) perfection. Thus, O best of the twice-born! have I obtained this highest perfection. From here I go to the next⁶ (world), and from there again to the still higher (world)—the imperceptible seat of the Brahman. Have no doubt on that, O terror of your foes⁷! I shall not come back to this mortal world. I am pleased with you, O you of great intelligence! Say, what can I do for you? The time is now come for that which you desired in coming to me. I know for what you have come to me. But I shall be going away in a short time, hence have I given

¹ Taking refuge, says Nilakantha, in the belief of my being identical with the Brahman, which is to be comprehended by means of the profound contemplation called Asampragñāta Samādhi.

² I.e., says Nilakantha, the mind, and he cites Maitrī, p. 179. Cf. Kaṭha, p. 108. The rendering at p. 192 supra will also suit (through the self becoming placid). This placidity is defined at Sānti Parvan (Moksha Dharma) CCXLVII, 11, with which cf. Gītā, p. 69. See Gītā, p. 51.

³ As above described.

⁴ Cf. Kāṇḍogya, p. 628; see also *ibid.* p. 282.

⁵ He calls them happy because they have ended happily, I presume. 'Surveying the worlds' Nilakantha takes to be an index of omniscience. Cf. Sanatsugātiya, p. 174. See also Yoga-sūtras III, 25, and commentary there.

⁶ I.e. the world of Brahman, or the Satyaloka; and the next step is assimilation into the Brahman.

⁷ So read all the copies I have seen, though Kāśyapa is the person addressed.

this hint to you. I am exceedingly pleased, O clever one! with your good conduct. Put (your) questions without uneasiness, I will tell (you) whatever you desire. I highly esteem your intelligence, and greatly respect it, inasmuch as you have made me out¹; for, O Kāśyapa! you are (a) talented (man).

CHAPTER II.

Vāsudeva² said :

Then grasping his feet, Kāśyapa asked questions very difficult to explain, and all of them that (being), the best of the supporters of piety, did explain.

Kāśyapa said :

How does the body perish, and how, too, is it produced? How does one who moves in this harassing course of worldly life become freed? And (how) does the self, getting rid of nature, abandon the body (produced) from it³? And how, being freed from the body, does he attain to the other⁴? How does this man enjoy the good and evil acts done by himself? And where do the acts of one who is released from the body remain?

The Brāhmaṇa said :

Thus addressed, O descendant of *Vṛishṇi*! that Siddha answered these questions in order. Hear me relate what (he said).

¹ This was difficult, as the Siddha possessed extraordinary powers, such as that of concealed movement, &c. ² Sic in MSS.

³ Cf. as to getting rid of nature, *Gītā*, pp. 75-106. As to the body produced from nature, cf. *ibid.* p. 112, and pp. 317-318 *infra*.

⁴ I.e. the Brahman, says Nilakantha.

The Siddha said :

When those actions, productive of long life and fame¹, which a man performs here, are entirely exhausted, after his assumption of another body, he performs (actions of an) opposite character, his self being overcome at the exhaustion of life². And his ruin being impending, his understanding goes astray. Not knowing his own constitution³, and strength, and likewise the (proper) season, the man not being self-controlled, does unseasonably what is injurious to himself. When he attaches himself to numerous very harassing (actions); eats too much⁴, or does not eat at all; when he takes bad food, or meat⁵, or drinks, or (kinds of food) incompatible with one another, or heavy food in immoderate quantities, or without (previously taken food) being properly digested; or takes too much exercise, or is incontinent; or constantly, through attachment to action, checks the regular course (of the excretions⁶); or takes juicy food⁷; or sleeps by day⁸; or (takes food) not thoroughly prepared; (such a man) himself aggravates the dis-

¹ One reading omits 'fame,' as to which cf. *Taittirīya-upanishad*, p. 129; *Khândogya*, pp. 122-227. As to long life, cf. *Khândogya*, p. 272; exhausted, i.e. by enjoyment of fruit in another world.

² Cf. *Sârîraka Bhâshya*, p. 753 seq., where we have a slightly different view.

³ *Arguna Mirra* renders the original, *sattva*, by *svabhâva*.

⁴ Cf. for all this, *Gîtâ*, pp. 62, 69, 118, which passages, however, are from a slightly different point of view. See also *Khândogya*, p. 526.

⁵ A various reading here excludes meat. But cf. *Âpastamba I*, 1, 2, 23; *Gautama II*, 13.

⁶ So says *Nîlakantha*.

⁷ I.e. which turns to juice in digestion, much juice being a cause of indigestion, say the commentators.

⁸ This is doubtful. The sense may be, 'who takes juicy or not thoroughly prepared food by day and night.' But see *Ârvalâyana Grihya-sûtra*, p. 90; *Âpastamba I*, 1, 2, 24; *Gautama II*, 13.

orders (in the body) when the time comes¹. By aggravating the disorders (in) his own (body), he contracts a disease which ends in death, or he even engages in unreasonable (acts), such as hanging² (oneself). From these causes, the living³ body of that creature then perishes. Learn about that correctly as I am about to state it. Heat being kindled in the body, and being urged by a sharp-wind⁴, pervades the whole frame, and, verily, checks the (movements of all the) life-winds. Know this truly, that excessively powerful heat, if kindled in the body, bursts open the vital parts—the seats of the soul⁵. Then the soul, full of torments, forthwith falls away from the perishable (body). Know, O best of the twice-born! that (every) creature leaves the body, when the vital parts are burst open, its self being overcome with torments. All beings are constantly distracted with birth and death; and, O chief of the twice-born! are seen abandoning (their) bodies, or entering the womb on the exhaustion of (their previous) actions⁶. Again, a man suffers similar torments, having his joints broken and suffering from

¹ The time of destruction, says Arguna Misra.

² Which, say the commentators, leads to death, even without any disease.

³ So I construe the original, having regard to the question, 'how does the body perish?' The other reading, which is in some respects better, is equivalent to 'the life falls away from the body of that creature.'

⁴ This is different, as the commentators point out, from the ordinary life-winds.

⁵ The original here is *gīva*, not *ātman*, which we have rendered 'self.' This refers rather to the vital principle. As to the seats, cf. *Yāgyavalkya Smṛiti* III, 93 seq.

⁶ I adopt the reading *karmanām*, which I find in one of the MSS. I consulted. I think it probable that that was the reading before the commentators. The other reading is *marmanām*.

cold, in consequence of water¹. As the compact association of the five elements is broken up, the wind in the body, distributed within the five elements², between the upward and downward life-winds, being aggravated by cold, and urged by a sharp wind³, goes upwards⁴, abandoning the embodied (self) in consequence of pain. Thus it⁵ leaves the body, which appears devoid of breath. Then devoid of warmth, devoid of breath, devoid of beauty, and with consciousness destroyed, the man, being abandoned by the Brahman⁶, is said to be dead. (Then) he ceases to perceive (anything) with those very currents⁷ with which the supporter of the body⁸ perceives objects of sense. In the same way, it is the eternal soul which preserves in the body the life-winds which are produced from food⁹. Whatever (part of the body) is employed in the collection¹⁰ of that, know

¹ Having spoken of heat, he now speaks of the effects of cold. I am not sure if the water here refers to the water of the 'juicy' substances before referred to.

² This means, I presume, within the dissolving body. Cf. *Maitrī-ūpanishad*, p. 42.

³ See note 4, last page.

⁴ To the head, *Arguna Misra*.

⁵ That is, the wind, I suppose, and then the breath departs from the body, and the man is said to die. 'Devoid of beauty,' further on, means, disfigured in the state of death.

⁶ I.e. the mind, *Arguna Misra*.

⁷ The senses. Cf. *Svetāsvatara*, p. 288.

⁸ See and cf. p. 262 *infra*.

⁹ This, says *Arguna Misra*, is in answer to the possible question why this 'sharp wind' does not work with the life-winds. The answer is, that such working requires the presence of the soul, which *Arguna Misra* says here means 'mind.' As to 'production from food,' cf. *Khândogya*, p. 421 seq., and *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*, p. 893.

¹⁰ Collection of that = turning the food into semen, says *Arguna Misra*, who adds, 'in those vital parts, which are useful for this purpose, the life-wind dwells.'

that to be a vital part, for thus it is seen (laid down) in the Scriptures. Those vital parts being wounded, that (wind) directly comes out therefrom, and entering the bosom of a creature obstructs the heart¹. Then the possessor of consciousness knows nothing². Having his knowledge enveloped by darkness³, while the vitals are still enveloped, the soul⁴, being without a fixed seat, is shaken about by the wind. And then he heaves a very deep and alarming gasp, and makes the unconscious body quiver as he goes out (of it). That soul, dropping out of the body, is surrounded on both sides by his own actions⁵, his own pure and meritorious, as also his sinful (ones). Brāhmaṇas, possessed of knowledge, whose convictions are correctly (formed) from sacred learning, know him by (his) marks as one who has performed meritorious actions or the reverse. As those who have eyes see a glow-worm disappear here and there in darkness, so likewise do those who have eyes of knowledge. Such a soul, the Siddhas see with a divine eye, departing (from the body), or coming to the birth, or entering into a womb⁶. Its three descriptions⁷ of seats are here learnt from the Scriptures. This world is the world of actions⁸, where

¹ Arguna Misra renders this to mean 'mind.'

² As the mind is obstructed, says Arguna Misra. The possessor of consciousness = the self, Arguna.

³ I.e. pain, Arguna Misra.

⁴ I.e. mind, Arguna Misra. ⁵ Cf. *Bṛihadāraṇyaka*, p. 843.

⁶ See *Aitareya-upanishad*, p. 222, and Śaṅkara's commentary there. The coming to the birth is the coming out of the womb into the world. Cf. also *Gītā*, p. 112.

⁷ As stated further on, viz. this world, the next world, and the womb. With this compare *Khândogya*, p. 359.

⁸ Cf. our *Bhārtrihari* (Bombay series), Notes (*Nitirataka*), p. 27.

creatures dwell. All embodied (selves), having here performed good or evil (actions), obtain (the fruit). It is here they obtain higher or lower enjoyments by their own actions. And it is those whose actions here are evil, who by their actions go to hell. Harassing is that lower place where men are tormented. Freedom from it is very difficult, and the self should be specially protected from it. Learn from me now the seats in which creatures going up¹ dwell, and which I shall describe truly. Hearing this, you will learn the highest knowledge, and decision regarding action². All (the worlds in) the forms of stars, and this lunar sphere³, and also this solar sphere which shines in the world by its own lustre, know these to be the seats of men who perform meritorious actions. All these, verily, fall down again and again in consequence of the exhaustion of their actions⁴. And there, too, in heaven, there are differences of low, high, and middling⁵. Nor, even there, is there satisfaction, (even) after a sight of most magnificent splendour. Thus have I stated to you these seats distinctly. I will after this (proceed to) state to you the production of the foetus⁶. And, O twice-born one! hear that attentively from me as I state it.

¹ Cf. on this and 'lower place,' *Gītā*, p. 109; *Sāṅkhya Kārikā*, 44.

² The readings here are most unsatisfactory. The meaning of the printed reading adopted above would seem to be, 'decision as to what actions should be performed,' &c.

³ Cf. *Gītā*, p. 81, and *Sanatsugātiya*, p. 158. ⁴ Cf. *Gītā*, p. 84.

⁵ *Arguna Misra* says, 'In heaven = in the next world, low = inferior (?), high = heaven, and middling = the space below the skies (*antariksha*).' For the three degrees of enjoyment in heaven, see *Yogavāsishtha* I, 35 seq.

⁶ This is the third of the three seats above referred to.

CHAPTER III.

There is no destruction here of actions good or not good¹. Coming to one body after another they become ripened in their respective ways². As a fruitful (tree) producing fruit may yield much fruit, so does merit performed with a pure mind become expanded³. Sin, too, performed with a sinful mind, is similarly (expanded). For the self engages in action, putting forward this mind⁴. And now further, hear how⁵ a man, overwhelmed with action, and enveloped in desire and anger⁶, enters a womb. Within the womb of a woman, (he) obtains as the result of action a body good or else bad⁷, made up of virile semen and blood. Owing to (his) subtlety and imperceptibility, though he obtains a body appertaining to the Brahman, he is not attached anywhere; hence is he the eternal Brahman⁸. That is the seed of all beings; by that

¹ Cf. *Maitrī-ūpanishad*, p. 53, and *Mundaka*, p. 270. And see generally as to this passage, *Sārīraka Bhāṣya*, pp. 751-760.

² I.e. they yield their respective fruits; cf. *Maitrī*, p. 43, and *Āṇḍogya*, p. 358.

³ This explains, say the commentators, how even a little merit or sin requires sometimes more than one birth to enjoy and exhaust.

⁴ As a king performs sacrifices 'putting forward' a priest, *Arguna Mirra*; and cf. *Dhammapada*, the first two verses.

⁵ *Arguna Mirra* has *tathā*, 'in the same way,' instead of this, and renders it to mean 'putting forward' the mind.

⁶ Hence he does not get rid of birth and death.

⁷ Good=of gods or men; bad=of the lower species of creatures, *Arguna*.

⁸ He, in the preceding sentences, according to *Arguna Mirra*, means the self, through the mind, or 'putting forward' the mind, as said above. In this sentence, he takes 'he' to mean the mind itself; Brahman=the self; and the mind, he says, is called the Brahman, as it, like the self, is the cause of the *Kāitanya*, intelligence, in all creatures.

all creatures exist. That soul, entering all the limbs of the foetus, part by part, and dwelling in the seat of the life-wind¹, supports (them) with the mind². Then the foetus, becoming possessed of consciousness, moves about its limbs. As liquefied iron being poured out assumes the form of the image³, such you must know is the entrance of the soul into the foetus. As fire entering a ball of iron, heats it, such too, you must understand, is the manifestation of the soul in the foetus. And as a blazing lamp shines in a house, even so does consciousness light up bodies⁴. And whatever action he performs, whether good or bad, everything done in a former body must necessarily be enjoyed (or suffered). Then⁵ that is exhausted, and again other (action) is accumulated, so long as the piety which dwells in the practice of concentration of mind for final emancipation⁶ has not been learnt. As to that, O best (of men)! I will tell you about that action by which, verily, one going the round of various births, becomes happy. Gifts, penance, life as a Brahmacārin, adherence to prescribed regulations, restraint of the senses⁷, and also

¹ I. e. the heart.

² Arguna Misra says that the soul at the beginning of the sentence means the mind, and mind here means knowledge or intelligence. Cf. p. 238 supra.

³ In the mould of which, that is to say, it is poured.

⁴ Cf. Gītā, p. 106. The three similes, says Nilakanṭha, show that the soul pervades the whole body, is yet imperceptible, and also unattached to the body. Arguna Misra's explanation is different, but I prefer Nilakanṭha's.

⁵ I. e. by the enjoyment or suffering.

⁶ I. e. while he does not possess the knowledge which leads to the piety necessary as a preliminary for final emancipation, and which ultimately destroys action. Cf. Gītā, p. 62.

⁷ I. e. keeping the senses of hearing &c. from all operations

tranquillity, compassion to (all) beings, self-restraint, and absence of cruelty, refraining from the appropriation of the wealth of others, not acting dishonestly even in thought towards (any) being in this world, serving mother and father, honouring deities and guests, honouring preceptors, pity, purity, constant restraint of the organs¹, and causing good to be done; this is said to be the conduct of the good². From this is produced piety, which protects people to eternity. Thus one should look (for it) among the good, for among them it constantly abides. The practice to which the good adhere, points out (what) piety (is)³. And among them dwells that (course of) action which constitutes eternal piety. He who acquires that, never comes to an evil end⁴. By this are people held in check from making a slip in the paths of piety⁵. But the devotee who is released⁶ is esteemed higher than these. For the deliverance from the course of worldly life of the man who acts piously and well, as he should act, takes place after a long time⁷. Thus a creature always meets with (the effects of) the action performed (in a) previous (life). And that⁸ is the sole cause by which he comes here (in a) degraded (form). There is

save those relating to the Brahman. Tranquillity is the same thing as regards the mind.

¹ This I take to mean restraint of the active organs, such as speech, &c. 'Self-restraint' is rendered by *Nīlakanṭha* to mean 'concentration of mind.'

² Cf. *Maitrī*, p. 57; *Kāṇḍogya*, p. 136; and *Gītā*, pp. 103, 119.

³ Cf. *Āpastamba* I, 1, 1, 2; I, 7, 20, 7; *Sakuntalā*, p. 30 (Williams).

⁴ Cf. *Gītā*, p. 72.

⁵ By this, i.e. by the practice of the good, *Arguna Misra*.

⁶ From delusion, *Arguna Misra*; emancipated by force of his devotion, *Nīlakanṭha*.

⁷ Cf. *Gītā*, p. 73; *Kāṇḍogya*, pp. 136, 137. ⁸ Scil. the action.

in the world a doubt as to what originally was the source from which he became invested with a body. And that I shall now proceed to state. Brahman, the grandfather of all people, having made a body for himself, created the whole of the three worlds, moving and fixed¹. From that he created the Pradhâna, the material cause of all embodied (selfs), by which all this is pervaded, and which is known in the world as the highest². This is what is called the destructible³; but the other⁴ is immortal and indestructible. And Pragâpati, who had been first created, created all creatures and (all) the fixed entities, (having) as regards the moving (creation), a pair separately for each⁵ (species). Such is the ancient (tradition) heard (by us). And as regards that, the grandsire fixed a limit of time, and (a rule) about migrations among (various) creatures, and about the return⁶. What I say is all correct and proper, like (what may be said by) any talented person who has in

¹ I.e. animate and inanimate. 'A body for himself' = undeveloped Âkâsa, Nilakantha. But see Sâṅkhya-sâra, p. 19, and Sâṅkhya Prav. Bhâṣhya I, 122, and III, 10.

² Cf. inter alia Gîtâ, p. 58 and note, and Sâṅkhya-sâra, p. 11. As to the words at the beginning of this sentence, 'from that,' cf. Taittirîya-upanishad, p. 67, where everything is derived from Âkâsa, mentioned in the last note, and Âkâsa from the Brahman.

³ Cf. Gîtâ, p. 113, where there are three principles distinguished from each other.

⁴ I.e. the self, Arguna Mirra.

⁵ A pair, i.e. a male and female for each species, such as man, &c., Arguna Mirra.

⁶ Pragâpati fixed the limit of life for every 'moving' creature, and the rule as to going from one species of body into another, and as to going from one world to another. As to a part of 'the ancient tradition,' the first stanza of the Mundaka-upanishad may be compared.

a former birth perceived the self¹. He who properly perceives pleasure and pain to be inconstant, the body to be an unholy aggregate², and ruin to be connected with action³, and who remembers that whatever little there is of happiness is all misery⁴, he will cross beyond the fearful ocean of worldly life, which is very difficult to cross. He who understands the Pradhâna⁵, (though) attacked by birth and death and disease, sees one (principle of) consciousness in all beings possessed of consciousness⁶. Then seeking after the supreme seat, he becomes indifferent to everything⁷. O best (of men)! I will give you accurate instruction concerning it. Learn from me exhaustively, O Brâhmaṇa! the excellent knowledge concerning the eternal imperishable seat, which I am now about to declare.

CHAPTER IV.

He who becoming placid⁸, and thinking of nought, may become absorbed in the one receptacle⁹, abandoning each previous (element), he will cross beyond

¹ Arguna Misra says the strength of the impression in the former birth would give him this knowledge in the subsequent birth.

² Cf. Sanatsugâtīya, p. 155.

³ Cf. inter alia p. 256 infra.

⁴ Cf. Gîtâ, p. 79.

⁵ Otherwise called Prakṛti, or nature.

⁶ Cf. Gîtâ, p. 124.

⁷ Cf. Gîtâ, p. 111.

⁸ We now begin, as Nīlakanṭha points out, the answer to the question put above by Kâryapa about the emancipation of the self. Placid, Arguna Misra renders to mean 'silent, taciturn.' See p. 234 supra.

⁹ The path of knowledge, says Arguna Misra; the Brahman, says Nīlakanṭha. Abandoning each element=absorbing the gross into the subtle elements, and so forth, Nīlakanṭha; abandoning each elementary mode of worship till one reaches that of contemplating the absolute Brahman, Arguna Misra.

(all) bonds. A man who is a friend of all, who endures all, who is devoted to tranquillity¹, who has subdued his senses, and from whom fear and wrath have departed, and who is self-possessed², is released. He who moves among all beings as if they were like himself³, who is self-controlled, pure, free from vanity⁴ and egoism, he is, indeed, released from everything. And he, too, is released who is equable towards both life and death⁵, and likewise pleasure and pain, and gain and loss, and (what is) agreeable and odious⁶. He who is not attached to any one, who contemns no one, who is free from the pairs of opposites, and whose self is free from affections⁷, he is, indeed, released in every way. He who has no enemy, who has no kinsmen, who has no child, who has abandoned piety, wealth, and lust altogether, and who has no desire, is released. He who is not pious and not impious⁸, who casts off (the merit or sin) previously accumulated, whose self is tranquillised by the exhaustion of the primary elements of the body⁹, and who is free from the pairs of opposites, is released. One who does no action¹⁰, and who has no desire, looks on this universe as

¹ This, in the terminology of the Vedānta, means keeping the mind from everything save 'hearing' &c. about the Brahman.

² One who has his mind under his control. But see *Gītā*, p. 63.

³ Cf. *Gītā*, p. 71.

⁴ I.e. the desire to be honoured or respected, *Arguna Misra*. Cf. *Sanatsugâtīya*, p. 161.

⁵ Who does not care when death comes. ⁶ Cf. p. 151 *supra*.

⁷ Cf. *Gītā* for all this, pp. 101, 103, 125, &c. ⁸ Cf. *Kaṭha*, p. 101.

⁹ *Nilakantha* says this means the constituents of the body. *Arguna Misra* says, 'Prāṇa or life-wind,' &c. They are seven. See gloss on *Aṅgīrasya-upanishad*, p. 441, and p. 343 *infra*.

¹⁰ Because, says *Arguna Misra*, he has no desire. *Nilakantha* says this means an ascetic, *sannyāsin*. See p. 257 *infra*, note 1.

transient, like an *Asvattha* tree¹, always full of birth, death, and old age². Having his understanding always (fixed) upon indifference to worldly objects, searching for his own faults³, he procures the release of his self from bonds in no long time. Seeing the self void of smell⁴, void of taste, void of touch, void of sound, void of belongings, void of colour, and unknowable, he is released. He who sees the enjoyer of the qualities⁵, devoid of qualities, devoid of the qualities of the five elements⁶, devoid of form, and having no cause, is released. Abandoning by the understanding⁷ all fancies bodily and mental⁸, he gradually obtains tranquillity⁹, like fire devoid of fuel. He who is free from all impressions¹⁰, free from the pairs of opposites, without belongings, and who moves among the collection of organs with penance¹¹, he is indeed released. Then freed from all impressions, he attains to the eternal

¹ Cf. *Gîtâ*, p. 111, where *Saṅkara* explains the name to mean 'what will not remain even till to-morrow.'

² Cf. *Gîtâ*, p. 109, and other passages.

³ *Arguna* *Misra* has a different reading, which means 'particularly observing the evils of (the three kinds of) misery.'

⁴ Cf. *Kaṭha*, p. 119; *Mundaka*, p. 267; and *Māndukya*, p. 371.

⁵ Cf. *Gîtâ*, pp. 104, 105, and *Kaṭha*, p. 112.

⁶ *Nilakantha* says this refers to the gross elements, the next expression to the subtle ones, and being free from these two, he is 'devoid of qualities,' viz. the three qualities. ⁷ Cf. *Gîtâ*, p. 65.

⁸ I.e. those which cause bodily and mental activity.

⁹ Cf. *Maitrî*, p. 178. The original is the famous word '*Nirvāṇa*.'

¹⁰ Scil. derived from false knowledge, says *Arguna* *Misra*. *Nilakantha* says all impressions from outside oneself which are destroyed by those produced from concentration of mind, &c. See p. 391 infra.

¹¹ I.e. all those operations by which the internal man is rendered pure and free from all taints; see below, p. 248, where *Nilakantha* renders it as 'the performance of one's duty which is called penance.' But see, too, pp. 74, 119, 166 supra. The meaning seems to be that the

Supreme Brahman, tranquil, unmoving, constant, indestructible¹. After this I shall explain the science of concentration of mind, than which there is nothing higher, (and which teaches) how devotees concentrating (their minds) perceive the perfect self². I will impart instruction regarding it accurately. Learn from me the paths³ by which one directing the self within the self perceives the eternal⁴ (principle). Restraining the senses, one should fix the mind on the self; and having first performed rigorous penance⁵, he should practise concentration of mind for final emancipation. Then the talented Brāhmaṇa, who has practised penance, who is constantly practising concentration of mind, should act on (the precepts of) the science of concentration of mind⁶, seeing the self in the self by means of the mind⁷. If such a good man is able to concentrate the self on the self, then he, being habituated to exclusive meditation⁸, perceives the self in the self. Being

man in question lets his senses work, but does not permit himself to be in any way identified with their operations. Cf. Gītā, p. 64.

¹ Cf. the expressions at Gītā, p. 45. 'Unmoving,' which occurs at Īśa, p. 10, is there explained by Saṅkara to mean 'always the same.' The same sense is given by Mahidhara. Weber's *Satapatha*, p. 980.

² 'Perfect' would seem to mean here free from all bonds or taints, the absolute.

³ I.e. sources of knowledge, says Arguna Misra.

⁴ Cf. as to 'directing the self within the self,' Gītā, p. 69. Nilakantha says, 'paths, means of mental restraint, the self, mind; in the self, in the body.'

⁵ See p. 247, note 11. Nilakantha's note there referred to occurs on this passage. See also p. 166, note 1 *supra*.

⁶ It is not easy to say what this science is. Is it Patañjali's system that is meant? No details occur to enable one to identify the 'science.' But, probably, no system is alluded to.

⁷ See note 4 above.

⁸ Nilakantha has a very forced explanation of the original word.

self-restrained and self-possessed¹, and always concentrating his mind, and having his senses subjugated, he who has achieved proper concentration of mind² sees the self in the self. As a person having seen one in a dream, recognises him (afterwards), saying, 'This is he;' so does one who has achieved proper concentration of mind perceive the self³. And as one may show the soft fibres, after extracting them from the *Muñga*, so does a devotee see the self extracted from the body. The body is called the *Muñga*; the soft fibres stand⁴ for the self. This is the excellent illustration propounded by those who understand concentration of mind. When an embodied (self) properly perceives the self concentrated⁵, then there is no ruler over him, since he is the lord of the triple world⁶. He obtains various bodies as he pleases; and casting aside old age and death, he grieves not and exults not. The man who

which also occurs further on; he takes the meaning to be, 'he who is habituated to that by which the One is attained, viz. meditation.'

¹ The original is the same as at *Gītā*, p. 63.

² That is to say, one who has got the power of concentrating his mind as he pleases; and the words 'always concentrating' &c., just before, would mean 'one who always exercises that power.'

³ I.e. having perceived the self in the state of concentration, he sees the whole universe to be the self in this state when the concentration has ceased, *Nilakanṭha*. *Arguna Mirra* says, 'having perceived the self at the time of concentration, he recognises it as the same at the time of direct perception,' meaning, apparently, the time of final emancipation.

⁴ I.e. the reality, which in this simile forms the substratum of what are called the fibres; the simile is in the *Kaṭha-upanishad*; see, too, *Sanatsugātīya*, p. 176.

⁵ I.e. on the supreme self, as above explained.

⁶ Cf. *Sanatsugātīya*, p. 161; *Svetāśvatara*, p. 290; and *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, p. 218; *Khândogya*, p. 523; *Aitareya*, p. 26; *Kaushitaki*, p. 126.

has acquired concentration of mind, and who is self-restrained, creates for himself even the divinity of the gods¹; and abandoning the transient body, he attains to the inexhaustible Brahman. When (all) beings are destroyed, he has no fear; when (all) beings are afflicted, he is not afflicted by anything². He whose self is concentrated, who is free from attachment, and of a tranquil mind, is not shaken by the fearful effects of attachment and affection³, which consist in pain and grief⁴. Weapons do not pierce him⁵; there is no death for him; nothing can be seen anywhere in the world happier than he. Properly concentrating his self, he remains steady to the self; and freed from old age and grief, he sleeps at ease. Leaving this human frame, he assumes bodies at pleasure. But one who is practising concentration should never become despondent⁶. When one who has properly achieved concentration perceives the self in the self, then he forthwith ceases to feel any attachment to Indra himself⁷.

¹ I do not quite understand the original. The other reading, *dehatvam* for *devatvam*, is not more intelligible. But comparing the two, the meaning seems to be, that the divinity of the gods, i.e. their qualities and powers as gods, are within his reach, if he likes to have them.

² Cf. *Gītā*, p. 107.

³ Affection is the feeling that a thing is one's own; attachment is the feeling of liking one has for a thing acquired with difficulty, *Arguna Misra*.

⁴ Pain appears to be the feeling immediately following on hurt or evil suffered; grief is the constant state of mind which is a later result.

⁵ Cf. *Yoga-sūtra Bhāṣya*, p. 208.

⁶ Cf. *Gītā*, p. 70. Despondency is the feeling that one has not acquired 'concentration' after much practice, and that therefore the practice should be abandoned.

⁷ The other reading here may be rendered, 'Then forthwith Indra himself esteems him highly.'

Now listen how one habituated to exclusive meditation attains concentration. Thinking¹ of a quarter seen before, he should steady his mind within and not out of the city in which he dwells. Remaining within (that) city, he should place his mind both in its external and internal (operations) in that habitation in which he dwells. When, meditating in that habitation, he perceives the perfect one, his mind should not in any way wander outside. Restraining the group of the senses, in a forest² free from noises and unpeopled, he should meditate on the perfect one within his body with a mind fixed on one point. He

¹ This is all rather mystical. Nilakantha takes 'city' to mean 'body,' and 'habitation' to mean the mûlâdhâra, or other similar mystic centre within the body, where, according to the Yoga philosophy, the soul is sometimes to be kept with the life-winds, &c. 'Thinking of a quarter,' &c., he explains to mean 'meditating on the instruction he has received after studying the Upanishads.' I do not understand the passage well. 'City' for 'body' is a familiar use of the word. Cf. Gîtâ, p. 65. The original word for habitation occurs at Aitareya-upanishad, p. 199, where Saṅkara explains it to mean 'seat.' Three 'seats' are there mentioned,—the organs of sight, &c.; the mind; and the Âkāra in the heart. There, too, the body is described as a 'city,' and Anandagiri explains habitation to mean 'seat of amusement or sport.' Here, however, the meaning seems to be that one should work for concentration in the manner indicated, viz. first fix the mind on the city where one dwells, then on the particular part of it oftenest seen before, then one's own habitation, then the various parts of one's body, and finally one's own heart and the Brahman within it. Thus gradually circumscribed in its operations, the mind is better fitted for the final concentration on the Brahman. As to external and internal operations, cf. note 8, p. 247. The perfect one is the Brahman. Cf. Sanatsugâtîya, p. 171. As to âvasatha, which we have rendered by 'habitation,' see also Mândukya, p. 340; Brhadâranyaka, p. 751; and the alternative sense suggested by Saṅkara on the Aitareya, loc. cit.

² Cf. Maitri-upanishad, p. 100.

should meditate on his teeth¹, palate, tongue, neck, and throat likewise, and also the heart, and likewise the seat of the heart. That talented pupil, O destroyer of Madhu! having been thus instructed by me, proceeded further to interrogate (me) about the piety (required) for final emancipation, which is difficult to explain. 'How does this food eaten from time to time become digested in the stomach? How does it turn to juice and how also to blood? And how, too, do the flesh, and marrow, and muscles, and bones—which all (form) the bodies for embodied (selves)—develop in a woman as that (self) develops? How, too, does the strength develop? (And how is it also) about the removal of non-nutritive (substances)², and of the excretions, distinctly? How, too, does he breathe inwards or outwards? And what place does the self occupy, dwelling in the self³? And how does the soul moving about carry the body? And of what colour and of what description (is it when) he leaves it? O sinless venerable sir! be pleased to state this accurately to me.' Thus questioned by that Brāhmaṇa, O Mādhava! I replied⁴, 'O you of mighty arms! O

¹ Nīlakanṭha cites numerous passages from works of the Yoga philosophy in illustration of this. He takes 'heart' to mean the Brahman seated in the heart (cf. *Āṅḍogya*, p. 528), and 'the seat of the heart' to mean the one hundred and one passages of the heart. The latter expression Arguna Misra seems to render by 'mind.' See also generally on this passage, *Maitrī-upanishad*, p. 133, and *Yoga-sūtra* III, 1 and 28 seq., and commentary there.

² Literally, 'those which are void of strength.' I adopt Arguna Misra's reading. The other reading literally means 'obstructions.'

³ The self here means the body, I take it. See p. 248 *supra*.

⁴ The reply does not appear here. Nīlakanṭha says that the succeeding chapters contain it. Arguna Misra seems to say that the answer has been already given. The context here is obscure.

restrainer of (your) foes! according to what (I had) heard. As one placing any property in his store-room should fix his mind on the property¹, so placing one's mind in one's body, and (keeping) the passages confined, one should there look for the self and avoid heedlessness². Being thus always assiduous and pleased in the self, he attains in a short time to that Brahman, after perceiving which he understands the Pradhâna³. He is not to be grasped by the eye, nor by any of the senses. Only by the mind (used) as a lamp is the great self perceived⁴. He has hands and feet on all sides; he has eyes, heads, and faces on all sides; he has ears on all sides; he stands pervading everything in the world⁵. The soul sees the self⁶ come out from the body; and abandoning his body, he perceives the self,—holding it to be the immaculate Brahman,—with, as it were, a mental smile⁷. And then depending upon it thus, he attains final emancipation in me⁸.

¹ *Nīlakanṭha* says the original means household effects; *Arguna Mirra* says wealth, and adds, the mind is fixed on it from fear of others finding it out.

² Cf. *Sanatsugâtīya*, p. 152. Here, however, the sense is the ordinary one.

³ I.e. all nature, that from which the universe is developed.

⁴ Cf. *Kaṭha*, pp. 117–130. See *Sānti Parvan* (*Moksha*) CCXL, 16.

⁵ Cf. *Gītā*, p. 103. The stanza occurs often in the *Bhārata*. This, says *Arguna Mirra*, answers the question 'how the soul carries the body.' The soul can do that as it is all-pervading.

⁶ The individual soul, which has acquired true knowledge, perceives the self to be distinct from the body. See p. 249 *supra*.

⁷ I.e. at the false notions which he entertained. *Nīlakanṭha* says, 'smile, i.e. amazement that he should have been deceived by the mirage-like course of worldly life.'

⁸ I.e. final emancipation and assimilation with the supreme; 'depending upon it thus' = taking refuge with the Brahman in the way above stated.

This whole mystery I have declared to you, O best of Brāhmaṇas¹! I will now take my leave, I will go away; and do you (too) go away, O Brāhmaṇa! according to your pleasure.' Thus addressed by me, O *Kṛishṇa*! that pupil, possessed of great penance,—that Brāhmaṇa of rigid vows,—went away as he pleased.

Vāsudeva said :

Having spoken to me, O son of *Prithā*! these good words relating to the piety (required) for final emancipation, that best of Brāhmaṇas disappeared then and there. Have you listened to this, O son of *Prithā*! with a mind (fixed) on (this) one point only²? For on that occasion, too, sitting in the chariot you heard this same (instruction). It is my belief, O son of *Prithā*! that this is not easily understood by a man who is confused, or who has not acquired knowledge with his inmost soul purified³. What I have spoken, O chief of the descendants of *Bharata*! is a great mystery (even) among the gods. And it has never yet been heard by any man in this world, O son of *Prithā*! For, O sinless one! there is no other man than you worthy to hear it. Nor is it easily to be understood by (one whose) internal self (is) confused. The world of the gods⁴, O son of *Kuntī*! is filled by those who perform

¹ Arguna Misra says, the only questions among those stated above, which are of use for final emancipation, have been here answered. The others should be looked for elsewhere.

² The original words here are identical with those at *Gītā*, p. 139.

³ I adopt *Nilakanṭha*'s reading here. Arguna Misra reads 'vigagdhena,' which he explains to mean 'one who eats kinds of food incompatible with one another.' A third reading is 'kṛitaghṇena,' ungrateful!

⁴ See *Gītā*, p. 84.

actions. And the gods are not pleased with a cessation of the mortal form¹. For as to that eternal Brahman, O son of *Prithā*! that is the highest goal, where one, forsaking the body, reaches immortality and is ever happy. Adopting this doctrine, even those who are of sinful birth, women, Vaisyas, and *Sûdras* likewise, attain the supreme goal. What then (need be said of) *Brâhmanas*, O son of *Prithā*²! or well-read *Kshatriyas*, who are constantly intent on their own duties, and whose highest goal is the world of the Brahman? This has been stated with reasons; and also the means for its acquisition; and the fruit of its full accomplishment, final emancipation, and determination regarding misery³. O chief of the descendants of *Bharata*! there can be no other happiness beyond this. The mortal, O son of *Pāndu*! who, possessed of talents, full of faith, and energetic⁴, casts aside as unsubstantial the (whole) substance of this world⁵, he forthwith attains the highest goal by these means. This is all that is to be said, there is nothing further than this. Concentration of mind comes to him, O son of *Prithā*! who practises concentration of mind constantly throughout six months⁶.

¹ Cf. *Brhadâraṇyaka*, p. 234, where *Śaṅkara* quotes the original stanza, but with a reading which means, 'And the gods are not pleased at mortals rising above (them).' That is a better reading.

² See *Gītā*, pp. 85, 86, where the words are nearly identical with those in the text.

³ This is not quite clear. Does 'determination regarding misery,' the original of which is *duḥkhasya ka vinirṇayaḥ*, mean 'conclusion of all misery?' Comp. *Gītā*, p. 79.

⁴ *Arguna Mirra* says this means assiduous.

⁵ I.e. wealth and so forth, says *Nīlakanṭha*. Cf. 'human wealth' at *Sanatsugāṭīya*, p. 161.

⁶ Cf. *Maitrī-upanishad*, p. 154. The copy of *Arguna Mirra*'s

CHAPTER V.

On this ¹, too, O chief of the descendants of Bharata! they relate this ancient story, (in the form of) a dialogue, which occurred, O son of Prithā! between a husband and wife. A Brāhmaṇa's wife, seeing the Brāhmaṇa her husband, who had gone through all knowledge and experience ², seated in seclusion, spoke to him (thus): 'What world, indeed, shall I go to, depending on you as (my) husband, you who live renouncing (all) action, and who are harsh and un-discerning ³. We have heard that wives attain to the worlds acquired by (their) husbands. What goal, verily, shall I reach, having got you for my husband?' Thus addressed, that man of a tranquil self, spoke to her with a slight smile: 'O beautiful one! O sinless one! I am not offended at these words of yours. Whatever action there is, that can be caught (by the touch) ⁴, or seen, or heard, that only do the men of action engage in as action. Those who are devoid of knowledge only lodge ⁵ delusion in themselves by means of action. And freedom from action is not to be attained in this world even for an

commentary which I have used, says that the Anugītā ends here. But, as we have shown, there is a verse coming further on, which Śaṅkarācārya cites as from the Anugītā. In the printed copies of the Mahābhārata the next chapter is called the Brāhmaṇagītā.

¹ I.e. the questions at p. 252, *Nilakanṭha*; more probably, perhaps, the 'doctrine' mentioned at p. 254 is what is alluded to.

² Cf. *Gītā*, p. 57 and note.

³ *Nilakanṭha* says this means 'ignorant that the wife has no other support.' *Arguna Misra* interprets *kṛnāsa* to mean 'indigent' instead of 'harsh.'

⁴ So *Arguna Misra*. *Nilakanṭha*'s reading and his interpretation of the passage are different.

⁵ I follow *Arguna Misra*; the original literally means 'restrain.'

instant¹. From birth to the destruction of the body, action, good or bad, by act, mind or speech², does exist among (all) beings. While the paths³ (of action), in which the materials are visible, are destroyed by demons⁴, I have perceived by means of the self the seat abiding in the self⁵—(the seat) where dwells the Brahman free from the pairs of opposites, and the moon together with the fire⁶, upholding (all) beings (as) the mover of the intellectual principle⁷; (the seat) for which⁸ Brahman and others concentrating (their minds) worship that indestructible (principle), and for which learned men have their senses restrained, and their selves tranquil, and (observe) good vows. It is not to be smelt by the nose, and not to be tasted by the tongue. It is not to be touched by the sense of touch, but is to be apprehended by the mind. It cannot be

¹ Cf. *Gītā*, pp. 52, 53; see also, as to freedom from action, *Gītā*, p. 127.

² I.e. thought, word, and deed. I have in the text kept to a more literal rendering.

³ This is *Nīlakanṭha*'s reading and interpretation. *Arguna Mirra* reads 'actions visible and invisible.'

⁴ Cf. *inter alia* *Kumāra-sambhava* II, 46.

⁵ I.e. says *Arguna Mirra*, the safe place, within the body; and says *Nīlakanṭha*, the seat called *Avimukta*, between the nose and the brows; as to which cf. *Gītā*, p. 67. In the *Kenopanishad* (p. 220) the word *āyatana* is used to signify a means to the attainment of the Brahman.

⁶ The moon and fire constitute the universe, says *Arguna Mirra*. Cf. *Gītā*, p. 113. *Nīlakanṭha* interprets this more mystically as referring to the *Idā* and *Pīṅgalā* arteries.

⁷ So *Nīlakanṭha*, but he takes it to stand for 'vāyu' or wind, as a distinct principle. The sense is by no means clear. But the moon being the deity of the mind also may, perhaps, be described as she is here, on that account.

⁸ This is *Arguna Mirra*'s interpretation of the original locative.

conquered by the eyes, and is entirely beyond the senses of hearing. It is devoid of smell, devoid of taste and touch, devoid of colour and sound, and imperishable¹. (It is that) from which (this whole) expanse² (of the universe) proceeds, and on which it rests. From this the *Prâna*, *Apâna*, *Samâna*, *Vyâna*, and *Udâna* also proceed, and into it they enter³. Between the *Samâna* and the *Vyâna*, the *Prâna* and the *Apâna* moved. When that⁴ is asleep, the *Samâna* and *Vyâna* also are absorbed⁵; and between the *Prâna* and the *Apâna* dwells the *Udâna* pervading (all). Therefore the *Prâna* and the *Apâna* do not forsake a sleeping person. That is called the *Udâna*, as the life-winds are controlled⁶ (by it). And therefore those who study the Brahman engage in penance⁷ of which I am the goal⁸. In

¹ Cf. note 4, p. 247 supra, and p. 253.

² Arguna Misra says this means the five great elements, the eleven organs (active and perceptive, and the mind), the life-wind, and the individual soul.

³ The *Prâna* is at the nose, the *Apâna* at the arms, the *Samâna* at the navel, the *Vyâna* pervades the whole body, and the *Udâna* is at all the joints; cf. *Yoga-sûtra* III, 38 seq. *Nilakantha* says this explains how the 'expanse' (meaning, he says, the operations of the creation, &c.) 'proceeds' from the Brahman. See on the life-winds, *Brhadâranyaka*, p. 667; *Khândogya*, pp. 42-188; *Sânkhya-tattvakaumudî*, p. 96; *Vedânta Paribhâshâ*, p. 45; p. 271 infra.

⁴ The self, Arguna Misra. *Nilakantha* says, 'the *Prâna* accompanied by the *Apâna*.'

⁵ I. e. into the *Prâna* and *Apâna*, Arguna Misra.

⁶ *Nilakantha* derives the word thus, *utkarshena ânayati*.

⁷ I. e. the subjugation of the life-winds as indicated at *Gîtâ*, p. 61.

⁸ The meaning of the passage as a whole is not very clear, and the commentators afford but little help. The sense appears to be this: The course of worldly life is due to the operations of the life-winds which are attached to the self and lead to its manifestations as individual souls. Of these, the *Samâna* and *Vyâna* are

the interior¹, in the midst of all these (life-winds) which move about in the body and swallow up one another², blazes the Vaisvâna fire³ sevenfold. The nose, and the tongue, and the eye, and the skin, and the ear as the fifth, the mind and the understanding, these are the seven tongues⁴ of the blaze of Vaisvânara. That which is to be smelt, that which is to be drunk, that which is to be seen, that which is to be touched, and likewise that which is to be heard, and also that which is to be thought of, and that which is to be understood, those are the seven (kinds of) fuel for me⁵. That which smells, that which eats, that which sees, that which touches, and that which hears as the fifth, that which thinks, and that which understands, these are the seven great officiating priests⁶. And mark this always,

controlled and held under check by the Prâna and Apâna, into which latter the former are absorbed in sleep. The latter two are held in check and controlled by the Udâna, which thus controls all. And the control of this, which is the control of all the five, and which is otherwise called penance, destroys the course of worldly life, and leads to the supreme self.

¹ I. e. within the body.

² As explained in note 8, p. 258.

³ This, says *Nīlakantha*, explains the word 'I' in the sentence preceding. Vaisvânara is a word often used to denote the self. The Vishamasloki derives it thus, 'that which saves all beings from hell'; see the *Prasna-upanishad*, pp. 167-188 (where seven tongues are also referred to); *Mundaka*, p. 292; *Khândogya*, p. 364; *Māndukya*, p. 341.

⁴ Cf. *Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka*, p. 802.

⁵ I. e. the Vaisvânara. Cf. *Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka*, p. 803 and gloss.

⁶ These I take to be the powers of hearing, &c., which are presided over by the several deities; or, better, perhaps, they may mean the soul distinguished as so many with reference to these several powers; cf. *Bṛihadâraṇyaka*, p. 169; *Maitrī*, p. 96; *Prasna*, pp. 214, 215; *Kaushîtaki*, p. 96; *Aitareya*, p. 187; *Khândogya*, p. 616. The latter sense is accepted by *Arguna Misra*.

O beautiful one ! The learned sacrificers throwing (in) due (form) the seven offerings into the seven fires in seven ways, produce them in their wombs¹ ; (namely), that which is to be smelt, that which is to be drunk, that which is to be seen, that which is to be touched, and likewise that which is to be heard, that which is to be thought of, and also that which is to be understood. Earth, air, space, water, and light as the fifth, mind and understanding, these seven, indeed, are named wombs. All the qualities which stand² as offerings are absorbed in the mouth of the fire³ ; and having dwelt within that dwelling are born in their respective wombs⁴. And in that very (principle), which is the generator of all entities, they remain absorbed during (the time of) deluge. From that⁵ is produced smell ; from that is produced taste ; from that is produced colour ; from that touch is produced ; from that is produced sound ; from that doubt⁶ is produced ; from that is produced determination. This (is what) they know as the sevenfold production. In this very way was it⁷ comprehended by the ancients. Becoming perfected by the perfect sacrifice⁸, they were perfectly filled with light.'

¹ The next clause explains this ; that which is to be smelt is earth, and so on throughout. The men who sacrifice all sensuous objects, get such powers that they can create the objects whenever they like. As to 'in their wombs,' see Yoga Bhāshya, p. 108.

² I. e. are so treated in the above allegory.

³ I. e. the Brahman.

⁴ I. e. when the sacrificer wishes, as stated in note 1.

⁵ That principle—viz. the Brahman.

⁶ This is the operation of the mind, see Gītā, p. 57 note.

⁷ The Brahman, Arguna Misra. Or it may be the 'sevenfold production.'

⁸ The wholesale sacrifice of all sensuous perceptions. The

CHAPTER VI.

The Brâhmaṇa said :

On this, too, they relate this ancient story. Learn now of what description is the institution of the ten sacrificial priests¹. The ear², the skin, the two eyes, the tongue, the nose, the two feet, the two hands, speech, the genital organ, and the anus, these, verily, are ten sacrificial priests, O beautiful one! Sound, touch, colour, and taste, smell, words, action, motion, and the discharge of semen, urine, and excrement, these are the ten oblations. The quarters, wind, sun, moon, earth and fire, and Vishṇu also, Indra, Prajāpati, and Mitra, these, O beautiful one! are the ten fires³. The ten organs are the makers of the offering; the offerings are ten, O beautiful one! Objects of sense, verily, are the fuel; and they are offered up into the ten fires. The mind is the ladle⁴; and the wealth is the pure, highest knowledge⁵. (Thus) we have heard, was the universe duly divided⁶. And the mind, which is the instru-

root corresponding with perfect occurs three times in the original, hence the repetition of perfect above.

¹ Cf. Taittirīya-brâhmaṇa, p. 411, and Âraṇyaka, p. 281.

² Cf. Brîhadâraṇyaka, p. 459. The reading in the printed edition of Bombay is defective here.

³ See p. 337 seq., where all this is more fully explained. And cf. the analogous Buddhistic doctrine stated at Lalita Vistara (Translation by Dr. R. Mitra), p. 11.

⁴ See Taittirīya-âraṇyaka loc. cit., and cf. Gîtâ, p. 61. 'The wealth' probably means the Dakṣhiṇâ to be given to the priests, which is mentioned at Gîtâ, p. 119.

⁵ The 'priests' here being the senses, the knowledge would accrue to them, as to which cf. Gîtâ, p. 108.

⁶ See note 3.

ment of knowledge, requires everything knowable¹ (as its offering). The mind is within the body the upholder of the frame, and the knower is the upholder of the body². That³ upholder of the body is the Gârhapatya fire; from that another is produced, and the mind which is the Âhavanīya; and into this the offering is thrown. Then the lord of speech was produced⁴; that (lord of speech) looks up to the mind. First, verily, are words produced; and the mind runs after them.

¹ Each sense can only offer up its own perceptions—the mind offers up all knowledge whatever.

² Arguna Misra says this is an implied simile, the mind is an upholder of the body as the 'knower' or self is.

³ Arguna Misra says this means 'the mind.' I think it better to take it here as the self (see p. 238 supra), to which the 'mind' and the 'other,' mentioned further on, would be subordinate; the 'other' Arguna Misra renders by the 'group of the senses.' The senses are compared to fires at Gîtâ, p. 61. The passage at Taittiriya-âraṇyaka above cited refers only to the Gârhapatya and Âhavanīya fires. Nilakanṭha's text and explanation of this passage are, to my mind, not nearly so satisfactory as Arguna Misra's.

⁴ In the Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa and Âraṇyaka loc. cit., the equivalent of the original word for 'lord of speech' here occurs, viz. Vâkpati for Vâkspati here; but that is there described as the Hotrī priest, and speech itself as the Vēdī or altar. The commentator there interprets 'lord of speech' to mean the wind which causes vocal activity, and resides in the throat, palate, &c. As to mind and speech, see also Khândogya, pp. 285-441, and comments of Saṅkara there. The meaning of this passage, however, is not by any means clear to my mind. The Darahotrī mantras in the Taittirīya are stated to be the mantras of the Ishī, or sacrifice, performed by Pragāpati for creation. It is possible, then, that the meaning here is, that speech which is to be learnt by the pupil, as stated further on—namely, the Vedas—was first produced from that Ishī (cf. Kullūka on Manu I, 21). But to understand that speech, mind is necessary; hence it is said to look up to the mind. The Brāhmaṇa's wife, however, seems to understand speech as ordinary speech, hence her question.

The Brāhmaṇa's wife said :

How did speech come into existence first, and how did the mind come into existence afterwards, seeing that words are uttered (after they have been) thought over by the mind? By means of what experience does intelligence come to the mind, and (though) developed, does not comprehend¹? What verily obstructs it?

The Brāhmaṇa said :

The Apāna becoming lord changes it into the state of the Apāna in consequence. That is called the movement of the mind, and hence the mind is in need (of it)². But since you ask me a question regarding speech and mind, I will relate to you a dialogue between themselves. Both speech and mind went to the self of all beings³ and spoke (to him thus), 'Say which of us is superior; destroy our doubts, O lord!' Thereupon the lord positively said to speech, 'Mind (is superior).' But speech thereupon said to him, 'I, verily, yield (you) your desires⁴.'

¹ This, again, is to my mind very hard to understand. The original word for 'intelligence' is *mati*, which at *K'hândogya*, p. 514, Saṅkara interprets thus: 'intelligence is pondering, application to (literally, respect for) the subject of thought.' The original for 'developed,' Arguna Misra renders by 'mixed or assimilated with;' and 'does not comprehend,' he takes to mean 'does not understand—speech or words.' This question appears to be suggested by the last words of the previous speech.

² These two sentences are again very obscure. Nilakanṭha, as usual, deserts his original, giving peculiar meanings to the words without producing any authority. Arguna Misra is very meagre, and besides the MS. is very incorrect. See p. 264, note 5 *infra*.

³ I. e. Pragāpati, says Arguna Misra, which seems to be justified by the sequel. Nilakanṭha takes it to mean the individual self, which doubtless is its meaning elsewhere, e. g. Mairi, p. 56.

⁴ I. e. speech conveys information on all matters, Arguna Misra;

The Brâhmana¹ said :

Know, that (in) my (view), there are two minds², immovable and also movable. The immovable, verily, is with me ; the movable is in your dominion. Whatever mantra, or letter, or tone goes to your dominion, that indeed is the movable mind³. To that you are superior. But inasmuch, O beautiful one! as you came personally to speak to me (in the way you did)⁴, therefore, O Sarasvatî! you shall never speak after (hard) exhalations⁵. The goddess speech, verily, dwelt always between the Prâna and Apâna⁶. But, O noble one! going with the Apâna

as the means of acquiring desired fruit, visible or invisible, is learnt by speech, *Nilakantha*. Cf. as to all this, *Bṛhadâraṇyaka-upanishad*, pp. 50 seq. and 261.

¹ I.e. *Nilakantha* says, 'the Brâhmana named mind,' alluding apparently to p. 310 infra. But the reading of some of the MSS., viz. Brahman for the Brâhmana, seems preferable, having regard to what follows. Apparently, the Brâhmana's own speech should begin at 'The goddess speech' further on.

² *Nilakantha* says, immovable=to be understood by the external senses ; movable=not perceptible by senses, such as heaven, &c., which is not quite intelligible. Arguna Misra says, the immovable mind is that of the teacher, which is fixed, as it has not to learn or acquire anything, while that of the pupil is movable as acquiring new impressions and knowledge.

³ I.e. it is the movable mind which takes cognisance of the significations of all mantras (sacred texts), letters, tones, in which, I presume, sacred instruction is conveyed. To this mind, speech is superior, as that mind only works on what speech places before it ; but the mind which is 'with' Pragâpati, is superior to speech as it is not dependent on speech like the other.

⁴ I.e. proudly, about her being the giver of desires to Brahman.

⁵ I.e., says Arguna Misra, the words will not come out with the Prâna life-wind and convey any sense to the hearer, but will be absorbed down into the Apâna life-wind, and not be articulated as speech at all. Cf. Kaushitaki, p. 41 ; *Kaṭha*, p. 184 (with glosses) ; and *Khândogya*, p. 42.

⁶ I.e., I presume, was dependent on the two life-winds named.

wind¹, though impelled, (in consequence of) being without the *Prāṇa*, she ran up to *Pragâpati*, saying, 'Be pleased², O venerable sir!' Then³ the *Prāṇa* appeared again nourishing speech. And therefore speech never speaks after (hard) exhalation. It is always noisy or noiseless. Of those two, the noiseless is superior to the noisy⁴ (speech). This excellent (speech), like a cow, yields milk⁵, and speaking of the *Brahman* it always produces the eternal (emancipation). This cow-like speech, O you of a bright smile! is divine, with divine⁶ power. Observe the difference of (its) two subtle, flowing (forms)⁷.

The *Brāhmaṇa*'s wife said :

What did the goddess of speech say on that occasion in days of old, when, though (she was) impelled with a desire to speak, words could not be uttered?

The *Brāhmaṇa* said :

The (speech) which is produced in the body by

Cf. p. 353 *infra*. For this sense of the word 'between,' see p. 258 *supra*, and *Khândogya-upanishad*, p. 623.

¹ And not with the *Prāṇa*, so as to be articulated. Cf. p. 264.

² I. e. to withdraw the 'curse' pronounced, as above stated.

³ After the curse was withdrawn, says *Arguna Mirra*. Cf. *Bṛihadâraṇyaka*, p. 317.

⁴ Since, says *Arguna Mirra*, noiseless speech is the source of all words—*Vânmaya*. Perhaps we may compare *Aitareya-brāhmaṇa* (*Haug*), p. 47.

⁵ Viz. *Vânmaya* ; milk, as a source of pleasure.

⁶ I. e. enlightening, *Arguna Mirra*. But, perhaps, the translation should be, 'has powers divine and not divine.' As to this, cf. *Sāṅkhya Bhāṣya* on III, 41, and *Sāṅkhyatattvakaumudī*, p. 118, and *Wilson's Sāṅkhya Kārikā*, p. 37 (*Sanskrit*), and *Svetâsvatara*, p. 284 (gloss).

⁷ *Arguna Mirra* refers to a 'Satapatha text' in praise of the subtle speech. I cannot trace the text. But see *Nirukta* (*Roth*), pp. 167-187.

means of the *Prāṇa* ¹, and which then goes into the *Apāna*, and then becoming assimilated with the *Udāna* leaves the body ², and with the *Vyāna* envelopes all the quarters ³, then (finally) dwells in the *Samāna* ⁴. So speech formerly spoke. Hence the mind is distinguished by reason of its being immovable, and the goddess distinguished by reason of her being movable ⁵.

CHAPTER VII.

The *Brāhmaṇa* said :

On this, too, O beautiful one! they relate this ancient story, (which shows) of what description is the institution of the seven sacrificial priests ⁶. The

¹ Cf. *Āhândogya*, p. 285, and the passage there quoted by *Saṅkara* as well as *Ānandagiri's* gloss. And see, too, p. 353 *infra*.

² Viz. the part of it which specially appertains to speech—the throat, &c.

³ All the *nāḍīs* or passages of the body, *Arguna Misra*.

⁴ I. e. at the navel in the form of sound, as the material cause of all words. There and in that condition speech dwells, after going through the body, as above stated. There, adds *Arguna Misra*, devotees are to meditate on speech.

⁵ This is not quite clear, but the meaning seems to be, that the merit of the immovable mind consists in its unchangeability, and that of speech in being the cause of variations in the movable mind by conveying new knowledge and new impressions. Cf. on this result, *Āhândogya-upanishad*, p. 482.

⁶ *Arguna Misra* says, the last chapter explained *Prāṇāyāma*, and this explains *Pratyāhāra*. *Prāṇāyāma* is the restraint of the life-winds, *Pratyāhāra* that of the senses, according to the *Yoga* philosophy (see the quotation in the commentary at *Yoga-sūtra* III, 1, and see also pp. 141–145). Cf. also *Gītā*, p. 61. The *Sapta-hotri-vidhāna* as taught in the *Taittiriya-brāhmaṇa* and *Āraṇyaka* is to be found a few pages after the pages referred to for the *Dasahotri-vidhāna* at p. 261 *supra*. And the other *Vidhānas* also are to be found in the same parts of those books.

nose, and the eye, and the tongue, and the skin, and the ear as the fifth, mind and understanding, these are the seven sacrificial priests separately stationed. Dwelling in a minute space, they do not perceive each other. Do you, verily, O beautiful one! learn about these sacrificial priests, (which are) seven according to (their several) natures.

The Brāhmaṇa's wife said :

How (is it) these do not perceive each other, dwelling (as they do) in a minute space? What are their natures, O venerable sir? Tell me this, O lord!

The Brāhmaṇa said :

Not knowing the qualities (of anything) is ignorance (of it). Knowledge of the qualities is knowledge. And these never know the qualities of each other. The tongue, the eye, the ear likewise, the skin, the mind, and the understanding also, do not apprehend smells, the nose apprehends them. The nose, the eye, the ear likewise, the skin, the mind, and the understanding also, do not apprehend tastes, the tongue apprehends them. The nose, the tongue, the ear likewise, the skin, the mind, and the understanding also, do not apprehend colours, the eye apprehends them. The nose, the tongue, and next the eye, the ear, the understanding, the mind likewise, do not apprehend (objects of) touch, the skin apprehends them. The nose, the tongue, and the eye, the skin, the mind, and the understanding also, do not apprehend sounds, the ear apprehends them. The nose, the tongue, and the eye, the skin, the ear, and the understanding also, do not apprehend doubt, the mind apprehends it. The nose, the tongue, and the eye, the skin, the ear, and the mind

also, do not apprehend final determination, the understanding apprehends it. On this, too, they relate this ancient story,—a dialogue, O beautiful one! between the senses and the mind.

The mind said :

The nose smells not without me, the tongue does not perceive taste, the eye does not take in colour, the skin does not become aware of any (object of) touch. Without me, the ear does not in any way hear sound. I am the eternal chief among all elements¹. Without me, the senses never shine, like an empty dwelling, or like fires the flames of which are extinct. Without me, all beings, like fuel half dried and half moist, fail to apprehend qualities or objects, even with the senses exerting themselves².

The senses said :

This would be true as you believe, if you, without us, enjoyed the enjoyments (derived from) our objects³. If when we are extinct, (there is) pleasure and support of life, and if you enjoy enjoyments, then what you believe is true; or if when we are absorbed⁴, and objects are standing, you enjoy objects according to their natures by the mere operation of the mind.

¹ Cf. Kaushîtaki-upanishad, p. 93; *Khândogya*, p. 297; *Maitrî*, p. 158; and *Bṛihadâraṇyaka*, p. 284. The passages in the last two works seem to be identical ones.

² I. e. in their respective operations.

³ The implication, of course, is, as Arguna Misra says, that this is not so, as what is not perceived by the senses cannot be the object of the mind's operations,—a proposition which reminds one of the maxim, 'Nihil est in intellectu quod non fuerit in sensu,' apparently without Leibnitz's limitation of it. Cf. Archbishop Thomson's *Laws of Thought*, p. 52.

⁴ As in sleep, &c.

If again you think your power over our objects is constant¹, then take in colours by the nose, take in tastes by the eye, take in smells by the ear, take in (objects of) touch by the tongue, and take in sounds by the skin, and also (objects of)² touch by the understanding. For those who are powerful have no rules (to govern them); rules are for the weak. You should accept enjoyments unenjoyed before; you ought not to enjoy what has been tasted³ (by others). As a pupil goes to a preceptor for Vedic learning, and having acquired Vedic learning from him, performs the directions of the Vedic texts, so you treat as yours⁴ objects shown⁵ by us, both past and future⁶, in sleep and likewise wakefulness. Besides, when creatures of little intelligence are distracted in mind, life is seen to be supported, when our objects⁷ perform their functions. And even after having carried on numerous mental operations, and indulged in dreams, a creature, when troubled by desire to enjoy, does run to objects of sense only. One entering upon enjoyments, resulting from mental operations (alone), and not connected with objects

¹ I.e. if you can enjoy objects independently of the senses, whenever you choose to perform your operations. This, says Arguna Mirra, meets an objection which might be made, that the mind at the time stated does not desire objects.

² Sic in original. It comes twice.

³ Eating what has been tasted by another is a cause of degradation. Cf. *Khândogya*, p. 81; *Maitrî*, p. 103; and p. 363 *infra*.

⁴ You incorrectly attribute to yourself the quality of apprehending them.

⁵ I.e. presented before you by us.

⁶ This is not quite clear. Arguna Mirra has, 'not past, not future;' literally, 'not come, not gone.'

⁷ Viz. smell, sound, &c.; not by the mere operations of the mind, but by obtaining the objects, is life supported.

of sense, (which is) like entering a house without a door¹, always meets death, on the exhaustion of the life-winds², as a fire which is kindled (is extinguished) on the exhaustion of fuel. Granted, that we have connexions with our (respective) qualities, and granted that we have no perception of each other's qualities; still, without us, you have no perception³, and so long no happiness can accrue to you.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Brāhmaṇa said :

On this, too, they relate an ancient story, O beautiful one! (showing) of what description is the institution of the five sacrificial priests. The learned know this to be a great principle, that the Prāṇa and the Apāna, and the Udāna, and also the Samāna and the Vyāna, are the five sacrificial priests.

The Brāhmaṇa's wife said :

My former belief was that the sacrificial priests were seven by (their) nature⁴. State how the great principle is that there are verily five sacrificial priests⁵.

¹ The senses are the doors of the house here, as they are among the doors of the city at Gītā, p. 65.

² Owing to the want of food, &c. Cf. Maitrī, p. 112, and *Khândogya*, p. 422.

³ Perception of pleasure, says Arguna Misra; but he takes the subsequent clause to mean this, 'and without you no pleasure accrues to us either.' The text is here in an unsatisfactory state.

⁴ As stated in the last chapter; some MSS. read 'your' for 'my' at the beginning of the sentence.

⁵ Arguna Misra says that in this *Paññahotri-vidhāna* the five chief *Hotris* only are stated for briefly explaining the *Prāṇāyāma*.

The Brâhmaṇa said :

The wind prepared by the Prâṇa afterwards becomes the Apâna. The wind prepared in the Apâna then works as the Vyâna. The wind prepared by the Vyâna works as the Udâna. And the wind prepared in the Udâna is produced as Samâna¹. They formerly went to the grandsire, who was born first, and said to him, 'Tell us which is greatest among us. He shall be the greatest among us².'

Brahman said :

He, verily, is the greatest, who being extinct, all the life-winds in the body of living creatures become extinct; and on whose moving about, they again move about. (Now) go where (you) like.

The Prâṇa said :

When I am extinct, all the life-winds in the body

¹ Arguna Misra says, 'The wind going to the Prâṇa, and being obstructed in upward progress by the Prâṇa, goes to the Apâna, and then unable to go upwards or downwards, enters the passages or nâḍis of the body and becomes Vyâna. In the same way Udâna, by the collision of the two, produces sound in the throat, and depends on Prâṇa and Apâna; so, too, the Samâna dwelling in the navel and kindling the gastric fire is also dependent on those two.' The meaning seems to be that one life-wind is distributed in the different places, and gets different names, as stated, in the order mentioned. See Maitrî, p. 28.

² A similar visit on the part of the Prâṇas (who, however, are not there the life-winds only, but the Prâṇa life-wind and the active organs) to Pragâpati is mentioned at *Bṛhadâraṇyaka-upanishad*, p. 1016, and *Khândogya*, p. 297. Cf. also *Prama*, p. 178; *Bṛhadâraṇyaka*, p. 317; and *Kaushîtaki*, p. 63. See also, generally, as to the life-winds and their functions, *Bṛhadâraṇyaka*, p. 280, and *Śaṅkara's* comment there; *Yoga-sûtras* III, 38, and comment; *Cowell's* note at *Maitrî*, p. 247; *Sânti Parvan* (*Moksha Dharma*), chap. 184, st. 24-25; chap. 185, st. 1 seq.; and p. 258 supra.

of living creatures become extinct; and on my moving about, they again move about. I am the greatest. See I am extinct!

The Brâhmaṇa said :

Then the Prâṇa became extinct, and again moved about. Then the Samâna and Udâna also¹, O beautiful one! spoke these words, 'You do not pervade all this here as we do. You are not the greatest among us, O Prâṇa, because the Apâna is subject to you².' The Prâṇa again moved about³, and the Apâna⁴ said to him.

The Apâna said :

When I am extinct, all the life-winds in the body of living creatures become extinct; and on my moving about, they again move about. I am the greatest. See I am extinct!

The Brâhmaṇa said :

Then the Vyâna and the Udâna addressed him who was speaking (thus): 'You are not the greatest, O Apâna! because the Prâṇa is subject to you.' Then the Apâna moved about, and the Vyâna spoke to him: 'I am the greatest among (you) all. Hear the reason why. When I am extinct, all the life-winds in the body of living creatures become extinct.

¹ Arguna Misra says, Vyâna and Apâna also by force of the two 'ands' which occur in the original; and so in other places too.

² Arguna Misra says on this, 'The Prâṇa moves upwards through the help of the Apâna. If it moved downwards, it would be simply absorbed into the Apâna.'

³ I. e. recommenced its proper operation in its proper place.

⁴ And the other life-winds also, Arguna Misra says, the name Prâṇa being merely 'indicative,' as the phrase is, of the class to which it belongs.

And on my moving about, they again move about. I am the greatest. See I am extinct!

The Brāhmaṇa said :

Then the Vyāna became extinct, and again moved about. And the Prāṇa and Apāna, and the Udāna, and the Samāna, spoke to him, 'You are not the greatest among us, O Vyāna! because the Samāna¹ is subject to you.' The Vyāna moved about again, and the Samāna spoke again. 'I am the greatest among (you) all. Hear the reason why. When I am extinct, all the life-winds in the body of living creatures become extinct; and on my moving about, they again move about. I am the greatest. See I am extinct!' Then the Samāna moved about, and the Udāna said to him: 'I am the greatest among (you) all. Hear the reason why. When I am extinct, all the life-winds in the body of living creatures become extinct; and on my moving about, they again move about. I am the greatest. See I am extinct!' Then the Udāna became extinct, and again moved about. And the Prāṇa and Apāna, and the Samāna, and the Vyāna also, spoke to him: 'O Udāna! you are not the greatest. The Vyāna² only is subject to you.'

The Brāhmaṇa said :

Then Brahman, the lord of (all) creatures, said to them who were assembled together: 'You are all greatest, and not greatest³. You are all possessed

¹ Because the Samāna helps in the digestion of the food which afterwards goes to the Vyāna for distribution through the nāḍīs.

² Because the Udāna is able to generate sound after the nāḍīs are filled up by the Vyāna.

³ 'Not greatest' because none of them is independent of the other. 'Greatest' Arguna Misra renders by 'superior to objects.'

of one another's qualities¹. All are greatest in their own spheres, and all support one another. There is one unmoving² (life-wind). There are others moving about, (which are) five, owing to (their) specific qualities. My own self is one only³, (but) accumulated in numerous (forms). Being friendly with one another, and pleasing one another, go away happily. Welfare be to you ! Support one another.'

CHAPTER IX.

The Brāhmaṇa said :

On this, too, they relate this ancient story, a dialogue between Nārada and the sage Devamata.

Devamata said :

When a creature is about to be born, what comes into existence first, his Prāṇa, or Apāna, or Samāna, or Vyāna, or else Udāna ?

Nārada said :

By whichever the creature is produced, that which is other than this first comes to him. And the pairs of the life-winds should be understood, which (move) upwards, or downwards, or transversely.

¹ This is not quite clear. I presume it means that each one has the generic qualities which make the others great in their own spheres ; but the specific qualities are different.

² The one life-wind is supposed here to be generally unmoving, but its distribution among the different parts of the body as specified, for instance, in the commentary on the Yoga-sūtra III, 38, gives it the different names. The expression does not seem to be quite accurate for this, which nevertheless seems to be the true sense.

³ Another reading is, 'That one is my own self.' Cf. Maitrī, pp. 28 seq., 105, and Brhadāraṇyaka, p. 169.

Devamata said :

By which (of the life-winds) is a creature produced? and which (of them) first comes to him? Explain to me also the pairs of the life-winds, which (move) upwards, or downwards, or transversely.

Nârada said :

Pleasure is produced from a mental operation¹, and (it) is also produced from a sound, (it) is also produced from taste, and (it) is also produced from colour, and (it) is also produced from touch, and (it) is also produced from smell. This is the effect² of the Udâna ; the pleasure is produced from union³. From desire the semen is produced ; and from the semen is produced menstrual excretion. The semen and the blood are produced by the Samâna and the Vyâna in common⁴. From the combination of the semen and the blood, the Prâna comes first into operation ; and the semen being developed by the Prâna, the Apâna then comes into operation. The pair Prâna and Apâna go upwards and downwards, and the Samâna and Vyâna are called the pair (moving) transversely. It is the teaching of the

¹ I.e. desire. 'Sound' = recollection of a woman's voice ; 'taste,' scil. of chastity ; 'colour' = the beauty of a woman, Arguna Misra. Cf. Âpastamba I, 2, 7, 8, and Lalita Vistara, p. 19.

² Literally, 'form,' which Arguna Misra interprets to mean effect, and adds, 'The Udâna causes mental activity, and by mental activity sound &c. are apprehended.'

³ I.e. of Udâna and mind, Arguna Misra ; adding, 'the result is that a creature is produced by the Udâna.'

⁴ Or, perhaps, generally, that is to say, the store of them, the specific semen being produced from desire, as before stated. The Samâna's function is the digestion of food, and that of the Vyâna is the distribution of the digested food to the whole body through the nâdis, hence the proposition in the text.

Veda, that the fire verily is all the deities¹, and knowledge (of it) arises among Brāhmaṇas, being accompanied by intelligence². The smoke of that (fire), which is of excellent glory, (appears) in the shape of (the quality of) darkness; (its) ashes, (the quality of) passion; and (the quality of) goodness is that in connexion with it³, in which the offering is thrown. Those who understand the sacrifice understand the Samāna and the Vyāna as the principal (offering). The Prāṇa and Apāna are portions⁴ of the offering of clarified butter, and between them is the fire. That is the excellent seat of the Udāna as understood by Brāhmaṇas⁵. As to that which is distinct from these pairs⁶, hear me speak about

¹ Cf. *inter alia*, Aitareya-brāhmaṇa (Haug's ed.), p. 1.

² Arguna Misra says intelligence means 'discussion, or argument'. The connexion of this with what has gone before, according to Arguna Misra, is this, that the author having first stated the five Hotrīs fully, now explains in what the Prāṇa and Apāna are to be offered up for acquiring the Prāṇāyama. The fire he takes to mean the self. Cf. what has been said about Vaisvānara above, p. 259.

³ That is to say, the flame, I take it. He is drawing out here the figure of the fire.

⁴ These are only a subordinate part of the offering, called Āgyabhāga. They are called subordinate, I suppose, as the operations of the Samāna and Vyāna are more practically important for vitality. The fire is the self. The place of the principal offering is between the Āgyabhāgas, as stated by Arguna Misra.

⁵ The Udāna is here treated as the life-wind into which the others are to be offered up. See p. 258, and note 8 there.

⁶ The next three sentences seem to indicate what is to be destroyed in common with the life-winds. One has to get rid of all notions about day and night, good and evil, existence and non-existence, and then final emancipation is reached. The fire, which is common to all the passages, stands for the self; into that apparently all the ideas of time, and good and evil, and so forth, are to be offered as the life-winds are; and that fire stands in the place of the Udāna, for this purpose, as into the last all the other life-winds

that. Day and night are a pair, between them is the fire. That is the excellent seat of the Udāna as understood by Brāhmaṇas. That which exists and that which does not exist are a pair, between them is the fire. That is the excellent seat of the Udāna as understood by Brāhmaṇas. The two—good and evil—are a pair, between them is the fire. That is the excellent seat of the Udāna as understood by Brāhmaṇas. First¹, the Samāna and Vyāna, their function² is performed: then, secondly, the Samāna comes into operation again. Then the Vāmadevya³ for tranquillity, and tranquillity is the eternal Brahman. This is the excellent seat of the Udāna as understood by Brāhmaṇas.

CHAPTER X.

On this, too, they relate an ancient story (showing) of what nature is the institution of the *Kāturhotra*⁴. The due performance of it in its entirety is now taught. Hear me, O good woman! state this won-

have to be offered. As to that which exists, &c., cf. *Gītā*, p. 103, and p. 370, note 9 *infra*. As to good and evil and generally, cf. *Kāṇḍogya*, p. 60; *Kaushitaki*, p. 19. They are nothing to one who knows the Brahman. Day and night *Arguna Mirra* takes to mean the *Idā* and *Pīngalā nāḍis*, between which is the *Sushumṇā*, as they are connected with the sun and moon. But the sense of the whole passage is far from clear.

¹ *Arguna Mirra* understands these to be three Savanas.

² Of taking into the *nāḍis* the food digested in the night, this is the morning Savana; the afternoon Savana is the kindling of the gastric fire for digesting new food.

³ The *Vāmadevya* is a *sūkta* beginning '*Kayā narāṭrā*' (*Rv.* IV, 31, 1). The singing of it is the third Savana, *Arguna Mirra*. And see *Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka*, p. 889.

⁴ Cf. *Aitareya-brāhmaṇa* (*Haug*), pp. 132, 133.

derful mystery. The instrument, the action, the agent, and emancipation¹, these, indeed, O you of a (pure) heart! are the four *Hotrīs* by whom this universe is enveloped. Hear also the assignment of causes exhaustively². The nose, and the tongue, and the eye, and the skin, and the ear as the fifth, mind and understanding, these seven should be understood to be the causes of (the knowledge of³) qualities. Smell, and taste, and colour, sound, and touch as the fifth, the object of the mental operation and the object of the understanding⁴, these seven are causes of action. He who smells, he who eats, he who sees, he who speaks, and he who hears as the fifth, he who thinks, and he who understands, these seven should be understood to be the causes of the agents⁵. These⁶, being possessed of qualities⁷, enjoy their own qualities, agreeable and disagreeable. And I am here devoid of qualities. Thus these seven are the causes of emancipation⁸. And among the learned who understand (everything), the

¹ Cf. as to the three first, *Gitā*, p. 123. They are the four categories, to one or other of which everything in the world may be referred.

² The texts here differ. *Arguna Misra*'s reading he interprets to mean 'the subjugation of these *Hotrīs*.' The reading followed in the text seems to some extent to be supported by the sequel. But the passage altogether is not very clear.

³ So *Arguna Misra*—through these the knowledge of the qualities of objects of sense is acquired.

⁴ The sensations, or perceptions, referred to lead to action.

⁵ This seems to mean, that the powers of smelling, &c., when attributed to the self, make him appear as an agent, as an active principle.

⁶ I. e. action, agent, and instrument, *Arguna Misra*.

⁷ I. e. the three, goodness, passion, and darkness.

⁸ It is these seven from which the self is to be emancipated. 'I' must mean the self, not the *Brāhmaṇa* who speaks.

qualities¹ which are in the position of the deities, each in its own place, always enjoy the offering according to prescribed rules. To him who is not learned, eating various (kinds of) food, the (feeling of this or that being) mine adheres. And cooking food for himself, he, through the (feeling of this or that being) mine, is ruined². The eating of that which should not be eaten, and drinking of intoxicating drinks also destroys him. He destroys the food, and destroying that food he is destroyed in return. The learned man, being (himself) a ruler, destroying this food again produces it³. And not even a trifling obstacle⁴ arises to him from that food. Whatever is thought by the mind⁵, whatever is spoken by speech, whatever is heard by the ear, whatever is seen by the eye, whatever is touched by the sense of touch, and whatever is smelt by the nose, absorbing all these offerings from all sides, together with those (senses) which with the mind are six⁶, my fire⁷ of (high) qualifications⁸, shines dwelling within the body. My sacrifice of concentration of mind is in progress, the performance of which yields the fire⁹ of knowledge ;

¹ I.e., I presume, the senses. Cf. *Gîtâ*, p. 55. The learned do not suppose their self to have aught to do with them. Cf. *Gîtâ*, p. 64.

² Cf. *Gîtâ*, p. 53 ; *Manu* III, 118.

³ His knowledge gives him this power. He is not 'destroyed' by the food as the other man is. *Nilakantha* compares *Bṛihadâraṇyaka*, p. 884. See, too, p. 260, note 1 supra.

⁴ I.e. mischief owing to the destruction of life necessary for getting food, says *Nilakantha* quoting *Bṛihadâraṇyaka*, p. 913.

⁵ This includes the operation of the understanding also. *Nilakantha* says this verse explains what the word 'food' means here.

⁶ For the phrase cf. *Gîtâ*, p. 112.

⁷ That is to say, my self, *Arguna* Misra. See p. 259, note 3 supra.

⁸ As the objects of sense &c. are all absorbed into it.

⁹ It is called 'fire,' as it burns up all action. Cf. *Gîtâ*, p. 62.

the Stotra in which, is the upward life-wind; the Sastra, the downward life-wind; and which is very beneficial on account of the abandonment of everything¹; the Brahman priest in which, is the counsellor in all action²; the Hotri priest, the self; the Adhvaryu priest, (the self) whose hymn of praise³ is the offering; the Sastra of the Prasāstri, truth; and the Dakshinā, final emancipation. On this, too, *Rik* verses are recited by the men who understand Nārāyana⁴—the god Nārāyana to whom they formerly offered animal⁵ (offerings). On that Sāman hymns⁶ are sung, of which an illustration is stated⁷.

¹ Arguna Misra's commentary is not intelligible here, so I follow Nilakantha, but diffidently.

² I. e. the mind, say the commentators. 'Mantā' simply is given among the synonyms of Ahānkāra at Sāṅkhya-sāra, p. 16.

³ I. e. the actions performed for knowledge of the truth, Arguna Misra.

⁴ Nilakantha refers to a *Rik* 'Tapa āśīd-grihapatiḥ,' and also the famous allegory at the end of the Taittirīya-āraṇyaka. These are cited, he says, as authorities for this 'sacrifice (consisting of) concentration of mind.'

⁵ I. e. the senses, Nilakantha. Arguna Misra compares the whole passage with the Puruṣa Sūkta, which are the *Rik* verses alluded to, according to him. He refers for further explanations to his own commentary on that sūkta of the Rig-veda.

⁶ They sing these hymns, out of the gratification produced by knowledge of the self, says Nilakantha, and he cites Taittirīya-āraṇyaka, p. 749. See also Taittirīya-upanishad, p. 138, and Saṅkara's commentary there.

⁷ The readings of our texts here are not very satisfactory. The illustration is stated, says Nilakantha, whose reading we follow, by the Taittirīyas in the passage referred to in the last note. Arguna Misra's reading means 'such as Tāhu kāhu,' which would seem to be the words of the Sāman hymn referred to. But his commentary does not show what the words before him were. The whole figure as drawn out in this passage is not quite clear, though the general sense is pretty intelligible. Cf. the allegories at Aitareya-brāhmaṇa, pp. 132, 133, and at the close of the Taittirīya-āraṇyaka.

O modest one! understand that god Nārāyaṇa, who is the self of everything.

CHAPTER XI.

There is one director¹; there is no second director. I speak concerning him who abides in the heart. This being, the director, dwells in the heart and directs (all creatures). Impelled by that same (being), I move as I am ordered, like water on a declivity. There is one instructor; there is no second (different) from him. I speak concerning him who abides in the heart. Taught by that instructor, all snakes whatever are ever hated in the world². There is one kinsman; there is no second (different) from him. I speak concerning him who abides in the heart. Taught by him kinsmen are possessed of kinsmen³, (and) the seven *Rishis*. O son of *Prithā*⁴! shine in heaven⁵. There

¹ I. e. the Supreme Being, *Arguna Misra*. *Nilakantha* connects this with the preceding chapter by saying that this describes Nārāyaṇa, who is there mentioned. See *Sānti Parvan* (*Moksha Dharma*), chap. 226, st. 8 (Bombay ed.)

² The natural feelings of animosity are caused by the Supreme Being within. Such seems to be the meaning. Cf. *Gītā*, pp. 128, 129. I may remark that *Arguna Misra* seems to interpret the original words, which we have rendered by 'I speak concerning him,' &c., to mean 'I repeat what has been said by,' &c. This does not seem to me to be satisfactory; and it may be added, too, that *Arguna Misra*'s interpretation appears in his gloss not on the first verse, about the 'director,' but only on the second, about the 'instructor.' Hated = full of animosity, *Nilakantha*.

³ I. e. the feeling of kinship arises from his inspiration.

⁴ The poet seems to be nodding here, as this expression cannot form part of the *Brāhmaṇa*'s speech to his wife.

⁵ The seven sages are always mentioned together, and may well be spoken of as types of the feeling of kinship.

is one hearer¹; there is no second (different) from him. I speak concerning him who abides in the heart. Living under that instructor, (according to the proper mode of) living with an instructor, Sakra² acquired immortality in all worlds. There is one enemy; there is no second (different) from him. I speak concerning him who abides in the heart. Taught by that instructor, all snakes whatever are ever hated in the world³.

On this, too, they relate an ancient story, (about the) instruction of the snakes, and the gods, and sages, by Pragâpati. The gods, and sages, and the snakes, and the demons, approaching Pragâpati, said (to him): 'Tell us the highest good.' To them who were inquiring about the highest good, the venerable one said, 'Om⁴, the Brahman, in a single syllable.' Hearing that, they ran away in (various) directions⁵. When they were running for instruction regarding the self, the inclination of the snakes to biting had been already formed. The natural inclination of the demons towards ostentatiousness had been formed. The gods had been engaged in gifts, and the great sages in restraint of the senses. Having had one teacher,

¹ Nilakantha takes this to mean pupil, but it is difficult to reconcile that with the rest of the passage. Arguna Misra renders it by 'the destroyer of every one's doubts.' For that, it will be necessary to take the word as a form of the causative, and not the simple root *śru*, to hear. But see, too, p. 283, 'the instructor . . . the hearer.'

² Cf. Saṁsugâtīya, p. 152, note 1.

³ The words here are nearly the same as before; the commentators give no explanation of the repetition. But see p. 281, note 2.

⁴ Cf. Gîtâ, p. 79. The full sense is that from the study of this Om the highest good is attained.

⁵ I. e. to their own dwellings, believing that they had learnt what they wanted.

and having been instructed with one word, the snakes, the gods, the sages, and the demons, all engaged in different¹ (pursuits). One hears what is said (to one) and apprehends it duly; (but even) to one who inquires and extols highly, there is no other instructor². And by his counsel does action afterwards take place. The instructor, the learner, the hearer, and the enemy, are always within the heart. Acting sinfully in the world, he becomes (a man of) sinful conduct. Acting virtuously in the world he becomes (a man of) virtuous conduct³. And he becomes a man of conduct according to his own desire⁴, who, owing to his desires, is given up to the pleasures of the senses. But he who, casting aside vows⁵ and actions, merely adheres to the Brahman, he moving about in the world identifying himself with the Brahman, becomes a *Brahmakārin*. To him the Brahman itself is the fuel, the Brahman the fire, the Brahman his origin, the Brahman water, the Brahman the instructor. He is *raṭ* in the

¹ The meaning seems to be that the original inclination was not altered by the new instruction received by them. *Nīlakanṭha* seems to understand the passage differently. What has been rendered in the text by 'when they were running for instruction,' he renders by 'when they were practically carrying out the instruction received by them;' but this rendering seems to omit all consideration of the words '*Pūrvameva tu*'—already. Though, therefore, there are one or two circumstances in favour of this construction, I have adopted the other. Cf. *Bṛihadāraṇyaka*, p. 964.

² The meaning is that the real instructor is within oneself, 'abiding in the heart,' as said before, although instruction may in form be received from one outside, of whom one seeks to learn, and whom one respects (or extols highly, as the text has it), and although such instruction may be well apprehended.

³ Cf. *Bṛihadāraṇyaka*, pp. 546–853.

⁴ See *Gītā*, p. 117.

⁵ I. e. fasts and other like observances.

Brahman¹. Such is this subtle life as a Brahmatârin understood by the wise. Understanding it they practised it, being instructed by the Kshetragña².

CHAPTER XII.

The Brâhmana said:

I have crossed beyond that very impassable place, in which fancies are the gadflies and mosquitoes³, in which grief and joy are cold and heat, in which delusion is the blinding darkness, in which avarice is the beasts of prey and reptiles, in which desire and anger are the obstructors, the way to which consists in worldly objects, and is to be crossed by one singly⁴. And I have entered the great forest⁵.

The Brâhmana's wife said:

Where is that forest, O very intelligent person! what are the trees (there), and what the rivers, and the hills and mountains; and at what distance is that forest?

¹ Cf. Gîtâ, p. 61. The water is that required for the sacrifice. The words 'the Brahman is his origin' are not quite clear, as being not connected with the figure employed. Perhaps it might be taken otherwise thus, 'the Brahman (is) the fire produced from the Brahman,' this last standing for the *arani*.

² I.e. one who understands the truth, *Nilakantha*; God, *Arguna Misra*. The same sentence winds up two of the following chapters; and at p. 310 *Krishna* says the Kshetragña signifies the supreme self. See Gîtâ, p. 102 seq.

³ Cf. *Lalita Vistara*, p. 44.

⁴ I.e. not with the help of son, wealth, &c., says *Nilakantha*, as each man's salvation after having got into the course of worldly life depends on himself. Cf. *Sânti Parvan* (*Moksha Dharma*), chap. 193, st. 32, and *Manu* IV, 240; obstructor, thief, *Arguna Misra*.

⁵ I.e. the Brahman. *Nilakantha* compares a text from the *Śruti*, 'Kim svid vanam ka u sa vriksha āsa;' see *Rig-veda* X, 31, 7.

The Brāhmaṇa said :

There is nothing else more delightful than that, when there is no distinction from it. There is nothing more afflicting than that, when there is a distinction from it¹. There is nothing smaller than that, there is nothing larger than that². There is nothing more subtle than that; there is no other happiness equal to that. Entering it, the twice-born do not grieve, and do not exult³. They are not afraid of anybody, and nobody is afraid of them. In that forest⁴ are seven large trees⁵, seven fruits, and seven guests; seven hermitages, seven (forms of) concentration, and seven (forms of) initiation. This is the description of the forest. That forest is filled with trees producing splendid flowers and fruits of five colours⁶. That forest

¹ Cf. *Khândogya*, pp. 516, 517.

² Cf. *Sanatsugâtīya*, p. 180 and note there.

³ Cf. as to all this *Gîtâ*, p. 101.

⁴ This is not the forest spoken of before, but what has been before called the 'impassable place,' but which also at p. 286 is by implication called a forest, viz. the course of worldly life.

⁵ Viz. the eye, ear, tongue, skin, and nose, and the mind, and understanding—these are called trees, as being producers of the fruits, namely, the pleasures and pains derived from their several operations; the guests are the powers of each sense personified—they receive the fruits above described; the hermitages are the trees above mentioned, in which the guests take shelter; the seven forms of concentration are the exclusion from the self of the seven functions of the seven senses &c. already referred to; the seven forms of initiation refer to the initiation into the higher life, by repudiating as not one's own the actions of each member out of the group of seven. Cf. as to this *Khândogya*, p. 219, and commentary there.

⁶ Cf. for these different numbers of colours, *Yoga-sûtra* II, 19, and commentary, p. 105, and *Sāṅkhya-sāra*, p. 18. The trees here meant are the *Tanmātras*, or subtle elements, and the theory is that the *Gandha-tanmātra*, or subtle element of smell, has five qualities, its

is filled with trees producing flowers and fruits of four colours. That forest is filled with trees producing flowers and fruits of three colours, and mixed. That forest is filled with trees producing flowers and fruits of two colours, and of beautiful colours. That forest is filled with trees producing flowers and fruits of one colour, and fragrant. That forest is filled with two large trees producing numerous flowers and fruits of undistinguished colours¹. There is one fire² here, connected with the Brahman³, and having a good mind⁴. And there is fuel here, (namely) the five senses. The seven (forms of) emancipation from them are the seven (forms of) initiation⁵. The qualities are the fruits, and the guests eat the fruits. There, in various places, the great sages receive hospitality. And when they have been worshipped and have disappeared⁶, another forest shines forth, in which intelligence is the tree, and emancipation the fruit, and which possesses shade (in the form of) tran-

own special one, so to say, and the four special ones of the others; the next is taste, the next colour, the next touch, and the last sound; each has one quality less than its predecessor. See Yoga-sūtra, p. 106, and gloss; Sāṅkhya-sūtra I, 62; and Vedānta Paribhāṣā, p. 45.

¹ These are mind and understanding; the fruits and flowers are here of 'undistinguished colours,' as the text expresses it, since they include the colours of all the fruits of all the other five sets of trees; that is to say, the subject-matter of their operations is sound, taste, &c., the subject-matters of all the senses together. 'Undistinguished colours' is, perhaps, more literally 'of colours not clear.' Arguna Misra paraphrases it by 'of variegated colours,' which is no doubt the true ultimate sense.

² The self, Nīlakantha. See p. 279, note 7 supra.

³ I. e., I presume, devoted to the Brahman.

⁴ I. e. true knowledge, Arguna Misra. ⁵ See note 5, p. 285.

⁶ I. e. when the senses having worked, as unconnected with the self, are finally absorbed into it. Cf. Sāṅkhya-kārikā 49 and Kaṭha, p. 151.

quillity, which depends on knowledge, which has contentment for its water, and which has the Kshetragña within for the sun. The good who attain to that, have no fear afterwards. Its end cannot be perceived upwards or downwards or horizontally¹. There always dwell seven females there², with faces (turned) downwards, full of brilliance, and causes of generation. They absorb³ all the higher delights of people, as inconstancy (absorbs) everything⁴. In that same⁵ (principle) the seven perfect sages, together with their chiefs, the richest⁶, abide, and again emerge from the same. Glory, brilliance, and greatness, enlightenment, victory, perfection, and power⁷—these seven rays follow after this same sun. Hills and mountains also are there collected together, and rivers and streams flowing with water produced from the Brahman⁸. And there is the confluence of the rivers in the secluded place⁹ for the

¹ It extends on all sides, its end cannot be perceived on any side.

² These are, according to Arguna Misra, the Mahat, Ahaikāra, and five Tanmātras. Their faces are turned downwards, as they are obstacles in the way upwards, viz. the way of final emancipation; they are brilliant, as they light up the course of worldly life; and hence, too, they are 'causes of generation.' They give birth to the universe.

³ They conceal the higher delight of final emancipation.

⁴ I follow Arguna Misra, but the text is doubtful.

⁵ Viz the Brahman.

⁶ Cf. *Khândogya*, pp. 295-300. The word sages here, as before, means the various organs. See *Bṛihadâraṇyaka*, p. 415.

⁷ Glory=renown; brilliance=Brahmic splendour (Brahmategas); perfection=obtaining what is desired; power=not being conquered by others, Arguna Misra. About the sun, see line 3 of text above.

⁸ I. e. contentment. See the second line in the text above.

⁹ I. e. the space in the heart, the sacrifice being that of 'concentration of mind,' *yogayagña*,—*Nilakantha*. A confluence of

sacrifice, whence those who are contented in their own self repair to the divine grandsire himself. Those whose wishes are reduced¹, whose wishes are (fixed) on good vows, whose sins are burnt up by penance, merging the self in the self², devote themselves to Brahman. Those people who understand the forest of knowledge³, praise tranquillity. And aspiring to that forest, they are born so as not to lose courage⁴. Such, indeed, is this holy forest, as understood by Brāhmaṇas. And understanding it, they act (accordingly), being directed by the Kshetragṇa.

CHAPTER XIII.

The Brāhmaṇa said :

I do not smell smells, I perceive no tastes, I see no colour, and I do not touch, nor yet do I hear various sounds, nor even do I entertain any fancies¹. Nature desires objects which are liked; nature hates all (objects) which are hateful². Desire and hatred are born from nature³, as the upward and

downward rivers is very sacred—here the meaning intended seems to be the absorption of all desires by contentment into the heart.

¹ Literally, 'lean.' ² I. e. the body in the soul, Arguna Misra.

³ Knowledge is Brahman, which is described as a forest here, Arguna Misra.

⁴ Cf. Gītā, p. 70.

⁵ This is the name for the operations of the mind.

⁶ The sense is similar to that at Gītā, p. 55. The self has nothing to do with these feelings; the qualities deal with the qualities.

⁷ Cf. Gītā, p. 65. The meaning of nature here, as in the Gītā, is in substance the result of all previous action with which the self has been associated, which result, of course, exists connected not with the self, but with the developments of nature, in the form of body,

downward life-winds, after attaining to the bodies of living creatures. Apart from them, and as the constant entity underlying them, I see the individual self in the body. Dwelling in that (self), I am in no wise attached¹ (to anything) through desire or anger, or old age, or death. Not desiring any object of desire, not hating any evil, there is no taint on my natures², as there is no (taint) of a drop of water on lotuses³. They are inconstant things appertaining to this constant (principle) which looks on various natures. Although actions are performed, the net of enjoyments does not attach itself to it, as the net of the sun's rays does not attach itself to the sky⁴. On this⁵, too, they relate an ancient story, (in the shape of) a dialogue between an Adhvaryu priest and an ascetic. Understand that, O glorious one! Seeing an animal being sprinkled⁶ at a sacrificial ceremony, an ascetic who was sitting (there) spoke to the Adhvaryu, censuring (the act) as destruction of life. The Adhvaryu

senses, &c. The comparison appears to mean that the feelings of desire &c. are, like the life-winds, unconnected with the self, though associated with it, and are both alike manifestations of nature.

¹ *Nīlakanṭha* compares *Bṛihadāraṇyaka*, p. 770. Arguna Misra has a different reading, meaning 'liable (to be subjugated).'

² The plural, which is in the original, is unusual. The various aspects of the 'result' stated in p. 288, note 7, being looked at separately, are described as 'natures,' like the leaves of a lotus, which in their ensemble make one lotus.

³ *Lalita Vistara*, p. 2, and p. 64 *supra*.

⁴ The figure seems to be somewhat like that at *Gītā*, p. 82, about the atmosphere and space, which latter remains untainted by the former. Looking on various natures, i.e. as distinct from the self.

⁵ Viz. the remaining untainted.

⁶ I.e. with water, preparatory to its being offered up for the sacrifice.

answered him (saying), this goat will not be destroyed. (This) creature will obtain welfare, since the Vedic text is such. For that part of him which is of the earth will go to the earth; whatever in him is produced from water, that will enter water. His eye (will enter) the sun, (his) ear the quarters, and his life-winds likewise the sky¹. There is no offence on my part, adhering (as I do) to the scriptures².

The Ascetic said :

If you perceive (that) good (will) result upon his life being severed (from him), then the sacrifice is for the goat, what benefit (is it) to you? Let the brother, father, mother, and friend (of the goat) give you their consent³; take him (to them) and consult (them), especially as he is dependent. You ought to inquire of those who can give their consent thus. After hearing their consent, (the matter) will be fit for consideration⁴. The life-winds⁵, too, of this goat have gone to their sources, and I think only his unmoving body remains. To those who wish to derive enjoyment from the slaughter (of a living creature), the unconscious body being comparable to fuel, that which is called an animal becomes

¹ Cf. *Bṛihadâraṇyaka*, p. 542, and p. 337 below.

² Cf. *Khândogya-upanishad*, p. 627, and also *Sāṅkhya Bhāṣhya* on *Sūtra* III, 1, 25, p. 774.

³ I.e. for his slaughter, which is to bring welfare to the goat. Arguna Misra says that this is a sort of *reductio ad absurdum*, as the sacrifice is in truth not in the interests of the goat at all.

⁴ Viz. whether the goat should be killed. Without their consent he ought not to be slaughtered; with their consent, it becomes a matter for consideration, Arguna Misra.

⁵ It may also mean the senses, as in the *Khândogya*, p. 297.

the fuel¹. The teaching of the elders² is, that refraining from slaughter (of living creatures) is (the duty) among all duties. We maintain that that action should be performed which involves no slaughter. (Our) proposition is no slaughter (of living creatures). If I spoke further, it would be possible to find fault with your proceedings in many ways³. Always refraining from the slaughter of all beings is what we approve. We substantiate (this) from what is actually visible⁴, we do not rely on what is not visible.

The Adhvaryu said:

You enjoy the earth's quality of fragrance, you drink watery juices, you see the colours of shining bodies, you touch the qualities of the air, you hear the sound produced in space, you think by the mind (on the objects of) mental operations. And all these entities, you believe, have life. You have not (then) abstained from taking life. You are (engaged) in the slaughter (of living creatures)⁵. There is no movement⁶ without slaughter (of living creatures). Or what do you think, O twice-born one?

¹ This is not very clear, but the meaning seems to be that the slaughter is committed for the enjoyment of the sacrificer; the sacrificer only requires fuel, and the slaughtered animal is then used for that purpose.

² Cf. *Khândogya*, p. 627, and next note; and *Gîtâ*, inter alia, p. 114, and p. 348 infra.

³ See *Sāṅkhyatattvakaumudī*, p. 7.

⁴ I.e. a rule expressly laid down. What is not visible means what is not expressly stated, but is to be derived by inference, and so forth (cf. *Āpastamba* I, 1, 4, 8). The express text is the famous one, 'Na himsyātsarvā bhūtāni.' *Himsā*, which is rendered slaughter here, may mean also 'giving pain' generally.

⁵ This is the *tu quoque* argument. The sustentation of life requires some sort of slaughter.

⁶ I.e. the support of the body, says *Arguna* *Misra*.

The Ascetic said :

The indestructible and the destructible, such is the double manifestation of the self. Of these the indestructible is the existent¹, the manifestation as an individual² (entity) is called the destructible³. The life-winds, the tongue, the mind, and (the quality of) goodness, together with (the quality of) passion⁴, (these make up) the manifestations as individual entities. And to one who is free from these manifestations, who is free from the pairs of opposites, who is devoid of expectations, who is alike to all beings, who is free from (the thought that this or that is) mine, who has subdued his self, and who is released on all hands⁵, there is no fear anywhere⁶.

The Adhvaryu said :

O best of talented men ! one should in this (world)

¹ Arguna Misra takes it otherwise, 'the true nature of the Sat, the self.' *Nīlakanṭha* renders the original by *sadrūpam* without further explanation. This indestructible seems to correspond to that mentioned at *Gītā*, p. 113, which should be considered in connection with *Gītā*, pp. 73, 74. The note at the former page is, perhaps, not quite accurately expressed, as the word 'material cause' conveys some inadmissible associations. Perhaps 'underlying principle' might be a nearer approach to the correct idea. The existent will thus be that which really exists, as it is indestructible.

² Cf. *Gītā*, p. 77. ³ See *Sānti Parvan* (Moksha), ch. 240, st. 31.

⁴ Arguna Misra says, 'The life-winds here are indicative of the operations of the organs of action (as to which see p. 290, note 5 supra), the tongue of the perceptive senses, the mind of the internal activities, the quality of goodness of all sources of pleasure, and passion of all sources of pain,' the last two apparently covering the external world, the previous ones the human activities, internal and external.

⁵ Released scil. from piety or impiety, &c.,—Arguna Misra, who says 'self' in the phrase preceding means mind.

⁶ Because, says Arguna Misra, according to the very authority which says there is sin in slaughter, all sin is destroyed by knowledge. Cf. *Gītā*, p. 64.

dwell in company of good men only¹. For having heard your opinion, my mind is enlightened. O venerable sir! I approach you, in the belief (that you are) the Lord; and I say (to you), O twice-born one! there is no fault (attaching) to me, performing (as I have done) the rites performed by others².

The Brāhmaṇa said:

With this explanation, the ascetic thereafter remained silent, and the Adhvaryu also proceeded with the great sacrifice, freed from delusion. Thus Brāhmaṇas understand the very subtle emancipation to be of this nature, and understanding it, they act (accordingly), being directed by the Kshetragña.

CHAPTER XIV.

The Brāhmaṇa said:

On this³, too, they relate an old story, (in the shape of) a dialogue, O you of a pure heart! between Kārtavīrya and the ocean. (There lived once) a king named Arguna⁴, a descendant of Kṛitavīrya, possessed of a thousand arms, who with his bow conquered the (whole) earth up to the ocean. Once

¹ Cf. Taittirīya-upanishad, p. 40.

² The readings here in the MSS. are not satisfactory. I adopt as the best that which appears to have been before Arguna Misra. The meaning seems to be this:—I have now understood the truth, but I cannot be blamed for having hitherto done that which I saw every one else do. Now I have had the benefit of conversation with a good man, and have become free from my delusion.

³ Namely, that final emancipation is not to be obtained by action, and that slaughter is sinful.

⁴ He is also called a Yogin at Raghuvamśa VI, 38. See Mallināth's commentary there.

on a time, as we have heard, he was walking about near the sea, proud of his strength, and showering hundreds of arrows on the sea. The ocean, saluting him, and with joined hands, said, 'O brave man! do not throw arrows (on me). Say, what shall I do for you? The creatures, who take shelter with me, are being destroyed, O tiger-like king! by the great arrows thrown by you. Give them security, O Lord!'

Arguna said :

If there is anywhere any wielder of the bow equal to me in battle, who might stand against me in the field, name him to me.

The ocean said :

If, O king! you have heard of the great sage Gamadagni, his son is (the) proper (person) to show you due hospitality¹.

Then the king, full of great wrath, went away, and arriving at that hermitage approached Râma only. In company with his kinsmen, he did many (acts) disagreeable to Râma, and caused much trouble to the high-souled Râma. Then the power of Râma, whose power was unbounded, blazed forth, burning the hosts of the enemy, O lotus-eyed one! And then Râma, taking up his axe, hacked away that man of the thousand arms in battle, like a tree of many branches. Seeing him killed and fallen, all (his) kinsmen assembled together, and taking swords and lances, surrounded the descendant of Bhṛigu. Râma also taking up a bow, and hurriedly mounting a chariot, shot away volleys of arrows, and blew away the army of the king. Then some of the

¹ I.e. by giving him what he desired—a 'foeman worthy of his steel' to fight with him.

Kshatriyas, often troubled by fear of the son of Gamadagni, entered mountains and inaccessible places, like antelopes troubled by a lion. And the subjects of those (Kshatriyas) who were not performing their prescribed duties¹ through fear of him, became *Vrishalas*, owing to the disappearance of *Brāhmaṇas*². Thus the *Dravidas*, *Ābhīras*, *Paundras*, together with the *Sābaras*, became *Vrishalas*³, owing to the abandonment of their duties by Kshatriyas. Then when the heroic (children) of Kshatriya women were destroyed again and again, the Kshatriyas, who were produced by the *Brāhmaṇas*⁴, were also destroyed by the son of Gamadagni. At the end of the twenty-first slaughter, a bodiless voice from heaven, which was heard by all people, spoke sweetly to Rāma, 'O Rāma! O Rāma! desist (from this slaughter). What good, dear friend, do you perceive, in taking away the lives of these kinsmen of Kshatriyas over and over again?' Then, too, his grandfathers⁵, with *Rikṭka* as their head, likewise said to the high-souled (Rāma), 'Desist, O noble one⁶!' But Rāma, not forgiving his father's

¹ Viz. the protection of their subjects.

² As the kings failed to protect the people, the *Brāhmaṇas* apparently were nowhere forthcoming.

³ Cf. Muir, *Sanskrit Texts*, vol. i, pp. 482 seq., 358, 391; vol. ii, p. 423; *Sānti Parvan*, ch. 65, st. 13; ch. 207, st. 42 (*Rāgadharma*).

⁴ As Kshatriyas were required for the protection of the people, the *Brāhmaṇas* procreated them on Kshatriya women. See Muir, *Sanskrit Texts*, vol. i, p. 451 seq. And as they were the offspring of these anomalous connexions they are described as 'kinsmen of Kshatriyas.' Cf. *Kāṇḍogya*, p. 317; *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, p. 1037 and comments there. As to heroic, see Muir, *Sanskrit Texts*, vol. iv, p. 302 note.

⁵ Cf. *Gītā*, p. 40, note 1.

⁶ See as to the whole story, Muir, *Sanskrit Texts*, vol. i, p. 442.

murder, said to those sages, 'You ought not to keep me back from this.'

The *Pitris* said :

O best of victors! you ought not to destroy these kinsmen of Kshatriyas. It is not proper for you, being a *Brāhmaṇa*, to slaughter these kings.

CHAPTER XV.

The *Pitris* said :

On this¹, too, they relate an ancient story; hearing that (story), O best of the twice-born! you should act accordingly. There was (once) a royal sage, named Alarka, whose penance was very great, who understood duty, who was veracious, high-souled, and very firm in his vows. Having with his bow conquered this world as far as the ocean,—having performed very difficult deeds²,—he turned his mind to subtle³ (subjects). While he was sitting at the foot of a tree, O you of great intelligence! his thoughts, abandoning (those) great deeds, turned to subtle (questions).

Alarka said :

My mind is become (too) strong⁴; that conquest is constant in which the mind is conquered. (Though) surrounded by enemies, I shall direct my arrows elsewhere⁵. As by its unsteadiness, it wishes⁶ to

¹ The impropriety or sinfulness of slaughter.

² Such as the subjugation of enemies and so forth.

³ The Brahman, says Nilakantha.

⁴ I.e. too strong to be under control.

⁵ That is to say, elsewhere than towards the external foes with whom he was waging war.

⁶ The text is unsatisfactory here. I adopt Nilakantha's reading.

make all mortals perform action, I will cast very sharp-edged arrows at the mind.

The mind said :

These arrows, O Alarka! will not penetrate through me at all. They will only pierce your own vital part, and your vital part being pierced, you will die. Look out for other arrows by which you may destroy me.

Hearing that, he then spoke these words after consideration :—

Alarka said :

Smelling very many perfumes, one hankers after them only. Therefore I will cast sharp arrows at the nose.

The nose¹ said :

These arrows, O Alarka! will not penetrate through me at all. They will only pierce your own vital part, and your vital part being pierced, you will die. Look out for other arrows by which you may destroy me.

Hearing that, he then spoke these words after consideration :—

Alarka said :

Enjoying savory tastes, this (tongue) hankers after

¹ This and the other corresponding words must be understood to refer not to the physical nose and so forth, but the sense seated there. The nose here, for instance, stands for the sense of smell. Nīlakanṭha understands all these words of Alarka as indicating the so-called Ha/ka-yoga, which, he adds, invariably occasions death. As to the throwing of arrows at the mind, he says, it means, 'I will subdue the mind by the restraint of the excretive organs by means of the Ha/ka-yoga.' And finally he says, 'A man, having restrained all the senses by means of the Ha/ka-yoga, merely droops away; becoming deficient in those senses, he does not accomplish his end.'

them only. Therefore I will cast sharp arrows at the tongue.

The tongue said :

These arrows, O Alarka ! will not penetrate through me at all. They will only pierce your own vital part, and your vital part being pierced, you will die. Look out for other arrows by which you may destroy me.

Hearing that, he then spoke these words after consideration :—

Alarka said :

Touching various (objects of) touch, the skin hankers after them only. Therefore I will tear off the skin by various feathered arrows.

The skin said :

These arrows, O Alarka ! will not penetrate through me at all. They will only pierce your own vital part, and your vital part being pierced, you will die. Look out for other arrows by which you may destroy me.

Hearing that, he then said after consideration :—

Alarka said :

Hearing various sounds, the (ear) hankers after them only. Therefore I (will) cast sharp arrows at the ear.

The ear said :

These arrows, O Alarka ! will not penetrate through me at all. They will only pierce your own vital part, and then you will lose (your) life. Look out for other arrows by which you may destroy me.

Hearing that, he then said after consideration :—

Alarka said :

Seeing numerous colours, the eye hankers after them only. Therefore I will destroy the eye with sharp arrows.

The eye said :

These arrows, O Alarka! will not penetrate through me at all. They will only pierce your own vital part, and your vital part being pierced, you will die. Look out for other arrows by which you may destroy me.

Hearing that, he then said after consideration :—

Alarka said :

This (understanding) forms various determinations by its operation. Therefore I will cast sharp arrows at the understanding.

The understanding said :

These arrows, O Alarka! will not penetrate through me at all. They will only pierce your own vital part, and your vital part being pierced, you will die. Look out for other arrows by which you may destroy me.

The Brāhmaṇa¹ said :

Then Alarka even there employed himself in a fearful penance² difficult to perform; but he did not obtain any arrows for these seven by his devotions. Then that king deliberated with a mind very intent on one (subject), and after deliberating for a long time, O best of the twice-born! Alarka, the best of talented (men), could not arrive at anything better

¹ Sic in our copies. It should be the *Pitrīs*, seeing that they are relating Alarka's story to Parasurāma.

² Meditation, or pondering, according to *Nīlakaṇṭha*.

than concentration of mind¹. Then directing his mind to one point², he became steady, and applied himself to concentration of mind. And (then) the brave man forthwith destroyed the senses with one arrow; and entering the self by means of concentration of mind, he reached the highest perfection. And the royal sage, amazed, then uttered this verse, 'O! Alas! that we should have engaged in all external (matters); that being possessed of a desire for enjoyments, we should have devoted ourselves before now to sovereignty! I have now subsequently learnt that there is no higher happiness than concentration of mind.' Do you understand this too, O Râma! and do not kill Kshatriyas. Perform a fearful³ penance, thence you will obtain the highest good. Thus spoken to by (his) grandfathers, the noble son of Gamadagni engaged himself in fearful penance, and attained that perfection which is difficult to reach.

CHAPTER XVI.

The Brâhmaṇa said :

There are, verily, three foes in (this) world, and they are stated to be (divided) ninefold, according to qualities. Exultation, pleasure, joy⁴, these three

¹ I.e. the rāga-yoga, says Nilakanṭha, which consists in mere control of the mind. Cf. Sāṅkhya-sāra, p. 39.

² See Yoga-sūtra, p. 45.

³ This means difficult, and occasioning many trials to one who performs it.

⁴ Nilakanṭha says exultation is when one is sure of obtaining what is desired, pleasure when it is obtained, and joy when the thing obtained is enjoyed. Arguna Misra takes a different distinction; but our copy of his commentary is not quite intelligible in

are qualities appertaining to the quality of goodness. Grief, wrath, persistent hatred, these are stated to be qualities appertaining to the quality of passion. Sleep, sloth, and delusion, these three qualities are qualities appertaining to the quality of darkness. Cutting these off by multitudes of arrows¹, a courageous man, free from sloth, having a tranquil self, and senses controlled, is energetic about subjugating others². On this, people who know about ancient times celebrate verses which were sung of old by the king Ambarīsha, who had become tranquil (in mind). When vices³ were in the ascendant, and good (men) were oppressed, Ambarīsha, of great glory, forceably possessed him-

the beginning. Pleasure he takes to mean 'pride felt in supposing oneself to possess some merit,' and joy that produced when impending danger is averted. As to the next triad, the text is again unsatisfactory. The text printed in the edition which contains Nīlakantha's commentary, is 'desire, anger,' &c. There is nothing about them in the commentary. Arguna Misra's text is the one we have adopted. He says, 'grief, pain caused by loss of what is desired; anger, the pain caused by the counteraction of one's attempts to injure another; persistent hatred, the pain caused by believing another to be doing harm to oneself.' Persistent hatred is Nīlakantha's interpretation. I think his interpretation is preferable. The two triads seem to be based on one principle of gradation. The distinctive marks of the three qualities are pleasure, pain, and delusion respectively, and those characterise the three triads stated in the text. See Sānti Parvan (Moksha), chap. 194, st. 27 seq.

¹ Tranquillity and so forth, Nīlakantha; practising yoga or concentration of mind, Arguna Misra.

² I.e. external, says Arguna Misra; external foes of one's own emancipation is, I presume, what is meant.

³ Arguna Misra says, 'his own and those of others.' Nīlakantha takes good to mean not men, but tranquillity, &c. The next sentence seems rather to militate against this view, which in itself is not a well-founded one.

self of the kingdom¹. He (then) restraining his own vices, and honouring good men, attained high perfection, and sang these verses: 'I have conquered most vices; destroyed all foes; but there is one, the greatest, vice which should be destroyed and which I have not destroyed—that (vice), being impelled by which, a creature does not attain freedom from desire, and being troubled by desire, understands (nothing) while running into ditches²; (that vice), being impelled by which, a man even does what ought not to be done. That avarice—cut (it) off, cut (it) off with sharp swords. For from avarice³ is born desire; then anxiety comes into existence; and he who desires, mostly acquires qualities appertaining to the quality of passion. Obtaining those, he mostly acquires qualities appertaining to the quality of darkness⁴. When the bodily frame is destroyed, he, owing to these qualities, is born again and again, and engages in action. And at the expiration of life, again with his body dismembered and scattered about, he meets death, and again birth. Therefore, properly perceiving this, and restraining avarice by courage, one should wish for sovereignty in the self. This is sovereignty⁵; there is no other sovereignty here. The self properly understood is itself the sovereign.' Such were

¹ For the good of the people, says Arguna Misra.

² I.e. base actions, Nilakantha.

³ Avarice, according to Arguna Misra, is the belief that one has not got that which one has, and desire is the wish for more and more. Avarice, seems, however, to be the general frame of mind, always wishing for something, never being contented, and desire is the wish for a specific object.

⁴ Which are sources of delusion. Cf. a similar doctrine at Āpāstamba II, 5, 140.

⁵ Nilakantha compares Taittirīya, p. 26.

the verses sung with regard to the great sovereignty, by the glorious Ambartsha, who destroyed the one (chief vice), avarice.

CHAPTER XVII.

The Brāhmaṇa said :

On this¹, too, they relate this ancient story (in the shape of) a dialogue, O you of a pure heart! between a Brāhmaṇa and Ganaka. King Ganaka, by way of punishment, said to a Brāhmaṇa who had fallen into some offence : 'You should not live within my dominions.' Thus spoken to, the Brāhmaṇa then replied to that best of kings : 'Tell me, O king! how far (extend) the dominions which are subject to you. I wish, O Lord! to live in the dominions of another king, and, O master of the earth! I wish to do your bidding according to the Sāstras.' Thus spoken to by that glorious Brāhmaṇa, the king then heaved frequent and warm sighs, and said nothing in reply. While that king of unbounded power was seated, engaged in meditation, a delusion suddenly came upon him, as the planet² upon the sun. Then when the delusion had gone off, the king recovered himself, and after a short while spoke these words to the Brāhmaṇa.

Ganaka said :

Though this country, which is the kingdom of my father and grandfather, is subject (to me), I cannot

¹ On getting rid of the notion that this, that, and the other thing is one's own,—Arguna Misra. Nīlakanṭha agrees, and adds also on the subject of cutting off avarice.

² That is to say, Rāhu.

find my domain¹, searching through the (whole) earth. When I did not find it on the earth, I looked for Mithilā; when I did not find it in Mithilā, I looked for my own offspring. When I did not find it among them, then came the delusion on me. Then on the expiration of the delusion, intelligence again came to me. Now I think that there is no domain (of mine), or that everything is my domain. Even this self is not mine, or the whole earth is mine. And as mine, so (is it) that of others too, I believe, O best of the twice-born! Live (here, therefore) while you desire, and enjoy while you live².

The Brāhmaṇa said :

Tell me, what belief you have resorted to, by which, though this country, which is the kingdom of your father and grandfather, is subject to you, you have got rid of (the notion that this or that is) mine. What conviction have you adopted, by which verily you consider your whole domain as not (your) domain, or all as your domain?

Ganaka said :

I understand (all) conditions here, in all affairs, to be terminable³, hence I could not find anything that should be (called) mine⁴. (Considering) whose this

¹ Meaning, apparently, that over which he and no one else has power. He contracts his vision gradually, and finds nothing at all which he can call his own to the exclusion of others. He explains, further on, how he arrives at the alternative conviction stated towards the close of this speech. In the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* (p. 916) he is said to have offered his kingdom to Yāgyavalkya and himself as his slave, after learning the *Brahma-vidyā*. See too Muir, *Sanskrit Texts*, vol. iv, p. 426 seq.

² See *Sānti Parvan* (Moksha) I, 13.

³ Conditions of indigence or affluence, *Nilakantha*. Arguna Misra's reading is different.

⁴ There is a familiar verse, ascribed to *Ganaka*, which says, 'If

was, (I thought of) the Vedic text about anybody's property, (hence) I could not find by my intelligence anything that should be (called) mine¹. Resorting to this conviction, I have got rid of (the notion that this or that is) mine. Now hear the conviction, holding which, my domain (appears to me to be) everywhere². I do not desire for myself even smells existing in the nose³. Therefore the earth⁴ being conquered is always subject to me. I do not desire for myself tastes even dwelling in the mouth. Therefore water being conquered is always subject to me. I do not desire for myself the colour (or) light appertaining to the eye. Therefore light being conquered is always subject to me. I do not desire for myself the (feelings of touch) which exist in the skin. Therefore air being conquered is always

Mithilâ is on fire, nothing of mine is burnt (in it).’ The verse occurs in the Mahâbhârata, Sânti Parvan (Moksha Dharma), chap. 178, st. 2, and also chap. 276, st. 4. See too Muir, Sanskrit Texts, vol. i, p. 429.

¹ This is not clear. I have followed Nîlakantha's text. Arguna Misra's is in the earlier part more intelligible, ‘Whose is this to-day, whose to-morrow?’ But I cannot find that there is any Vedic text to this effect. Nîlakantha cites on his text Îsopanishad, p. 5. The meaning here seems to be, ‘When I considered as to whom the things I saw in my thoughts belonged to, I remembered the Vedic text that one should not wish to obtain another's property, and so, thinking about the matter with that caution, I could not make out that there was anything which I could call my own.’

² This is the alternative conclusion he has come to.

³ The sense of smell enjoys the smell, my self has nothing to do with it. Cf. Gîtâ, p. 55, also Maitrî, pp. 112, 113.

⁴ Whenever there is any smell, it is supposed that particles of earth are there; so the meaning here is ‘all things having the quality of smell are subject to me,’ and so throughout. The objects of sense are all used for the purposes of the prescribed actions, the benefits of which accrue to gods, &c. Cf. Gîtâ, pp. 53, 54, and see also pp. 84, 85.

subject to me. I do not desire for myself sounds even though existing in the ear. Therefore sounds being conquered are always subject to me. I do not desire for myself the mind always within me. Therefore the mind being conquered is always subject to me. All these actions of mine are, verily, for this purpose, (namely) for the gods, the *Pitrīs*, the *Bhūtas*, together with guests. Then the *Brāhmaṇa*, smiling, again said to *Ganaka*: 'Know me to be Dharma, come here to-day to learn (something) about you¹. You are the one person to turn this wheel, the nave of which is the Brahman², the spoke the understanding, and which does not turn back³, and which is checked by the quality of goodness as its circumference⁴.'

CHAPTER XVIII.

The *Brāhmaṇa* said :

O modest one ! I do not move about in this world in the way which, according to your own understanding, you have guessed. I⁵ am a *Brāhmaṇa*, I am

¹ I.e. to put him to the test. Such examinations are often referred to in our later literature.

² I.e. Veda, says *Arguna Misra*.

³ I.e. says *Arguna Misra*, which leads to the seat from which there is no return. Cf. *Gitā*, p. 112.

⁴ The wheel is the yoga, says *Arguna Misra*. The expression is noteworthy, as being that used of Buddha's teaching. See on that *David's Buddhism*, p. 45.

⁵ The man who has achieved final emancipation has got that, in which the benefits to be derived from the course of life of a *Brāhmaṇa*, &c., are included (see p. 191 *supra*). Hence, says he, the

emancipated, I am a forester, and I likewise perform the duties of a householder, observing vows. I am not such, O beautiful one! as you see me with the eye. I pervade every single thing that is in this world. Whatever creatures there are in the world, movable or not moving, know me to be the destroyer of them as fire is of wood¹. Sovereignty over the whole world, and even over heaven; that, or else this knowledge; (of these two) knowledge is my only wealth². This³ is the path of the Brāhmaṇas, by which those who understand that⁴ proceed, to households, or residence in forests, or, dwelling with preceptors, or among mendicants⁵. With numerous unconfused symbols only one knowledge is approached. And those who, adhering to various symbols and Āśramas, have their understanding full of tranquillity⁶, go to the single entity as rivers to the ocean. This path is traversed by the understanding, not by the body⁷. Actions have a beginning and an end, and the body is tied down by action. Hence, O beautiful one! you

doubt, on which your question is based as to what world you will go to by being joined to me, is wrong. See p. 256 supra.

¹ He is speaking here on the footing of the essential identity of everything. Cf. Gītā, p. 62.

² The expression here is clumsy; the meaning is that he prefers knowledge to sovereignty, if the alternative is offered him.

³ Viz. knowledge.

⁴ I.e. the Brahman.

⁵ These are the four orders or Āśramas.

⁶ The knowledge to be acquired, by whatever symbols the attempt to acquire it is made, is but this, that all is one; and that is acquired certainly when tranquillity has been achieved.

⁷ I.e. by realising the identity of everything, not by the actions performed with the body, which, as he goes on to show, are perishable, and cannot lead to any lasting result.

(need) have no fear occasioned by the other world. With your heart intent upon the real entity, you will certainly come into my self.

CHAPTER XIX.

The Brāhmaṇa's wife said :

This is not possible to be understood by one whose self¹ is frivolous, or by one whose self is not refined ; and my intelligence is very frivolous, and narrow, and confused. Tell me the means by which this knowledge is acquired. I (wish to) learn from you the source from which that knowledge proceeds.

The Brāhmaṇa said :

Know that he who devotes himself to the Brahman is the (lower) Arāṇi, the instructor is the upper Arāṇi. Penance and sacred learning cause the attrition², and from that the fire of knowledge is produced.

The Brāhmaṇa's wife said :

As to this symbol of the Brahman which is denominated the Kshetragnā, where, indeed, is (to be found) a description of it, by which it³ is capable of being comprehended ?

¹ I. e. mind, Arguna Misra.

² Scil. of the Arāṇis (i.e. the wood used for kindling fire) ; the sense is, that the pupil who has penance and Vedic learning goes to a teacher for knowledge. See Svetārvataṛa, pp. 307, 308.

³ I. e. the Brahman, says Arguna Misra, of which the Kshetragnā is only a symbol. For a definition of Kshetragnā, see Sānu Parvan (Moksha), chap. 187, st. 23.

The Brâhmaṇa said :

He is without symbols¹, and also without qualities; nothing exists that is a cause of him. I will only state the means by which he can be comprehended or not. A good means is found, namely, action² and knowledge, by which that³ (entity), which has the symbols (useful) for knowledge⁴ attributed to it through ignorance, is perceived as by bees⁵. In the (rules for) final emancipation, it is not laid down, that a certain thing should be done, and a certain thing should not⁶. But the knowledge of the things beneficial to the self is produced in one who sees and hears⁷. One should adopt as many of these things, (which are) means of direct perception, as may here be practicable—unperceived, and those whose form is perceived⁸, in hundreds and in thousands, all of various descriptions. Then one comes near to that beyond which nothing exists.

The Deity said :

Then the mind of the Brâhmaṇa's wife, after the

¹ See Sanatsugâtîya, p. 160.

² Viz. that which is required as a preliminary to the acquisition of knowledge, and hence is necessary for final emancipation.

³ The Brahman.

⁴ I. e. symbols which are to convey a knowledge of the Brahman.

⁵ I. e. in a way not perfect; as bees hovering above a flower get the fragrance of it without grasping the flower itself, so these means give one an imperfect knowledge of the Brahman to be afterwards perfected by constant meditation upon it (nididhyâsa).

⁶ As it is in the prior portion of the Vedas, as to sacrifices, &c.

⁷ Sees, i. e. by contemplation; hears, i. e. from a teacher, Arguna Misra.

⁸ This seems to mean such things as hearing, reading, &c., which would be 'perceived' scil. by the senses; and all intellectual operations which would be 'unperceived.'

destruction of the Kshetragñā¹, turned to that which is beyond (all) Kshetragñās by means of a knowledge of the Kshetra².

Arguna said :

Where, indeed, O *Krishna*! is that *Brāhmaṇa*'s wife, and where is that chief of *Brāhmaṇas*, by both of whom this perfection was attained? Tell me about them both, O undegraded one!

The Deity said :

Know my mind to be the *Brāhmaṇa*, and know my understanding to be the *Brāhmaṇa*'s wife. And he, O *Dhanañgaya*! who has been spoken of as the Kshetragñā, is I myself³.

CHAPTER XX.

Arguna said :

Be pleased to explain to me the Brahman which is the highest object of knowledge; for by your favour my mind is much interested in (these) subtle⁴ (subjects).

Vāsudeva said :

On this, too, they relate an ancient story (in the shape of) a dialogue, connected with final emancipation, between a preceptor and a pupil. A talented

¹ I.e. after the identification of the individual self with the universal self, when the individual ceases to be perceived as such. Cf. *Sānti Parvan* (*Moksha*), chap. 187, st. 23.

² That beyond Kshetragñās=the absolute supreme self. Cf. *Gītā*, p. 106.

³ The substance of this speech, says *Arguna Misra*, is that the mind and understanding devoted to the supreme lead to final emancipation.

⁴ See p. 296 *supra*. The last chapter closes what in some of the MSS. is called the *Brahma Gītā*, or *Brāhmaṇa Gītā* contained in the *Anugītā Parvan*. See further as to this our Introduction, where the point is further dwelt on.

pupil, O terror of your foes! asked a Brāhmaṇa preceptor of rigid vows, (when he was) seated, something about the highest good. 'I' (he said), 'whose goal is the highest good, am come to you (who are) venerable; I pray of you with (bowed) head, O Brāhmaṇa! that you should explain to me what I ask.' The preceptor, O son of Prithā! said to the pupil who spoke thus: 'I will explain to you everything, O twice-born one! on which you verily have any doubt.' Thus addressed by the preceptor, O best of the Kauravas! he who was devoted to the preceptor, put (his) questions with joined hands. Listen to that, O you of great intelligence!

The pupil said:

Whence am I¹, and whence are you? Explain that which is the highest truth. From what were the movable and immovable entities born? By what do entities live, and what is the limit of their life? What is truth, what penance, O Brāhmaṇa? What are called the qualities by the good? And what paths are happy? What is pleasure, and what sin? These questions of mine, O venerable Brāhmaṇa sage! O you of excellent vows! do you be pleased to explain² correctly, truly, and accurately. There is none else here who can explain these questions. Speak, O best of those who understand piety! I feel the highest curiosity (in this matter). You are celebrated in the worlds as skilled in topics connected with the piety (required for) final emancipation. And there exists none else but you who can destroy all

¹ Compare the questions at the beginning of the Svetāsvatara-upanishad.

² A similar expression to that in the Sanatsugāṭīya, p. 149, and elsewhere.

doubts. And we¹, likewise, are afraid of worldly life, and also desirous of final emancipation.

Vâsudeva said :

That talented preceptor, who preserved (all) vows, O son of *Prithâ* ! O chief of the family of the *Kauravas* ! O restrainer of foes ! duly explained all those questions to that pupil, who had approached him (for instruction), who put (his) questions properly, who was possessed of (the necessary) qualifications, who was tranquil, who conducted himself in an agreeable manner, who was like (his) shadow², and who was a self-restrained ascetic and a *Brahmakârin*.

The preceptor said :

All this, which is connected with the knowledge of the *Vedas*³ and involves a consideration of the real entity, and which is cultivated by the chief sages, was declared by *Brahman*. We consider knowledge only as the highest thing ; and renunciation⁴ as the best penance. And he who understands determinately the true object of knowledge which is impregnable⁵—the self abiding in all entities—and who can move about anywhere⁶, is esteemed highest. The learned man who perceives the abiding together⁷,

¹ It is not easy to account for the change here from the singular to the plural.

² I. e. always attended on the preceptor. Cf. generally, *Mundaka*, p. 283.

³ The question was not quite from his own imagination, says *Nilakantha*. *Arguna Misra* has a different reading, which he interprets to mean 'that on which the *Vedas* are all at one.'

⁴ Of the fruit of action, *Arguna Misra*.

⁵ I. e. not such as to require modification by any other knowledge, as knowledge of the world does.

⁶ *Nilakantha* compares *Āhândogya*, pp. 523-553.

⁷ I. e. of *Āt* and *Gadâ*, says *Nilakantha* ; of *Brahman* and its manifestations, as alluded to, inter alia, at pp. 105, 106, 191 supra.

and the severance also, and likewise unity and variety¹, is released from misery. He who does not desire anything, and has no egoism about anything, becomes eligible for assimilation with the Brahman, even while dwelling in this world². He who knows the truth about the qualities of nature, who understands the creation of all entities, who is devoid of (the thought that this or that is) mine, and who is devoid of egoism, is emancipated; there is no doubt of that. Accurately understanding the great (tree) of which the unperceived³ is the sprout from the seed, which consists of the understanding as its trunk, the branches of which are the great egoism, in the holes of which are the sprouts, namely, the senses, of which the great elements are the flower-bunches⁴, the gross elements the smaller boughs, which is always possessed of leaves, always possessed of flowers, and from which pleasant fruits are always produced, on which all entities subsist, which is eternal, and the seed of which is the Brahman; and cutting it with that excellent sword—knowledge—one attains immortality, and casts off birth and death⁵. I will state to you to-day, O highly

¹ I.e. that variety is only in this world, but that the unity of everything is the true proposition. Cf. *inter alia* Gîtâ, p. 104.

² Cf. *Bṛihadâraṇyaka*, p. 858, and Gîtâ, p. 65.

³ I.e. the *Prakṛiti* of the Sāṅkhya.

⁴ The great elements are the five *tanmâtras* of earth, water, fire, air, and space, which afterwards produce what we have called the gross elements in the text, namely, the earth &c. which we perceive.

⁵ The tree typifies worldly life. Cf. pp. 111–189 *supra*. The leaves and flowers, *Arguna* *Misra* says, stand for volition and action; and *Nilakantha* seems to agree. The tree is called eternal, as worldly life is supposed to have had no beginning. Cf. *Sâṁkhya Bhâṣya*, p. 494, 'sprout from the seed,' this rendering is necessitated by Brahman being described as the seed. Cf. *Mundaka*, p. 288; *Svetâsvatara*, p. 362; *Kaṭha*, pp. 143, 144.

talented one! the true conclusion¹ about the past, the present, the future, and so forth, and piety, desire, and wealth², which is understood by the multitudes of Siddhas, which belongs to olden times, and is eternal, which ought to be apprehended, and understanding which talented men have here attained perfection. Formerly³, the sages, *Br̥haspati*, *Bharadvāga*, *Gautama*, and likewise *Bhārgava*, *Vasishṭha*, and also *Kāśyapa*, and *Viśvāmitra*, and *Atri* also, desiring knowledge, met each other, after having travelled over all paths⁴, and becoming wearied of their own actions. And those twice-born (sages), giving the lead to the old sage *Āṅgīrasa*, saw *Brahman*, from whom (all) sin has departed, in *Brahman's* mansion. Having saluted that high-souled one who was sitting at ease, the great sages, full of humility, asked him this momentous (question) concerning the highest good: 'How should one perform good action? how is one released from sin? what paths are happy for us? what is truth and what vice? By what action are the two paths southern and northern obtained⁵? (and what is) destruction⁶ and emancipation, the birth and death of entities?' What the grandsire said conformably to the scriptures⁷,

¹ I. e. the means of arriving at it, *Arguna Misra*.

² The triad, the acquisition of which worldly men aspire to.

³ He explains how the doctrine belongs to olden times.

⁴ I. e. paths of action, *Nīlakanṭha*. See *Sanatsugātīya*, p. 165.

⁵ Namely, the *Pitṛyāna* and *Devayāna* (*Arguna Misra*), as to which see *Aṅgīrasya*, p. 341, *Kaushitaki*, p. 13, and *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, p. 1034.

⁶ *Nīlakanṭha* seems to interpret this to mean the temporary and final dissolutions of the worlds, on which see, inter alia, *Vedānta Paribhāṣā*, p. 48.

⁷ So *Nīlakanṭha*. May it not be 'according to the received tradition?'

when thus spoken to by the sages, I will state to you. Listen (to that) O pupil!

Brahman said:

From the truth were the entities movable and immovable produced. They live by penance¹. Understand that, O you of excellent vows! By their own action they remain transcending their own source². For the truth joined with the qualities is invariably of five varieties. The Brahman³ is the truth; penance is the truth; Pragâpati also is truth; the entities are born from the truth; the universe consisting of (all) creatures is the truth. Therefore Brâhmanas whose final goal is always concentration of mind, from whom anger and vexation have departed, and who are invariably devoting themselves to piety, are full of the truth. I will speak about those (Brâhmanas) who are restrained by one another⁴, who are possessed of knowledge, who are the establishers of the bridge of piety, and who are the constant creators of the people⁵. I will speak of the four (branches of) knowledge, and likewise of the castes, and of the four orders, distinctly. The wise always speak of piety as one, (but) having

¹ I.e. by action, *Nilakantha*. Cf. *Mundaka*, p. 280, and see p. 166 supra, note 1.

² I.e. they remain apart from the Brahman, being engaged in action. This answers some of the questions put by the pupil to the preceptor. As to 'the truth,' see p. 162, note 2 supra.

³ I.e. *Īvara*, or god; penance=piety; Pragâpati=the individual soul, *Nilakantha*. Brahman='that' (but how is 'that' 'joined with qualities?'); Pragâpati=Brahman, *Arguna Misra*. They agree about penance and entities (which they take to mean the gross elements) and creatures. Brahman and Pragâpati=Virâg and *Hiranyagarbha* (?), p. 186 supra. Cf. *Sânti Parvan (Moksha)*, chap. 190, st. 1.

⁴ I.e. who commit no breach of piety through fear of one another, *Nilakantha*.

⁵ Cf. *Gîtâ*, p. 86.

four quarters. I will speak to you, O twice-born ones! of the happy path, which is productive of pleasure, and which has been invariably travelled over by talented men in old days for (obtaining) assimilation with the Brahman. Learn, O noble ones! from me, now speaking exhaustively, of that highest path which is difficult to understand, and of the highest seat. The first step is said to be the order of Brahmaçârins; the second is that of householders; next after that is that of foresters; and next after that too, the highest step must be understood to be that relating to the Adhyâtma¹. Light², space, sun, air, Indra, Pragâpati, one sees not these, while one does not attain to the Adhyâtma³. I will subsequently state the means to that, which you should understand. The order of foresters, (the order) of the sages who dwell in forests and live on fruits, roots and air, is prescribed for the three twice-born (castes). The order of householders is prescribed for all castes. The talented ones speak of piety as having faith for its characteristic. Thus have I described to you the paths leading to the gods⁴, which are occupied by good and talented men by means of their actions, and which are bridges of piety. He who, rigid in his vows, takes up any one of these modes of piety separately, always comes in time to perceive the production and dissolution of

¹ That is to say, that of the ascetic, who specially devotes himself to the acquisition of knowledge about the relation of the supreme and individual self (Adhyâtma).

² The deity presiding over the bright fortnight, says Arguna Mirra. The words space and sun and air must be similarly interpreted.

³ Nilakantha says 'one sees these only while one has not had a perception of the self.' He takes light &c. to mean the 'universe.'

⁴ I.e. the means of reaching the Devayâna path (mentioned at p. 314, note 5), Nilakantha. Cf. also Mundaka, p. 312.

(all) entities¹. Now I shall state with accuracy and with reasons, all the elements which abide in parts in all objects. The great self², the unperceived³ likewise, and likewise also egoism, the ten senses and the one⁴ (sense), and the five great elements, and the specific characteristics of the five elements⁵, such is the eternal creation. The number of the elements is celebrated as being twenty-four plus one. And the talented man who understands the production and dissolution of (all) elements, he, of all beings, never comes by delusion. He who accurately understands the elements, the whole of the qualities⁶, and also all the deities⁷, casting aside sin, and getting rid of (all) bonds, attains to all the spotless worlds.

CHAPTER XXI.

Brahman said :

That unperceived (principle), all-pervading, everlasting, and immutable, which is in a state of equilibrium⁸, should be understood (to become) the city of nine portals, consisting of three qualities, and five

¹ Namely, how they are all manifestations of the Brahman, and are all dissolved in it. Cf. *inter alia* Gîtâ, pp. 74, 92.

² See the *Ka/hopanishad*, p. 149. See also p. 332 *infra*.

³ See p. 313, note 3 *supra*.

⁴ I. e. the mind. Cf. Gîtâ, p. 102. ⁵ Viz. smell, sound, &c.

⁶ Tranquillity, self-restraint, &c., *Arguna Mirra*. Are they not rather the three qualities? As to 'twenty-four plus one' above, see p. 368.

⁷ Does this mean the senses, as at Gîtâ, p. 123? An accurate understanding of the things noted requires a knowledge of their relation to the supreme, which is the means of final emancipation. And see p. 337 *infra*.

⁸ See Gîtâ, p. 107, and *Sāṅkhya-sāra*, p. 11, and note 2, p. 331 *infra*.

constituent principles¹, encircled by the eleven², consisting of mind³ as the distinguishing power, and of the understanding as ruler, this is (an aggregate made up of) eleven⁴. The three currents⁵ which are within this (city) support (it)⁶ again and again, and those three channels run on, being constituted by the three qualities. Darkness, passion, and goodness, these are called the three qualities, which are all coupled with one another, and likewise serve one another, which depend on one another, and attend on one another, and are joined to one another⁷. And the five constituent principles

¹ The five gross elements of which the body is composed (cf. *Mahābhārata*, *Sānti Parvan*, *Moksha Dharma*, chap. 183, st. 1 seq.) are developments of the unperceived principle, the *Prakṛiti*. Cf. *Gītā*, p. 112, where the words 'which remain (absorbed) in nature' have been inadvertently omitted after 'with the mind as the sixth.' As to the nine portals cf. *Gītā*, p. 65.

² The five active organs, the five perceptive senses, and the mind.

³ This *Arguna Misra* takes to mean 'egoism.' *Nilakantha* takes the usual meaning, and adds, objects are produced from mental operations; 'distinguishing,' that is, manifesting as distinct entities.

⁴ The eleven are, according to *Arguna Misra*, the three qualities, the five gross elements, the group of organs and senses as one, egoism, and understanding.

⁵ Viz. the *nāḍīs*, *Idā*, *Pīṅgalā*, and *Sushumnā*, *Arguna Misra*, who adds that they are respectively of the quality of darkness, passion, and goodness.

⁶ The three *nāḍīs*, says *Arguna Misra*, support the life-winds. *Nilakantha* takes the three currents to be the threefold inclination of the mind, viz. towards a pure piety, towards injuring other living creatures, and towards that mixed piety which requires the destruction of life for its performance. *Nilakantha* also has a different reading from *Arguna Misra*, which means 'are replenished' instead of 'support.' And the three channels are, according to *Nilakantha*, the *Samskāras*, or effects of previous actions of piety or impiety.

⁷ Coupled=always existing in association with one another; serving=being necessary to the operations of one another; depending=supporting one another like three staves, says *Nilakantha*;

(are made up of) the three qualities. Goodness is the match of darkness, and passion is the match of goodness; and goodness is also the match of passion, and darkness the match of goodness. Where darkness is restrained, passion there prevails. Where passion is restrained, goodness there prevails¹. Darkness should be understood to consist in obscurity. It has three qualities², and is called delusion. Its characteristic is also impiety, and it is constant in sinful actions. This is the nature of darkness; it also appears combined (with others). Passion is said to consist in activity, and is the cause of successive³ (acts). When it prevails, its characteristic, among all beings, appears to be production⁴. Light, lightness⁵, faith, such is stated to be the nature of goodness (prevailing) among all beings, as accepted by good men. The true nature of their characteristics, in aggregation and separation, will now be stated together with the reasons; learn those accurately. Delusion, ignorance,

upholding, says Arguna Misra, as the total absence of one would lead to the absence of the others also; attending=becoming subordinate to whichever of them is dominant for the time being; joined=so as to become one organic whole. Cf. as to all this, Yoga-sûtra II, 18, and commentary, p. 101; Sâṅkhya-kārikā, Kārikā 12, with Vātsaspati Misra's comments on it.

¹ Cf. Gitā, p. 108, and the quotation in the Sâṅkhyatattvakau-mudī, p. 64.

² I.e. characteristics, viz. obscurity (which seems to stand for ignorance), delusion (which is false knowledge), and impiety (doing that which is known to be sinful and wrong).

³ The original means, according to Nilakanṭha, wrong, unlawful conduct. As to all this cf. Sānti Parvan (Moksha), chap. 194, st. 29.

⁴ I.e. apparently perpetually doing something. Cf. Gitā, p. 108.

⁵ Cf. as to this, and generally also, Sâṅkhya-kārikā 13, and commentary of Vātsaspati Misra (p. 64). The blazing upwards of fire is said to illustrate the lightness of the quality of goodness which belongs to fire.

want of liberality, indecision about actions¹, sleep, haughtiness², fear, avarice, grief, finding fault with good acts, want of memory³, immaturity (of intellect), nihilism⁴, violation of (the rules of) conduct, want of discrimination⁵, blindness, behaviour of the lowest⁶ quality, pride of performance without (actual) performance, pride of knowledge without (actual) knowledge, unfriendliness, evil disposition, want of faith, deluded convictions, want of straightforwardness, want of knowledge⁷, sinful action, want of knowledge (of the subtle principle), stolidity⁸, lassitude, want of self-restraint, going into inferior ways; all these qualities, O Brâhmaṇas! are celebrated as being dark. And whatever other states of mind, connected with delusion, are found in various places in this world, all these are dark qualities. Constant talk in disparagement of gods, Brâhmaṇas and Vedas, want of liberality, vanity, delusion⁹, anger, want of forgiveness likewise, and also animosity

¹ According to Gîtâ, p. 108, doing nothing—stolid laziness—is a mark of darkness. Cf. generally on this passage Gîtâ, pp. 107, 118, 124 seq.; Maitrî, p. 49.

² The same word as at Gîtâ, pp. 116, 125 (headstrong in the latter passage should have been haughty). Cf. as to the word, *Khândogya*, p. 383.

³ Cf. Gîtâ, p. 51.

⁴ The opposite of the belief mentioned at Gîtâ, p. 126.

⁵ The same word as at Gîtâ, p. 109. But the commentators render it here by *himsra*, i. e. destructive.

I am not sure about the original word here, and the word next but one after this. The latter *Arguna Misra* renders by *sûkshmatattvâvedanam*, which I have translated above in the text. The former seems to mean general unintelligence.

⁷ Heaviness and dullness, induced by indolence, &c., *Nīlakanṭha*. Lassitude is drooping from despondency. Going into inferior ways, *Arguna Misra* says, means falling into the inferior castes; *Nīlakanṭha* says it means love for base actions.

⁸ Not being cognisant of one's own shortcomings, *Arguna Misra*.

towards people, this is considered to be dark conduct. Whatever vain¹ actions (there are), and whatever vain gifts, and vain eating, that is considered to be dark conduct. Reviling, and want of forgiveness, animosity, vanity, want of faith also, this is considered to be dark conduct. And whatever such people there are in this world, doers of sinful acts, who break through (all) regulations, they are all held to be dark. I will state the wombs appointed for these (men) of sinful actions. They go to the hell, (namely) the brute (species), to be born in the lower hell²; (or become) the immovable entities³, animals, beasts of burden, demons, and serpents, and worms, insects, birds, and also creatures born from eggs, and all quadrupeds, and idiots, deaf and dumb men, and whatever others are attacked by diseases generated by sin⁴. These dark, evil-conducted men, who are sunk in darkness, who bear the marks of their own actions, the current of whose (thoughts) is downwards⁵, sink into darkness. I will now proceed to state their improvement and ascent; how, becoming men of meritorious actions, they attain to the worlds of those who perform good acts⁶. Resorting to a contrary⁷ (course of life), and growing old in (good) actions⁸, they exert

¹ Cf. *Gītā*, p. 83.

² Cf. *Gītā*, p. 116.

³ Such as trees and so forth, which are also forms of life.

⁴ This is alluded to in some *Smṛitis* too. And cf. *Khândogya*, p. 358, and the quotation in the commentary on *Sāṅkhya-sūtra* V, 122.

⁵ Such, says *Nīlakaṇṭha*, as to fit them for the nether world. See *Tattvakaumudī*, p. 113. As to marks, cf. p. 239 supra.

⁶ Cf. *Gītā*, p. 130.

⁷ I.e. contrary to that already described as dark.

⁸ *Nīlakaṇṭha* renders this to mean 'destroyed for Agnihotra and such ceremonies,' like the goat referred to above at p. 290.

themselves, and through the ceremonies (performed for them) by benevolent Brâhmanas devoted to their own duties, they go upwards to the same world (as the Brâhmanas)—the heaven of the gods. Such is the Vedic text. Resorting to a contrary¹ (course of life), and growing old in their own duties, they become men in this world whose nature is to return². Coming to a sinful womb, as *Kândâlas*³, or deaf, or lisping men, they attain to higher and higher castes in order; going beyond the *Sûdra* womb, and (beyond) whatever other dark qualities there are which abide in the quality of darkness⁴ in the current (of this world). Attachment to objects of desire is laid down to be the great delusion. There, sages and saints and gods become deluded, wishing for pleasure. Darkness⁵, delusion, the great delusion, the great obscurity called anger, and death the blinding obscurity; anger is called the great obscurity. I have now duly described to you, O Brâhmanas! this quality of darkness, in full and accurately with reference to

¹ See note 7 on last page. The sequence of ideas seems not to be properly brought out here. In the course of transmigration after their course of conduct is altered they become men, and then proceed to heaven. This seems the real sense here.

² To return to life and death, and so on, until they fit themselves for final emancipation. Cf. *Âpastamba* II, 5, 11, 10-11.

³ Cf. *Khândogya*, p. 359.

⁴ This is not very clear, and the commentators give but little help. The meaning probably is, that they gradually, in course of improvement, cross beyond the *Sûdra* caste, and all those qualities or tempers of mind, and so forth, which have been stated to appertain to the quality of darkness.

⁵ Cf. *Sâṅkhya-kārikā*, pp. 47, 48, and *Vāṭaspati's* comment. There these are identified with the 'afflictions' of the *Yoga-râtra*—ignorance, self-consciousness, affection, aversion, persistent attachment, and they are five divisions of false knowledge, or the quality of darkness, as it is here called. See, too, *Svetâsvatara* (comm.), p. 284.

its nature, and also its qualities, and also its source. Who, indeed, understands this properly; who, indeed, perceives this properly? The definition of the essence of darkness is, that one sees the real in what is unreal. The qualities of darkness have been described to you in many ways. And darkness in its higher and lower¹ (forms) has been accurately stated. The man who always understands these qualities gets rid of all dark qualities.

CHAPTER XXII.

Brahman said:

O best (of men)! I will explain to you accurately the quality of passion. Learn, O noble ones! the action of the quality of passion. Injuring (others), beauty², toil, pleasure and pain, cold and heat, power³, war, peace, argument, repining³, endurance, strength, valour, frenzy, wrath, exercise and quarrel too, vindictiveness, desire, backbiting, battle, the thought (that this or that is) mine, preservation⁴, slaughter, bonds, affliction, buying and selling, touching⁵ other people's weak points, by cutting, breaking, piercing; fierceness and cruelty, vilifying, pointing out others' weaknesses, thinking of (this) world, harbouring evil thoughts, animosity, abuse,

¹ Generally and specifically, says Arguna Mirra.

² Arguna Mirra says these mean pride of beauty and pride of power respectively. Cf. as to this list generally, Mairi, pp. 50, 51.

³ Cf. Sanatsugâtîya, p. 168.

⁴ I presume this means solicitude for preserving what one has got. Cf. Gîtâ, p. 48.

⁵ Literally, piercing. 'Cutting, breaking piercing,' further on, seems to indicate the greater or less offensiveness of the operation of 'touching others' weak points.'

uttering falsehoods, bad¹ gifts, doubt, boasting, censure, praise, laudation², prowess, defiance, attendance (on another), obedience³, service, harbouring desire, management⁴, policy, heedlessness, contumely, belongings⁵, and the various decorations which prevail in this world, for men, for women, for living creatures, for articles, and for houses, vexation, and also want of faith, vows and regulations⁶, and actions with expectations, and the various acts of public charity⁷, the ceremony of Svâhâ, the ceremony of Svadhâ, the ceremony of Vashat⁸, salutation, both officiating at sacrifices and imparting instruction, and also sacrificing and study, gifts and acceptance of gifts, expiations, auspicious rites, the wish 'this may be mine and that may be mine,' affection generated by the qualities⁹, treachery and likewise deception, disrespect and respect, theft, slaughter, disgust, vexing (oneself), wakefulness, ostentation, haughtiness, and attachment also, devotion, pleasure and delight, gambling, common scandal, association with women,

¹ I. e. to undeserving persons, Arguna Misra. Probably it includes the other defects also pointed out at Gîtâ, p. 120. As to doubt, see Gîtâ, p. 63.

² The one is attributing merits which do not exist, the other is merely parading merits which do exist.

³ Arguna Misra takes this literally to mean 'wish to hear.'

⁴ Cleverness in worldly affairs, Nîlakantha.

⁵ Cf. Gîtâ, passim, and see also Yoga-sûtras II, 30, and commentary (pp. 127-129, Calc. ed.)

⁶ Fasts and other observances for special benefits.

⁷ E. g. digging tanks and wells, &c.

⁸ Vashat and Svâhâ indicate offerings to gods, Svadhâ to the manes. See *Bṛihadâraṇyaka*, p. 982, and *Māṇḍukya* (*Gauḍapāda Kārikâ*), p. 443, and commentaries there.

⁹ I presume this means attachment to the operations of the qualities. Cf. Gîtâ, p. 48. As to the wish just before, see Gîtâ, pp. 115, 116.

devotion to dancing, and instrumental or vocal music, all these qualities, O Brāhmaṇas! are described as passionate. The men who meditate on past, present, and future entities in this world¹, who are always devoted to the triad—piety, wealth, and lust also²—who acting under (the impulse of) desires exult on the success of all their desires, these men, who are enveloped by passion, have (their) currents downwards³. Born again and again in this world, they rejoice⁴, and wish for the fruit appertaining to the life after death⁵ and that appertaining to this world also. They give and receive, and make Tarpaṇa⁶, and also sacrifice. The qualities of passion have been described to you in many ways, and the action of the quality has also been stated accurately. The man who always understands these qualities, gets rid of all passionate qualities.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Brahman said :

Now I shall proceed to describe the third—the best—quality, beneficial to all creatures, and unblamable, the duty of the good. Joy¹, pleasure, nobility, enlightenment and happiness also, absence of stinginess, absence of fear, contentment, faith, forgiveness, courage, harmlessness, equability, truth, straightforwardness, absence of wrath, absence of calumnia-

¹ I. e. who are always thinking of what they have done and what they have to do, and so forth. Cf. Gītā, pp. 115, 116.

² And not that which is higher than these, viz. final emancipation.

³ See p. 321 and note 5 there. ⁴ Cf. *inter alia*, Gītā, p. 48.

⁵ Viz. heaven. Cf. Gītā, p. 48. ⁶ I. e. offerings to the manes.

⁷ Cf. p. 300 *supra*, and Sānti Parvan (Moksha), chap. 194, st. 34; chap. 219, st. 36. For nobility, Arjuna Mirra has manifestation of joy.

tion, purity, dexterity, valour. He who possesses the piety of concentration of mind, (holding) knowledge to be vain¹, (good) conduct vain, service vain, and labour vain, he attains the highest in the next world. Devoid of (the notion that this or that is) mine, devoid of egoism, devoid of expectations, equable everywhere, not full of desires, (to be) such is the eternal duty of the good. Confidence, modesty², forgiveness, liberality, purity, freedom from laziness, absence of cruelty, freedom from delusion, compassion to (all) creatures, absence of backbiting, joy, contentment, joviality, humility, good behaviour, purity in all action for (acquiring) tranquillity³, righteous feelings, emancipation⁴, indifference⁵, life as a Brahma-kârin, abandonment on all hands, freedom from (the notion that this or that is) mine, freedom from expectations⁶, unbroken piety⁷, (holding that) gifts (are) vain, sacrifices vain, learning vain, vows vain, receipt of gifts vain, piety vain, penance vain. Those talented Brâhmanas in this world, whose conduct is of this description, who adhere to the quality of goodness, abiding in the seat of the Brahman⁸, perceive (everything) aright. Getting rid of all

¹ Such is Nilakantha's reading, and he takes knowledge to mean mere knowledge derived from books, &c. Arguna Misra has a different reading for vain, which he interprets to mean 'wish for fruit.'

² See Sanatsugâtiya, p. 162.

³ I.e. pure and straightforward conduct in the performance of whatever is done for attaining final emancipation.

⁴ Of other people from sorrow, Arguna Misra.

⁵ The state of being unconcerned, udâsîna, Nilakantha.

⁶ Cf. Gîtâ, p. 60, inter alia.

⁷ Arguna Misra understands the original here to mean 'not being under the control of another.'

⁸ I.e. the source of the Vedas, according to Nilakantha. The supreme is called Brahmayoni, the original word here, at Svetâ-

sins, and free from grief, those talented men reach heaven, and create (various) bodies¹. The power of governing, self-restraint, minuteness², these those high-souled ones make (for themselves) by (the operations of their own) minds like the gods dwelling in heaven. They are said to have their currents upwards³, and to be gods, and of the quality of goodness⁴; and having gone to heaven they verily change in various ways, by means of nature⁵. They obtain and divide⁶ whatever they desire. Thus, O chiefs of the twice-born! have I described to you the conduct of the quality of goodness. Understanding this according to rule, one obtains whatever one desires. The qualities

svatara, p. 354, where Brahman is rendered to mean *Prakṛiti* by Śaṅkara. See *Sanatsugātiya*, p. 186, note 6, and *Taittirīya-āraṇyaka*, p. 894. As to the probable sense here, see p. 339, note 2 *infra*.

¹ I. e. for themselves. Cf. p. 345 *infra*; *Yoga-sūtras*, p. 227; and *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, p. 849.

² These include, according to *Nilakanṭha*, the other qualities of the same class unnamed here, for which see *Yoga-sūtra* III, 44 (p. 207). The power of governing, i. e. producing, destroying, or combining worldly objects as one pleases; self-restraint, i. e. in the presence of tempting objects; minuteness = power of becoming as minute as one pleases. The other qualities are lightness, largeness, and heaviness; power of attracting everything so as to be near oneself (e. g. touching the moon with the finger), power of obtaining one's wish.

³ Cf. p. 321 *supra* and note 5. Arguna Mirra, and *Nilakanṭha* also, here render it by 'those who go upwards.' As to which, see *Gītā*, p. 109.

⁴ Cf. for this sense, which is given by Arguna Mirra, *Sāṅkhya-sāra*, p. 19.

⁵ *Nilakanṭha* says this means that they change their minds for purposes of enjoyment by means of the impression of previous enjoyments. The changes, however, seem to be those above referred to—minuteness, &c., and the acquisition of other bodies. As to nature, cf. *Gītā*, pp. 58 and 112, with the correction made at p. 318 *supra*.

⁶ This is not quite clear. Does it mean distribute among themselves or others?

of goodness have been specifically described, and the operation of the qualities has been accurately stated. The man who always understands these qualities, enjoys the qualities¹, but is not attached to the qualities.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Brahman said :

The qualities cannot be explained altogether distinctly (from one another). Passion, goodness, and darkness likewise are seen mixed up (with one another). They are attached to one another, they feed on one another. They all depend on one another, and likewise follow one another². There is no doubt of this, that as long³ as there is goodness so long darkness exists. And as long as goodness and darkness, so long is passion said (to exist) here. They perform their journey together, in union, and moving about collectively. For they act with cause or without cause⁴, moving in a body. Of all these acting with one another, but differing in development, the increase and diminution will now be stated. Where darkness is increased, abiding⁵ in the lower entities, there passion should be understood to be little, and goodness likewise to be less. Where

¹ Cf. *Gītā* inter alia, p. 104.

² Cf. p. 318 *supra*.

³ So *Arguna Mirra*. *Nilakantha* says on this, 'However much goodness may be increased, it is still held in check by darkness, and thus there is the continual relation of that which checks and that which is checked between the three qualities; hence they are alike. So also passion being increased, holds goodness and darkness in check. The sense seems to be that the qualities dominate all in this world and exist together though varying in strength' (*Gītā*, p. 73).

⁴ I. e. spontaneously, *Arguna Mirra*. Cf. *Sānti Parvan* (*Moksha*), chap. 194, st. 35.

⁵ It is in the lower species that darkness is predominant.

passion is developed, abiding in those of the middle current¹, there darkness should be understood to be little, and goodness likewise to be less. And where goodness is developed, abiding in those of the upward current², there darkness should be understood to be little, and passion likewise to be less³. Goodness is the cause of the modifications in the senses, and the enlightener⁴. For there is no other higher duty laid down than goodness. Those who adhere to (the ways of) goodness go up; the passionate remain in the middle; the men of the quality of darkness, being connected with the lowest quality, go down⁵. The three qualities abide in the three castes thus: darkness in the *Sûdra*, passion in the *Kshatriya*, and the highest, goodness, in the *Brâhmaṇa*⁶. Even from afar⁷, darkness, goodness, and passion also, are seen to have been together and moving about collectively. We have never heard of them (as existing) separately. Seeing the sun rising, evil-doers are alarmed, and travellers, suffering trouble from the heat, feel the warmth. The sun is goodness developed, evil-doers likewise are darkness, and the heat to the travellers is said to be a property of

¹ I. e. the human species, Arguna Misra. Cf. *Gîtâ*, p. 109.

² See *Gîtâ*, p. 109, also p. 327 *supra*. In his *Sânkhya-tattva-kaumudî*, *Vâṭaspati* Misra applies the epithet to Yogins (see p. 13 of *Târânâth's* edition, and the editor's note there).

³ Cf. *Gîtâ*, p. 108.

⁴ Cf. *Gîtâ*, p. 108. The modifications of the senses constituting perception by them is an operation of the quality of goodness. This seems to be the meaning of the text; as to this, cf. *Tattva-kaumudî*, p. 14 (*Târânâth's* edition).

⁵ See *Gîtâ*, p. 109; the words are nearly identical.

⁶ Cf. *Sânti Parvan* (*Moksha*), chap. 188, st. 15. The *Vaisya* is omitted here.

⁷ I. e. Arguna Misra says, even after much observation.

passion¹. The light in the sun is goodness ; the heat is the quality of passion ; and its eclipse on the Parvan² days must be understood to be of the quality of darkness. So in all shining bodies, there exist three qualities. And they act by turns in the several places in several ways. Among immovable entities, darkness is in the form of their belonging to the lower species ; the qualities of passion are variable ; and the oleaginous property is of the quality of goodness³. The day should be understood to be threefold, the night is stated to be threefold, and likewise months, half-months, years, seasons, and the conjunctions⁴. Threefold are the gifts given⁵, threefold the sacrifices performed, threefold are the

¹ This illustrates the existence of the qualities as one body. Even the enlightening sun, which embodies the quality of goodness, produces effects which belong to the other qualities. The fear and sorrow which evil-doers, that is thieves, feel, is an effect of the rising of the sun, which appertains to the quality of darkness, and the heat as being the cause of vexation and consequent delusion to travellers, appertains to the quality of passion.

² I.e. the days of the moon's conjunction or opposition.

³ I understand this to mean that in the 'immovable entities' the three qualities co-exist ; the birth in the lower species is an effect of darkness ; the variable qualities, viz. the heat, &c., as Arguna Misra says, are the properties of passion ; and the oleaginous properties among them appertain to goodness, as, says Arguna Misra, they are sources of pleasure (cf. *Gītā*, p. 118). *Nilakantha* says, 'Immovable entities being very unintelligent, darkness is very much developed among them,' but this last, as an interpretation of *tiryagbhāvagata*, appears to me to be alike unwarranted and inappropriate here.

⁴ Does this mean the period about the close of one and beginning of another yuga or age ? That is the only sense *ejusdem generis* with the words preceding it that I can think of ; yet the jump from years to yuga-sandhis is a long one.

⁵ Cf. *Gītā*, p. 120. With reference to some, at least, of the things enumerated here, the division would be rather fanciful.

worlds, threefold the gods, threefold the (departments of) knowledge, and threefold the path¹. The past, the present, and the future; piety, wealth, and lust; the *Prâna*, the *Apâna*, and the *Udâna*; these are the three qualities. And whatever there is in this world, all that is (made of) these three qualities². The three qualities—goodness, passion, and darkness also—are always acting unperceived. The creation of the qualities is eternal. Darkness, unperceived, holy³, constant, unborn, womb, eternal, nature, change⁴, destruction, *Pradhâna*, production and absorption, not developed, not small, unshaking, immovable, immutable, existent and also non-existent⁵—all these, the unperceived, (consisting) of the three qualities, is said to be. These names should be learnt by men who ponder on matters relating to the self. He who understands correctly all the names of the unperceived, and the qualities, and its pure operations, he, freed from the body, understanding the truth about (all) distinctions, and being free from all misery, is released from all qualities.

¹ See these three mentioned at *Khândogya*, pp. 340–359. As to departments of knowledge, cf. *Gîtâ*, p. 84; *Arguna Mirra* reads, ‘threefold the Vedas.’

² The universe is all developed from the *Prakṛti*, which is merely the three ‘qualities in equilibrium.’ Cf. *Sāṅkhya-sūtra* I, 61.

³ Because it gives final emancipation to one who discriminates it from *Purusha*, *Arguna Mirra*. Cf. *Sāṅkhya-sūtra* II, 1 seq., and *Sāṅkhya-kārikā*, p. 56 seq., and commentary. For another list of names of *Prakṛti*, see *Svetâsvatara* (comm.), p. 283.

⁴ Nature is not a development from anything, and hence is called *avikṛti* in *Sāṅkhya-kārikā* 3; but ‘change’ here probably means the whole aggregate of *Vikṛtis*, ‘changes’ or developments, which make up *Prakṛti*; or by a different derivation it may, perhaps, also mean that from which all development or change takes place.

⁵ See *Sāṅkhya-sūtra* V, 52–56; and also I, 26, and commentary here. The *Vedântins* speak of *Mâyâ*—which answers to what the

CHAPTER XXV.

Brahman said :

From the unperceived was first produced the great self¹, of great intelligence, the source of all qualities²; it is said to be the first creation. That great self is signified by these synonymous terms—the great self, intelligence, Vishṇu³, Gishṇu, Sambhu, the valiant, the understanding, means of knowledge, means of perception, and likewise cognition, courage, memory. Knowing that (great self), a learned Brāhmaṇa comes not by delusion. It has hands and feet on all sides⁴, it has eyes, heads, and faces on all sides; it stands pervading everything in the world⁵. The being of great power is stationed in the heart of all. Minuteness⁶, lightness, (the power of) obtaining (everything) (are his); he is the governor, the light, inexhaustible. Now people who comprehend the understanding, and who are always possessed of a good heart, who practise meditation, who are constant at concentration of mind, who are true to their promises, and whose senses are subdued, who are possessed of knowledge, who are not avacious, who have subdued wrath, whose minds are clear, who are talented, who are devoid of (the thought that this or that is) mine, who are devoid of egoism,

Sāṅkhyas call *Prakṛiti* (see *Svetāśvatara*, p. 340, and *Sāṅkhyā-sūtra* I, 69, and commentary there)—as ‘*sattvāsattvābhyāmanirvātya*.’

¹ I. e. the understanding, on which see *Sāṅkhyā-sūtra* I, 61–64. It is called being (*Purusha*) further on, as it dwells in the body (*Puri*).

² I. e. of the effects of all qualities (namely, the universe; cf. *Gītā*, p. 48), *Nīlakaṇṭha*.

³ I. e. all-pervading, *Arguna Misra*. On the whole passage, see *Sāṅkhyā-sāra*, pp. 15, 16, and note 3 on page 333 *infra*.

⁴ As, says *Arguna Misra*, it is the source of all activity.

⁵ The words are identical with those at *Gītā*, p. 103.

⁶ See p. 327 *supra*.

these being emancipated, attain greatness¹. And the talented man who understands that high and holy goal, the great self², he among all people comes not by delusion. The self-existent Vishṇu is the Lord in the primary creations³. And he who thus knows the lord lying in the cave⁴, the transcendent, ancient being, of universal form, and golden⁵, the highest goal of those possessed of understanding, that talented man, abides transcending the understanding⁶.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Brahman said :

That Mahat which was first produced, is (afterwards) called egoism ; when it is born as (the feeling itself) 'I, that is said to be the second creation. That egoism is stated to be the source of all entities⁷,

¹ I.e., says Arguna Misra, the world of the understanding. Does this mean the world of Hiranyagarbha? The understanding is said to be the 'subtle body' of Hiranyagarbha (Vedānta Paribhāṣā, p. 46). Probably the reference spiritually interpreted is to the state in which egoism and all its products are non-existent.

² Literally, 'the high and holy passage to the great self.'

³ The Mahat first manifests itself as Vishṇu before it manifests itself as Brahman or Siva (Sāṅkhya-sāra, p. 16), hence he is said to be the Lord in the primary creation. It may be added, that in the Sāṅkhya-sāra where this passage is quoted the original word rendered 'cognition' above (khyāti) does not occur, but in lieu of it occurs Brahman. The sentence 'And the talented man' &c. is also wanting there.

⁴ I.e. the understanding. See Sāṅkara on Svetārvatara, p. 329 ; Kaṭha, p. 100.

⁵ Source of enlightenment, Arguna Misra. Cf. *Mundaka*, pp. 303-308 (gloss).

⁶ I.e. attaching himself to the Purusha, as the never-changing reality, and rising above Prakṛiti and its manifestations.

⁷ I.e. when the Mahat develops into the feeling of self-consciousness—I—then it assumes the name of egoism.

⁸ See on this Sāṅkhya-sāra, Hall's Introd. p. 31, note.

that from which the changes take place¹; it is full of light, the supporter of consciousness; it is that from which the people are produced, the Praṣāpati. It is a deity, the producer of the deities, and of the mind; it is the creator of the three worlds. That which feels² thus—‘I am all this’—is called (by) that (name). That eternal world is for those sages who are contented with knowledge relating to the self, who have pondered on the self, and who are perfected by sacred study and sacrifice. By³ consciousness of self one enjoys the qualities; and thus that source of all entities, the producer of the entities, creates (them); and as that from which the changes take place, it causes all this to move; and by its own light, it likewise charms the world.

¹ So Arguna Misra. Nilakantha says it means ‘born from the change, or development, viz. Mahat.’ The Sāṅkhya-sāra, p. 17, however, shows it means ‘appertaining to the quality of goodness.’ See also Sāṅkhya-kārikā 25, and commentary there, which is of great help here. The sense is this: Egoism is of three descriptions; it appertains to the quality of goodness, and as such is the creator of the deities and mind, the deities being those presiding over the ten senses (cf. Sāṅkhya-sāra, p. 17); it is full of light, or appertains to the quality of passion (cf. *ibid.*), and as such imparts to the other two qualities their virtue of activity (cf. Sāṅkhya-kārikā commentary, p. 91, Tārānāth’s ed.); it is also of the quality of darkness, and as such the producer of the triple world (see *ibid.*). See Sāṅkhya-sūtra II, 17, 18, and comment, where a view somewhat different in one or two details is stated.

² Sāṅkhya-sāra, p. 16; Sāṅkhya-kārikā 24, p. 89 (Tārānāth’s ed.).

³ Arguna Misra says that the words Ahaṅkāra &c. are here explained; qualities here means objects, as at Gītā, p. 55. The meaning of the first clause is, that the feeling that the objects are for oneself, and therefore enjoying them, gives the name of Ahaṅkāra to the principle in question; its creation of all the elements gives it the name of Bhūtādi. It is called Vaikārika, as the cause of the various activities and developments going on. The last clause seems to be an explanation of the epithet Taigasa, also applied to egoism.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Brahman said :

From egoism, verily, were the five great elements born—earth, air, space, water, and light as the fifth. In these five great elements, in the operations of (perceiving) sound, touch, colour, taste, and smell, creatures are deluded¹. When, at the termination of the destruction of the great elements, the final dissolution approaches, O talented one! a great danger for all living beings arises². Every entity is dissolved into that from which it is produced. They are born one from the other, and are dissolved in the reverse order³. Then when every entity, movable or immovable, has been dissolved, the talented men who possess a (good) memory⁴ are not dissolved at all. Sound, touch, and likewise colour, taste, and smell as the fifth; the operations (connected with these) have causes⁵, and are inconstant, and their name is delusion. Caused by the production of avarice⁶, not different from one another⁷, and insignificant⁸, connected with flesh and blood, and depending upon one another,

¹ The contact of the objects of sense with the senses is the source of delusion.

² Cf. *Gītā*, p. 107, and note 1 there.

³ Cf. *Sāṅkhya-sūtra* I, 121, and p. 387 *infra*.

⁴ I.e. knowledge of the truth, Arguna Misra.

⁵ Hence, as they have a beginning, they also must have an end, and hence they are inconstant.

⁶ This and following epithets expand the idea of inconstancy.

⁷ Being all in substance connected with the *Prakṛiti*, the material world, so to say.

⁸ Containing no reality, *Nīlakanṭha*.

excluded from the self¹, these are helpless and powerless. The Prāṇa and the Apāna, the Udāna, the Samāna, and the Vyāna, these five winds also are joined to the inner self², and together with speech, mind, and understanding make the eight constituents of the universe³. He whose skin, nose, ear, eye, tongue, and speech are restrained, and whose mind is pure, and understanding unswerving⁴, and whose mind is never burnt by these eight fires⁵, he attains to that holy Brahman than which nothing greater exists. And the eleven organs, which are stated as having been produced from egoism—these, O twice-born ones! I will describe specifically. The ear, the skin, the two eyes, the tongue, the nose also as the fifth, the two feet, the organ of excretion, and the organ of generation, the two hands, and speech as the tenth; such is the group of organs, the mind is the eleventh. This group one should subdue first, then the Brahman shines (before him). Five (of these) are called the organs of perception, and five the

¹ Nilakantha apparently takes the original here to mean of gross nature, not subtle, such as anything connected with the self would be. They are helpless and powerless without support from other principles, and mainly the self.

² He here states what is more closely connected with the self, and, as Nilakantha puts it, accompanies the self till final emancipation. The inner self Nilakantha takes to mean the self associated with egoism or self-consciousness.

³ Nilakantha cites certain texts to show that the perceptive senses work only through the mind, and that the objects of the senses are produced from the senses, and hence the universe, he says, is constituted of the eight enumerated above.

⁴ I. e. from the truth.

⁵ I. e. vexed by the operations of any of these.

organs of action. The five beginning with the ear are truly said to be connected with knowledge. And all the rest are without distinction connected with action. The mind should be understood to be among both¹, and the understanding is the twelfth. Thus have been stated the eleven organs in order. Understanding these², learned men think they have accomplished (everything). I will now proceed to state all the various organs. Space³ is the first entity; as connected with the self it is called the ear; likewise as connected with objects (it is) sound; and the presiding deity there is the quarters. The second entity is air; it is known as the skin as connected with the self; as connected with objects (it is) the object of touch; and the presiding deity there is lightning. The third (entity) is said to be light; as connected with the self it is called the eye; next as connected with objects (it is) colour; and the presiding deity there is the sun. The fourth (entity) should be understood to be water; as connected with the self it is called the tongue; as connected with objects it is taste; and the presiding deity there is Soma. The fifth entity is earth; as connected with the self it is the nose; as connected with objects likewise it is smell; and the presiding deity there is the wind. Thus are the five entities stated to be divided among the three⁴. I will now proceed to state all the various organs.

¹ Cf. *Sāṅkhya-kārikā* 27; *Sāṅkhya-sāra*, p. 17.

² Cf. *Kaṭha*, p. 148.

³ Cf. *Lalita Vistara* (translated by Dr. R. Mitra), p. 11.

⁴ The above sentences show the entities in the three different aspects mentioned, which correspond to each other; the ear is the sense, that which is connected with the self; sound is the object of that sense, as connected with the external world; and the

As connected with the self, the feet are mentioned by Brāhmaṇas, who perceive the truth; as connected with objects it is motion; the presiding deity there is Viṣṇu. The Apāna wind, the motion of which is downward, as connected with the self, is called the organ of excretion; as connected with objects it is excretion¹; and the presiding deity there is Mitra. As connected with the self the generative organ is mentioned, the producer of all beings; as connected with objects it is the semen; and the presiding deity there is Prajāpati. Men who understand the Adhyātma speak of the two hands as connected with the self; as connected with objects it is actions; and the presiding deity there is Indra. Then first, as connected with the self, is speech which relates to all the gods; as connected with objects it is what is spoken; and the presiding deity there is fire. As connected with the self they mention the mind, which follows after the five entities²; as connected with objects it is the mental operation; the presiding deity there is the moon. Likewise (there is) egoism, the cause of the whole course of worldly life, as connected with the self; as connected with objects, self-consciousness; the presiding deity there is Rudra. As connected with the self, they mention the understanding impelling the six senses³;

quarters, Dik, are the deities presiding over the senses; as to this cf. Sāṅkhya-sāra, p. 17, and Vedānta Paribhāṣhā, p. 45, which show some discrepancies. The distinctions of Adhyātma &c. are to be found in the Upanishads; cf. inter alia, Kāṇḍogya, p. 227, and cf. Gītā, p. 77.

¹ As to the original word, cf. inter alia, Svetāsvatara, pp. 197-202.

² This probably means the five senses which can perceive only when associated with the mind. See p. 268 supra.

³ The understanding is called the charioteer at Kaṭha, p. 111.

as connected with objects that which is to be understood; and the presiding deity there is Brahman. There are three seats for all entities—a fourth is not possible—land, water, and space. And the (mode of) birth is fourfold. Those born from eggs, those born from germs, those born from perspiration, and those born from wombs—such is the fourfold (mode of) birth of the group of living beings¹. Now there are the inferior beings and likewise those moving in the air. Those should be understood to be born from eggs, as also all reptiles. Insects are said to be born from perspiration; and worms of the like description. This is said to be the second (mode of) birth, and inferior. Those beings, however, which are born after the lapse of some time, bursting through the earth, are said to be born from germs, O best of the twice-born! Beings of two feet or more than two feet, and those which move crookedly, are the beings born from wombs. Understand about them also, O best of men! The eternal seat (where) the Brahman² (is to be attained) should be understood to be twofold—penance³ and meritorious action. Such is the doctrine of the learned. Action should be understood to be of various⁴

¹ Cf. *Khândogya*, pp. 404–406, and glosses; *Aitareya*, p. 243; *Vedānta Paribhāṣā*, p. 47; *Sāṅkhya-sūtra* V, 111; *Manu* I, 43; Max Müller's note at p. 94 of his *Khândogya* in this series.

² So *Nīlakaṇṭha*, but he also adds that this means birth as a *Brāhmaṇa*, which seems to be quite wrong. Arguna Misra's 'means of acquiring Brahman' is right. See p. 369 *infra*.

³ I. e., I presume, 'knowledge.' Sāṅkara has so interpreted the word at *Mundaka*, p. 270, and *Kaṭha*, p. 127, and elsewhere; and see *Sanatsugātīya*, p. 166 *supra*.

⁴ Another reading is 'of two kinds.' But I prefer this, as three kinds are mentioned further on.

descriptions, (namely) sacrifice, gift at a sacrifice, and sacred study¹, for (every one) who is born². Such is the teaching of the ancients. He who duly understands this, becomes possessed of concentration of mind, O chief of the twice-born! and know, too, that he is released from all sins. Space³ is the first entity; as connected with the (individual) self it is called the ear; as connected with objects likewise it is called sound; and the presiding deity there is the quarters. The second entity is air; as connected with the (individual) self it is called the skin; as connected with objects it is the object of touch; and the presiding deity there is the lightning. The third is called light; as connected with the (individual) self it is laid down to be the eye; next as connected with objects it is colour; the presiding deity there is the sun. The fourth should be understood to be water; as connected with the (individual) self it is stated to be the tongue; as connected with objects it should be understood to be taste; the presiding deity there is Soma. The fifth element is earth; as connected with the (individual) self it is called the nose; as connected with objects likewise it is called smell; the presiding deity there is Vāyu. Thus have I

¹ Cf. as to this *K'hândogya*, p. 136, which justifies our rendering, though the commentator Arguna Misra seems to understand the passage differently.

² Arguna Misra seems to understand this to mean 'twice-born.'

³ This is a repetition of what occurs at p. 337, and apparently is spurious. But two of the MSS., both those containing commentaries, contain the passage twice. One of the other MSS. omits the passage where it occurs before, and has it here. I think that the passage is in its place before, and probably interpolated here.

accurately described to you the creation¹ as connected with the (individual) self. A knowledge of this, O ye who understand piety! is here obtained by those who possess knowledge. One should place all these together, (viz.) the senses, the objects of the senses, and the five great elements, and hold them by the mind². When everything is absorbed into the mind, the pleasures of (worldly) life³ are not esteemed. The learned (men) whose understandings are possessed of knowledge esteem the pleasure derived from that⁴. Now⁵ I shall proceed to describe that discarding of all entities by (means) gentle and hard⁶, which produces attachment to subtle⁷ (topics), and is sanctifying. The (mode of) conduct in which qualities are not (treated as) qualities⁸, which is free from attachment, in which one lives alone⁹, which is uninterrupted¹⁰, and which is full of the Brahman¹¹, is called happiness (dwelling) in one aggregate¹².

¹ I am not quite sure that this is a correct rendering. But I can think of none better, and the commentators afford no help.

² *Nilakantha* says, 'Thinking that the great elements are not distinct from the senses, one should hold them absorbed in the mind.' *Arguna Mirra* says, 'In the mind as their seat they should be placed,' as being not distinct from the mind, I presume. Cf. *Kaṭha*, p. 148.

³ Literally, 'birth.'

⁴ From knowledge, I presume. The commentators afford no help.

⁵ *Arguna Mirra*'s text appears to commence a new chapter here.

⁶ Such as meditation or *upāsana*, and *prāṇāyama* or restraint of life-winds respectively, *Arguna Mirra*.

⁷ Cf. p. 310 *supra*.

⁸ I. e. bravery, learning, &c. are treated as not being merits, as they cause pride, &c., *Nilakantha*.

⁹ I. e. in solitude, *Nilakantha*; devoting oneself to the self only, *Arguna Mirra*. Cf. also p. 284 *supra*, note 4.

¹⁰ Or, says *Nilakantha*, free from any belief in distinctions.

¹¹ Another reading would mean 'which exists among *Brāhmanas*.'

¹² I. e. all collected together, I presume.

The learned man who absorbs objects of desire from all sides, as a tortoise (draws in) his limbs¹, and who is devoid of passion, and released from everything², is ever happy. Restraining objects of desire within the self³, he becomes fit for assimilation with the Brahman⁴, having his cravings destroyed, and being concentrated in mind, and friendly and affectionate⁵ to all beings. The fire of the Adhyâtma⁶ is kindled in a sage by his abandoning the country⁷, and by the restraint of all the senses which hanker after objects of sense. As fire kindled with fuel shines forth with a great blaze, so the great self⁸ shines forth through the restraint of the senses. When one with a tranquil self perceives all entities in one's own heart, then being self-illumined⁹, one attains to that which is subtler than (the most) subtle (thing)¹⁰, and than which there is nothing higher. It is settled, that the body in which the colour¹¹ is fire, the flowing¹²

¹ Cf. Gītā, pp. 50, 51, and Sānti Parvan (Moksha Dharma) I, 51, where the phrase is precisely the same as here.

² I. e. from all bonds, I suppose. See p. 292 supra.

³ Cf. Gītā, p. 51. ⁴ Cf. Gītā, p. 110. ⁵ Cf. Gītā, p. 68.

⁶ I. e. experience, Nīlakanṭha. It means direct perception of the relations between the supreme and individual self. Cf. Gītā, p. 111.

⁷ As opposed to forests. See Sanatsugâtīya, p. 159, note 9.

⁸ This must mean here the supreme self, apparently.

⁹ I. e. being devoted to the self only, Arguna Misra. The ordinary meaning of the word, however, is one who has direct experience or perception without the aid of senses, &c. Cf. Brīhadāraṇyaka, p. 765, and Sārāka Bhāṣya, pp. 648, 784, &c.

¹⁰ Nīlakanṭha says, 'The supreme Brahman which is subtler than the Brahman within the lotus-like heart.'

¹¹ I. e. that which perceives colour, viz. the sense, Arguna Misra. This applies to the analogous words coming further on.

¹² I. e. taste, says Arguna Misra, which seems to be more correct than Nīlakanṭha's blood and such other liquid elements of the body.

(element) water, and the feeling of touch is air, the hideous holder of the mud¹ is earth, and likewise the sound is space; which is pervaded by disease and sorrow; which is surrounded by the five currents²; which is made up of the five elements; which has nine passages³ and two deities⁴; which is full of passion; unfit to be seen⁵; made up of three qualities and of three constituent elements⁶; pleased with contacts⁷; and full of delusion⁸;—this same (body), which is difficult to move in this mortal world, and which rests on the real (entity)⁹, is the very wheel of time which rotates in this world¹⁰. It is a great ocean, fearful and unfathomable, and is named¹¹ delusion. The world, together with the immortals, should cast it aside, curtail it,

¹ I. e. the flesh, bone, and so forth, *Nīlakantha*; the mucus in the nose, *Arguna Misra*.

² I. e. the senses. Cf. p. 238 supra, note 7.

³ Cf. *Gītā*, p. 65.

⁴ See *Sanatsugātīya*, p. 187 supra.

⁵ As being unholy, *Nīlakantha*; as the bodies of *Kāṇḍālas* &c. when seen are productive of sin, *Arguna Misra*. See p. 155 supra.

⁶ Viz. *vāta*, *pitta*, *śleshma*, or wind, bile, and phlegm. The *dhātus* are sometimes spoken of as seven. See *Yoga-sūtras*, p. 192; *Taitt. Ār.* p. 874, commentary, and p. 246 supra. See, too, however, *Svetāsvatara*, commentary, p. 287.

⁷ Which is delighted only by contact with food and so forth, not otherwise, *Nīlakantha*.

⁸ I. e. cause of delusion. The original word for 'it is settled' at the beginning of this sentence is otherwise rendered by *Arguna Misra*. He takes it to mean 'in this light (namely, as above stated) should one contemplate the body.' The other rendering is *Nīlakantha*'s.

⁹ I. e. the self, *Arguna Misra*; the understanding, *Nīlakantha*; difficult to move = difficult to adjust if attacked by disease, &c., *Nīlakantha*.

¹⁰ It is owing to this body that the self becomes limited by time, *Arguna Misra*. *Nīlakantha*'s gloss I do not follow. Cf. p. 187 supra, and p. 355 infra.

¹¹ I. e. characterised by delusion, *Arguna Misra*.

and restrain it¹. Desire, wrath, fear, avarice, treachery, and falsehood also, (all these), which are difficult to get rid of, the good do get rid of by restraint of the senses². And he who in this world has vanquished the three qualities and the five constituent elements³, obtains the highest⁴—the infinite—seat in heaven. Crossing the river of which the five senses are the lofty banks, the agitation of mind⁵ the mighty waters, and delusion the reservoir⁶, one should vanquish both desire and wrath. Freed from all sins, he then perceives that highest (principle), concentrating the mind within the mind⁷, and seeing the self within the self⁸. Understanding everything, he sees the self with the self in all entities as one⁹, and also as various,

¹ I am not sure about the meaning here. Arguna Misra says, (reading visriget, 'send forth,' for vikshipet, 'cast aside,') 'send forth at the creation, curtail at the dissolution, and restrain at the final emancipation.' The commentary reads rodhayet, which we have adopted above. The text in the same copy, however, is bodhayet. Arguna Misra adds, as far as I can make out from an incorrect copy: 'as in this life everything is accomplished by these actions' (namely, I suppose, the casting aside, &c.). Nīlakantha says, 'This same thing is the cause of creation, destruction, and knowledge.' reading bodhayet.

² Cf. Gītā, p. 57.

³ I.e. the five great elements, as stated in Williams' Dictionary, citing Yāgyavalkya III, 145. See Sānti Parvan (Moksha), chap. 182, st. 16; chap. 184, st. 1.

⁴ I.e. the seat of the Brahman, Nīlakantha.

⁵ See Gītā, p. 66, where the word is the same, viz. vega.

⁶ From which, namely, the river issues. Cf. for the whole figure, Sānti Parvan (Moksha), chap. 251, st. 12.

⁷ The mind=the lotus-like heart, Nīlakantha. Cf. Gītā, p. 79. Concentrating=withdrawing from external objects, &c.

⁸ I.e. in the body, Nīlakantha. See p. 248.

⁹ Cf. Gītā, p. 83, and note 4 there. Nīlakantha says, 'as one, i.e.

changing from time to time¹. He can always perceive (numerous) bodies like a hundred lights from one light. He verily is Vishṇu, and Mitra, and Varuṇa, Agni, and Pragâpati. He is the supporter, and the creator. He is the lord whose faces are in all directions². (In him) the great self—the heart of all beings—is resplendent. Him, all companies of Brâhmanas, and also gods, and demons, and Yakshas, and Pisâkas, and Pitris, and birds, and the bands of Rakshases, and the bands of Bhûtas³, and also all the great sages, ever extol.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Brahman said :

Among men the royal Kshatriya is the middle⁴ quality; among vehicles the elephant⁵, and among denizens of the forest the lion; among all sacrificial animals the sheep, and among the dwellers in holes the snake; among cattle also the bull, and among

by direct perception of the unity of the individual and supreme, and as various, i. e. in the all-comprehending form.'

¹ I. e. creating or acting, Arguna Misra. I think it probable that it was meant to go with the preceding words. See Gîtâ, p. 83 note; but, for this, 'changing' must be in the accusative. It is in the nominative. As the original stands, and on Arguna Misra's interpretation, the sense seems to be that when he is about to engage in the work of creation, he can obtain as many bodies as he likes. Nîlakantha compares Kṛtândogya, p. 526. And see pp. 249, 327 supra. Can always perceive = invariably obtains when he wishes.

² Cf. Gîtâ, pp. 83, 93, and note 1 there.

³ Cf. Gîtâ, pp. 85, 118.

⁴ I. e. passion—that quality is dominant in the Kshatriya, Nîlakantha. See p. 329 supra.

⁵ Commenting on Gîtâ V, 18 (p. 65) Saṅkara calls the elephant atyantatâmasa, belonging entirely to the quality of darkness.

females a male¹. The Nyagrodha, the Gambu, the Pippala, and likewise the Sālmali, the Sinsapā, and the Meshasṛīṅga, and likewise the bamboo and willow²; these are the princes among trees in this world, there is no doubt of that. The Himavat, the Pāriyātra, the Sahya, the Vindhya, the Trikūṭavat, the Sveta, the Nīla, the Bhāsa, and the Koshṭhavat mountain, the Mahendra, the Guruskandha, and likewise the Mālyavat mountain, these are the princes among mountains³. Likewise the Maruts are (the princes) among the Gaṇas; the sun is the prince among the planets, and the moon⁴ among the Nakshatras; Yama is the prince among the Pitṛis, and the ocean among rivers; Varuṇa is the king of the waters, and Indra is said to be (the king) of the Maruts. Arka is the king of hot (bodies), and Indu is said to be (the king) of shining bodies. Fire is ever the lord of the elements⁵, and Brīhaspati of Brāhmaṇas; Soma is the lord of herbs, Viṣṇu is the chief among the strong; Tvashṭri is the prince

¹ As to the constructions here, cf. generally Gītā, p. 88, and see the remarks of Rāmānuga and Sridhara on Gītā X, 21. The meaning here is, of course, the male is ruler over females.

² I do not know what distinction is intended between these two. Generally kiṭṭaka is used for the hollow bamboo, which whistles when the wind blows through it.

³ Some of these mountains are mentioned in Patañjali. See Introduction.

⁴ This list may be compared with that at Gītā, chapter X. Sometimes the same object occurs more than once with reference to more than one class; thus the moon occurs as lord of Nakshatras, of shining bodies, and of herbs—unless Soma there stands for the Soma plant. See Gītā, p. 113. Arguna Misra says expressly that the moon occurs more than once as the correlatives, the classes with reference to which she is mentioned, are different. In such cases I have kept the original names untranslated; Arka=sun; Indu=moon.

⁵ Cf. Kaṭha, p. 83.

of the Rudras, and Śiva is the ruler of (all) creatures; likewise, sacrifice of (all) initiatory ceremonies¹, and Maghavat² likewise of the gods; the north among the quarters, and among all vipras the powerful king Soma³; Kubera (is lord) of all jewels, Purandara of (all) deities. Such is the highest creation among all entities. Prajāpati (is lord) of all peoples; and of all entities whatever I, who am full of the Brahman, and great, (am lord). There is no higher being than myself or Viṣṇu. The great Viṣṇu full of the Brahman is the king of kings over all. Understand him to be the ruler, the creator, the uncreated Hari. For he is the ruler of men, Kinnaras, and Yakshas; of Gandharvas, snakes, and Rakshases; of gods, demons, and Nāgas. Among all those who are followed by (men) full of desires, (the chief) is⁴ the great goddess Māheshvarī, who has beautiful eyes. She is called Pārvatī. Know the goddess Umā⁵ to be the best and (most) holy of (all) females. Among women who are (a source⁶ of) happiness, likewise, the brilliant⁷ Apsarases (are chief). Kings desire

¹ This must mean, I presume, that the sacrifice is higher than the initiation, as male than female, see p. 346, note 1.

² This is another repetition. Indra has been mentioned before, and Purandara is mentioned further on.

³ As to king Soma, see inter alia *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, p. 237; *Kāṇḍogya*, p. 342, where Śaṅkara explains 'king' by adding 'of Brāhmaṇas.' Vipras = Brāhmaṇas.

⁴ I. e. Māheshvarī is the most beautiful of womankind.

⁵ It is well known that Umā, Pārvatī, Māheshvarī are names of the consort of the third member of the Hindu Trinity; see Kena, p. 13, and Śaṅkara's comment there. See, too, Muir, *Sanskrit Texts*, vol. iv, p. 421, and *Taittirīya-āraṇyaka*, p. 839.

⁶ The idea of 'source' is supplied by Arguna Misra.

⁷ Literally, 'rich.' Arguna Misra paraphrases it by 'Gyotishmati.' Nilakantha's explanation here is not quite clear.

piety; and Brāhmaṇas are the bridges¹ of piety. Therefore a king should always endeavour to protect the twice-born². Those kings in whose dominions good men lie low, lose all their qualifications³, and go into wrong paths after death. But those high-souled kings in whose dominions good men are protected, rejoice in this world, and attain the infinite (seat) after death. Understand this, O chiefs of the twice-born! I shall now proceed to state the invariable characteristics of piety. Non-destruction is the highest piety⁴, and destruction is of the nature of impiety. Enlightenment⁵ is the characteristic of gods; action⁶ the characteristic of men; sound is the characteristic of space; (the sensation of) touch is the characteristic of air; colour is the characteristic of light; taste is the characteristic of water; the characteristic of earth, the supporter of all beings, is smell; words are the characteristic of speech⁷ refined into vowels and consonants; the characteristic of mind is thought. Likewise as to what is described here as understanding, a deter-

¹ I. e. instrumental in piety, or guides to piety. Cf. *Svetāsvatara*, p. 370; *Mundaka*, p. 297.

² So literally, doubtless Brāhmaṇas only are intended here.

³ I. e., I presume, they lose all their merits, their good points are destroyed by this dereliction of duty.

⁴ Cf. p. 291 supra. Arguna Misra begins a fresh chapter with 'I shall now,' &c. ⁵ Knowledge of the truth, Arguna Misra.

⁶ I. e. action performed for the purpose of obtaining the fruit of it. The next five items refer to the five elements and their characteristic properties. Nīlakanṭha's explanation, that all these are merely parallels not stated for their own relevancy here, but as illustrations, seems to be the only available one.

⁷ I. e. the learning of other people, Nīlakanṭha. The meaning seems to be that we know speech only in its manifestation in the form of words.

mination is here formed by (that) understanding about objects which have been thought over by the mind¹. And there is no doubt of this that determination is the characteristic of the understanding. The characteristic of mind is meditation²; and the characteristic of a good man is (living) unperceived³. The characteristic of devotion is action⁴; and knowledge the characteristic of renunciation. Therefore a man of understanding should practise renunciation, giving prominence to knowledge⁵. The renouncer possessed of knowledge attains the highest goal. And crossing beyond darkness, and transcending death and old age, he repairs to that which has no second⁶. Thus have I duly spoken to you concerning the characteristic of piety. I will now proceed to explain properly the comprehension⁷ of the qualities. As to the smell of the earth, verily, that is comprehended by the nose; and the wind⁸ likewise residing in the nose is appointed⁹ to the knowledge of smell. Taste¹⁰,

¹ The text here is rather unsatisfactory; I have adopted that which I find in the copy containing Arguna Misra's commentary.

² Frequent pondering on matters learnt from Sāstras or common life, *Nilakantha*. Why mind comes twice the commentators do not explain.

³ Does this refer to what is said at *Sanatsugāṭīya*, p. 159?

⁴ Devotion means here, as in the *Gītā*, action without desire of fruits. For action the word here is the same as at *Gītā*, p. 115, note 2.

⁵ Cf. *Gītā*, p. 52, note 7.

⁶ This is Arguna Misra's interpretation, and appears to me to be correct. *Nilakantha*'s is different, but seems to omit all account of *abhyeti*, 'repairs.'

⁷ Arguna Misra's interpretation seems to be different, but our copy is not quite intelligible.

⁸ See p. 337 *supra*. The wind is the presiding deity of the nasal organ.

⁹ I.e. that is its function. Arguna Misra says, 'it is pondered on,' which is not clear. ¹⁰ Cf. *Gītā*, p. 74, as to taste and water.

the essence of water, is always comprehended by the tongue. And the moon likewise, who resides in the tongue, is appointed to the knowledge of taste. The quality of light is colour, and that is comprehended by the eye; and the sun residing in the eye is appointed always to the knowledge of colour. The (sensation of) touch, belonging to the air, is perceived by the skin, and the wind¹ residing in the skin is always appointed to the knowledge of (the objects) of touch. The quality of space is sound, and that is comprehended by the ear. And all the quarters residing in the ear are celebrated as (being appointed) to the knowledge of sound. Thought is the quality of mind, and that is comprehended by the understanding. The supporter of consciousness² residing in the heart is appointed to the knowledge of mind³. The understanding (is comprehended in the form of) determination, and the Mahat⁴ of knowledge. To (this) positive comprehension, the unperceived⁵ (is appointed), there is no doubt of that. The Kshe-tragñā, which is in its essence devoid of qualities and eternal, is not to be comprehended by any

¹ This cannot be the presiding deity here, though one expects such deity to be mentioned; see p. 337 supra.

² The text of more than one of the lines here is rather doubtful; we follow *Nilakantha*, who takes this to mean the *gīva*, the individual soul. Cf. p. 239, note 2 supra.

³ I. e. thought, as *Nilakantha* points out.

⁴ Mahat is properly the same as buddhi, understanding, but as it is here mentioned separately, I suppose, it signifies *Ahaṅkāra*. *Nilakantha* takes its operation, here called knowledge, to mean 'the feeling I am,' which agrees with our interpretation, for which some support is also to be derived from p. 333 supra.

⁵ I here follow *Arguna Misra*, though somewhat diffidently. The knowledge 'this is I,' and the knowledge 'this is so and so and nothing else' is presided over by the unperceived—the *Prakṛiti*.

symbols. Therefore the characteristic of the Kshetragñā, which is void of symbols¹, is purely knowledge. The unperceived is stated to be the Kshetra² in which the qualities are produced and absorbed. And I always see, know, and hear it, (though) concealed. The Purusha knows it, therefore is he called Kshetragñā³. And the Kshetragñā likewise perceives all the operations of the qualities⁴. The qualities created again and again, do not know themselves⁵, being non-intelligent, to be created and tied down to a beginning, middle, and end⁶. Only the Kshetragñā attains, no one (else) attains, to the truth, which is great, transcendent, and beyond the qualities and the entities (produced)⁷ from the qualities. Hence a man who understands piety, abandoning qualities, and the creation⁸, in this world, and transcending the qualities, and having his sins destroyed, then enters into the Kshetragñā. One who is free from the pairs of opposites, free from the ceremony of salutations, and

¹ See Sanatsugātīya, p. 146. See also p. 309 supra.

² See Gītā, p. 102 seq. ³ I. e. he who knows the Kshetra.

⁴ Enlightenment, activity, and delusion, *Nilakanṭha*.

⁵ I. e. do not know the self, *Nilakanṭha*; better, I think, 'the qualities do not know themselves, only the Kshetragñā knows them.' Cf. *Sānti Parvan (Moksha Dharma)*, chap. 194, st. 41.

⁶ I. e. production, existence, and destruction, *Nilakanṭha*. This must, however, mean their manifestation, continuance, and dissolution in any particular form. For the *prakṛti*, which is made up of the three qualities, is beginningless. Cf. *Gītā*, p. 104.

⁷ I. e. the actual physical manifestations, as we may say, of the qualities.

⁸ The original, *sattva*, *Nilakanṭha* renders by *buddhi*, and qualities by visible objects. In the familiar *Sāṅkhya* phrase *sattvapuruṣānyatāpratyaya* *sattva* means creation, or what is other than *purusha* (cf. *Sāṅkhyatattvakaumudī*, pp. 9-144). That is the meaning here. See too p. 371 infra, and *Sānti Parvan (Moksha Dharma)*, chap. 194, st. 38 seq. and comments there.

from the svâhâ ceremony¹, who is unmoving, and homeless², is the Kshetragnâ, he is the Supreme Lord.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Brahman said :

I will state truly all about that which has a beginning, middle, and end³, and about the means for its comprehension, together with names and characteristics⁴. It is stated that day was first and then night; that months have the bright⁵ first, the Nakshatras Śravaṇa⁶ as the first (among them), and the seasons the winter as the first (among them). The earth is the source⁷ of smells, water of tastes, the light (of) the sun is the source of colours, the wind is stated to be the source of (the feelings of) touch; likewise space is the source of sound. These are the qualities of the elements. Now I shall proceed to state the highest and first of all entities. The sun is

¹ See p. 324 supra.

² See Gîtâ, p. 101. Unmoving probably means 'not perturbed by the qualities' (Gîtâ, p. 110), or perhaps the same thing as 'of steady mind' at Gîtâ, p. 101. The sense is pretty much the same in both places.

³ Which has birth &c., Nīlakanṭha, i. e. all the creation, I presume.

⁴ The names, that is to say, of the various elements, and their qualities.

⁵ This must mean fortnights.

⁶ This is specified, says Arguna Misra, as the six months of the northern solstice are caused by the sun being at this Nakshatra. As to those six months, cf. Gîtâ, p. 81. For the same reason, Arguna Misra adds, the winter season is mentioned as the best.

⁷ The word âdi, literally beginning, is used in the whole of this passage in different senses; it means the source, it means the best, and it means the first in order.

the first among shining bodies¹; fire is said to be the first of the elements²; Sāvitrī³ of all branches of learning; Pragāpati of deities; the syllable Om of all the Vedas; and the Prāṇa life-wind, of all words⁴; whatever is prescribed in this world, all that is called Sāvitrī⁵. The Gāyatrī is the first among metres; among (sacrificial) animals, the goat⁶ is mentioned (as the first). Cows are the first among quadrupeds, and the twice-born among men⁷. The Syena is first among birds; among sacrifices, the offering (into the fire) is the best; and among all reptiles, O best of the twice-born! the snake⁸ is the highest. Of all ages the Krīta is the first, there is no doubt of that. Among all precious things, gold (is the first), and among vegetable (products) likewise the barley seed⁹. Among all things to be eaten or swallowed food is the highest; and of

¹ This should be compared with the enumeration at p. 345 supra, and that in the Gītā there referred to.

² Cf. p. 346 supra. Nilakantha takes fire to mean the gastric fire, and bhūta, rendered by us elements, to mean the species of beings born from eggs and wombs.

³ The famous verse 'Tat savitur,' &c. See inter alia Br̥hadāraṇyaka, p. 999; Āpastamba I, 1, 1, 9; Manu II, 77 seq., 104-170.

⁴ See pp. 264, 265 supra.

⁵ Here he turns back to the Sāvitrī, 'looking back in the manner of the lion,' says Nilakantha, and for purposes of upāsanā. He does not give up the thread of his discourse entirely, but simply interjects this little clause. Nilakantha adds, Sāvitrī here includes every mode of worship prescribed for Brāhmanas, &c., and even for Mlecchhas. Cf. note 3, and Gautama (Bühler's ed.), p. 174 note.

⁶ Cf. Kāāndogya, p. 109, and Saṅkara's commentary. Arguna Mirra compares this text, Tasmādesha cteshām parunām sreshtha-tamogah. Where it occurs I know not.

⁷ Cf. Sānti Parvan (Rāgadharma), chap. 11, st. 11.

⁸ I.e. Vāsuki, Nilakantha. More probably it refers to the species.

⁹ As it is used in various ceremonies.

all liquid substances which are to be drunk, water is the best. And among all immovable entities, without distinction, the Plaksha, the ever holy field of Brahman¹, is stated to be the first. I, too, (am the first) among all the patriarchs², there is no doubt of that. And the unthinkable, self-existent Vishnu is stated to be my own self. Of all mountains, the great Meru is stated to be the first-born. And among all quarters and sub-quarters, likewise, the eastern quarter³ is the first. Likewise the Gaṅgā going in three paths is stated to be the first-born among rivers. And likewise of all wells and reservoirs of water, the ocean is the first-born. And of all gods, Dānavas, Bhūtas, Pisākas, snakes, and Rakshases, and of men, Kinnaras, and Yakshas, Īsvara⁴ is the lord. The great Vishnu, who is full of the Brahman, and than whom there is no higher being in these three worlds, is the source of all the universe. Of all orders⁵, that of householders (is the first), there is no doubt of that. The unperceived is the source of the worlds; and the same is also the end of everything. Days end with (the sun's) setting⁶; the night ends with (the sun's) rising; the end of pleasure is ever grief:

¹ I.e. the Creator; his field means, I presume, his special seat.

² Beings from whom all creatures were born. See inter alia Sānti Parvan (Moksha Dharma), chap. 208, st. 5; Manu I, 34.

³ At p. 347 the north is mentioned. Arguna Misra has 'ūrdhva,' or upward here, and yet 'north' before. Is the north the best as the seat of the higher world mentioned at Sānti Parvan (Moksha Dharma), chap. 192, st. 8 seq.?

⁴ I.e. Rudra, says Nilakantha.

⁵ Viz. Brahmaçārin, householder, forester, and Samnyāsin. Cf. Sānti Parvan (Moksha), ch. 191, st. 10; Manu VI, 89; Gautama, p. 190.

⁶ These stanzas also occur in the Sānti Parvan, chap. 27, st. 31 seq. (Rāgadharma). A part of them appears to be quoted in Sāṅkhya-sūtra V, 80. And the commentator Vigñāna Bhikshu introduces it with the expression 'iti śrūyate.' But it is not a Vedic text.

the end of grief ever pleasure. All accumulations end in exhaustion ; all ascents end in falls ; all associations end in dissociations ; and life ends in death. All action ends in destruction ; death is certain for whatever is born¹ ; (everything) movable or immovable in this world is ever transient. Sacrifice, gift, penance, study, observances, and regulations, all this ends in destruction². There is no end for knowledge. Therefore one whose self is tranquil, whose senses are subjugated, who is devoid of (the idea that this or that is) mine, who is devoid of egoism, is released from all sins by pure knowledge.

CHAPTER XXX.

Brahman said :

The wheel of life³ moves on ; a wheel of which the spoke is the understanding, of which the pole⁴ is the mind, of which the bonds are the group of the senses, of which the outer rim⁵ is the five great elements, of which the environment is home⁶ ; which

¹ Cf. *Ghā*, p. 45.

² All this is action, the fruit of which is perishable ; the fruit of knowledge, on the other hand, is everlasting.

³ Literally, time ; it seems, however, to stand for the vicissitudes of worldly life. Cf. *Svetāśvatara*, p. 283. The body is called 'wheel of time' at p. 53 *supra*, but *Arguna Misra* there says 'it is the wheel which causes the rotation of the wheel of time.'

⁴ The cause of its being large in dimensions, *Arguna Misra* ; the supporting pillar, *Nīlakanṭha*. I prefer the former, and take the sense to be that worldly life is co-extensive with the operations or 'fancies' of the mind.

⁵ What is outside the elements, the physical manifestations of *Prakṛiti*, is beyond the domain of worldly life.

⁶ The possession of 'home' is equivalent to a dwelling in the midst of worldly life. Hence the idea of homelessness at *inter alia* *Ghā*, pp. 101-103.

abounds in old age and grief, which moves in the midst of disease and misfortune, which rotates in ¹ space and time; the noise of which is trouble and toil, the rotations ² of which (constitute) day and night; which is encircled with cold and heat; of which pleasure and pain are the joints, and hunger and thirst the nails fixed into it, of which sunshine and shade are the ruts; which staggers in the opening or closing of an eyelid, which is enveloped in the fearful waters of delusion, which is ever revolving and void of consciousness ³, which is measured by months and half months, is ever-changing ⁴, which moves through (all) the worlds ⁵; the mud ⁶ for which is penance and regulations, the mover of which is the force of the quality of passion ⁷; which is lit up ⁸ by the great egoism, which is sustained by the qualities; the fastenings in which are vexations ⁹;

¹ This means, I presume, that worldly life is conditioned, so to say, by space and time. See p. 343 supra.

² I.e. the cause of the rotation, *Nīlakantha*.

³ I.e. unintelligent.

⁴ Now takes the form of a man, now of an animal, and then of some other thing, *Nīlakantha*. I think, however, that the meaning is, that it is not alike to all; different persons are in different states in this world.

⁵ *Arguna Misra* says this means that it is the cause of the movements in all the worlds. That is the sense I extract from his words, which are not quite clear, *lokânâm samkaraṇe hetus*. The rendering in the text follows *Nīlakantha*.

⁶ I.e., I presume, that which retards the revolutions of the 'wheel'. Instead of 'penance,' *Nīlakantha*'s reading is 'the quality of darkness.'

⁷ Cf. *Sāṅkhya-kārikā*, p. 13, and *Vātsaspati*'s commentary thereon.

⁸ 'Animated,' *Nīlakantha*. Egoism is the cause of the world, and of all knowledge of it. Cf. *Sāṅkhya-kārikā*, p. 24.

⁹ The text here is unsatisfactory. I follow *Nīlakantha*, who says 'vexations=those arising from not obtaining what is desired.'

which revolves in the midst of grief and destruction ¹, which is full of actions and instruments of action ², which is large, and which is extended by means of attachments ³, which is rendered unsteady by avarice and desire ⁴, which is produced by ignorance of various (matters) ⁵, which is attended upon by fear and delusion, and which is the cause of the delusion of all beings, which moves towards joy and pleasure ⁶, which has desire and wrath as its appurtenances, which is made up of (the entities) beginning with the Mahat and ending with the gross elements ⁷, which is unchecked, the imperishable source (of all) ⁸, the speed of which is like that of the mind, and which is (never) fatigued. This wheel of life, which is associated with the pairs of opposites, and which is devoid of consciousness, all the world, together with the immortals, should cast away, abridge, and check ⁹. That man, among all creatures, who always

¹ Revolves in the midst of, = lives upon, is fed by, *Nīlakanṭha*.

² I.e. the organs of action, I presume.

³ The more attachments one has, the more one is tied down to worldly life, and the more comprehensive such life becomes.

⁴ Avarice is coveting another's wealth when one has one's own; desire is the wish for that which one has not.

⁵ *Nīlakanṭha* reads 'vikītra,' which he renders to mean diversified, as being made up of the three qualities, ignorance there being the same thing as *Prakṛti*, which is probably a better sense altogether than that obtainable from *Arguna Mirra's* reading.

⁶ Which moves by attachment to external pleasures, &c., *Nīlakanṭha*. See p. 300 *supra*.

⁷ I.e. all the world developed from *Prakṛti*—a common phrase.

⁸ This is *Nīlakanṭha's* forced meaning. But the text here is doubtful. Perhaps the sense is 'in which production and dissolution are going on unchecked.'

⁹ See p. 344 note. For the last word, the variant here is *sthāpayet*, make steady or stop.

accurately understands the movement and stoppage¹ of the wheel of life is never deluded. (That) sage, released from all impressions², transcending all pairs of opposites, and released from all sins, attains the highest goal. The householder, and the Brahmacārin, the forester, and also the beggar³, all these four orders are stated to have the order of householder for their basis. Whatever system of rules⁴ is prescribed in this world, to follow it is good; this has been celebrated from ancient times⁵. He who has been first refined by ceremonies⁶, and who has duly observed vows, being (born) in a caste of (high) qualifications⁷, and who understands the Vedas, should return⁸ (from his preceptor's house). Always devoted to his own wife, behaving like⁹ good men, with his senses restrained, and full of faith, one should perform the five sacrifices¹⁰ in this world. The sage who eats what remains after (offerings) to deities¹¹ and guests, who is devoted to Vedic rites, who duly performs sacrifices and

¹ I.e. the causes of the revolution and stoppage, *Nīlakaṇṭha*.

² Impressions of previous actions, delusions, &c. And see p. 247 *supra*.

³ I.e. the Samnyāsin.

⁴ *Sāstra*. Cf. *Gītā*, p. 117.

⁵ 'Such is the eternal fame,' literally.

⁶ I.e. on whom the Vedic rites or *Samskāras* are duly performed. And see *Gītā*, p. 122.

⁷ I.e. one of the three higher castes.

⁸ The original is the technical word for the return of a Brahmacārin after finishing his studies. He is describing the 'householder.'

⁹ I.e. following the rule of conduct sanctioned by the good.

¹⁰ Vide Williams' Dictionary, s.v. *mahāyagña*; *Ārvalāyana Gr̥hya* III, 1, 3; *Manu* II, 69; IV, 21.

¹¹ Cf. *Gītā*, p. 62; a guest must always be fed, and unless he is satisfied the host must not eat. Cf. *Sānti Parvan (Moksha)*, chap. 192, st. 15; *Manu* III, 106; *Āpastamba* II, 3, 7, 3.

gifts according to his means, who is not thoughtlessly active¹ with the hand or foot, who is not thoughtlessly active with the eye, and who is not thoughtlessly active with his speech or any of his limbs, to such a one the (word) good applies. One should always have the sacred thread and a clean cloth, and be of pure vows, and self-restrained, and should always associate with good men, making gifts, and with one's external organs restrained; one should restrain one's lust and hunger², should be kind, should behave like the good, and keep a bamboo stick and a water-pot filled with water³. One should learn and teach, should likewise perform sacrifices and officiate at others' sacrifices, and should give and receive gifts,—(thus) one should adopt the sixfold mode of life⁴. Know that three (of these) duties are the means of livelihood for Brāhmaṇas, the two teaching and officiating at sacrifices, and also receiving untainted gifts⁵. And as to the other remaining three duties, gift, study, and sacrifice, they are pious⁶ duties. With regard to those three duties, the sage who understands piety, who is self-restrained, kind, possessed of forgiveness, and equable to all creatures, should avoid heedlessness⁷. The

¹ The same word as at *Gītā*, p. 114, there rendered 'vain activity.'

² Cf. *Āpastamba* II, 1, 1, 2 seq.

³ Cf. *Manu* IV, 36; *Āpastamba* II, 1, 1, 15.

⁴ These are the well-known six duties of Brāhmaṇas as specified by *Manu* and others. See the discussion of this point in the Introduction.

⁵ Another reading is 'gifts from an untainted (source).'

⁶ What is the exact meaning of this here? I suppose the meaning is that the performance of them is a pure performance of duty; the others are duties the performance of which supplies one's own wants, and is therefore interested. Cf. *Gautama* X, 1 and 2.

⁷ I.e. omission or mistake in performance.

Brāhmaṇa householder, who is of rigid vows, who is thus devoted, discharging all these duties as much as is in his power, conquers heaven.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Brahman said :

Thus ¹ duly studying to the best of his power, in the way above ² stated, and likewise living as a Brahmatârin, one who is devoted to his own duty and learned, who is a sage with all his senses restrained, who applies himself to what is agreeable and beneficial to the preceptor, who is pure ³, and constant in veracity and piety, should, with the permission of the preceptor, take food without decrying it ⁴, should eat (the leavings) of sacrificial offerings, and alms, and should stand, sit, and take exercise ⁵ (duly), should sacrifice twice to the fire after becoming clean and with a concentrated (mind), and should always bear a staff of the Bilva or Palâsa ⁶ (wood). The clothing of the twice-born (man) should be of linen, or of cotton, or also a deerskin, or a cloth entirely (dyed with) reddish colour. There should also be a girdle of muñga ; he should have matted hair, and likewise always (carry) water (with him), and have his sacred thread, be engaged in sacred

¹ Arguna Misra says, 'Having described first the order of householder, as that is the chief, he now describes that of Brahmatârin.' Cf. Âpastamba II, 9, 21, 1, and note.

² Where? This is obscure.

³ Both internally and externally, I presume.

⁴ Cf. Taittiriya, p. 129 ; Sânti Parvan (Moksha), chap. 192, st. 6.

⁵ Cf. Gîtâ, p. 69. Arguna Misra says, 'Having exercise by means of standing and sitting ; the meaning is not sleeping except at the proper time.'

⁶ Cf. Manu II, 41 seq.

study, and free from avarice, and of rigid observances. (Such) a Brahmakārin, always making offerings likewise of pure water to satisfy the deities, being restrained in mind¹, is esteemed. One who is thus devoted², who is concentrated in mind, and continent³, conquers heaven, and reaching the highest seat, does not return to birth. Refined by means of all ceremonies, and likewise living as a Brahmakārin⁴, a sage who has renounced⁵ (all) should go out of towns and dwell in forests⁶. Wearing a skin or the bark of a tree, he should bathe (every) morning and evening, and always living within the forest, should not enter a town again. He should honour guests, and should also give them shelter at (the proper) time, living on fruits and leaves, and roots and Syāmāka grain. He should without sloth feed on water, air, and all forest-products down to grass as they come, in order⁷, in accordance with the (regulations⁸ at his) initiation. He should honour a guest who comes, by (giving him) water accompanied with roots, fruits, and leaves. And he should always without sloth give alms out of whatever he has for food. He should also eat always after the deities and guests⁹

¹ Or it may be, 'being self-restrained and with (all his) heart.' The constructions in the original vary greatly, and so they do in the translation.

² Applying himself to his duties.

³ Cf. Maitrī, p. 18, and comment there.

⁴ Cf. Manu VI, 1 seq.

⁵ I.e. who is a mendicant ascetic.

⁶ Cf. p. 173 *supra*, note 9. Here he gives a description of the third order of forester, as to which compare generally Manu VI.

⁷ First the jungle-products, then air, &c., *Arguna Misra*. The sense seems to be that the restrictions should become gradually harder. Cf. Manu VI, 24-31; *Āpastamba* II, 9, 22, 2 seq.; II, 9, 23, 2.

⁸ I.e. whatever restriction he put on himself when entering upon the particular mode of life.

⁹ *Supra*, p. 358, and cf. *Taittirīya*, p. 38.

(are satisfied) and with his speech restrained, having a mind free from envy¹, eating little, and depending on the deities. Restraining the external senses, kind, full of forgiveness, preserving his hair and moustache, performing sacrifices, addicted to sacred study, and devoted to veracity and piety, pure in body², always dexterous³, always in forests, and concentrated in mind,—a forester whose senses are subdued and who is thus devoted⁴ conquers the worlds.

A householder, or a Brahmatârin, or again a forester, who wishes to apply himself to final emancipation should adopt the best (line of) conduct⁵. Offering safety to all beings, the sage should become free from all action⁶, and be agreeable to all beings, kind, and restrained in all his senses. He should make a fire⁷ and feed on the alms (obtained) without asking⁸ and without trouble⁹, and which have come spontaneously¹⁰, in a place free from smoke and where people have already¹¹ eaten. One who

¹ I.e. of others for obtaining more, and so forth. Arguna Misra's reading is different, and he renders it to mean, 'one by whom the rule of life as a Brahmatârin has not been violated.'

² Arguna Misra's reading, 'one who has cast away (all attachment to) the body.' Compare as to hair and moustache, Manu VI, 6 seq.

³ See Gîtâ, p. 127. Here the meaning is probably assiduous in the performance of duties, vows, and so forth.

⁴ I.e. applies himself to his duties.

⁵ Arguna Misra says this means ânandâśramam, but there must be some bad copying here. I take the word as it stands to mean something like the 'godlike endowments' at Gîtâ, p. 114.

⁶ See Gîtâ, pp. 54, 127. The meaning here is probably that of action without egoism. See Gîtâ, p. 55.

⁷ I.e. Arguna Misra says, 'not at night.' The readings are unsatisfactory. I read *krîtvâ vahnim*, but diffidently. Is the allusion to the rule at Âpastamba II, 9, 21, 10? Cf. Gautama III, 27.

⁸ Cf. Kaushîtaki, p. 32. ⁹ I.e. to the giver. Cf. Gîtâ, p. 120.

¹⁰ See Gîtâ, p. 10. ¹¹ Cf. Manu VI, 56; Gautama III, 15.

understands final emancipation should seek to obtain alms after the cleaning¹ of the vessels (used for cooking), and should not rejoice if he obtains, and should not be dejected if he does not obtain (alms). Nor should he beg for too much alms², seeking merely to sustain life. Eating only a little, he should go about for alms with a concentrated mind, looking out for the (proper) time. He should not wish for earnings in common with another, nor should he eat when honoured; for an ascetic should be averse from all earnings (accompanied) with honour³. When eating, he should not taste any articles of food which have been eaten by others⁴, or which are pungent, astringent, or bitter, and likewise no sweet juices. He should eat just enough for his livelihood—for the support of life. One who understands final emancipation should seek for a livelihood without obstructing (other) creatures; and when he goes about for alms, he should not go following after another⁵. He should not parade (his) piety, he should move about in a secluded place, free from passion. He should resort for shelter to an empty house, or a forest, or the foot of a tree, or a river likewise, or the cavern of a mountain. In summer, (he should pass) but a single night⁶ in a town; and in the rains, he may dwell in one place. He should move about the

¹ I.e., I presume, in order to avoid interfering with others' comforts. And see last note.

² See Manu VI, 55. As to proper time further on, see last note.

³ Cf. Sanatsugâtīya, pp. 145-147; 'without respect' at Gītā, p. 120, means probably with disrespect, otherwise that passage and this would be somewhat inconsistent. See too Manu II, 162.

⁴ Cf. Manu II, 56; Gītā, p. 118; and p. 269 supra.

⁵ As that other may get nothing if they go together, Arguna Mirra. Cf. Manu VI, 51.

⁶ Cf. Gautama III, 21.

world like a worm¹, his path being pointed out by the sun, and he should walk with circumspection over the earth out of compassion to all beings². He should not make any accumulations; and should eschew dwelling with friends³. And the man who understands final emancipation should verily do all acts which he has to do, always with clean water. A man should always bathe in clean water. And with his senses restrained, he should devote himself to these eight observances⁴,—harmlessness, life as a Brahmacārin, veracity, and also straightforwardness, freedom from anger, freedom from (the habit of) carping, restraint of the external organs, and habitual freedom from (the habit of) backbiting. He should always practise a sinless (mode of) conduct, not deceptive and not crooked; and free from attachment should always make one who comes (as a guest) take a morsel of food. He should eat just enough for livelihood—for the support of life. And he should eat (only) what has been obtained with piety⁵, and should not follow his own (mere) desire⁶. He should not accept anything at all other than food and clothing. And he should accept as much as he eats and no more. He should not receive from others, nor should he ever give to others⁷.

¹ I.e. not very fast, Arguna Misra; 'the path being pointed out by the sun'=not at night, for fear of destroying worms, &c.

² This seems to be very like the practice of the Gainas of the present day. And cf. Manu VI, 69. ³ Cf. Gītā, pp. 68–103.

⁴ Cf. Gītā, p. 114, and cf. also Sanatsugāṭhya, p. 153.

⁵ That is to say, obtained without violation of any binding obligation, or rule of the Sāstras. ⁶ Cf. Gītā, p. 117.

⁷ This is not very clear, and Arguna Misra's comments are not intelligible. The sense seems to be this, 'He should not take more than is wanted, nor should he keep any accumulations from which to give to others, but should at once share with others all that is earned.'

But owing to the helplessness of people, a wise man should always share (with others). He should not appropriate another's riches, and should not take (anything) unasked. Nor, verily, after enjoying any object should one become afterwards attached to it. One who has anything to do¹ should take earth, water, pebbles likewise, and leaves, flowers, and fruits which are not secured² (by anybody), as they come³. One should not live by the occupation of an artisan⁴, nor should one wish for gold. One should not hate, should not teach⁵, and should be void of (all) belongings⁶. One should eat what is consecrated by faith⁷, and should avoid (all) controversies, should act without a purpose⁸, should be free from attachment, and without fixed appointments with people⁹. One should not perform, or cause to be performed, any action involving expectation of fruit, or involving any destruction of life, or the assemblage of people¹⁰. Rejecting all things,

¹ Arguna Misra says that this means if he wants them for any particular purpose he should take the earth, &c.

² I.e. apparently, taken possession of and preserved as one's own by anybody.

³ Arguna Misra renders this by 'which lead to action.' Is it not rather the 'spontaneous earnings' at Gîtâ, p. 60?

⁴ Cf. Manu III, 64; Âpastamba I, 6, 18, 18; Gautama XVII, 7.

⁵ I.e. teach one who does not ask to be instructed. Cf. Manu II, 110.

⁶ Cf. Gîtâ, p. 60; the original word, however, is not the same.

⁷ See p. 360, note 3 *supra*; Manu II, 54-55; Gautama IX, 59. 'Controversies;' the original is *nimitta*, and the interpretation is what appears to be Arguna Misra's. It may also mean 'omens.' That this is the true sense appears from Manu VI, 50.

⁸ Cf. Gîtâ, p. 48.

⁹ Arguna Misra says, 'e.g. I shall come to you to-morrow for alms,' &c. Cf. Âpastamba I, 6, 19, 12.

¹⁰ The words are the same as at Gîtâ, p. 54, 'keeping people (to

and being equable to all beings, moving and un-moving, one should become an ascetic with small belongings. One should not perturb any other (person), nor should one be perturbed by any other (person¹). He who is trusted by all beings is said to be the foremost among those who understand final emancipation. One should not think of what is not come², nor reflect on that which is past; one should disregard the present, being concentrated (in mind) and indifferent to time³. He should not defile⁴ anything by the eye, or the mind, or by speech, nor should he do anything wrong openly or in secret. One who draws in the senses from all sides as a tortoise (draws in) his limbs⁵, and in whom the senses, mind, and understanding are absorbed⁶, who is free from desires, who understands all truth, who is free from the pairs of opposites, and from the ceremony of svâhâ, and who is free from salutations⁷, and who is free from (the thought that this or that is) mine, who is free from egoism, who is free from anxiety for new acquisitions or protection of old acquisitions, and self-controlled⁸, who is free from

their duties),⁹ but the sense seems to be different. The commentators say nothing on this.

¹ Cf. Gîtâ, p. 101.

² I.e. one should not look to the future with any aspirations or expectations, and should not look back on the past with grief, *Arguna Misra*. See too p. 170, note 9 *supra*.

³ I am not sure if this is a correct interpretation. But it does not seem likely that the other possible sense—literally ‘expecting time’—can be intended here.

⁴ This is obscure. Is the sense this, that one should not observe, or think, or speak badly of the bad side of things?

⁵ Cf. p. 342 *supra*, note 1.

⁶ Cf. *Ka/ta*, p. 151.

⁷ See p. 352 *supra*, note 1.

⁸ Cf. Gîtâ, p. 48, where the original words are the same.

expectations, who is free from attachments to any entity, and who is dependent on none¹, who is attached to the self, and who understands the truth, is emancipated, there is no doubt of that. Those who perceive the self, which is without hands, foot, or back, without a head, without a stomach, which is free from the operations of the qualities², absolute, untainted, and stable, devoid of smell, devoid of taste or touch, devoid of colour, and also devoid of sound, which is to be understood³, which is unattached, and which is also devoid of flesh, which is free from anxiety⁴, imperishable, divine, and though dwelling in a house⁵, always dwelling in all entities, they never die⁶. There the understanding reaches not, nor the senses, nor the deities, nor Vedas, sacrifices, nor worlds⁷, nor penance, nor valour⁸; the attainment to it of those who are possessed of knowledge is stated to be without comprehension of symbols⁹. Therefore the learned man who knows (the) property of being void of symbols¹⁰, being devoted to pious conduct, and

¹ Cf. Gîtâ, p. 60.

² These are effects of *Prakṛiti* by which the *Puruṣa* is unaffected.

³ Literally, 'pursued.'

⁴ This is obscure. *Arguna Mirra's* text is *niskityam*. Does that mean 'which should be accurately understood?' The rendering in the text of *Nilakanṭha's* reading may mean that the Brahman has no such thoughts (*āntā*) as are referred to at Gîtâ, p. 115.

⁵ Does this mean the body?

⁶ I.e. are free from birth and death. Cf. *Âpastamba* I, 8, 22, 4.

⁷ This, again, is not quite clear. Probably the explanation is to be found in the passage at Gîtâ, p. 79.

⁸ *Nilakanṭha's* reading is 'observances or vows.'

⁹ I.e. 'not to be acquired by inference,' *Arguna Mirra*, p. 351 *supra*.

¹⁰ See p. 309 *supra*; 'who is without symbols, and knows piety,' according to *Arguna Mirra's* reading.

resorting to concealed¹ piety should adopt the mode of life (necessary) for experience². Though undeluded, he should act in the manner of the deluded³, not finding fault with piety⁴. He should perform piety, behaving so that others would always disrespect him⁵, and should not find fault with the ways of the good⁶. That sage is said to be the best who has adopted this (line of) conduct. The senses, and the objects of the senses, and the five great elements, and mind, understanding, egoism, the unperceived, and the Purusha likewise⁷, by an accurate determination about the truth, after understanding all these, one attains heaven⁸, being released from all bonds. One who knows the truth, understanding these same (entities) at the time of the termination (of his life), should meditate, exclusively pondering on one point⁹; and then, depending on none¹⁰, he gets emancipation. Freed from all attachments, like the atmosphere dwelling in space¹¹, with his accumulations¹² exhausted, and free from distress¹³, he attains to the highest seat.

¹ See p. 159 supra, note 7, and cf. Manu III, 109, which is the text referred to in note 5 there.

² I.e. direct perception of the Brahman. See Gītā, p. 57, note 5.

³ See p. 160 supra, note 8, and cf. also Manu II, 110.

⁴ Arguna Misra compares Gītā, p. 55, about 'shaking convictions.'

⁵ Cf. pp. 159-161 supra.

⁶ This means, I presume, the good devoted to action and not to knowledge only.

⁷ These are the famous elements of the Sāṅkhyas; see Sūtra I, 61.

⁸ Cf. p. 159 and note 2.

⁹ Cf. p. 300 supra.

¹⁰ Cf. Gītā, p. 60.

¹¹ Cf. Gītā, p. 82, note 3.

¹² Of actions previously performed. See p. 246 supra.

¹³ Cf. Gītā, p. 101, where, however, the original word is different.

CHAPTER XXXII.

Brahman said :

The ancients who perceived the established (truth) call renunciation¹ penance; and the Brāhmaṇas dwelling in the seat of the Brahman² understand knowledge to be concerned with the Brahman³. The highest Brahman is very far off⁴, and (the attainment of it) depends on Vedic knowledge⁵; it is free from the pairs of opposites, devoid of qualities⁶, everlasting, of unthinkable qualities, and supreme. The men of talent, who are pure⁷, and whose minds are refined, transcending passion, and being untainted, perceive that supreme (principle) by means of knowledge and penance. Those who are constantly devoted to renunciation⁸, and understand the Brahman and wish for the supreme, go to the happy path by penance. Penance⁹ is said to be a light; (correct) conduct is the means to piety; knowledge verily should be understood to be the highest, and renunciation the best penance. He who understands determinately the self which is unperturbed, which abides in all entities, and which is the essential

¹ Abandoning of fruit, *Arguna Misra*. Cf. *Gītā*, p. 121.

² Cf. p. 339 *supra*, note 4, dwelling in=adhering to.

³ See *Gītā*, p. 104.

⁴ Cf. *Sanatsugâtīya*, p. 158 seq. ⁵ Viz. the three famous ones.

⁶ Pure, refined, and untainted are not easily distinguished. Probably 'pure' refers to external cleanliness; 'untainted' to freedom from sin and such taints; and 'refined' to freedom from error.

⁷ I.e. who have no 'belongings,' *Arguna Misra*.

⁸ Action without desire, *Arguna Misra*, who adds that it is called a light, as it leads to knowledge. See too p. 166, and p. 247, note 11, and p. 340 *supra*.

element in knowledge, he is laid down¹ (as being able) to move everywhere. The learned man who perceives, association and dissociation, and likewise unity and diversity², is released from misery. He who desires nothing, and despises nothing³, becomes eligible, even dwelling in this world, for assimilation with the Brahman⁴. He who knows the truth about the qualities of Pradhâna⁵, and understands the Pradhâna of all entities⁶, who is free from (the thought that this or that is) mine, and free from egoism⁷, is emancipated, there is no doubt of that. One who is free from the pairs of opposites, free from the (ceremonies of) salutation, free from (the ceremony of) svadhâ⁸, attains to that everlasting (principle) which is free from the pairs of opposites, and devoid of qualities, by tranquillity only. Abandoning all action, whether agreeable or disagreeable, developed from the qualities⁹, and abandoning both truth and falsehood¹⁰, a creature is emancipated, there is no doubt of that. The great tree of Brahman¹¹ is

¹ 'Laid down' is literally 'wished.'

² I presume this means the real fact underlying the appearances of association and so forth, namely, that there is but one reality, and all appearances of difference &c. are unreal. Cf. Gîtâ, p. 124. See also p. 313 supra, note 1, and p. 374 infra.

³ Cf. Gîtâ, p. 65, and see Ka/ha, p. 155. ⁴ Cf. Gîtâ, p. 65.

⁵ The qualities, viz. the three, of Pradhâna, i.e. constituting Prakṛti, or nature. ⁶ See Gîtâ, p. 106, and note 3 there.

⁷ For this whole expression, which occurs so frequently, cf. Maitrî, p. 44, and comment there.

⁸ See p. 324 supra, note 8. ⁹ Cf. Gîtâ, p. 48; Svetâsvatara, p. 360.

¹⁰ I.e., I presume, what is real and unreal in a worldly view,—the great truth is not to be 'abandoned.' Cf. Taittirîya, pp. 97-99; p. 191 supra; Sânti Parvan (Moksha), chap. 174, st. 53; Apastamba II, 9, 21, 13.

¹¹ I.e., says Arguna Misra, the tree of worldly life produced from the Brahman. Compare chapter XII supra.

eternal; a tree which is produced from the unperceived as the seed, which consists of the understanding as its trunk, whose collection of boughs is the great egoism, the sprouts within which are the senses, the great branches of which are the great elements, and the side branches the objects of sense, which is always possessed of leaves, always possessed of flowers, in which agreeable and disagreeable fruits are always produced, and which is fed upon by all creatures. Cutting and piercing this (tree)¹ with the sword of knowledge of the truth, and abandoning the bonds in the shape of attachment, which cause birth, death, and old age², a wise man who is free from (the thought that this or that is) mine, and who is devoid of egoism, is emancipated, there is no doubt of that. There are these two birds³, (which are) unchanging, and which should also be known to be unintelligent⁴. But as to that other who is above them, he is called intelligent. (When) the inner self, devoid of knowledge of nature⁵, and (as it were) non-intelligent⁶, understands that which is

¹ Cf. *Gītā*, p. 111; and *Mundaka*, p. 307, and commentary there.

² So I render the original, though the sense at first sight appears to be 'which are caused by birth,' &c.

³ Viz. the understanding and egoism, which dwell in the 'tree,' *Arguna Mirra*. *Nīlakantha* says, 'the great and the individual self.'

⁴ Cf. *Sāṅkhya-kārikā* 11, and comment of *Vātsaspati Mirra*. The self is not unintelligent; and as the birds are so described, they must stand for some manifestation of *Prakṛti*, which understanding and egoism are. Otherwise 'bird' does stand for 'self.' See p. 189 supra.

⁵ The original word here is *sattva*, on which see p. 351 supra. *Arguna Mirra* renders it here by *Prakṛti*.

⁶ So *Nīlakantha*; 'the only intelligent principle,'—*Arguna Mirra*. On *Nīlakantha*'s interpretation 'inner self' must be the same thing as *Bhūtātman* at *Maitrī*, p. 41.

beyond nature, then understanding the Kshetra¹, and with an understanding comprehending all, and transcending the qualities² he is released from all sins.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Brahman said :

Some (think of) the Brahman as a tree ; some (think of) the Brahman as a great forest ; and some (think of) the Brahman as unperceived ; and some as transcendent and without misery³ ; and they⁴ think all this to be produced from and absorbed into the unperceived. He who even for (the space of) a (single) exhalation, at the time of the termination (of life⁵) becomes equable⁶, attaining to the self, becomes fit for immortality. Restraining the self in the self⁷, even for (the space of) a wink, he repairs to the inexhaustible acquisition⁸ of those who have knowledge, through the tranquillity of the self⁹. And restraining the life-winds again and

¹ See p. 351 supra.

² See Gītā, p. 109.

³ As to the first two clauses comp. pp. 284-371 supra ; the last two are said by Arguna Misra to represent the Sāṅkhya and Yoga doctrines respectively.

⁴ I presume this means all teachers. But Nīlakanṭha takes it to mean the Sāṅkhyas, and he takes the preceding words as indicating two views based on Śruti texts, viz. the first, that the world is a development of the Brahman, and the other that the Brahman does not undergo any development or change. Anāmaya he takes to mean changeless, and Brahmanmaya he takes to mean developed from the Brahman.

⁵ Cf. Gītā, pp. 77, 78.

⁶ One who sees the supreme as the only real entity, Arguna Misra. Nīlakanṭha takes it to mean one who identifies himself with everything. See Gītā, p. 65, and note 4 there.

⁷ See p. 344 supra.

⁸ I. e. the goal to be acquired.

⁹ 'Tranquillity'—the original may also be rendered by 'favour,'

again by control of the life-winds¹, of ten or twelve² (modes), (he repairs to) that which is beyond the twenty-four³. Thus having first a tranquil self, he obtains whatever he desires. When the quality of goodness predominates in the unperceived⁴, that fits one for immortality. The men of knowledge extol nothing else beyond goodness. By inference⁵ we understand the (attainment of the) being to depend on goodness. It is not possible otherwise⁶ to attain that being, O best of the twice-born! Forgiveness, courage, harmlessness, equability, truth, straightforwardness, knowledge, abandonment⁷, and also renunciation are laid down as (constituting) con-

as to which cf. p. 234 supra, but further on the phrase 'having a tranquil self' occurs, where the latter sense is not quite suitable. See *Gītā*, p. 51, and *Yoga-sūtra* I, 33.

¹ I.e. the specific modes which are mentioned of control of life-winds, e. g. at *Gītā*, p. 61, or *Yoga-sūtra* II, 49 seq.

² *Nīlakanṭha* proposes two interpretations of this. He says the ten are the eight mentioned in *Yoga-sūtra* II, 29, and in addition *tarka* and *vairāgya* (as to which see *Yoga-sūtra* I, 15 and 17). To make up the twelve he substitutes for the last two the four named at *Yoga-sūtra* I, 33. He also suggests that 'ten or twelve' may mean twenty-two, which he makes up thus. The five modes of *yama* (*Yoga-sūtra* II, 30), five of *niyama* (*ibid.* 32), the remaining six in *Yoga-sūtra* II, 29, the four in *Yoga-sūtra* I, 33, and *tarka* and *vairāgya* as before.

³ The twenty-four are the elements according to the *Sāṅkhya* system. See *Sāṅkhya-sāra*, p. 11, and p. 368 supra. That which is beyond them is *Purusha*.

⁴ The unperceived, it should be noted, is made up of the three qualities; the predominance of goodness indicates enlightenment or knowledge. Cf. *Gītā*, p. 108.

⁵ The middle term in the inference being, says *Arguna Misra*, the enlightening effect of the quality in question.

⁶ Cf. p. 167 supra.

⁷ The original is *tyāga*, which *Arguna Misra* renders by 'abandonment of all belongings;' renunciation, scil. of fruit. Cf. *Gītā*, p. 121, and p. 114.

duct of the quality of goodness. By this very inference the wise verily believe in the Being and nature as one, there is no doubt of that. Some learned men, who are devoted to knowledge, assert the unity of the Kshetragñā and nature¹. But that is not correct. That they are always distinct (from one another) is also (said) without (due) consideration². Distinction and also association³ should be accurately understood. Unity and diversity⁴ are likewise laid down. Such is the doctrine of the learned. Between the gnat and the udumbara⁵ there is observed unity and diversity also. As a fish is in water distinct (from it), such is their relation; (such is) the relation of the drops of water with the leaf of the lotus.

· The preceptor said :

Then those Brāhmaṇas, who were the best of sages, having again felt doubts, interrogated the grandsire of the people who spoke to them thus.

¹ Here, says Nīlakanṭha, the author indicates an objection to the proposition stated just before. But the passage is not clear.

² This, says Nīlakanṭha, is a reply to the Sāṅkhyas, who hold the two to be distinct. Nīlakanṭha adds, that if the two are distinct, nature will, conceivably, adhere even to an emancipated creature; and if they are one, then the being or self would be really engaging in action and so forth, and that activity being really a property of the self, could not be destroyed save by the destruction of the self. Hence that view is also wrong.

³ Like that of sea and wave, Nīlakanṭha.

⁴ Unity of Brahman and diversity of manifestation of nature. Arguna Misra, who adds—by reason of the association they are spoken of as one, by reason of the unity and diversity they are distinct. The next sentence contains three parallel cases.

⁵ Cf. as to all this, Sānti Parvan, chap. 194, st. 38 seq. (Moksha Dharma); chap. 249, st. 20 seq.; chap. 285, st. 33 seq.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

The sages said :

Which (form of) piety is deemed to be the most worthy of being performed ? We observe the various modes of piety to be as it were contradictory. Some say (it ¹ remains) after the body (is destroyed) ; some say that is not so. Some (say) everything ² is doubtful ; and others that there is no doubt. Some say the permanent (principle) is impermanent, and others, too, that it exists, and (others) that it exists not ³. Some (say it is) of one form or twofold, and others (that it is) mixed ⁴. Some Brâhmanas, too, who know the Brahman and perceive the truth, believe it to be one ; others distinct ; and others again (that it is) manifold ⁵. Some say both time and space (exist) ⁶, and others that that is not so. Some have matted hair and skins ; and some (are) clean-shaven and without covering. Some people are for bathing ; some for the omission ⁷ of bathing. Some are for taking food ; others are intent on fasting. Some people extol action, and

¹ I. e. the piety, Arguna Misra ; the self, Nīlakantha.

² I. e. such as piety, &c., Arguna Misra.

³ I follow Arguna Misra, who says 'permanent' means soul, &c. The correct expression would seem to be 'that which is called permanent by others is impermanent.'

⁴ This is the view of those who hold the theory of Parināma, or development, says Arguna Misra.

⁵ 'To be one' = knowledge to be all of one description, 'distinct' = knowledge having various entities for its distinct objects (this is the view of the holders of the Viśiṣṭādvaita, says Arguna Misra) ; manifold = that the selfs are numberless. The words here are nearly identical with those at Gītā, p. 83, see note 4 there.

⁶ I. e. help in action, Arguna Misra.

⁷ See Āpastamba I, 1, 1, 2 (comment).

others tranquillity. Some extol final emancipation ; some various kinds of enjoyments ; some wish for riches, and others indigence. Some (say) means ¹ should be resorted to ; others that that is not so. Some are devoted to harmlessness, and some given up to destruction ; some are for merit and glory ; and others say that is not so. Some are devoted to goodness ; some are in the midst of doubts ; some are for pleasure, and some for pain ². Some people (say) meditation ³, other Brāhmaṇas (say) sacrifice, and others, gifts ; but others extol penance, and other persons sacred study ; some knowledge, and renunciation ⁴ ; and those who ponder on the elements ⁵, nature ⁶. Some extol everything, and others nothing ⁷.

¹ I.e. for the acquisition of anything desirable, Arguna Misra, who adds, 'by those who wish for piety.' Nilakanṭha says means = 'meditation and so forth ;' as to 'that is not so' he cites what he calls a Sruti, which is however one of the Kārikās of Gaudapāda on the Māndukya ; see p. 432.

² This, too, is not quite clear, but Nilakanṭha says, 'meditation should be practised for release from pain, and for acquisition of pleasure ;' 'and others say not so, it should be done without desire.'

³ That is to say, they hold that meditation should be practised.

⁴ Arguna Misra seems to take this to mean 'renunciation of knowledge,' i.e. a blank, and says this was the view of the Mādhyamikas,—I suppose the Mādhyamika Bauddhas.

⁵ I.e. the Kārvākas, Arguna Misra.

⁶ Svetāśvatara, p. 276, and Saṅkara's commentary there.

⁷ Were there optimists and pessimists at the time of the Anugītā in India? This verse, however, does not occur in some MSS. Nilakanṭha's note on this passage may be of some interest. He says, 'Some hold that the self exists after the body is lost ; others, that is the Lokāyatas or Kārvākas, hold the contrary. Everything doubtful is the view of the Syādvādins ; nothing doubtful that of the Tairthikas, the great teachers (I presume, about their own respective doctrines). Everything impermanent, Tārikas ; permanent, Mīmāṃsakas ; nothing exists, the Sūnyavādins ; something exists, but only momentarily,

And, O best of the gods! piety being thus confused and abounding in contradictions, we are deluded, and come to no determination. People are acting, (saying) this is good, this is good. And he who is attached to a certain (form of) piety, always esteems that. Here (therefore) our understanding breaks down, and our mind is distracted. We wish, O best (of beings)! to be informed of what is good. Be pleased now to proceed to state what is (so) mysterious, and what is the cause of the connexion between the Kshetragña and nature. Thus addressed by those Brāhmanas, the venerable, holy, and talented creator of worlds told them accurately (what they asked).

Saugatas; knowledge is one, but the ego and non-ego are two different principles, the Yogātāras; mixed, Uśulomas; one, is the view of the worshippers of the Brahman as possessed of qualities; distinct, other Mīmāṃsakas, who hold that the special actions are the cause (of everything, is meant, I presume); manifold=the atomists; time and space=astrologers. Those who "say that is not so," that is to say, that what we see has no real existence at all, are the Vṛiddhas, ancient philosophers; omission to bathe=the condition of Naiṣhika Brahmatārins; bathing=householder's condition; "means should be resorted to, that is not so," those who are against all meditation, &c., according to the Sruti text, which Nīlakaṇṭha quotes; "merit and glory, that is not so," some say there is no merit as the Lokāyatas or Kārvākas; "knowledge, renunciation," the former is to be gained only by means of the latter; "ponder on elements"=who are intent on the investigation of the true nature of things; nature=abundance of resources, by which alone knowledge is produced, not by mere renunciation.' It will be understood, that this commentary assumes a different syntactical construction of the original in some places from that adopted in our translation.

CHAPTER XXXV.

Brahman said :

Well then, I will declare to you what you ask of me, O best (of men)! Learn what a preceptor told a pupil who went to him. Hearing it all, deliberate on it properly. Non-destruction of all creatures, that is deemed to be the greatest duty¹. This is the highest seat², free from vexation and holy in character. The ancients who perceived the established (truth) call knowledge the highest happiness. Therefore by pure knowledge one is released from all sins. And those who are constantly engaged in destruction, and who are infidels³ in their conduct, and who entertain avarice and delusion, go verily to hell. Those who without sloth perform actions with expectations, rejoice in this world, being born again and again. But those wise and talented men, who perform actions with faith, free from any connexion with expectations, perceive correctly⁴. Now I will proceed to state how the association and dissociation of Kshetragñā and nature (take place). Learn that, O best (of men)! The relation here is said to be that between the object and subject⁵. The subject

¹ See p. 291 supra, and note 3 there.

² So literally; the sense is—that which one is to aim at.

³ The original is nâstika, the contrary of that 'âstikya,' which at Gîtâ, p. 126, we have rendered by 'belief (in a future world),' following Sridhara. Râmânuga, whose commentary came to hand too late for any other than a very occasional use in the translation of the Gîtâ, renders it by 'belief in the truth of the teaching of the Vedas.'

⁴ I. e. learn the truth.

⁵ I use the terms subject and object here in the philosophical sense explained by Sir W. Hamilton, viz. the thinking agent and the object of thought respectively. And cf. also the passage referred to in note 3 on p. 379 infra.

is always the being, and nature is stated to be the object. It has been explained in the above mode, as (having the relation) of the gnat and the udumbara¹. Nature which is non-intelligent knows nothing, though it is the object of enjoyment². Who enjoys and what is enjoyed³ is learnt from the Sâstras. Nature is said always to abound in the pairs of opposites, and to be constituted of the qualities; the Kshetragña is free from the pairs of opposites, devoid of parts, and in essence free from the qualities. He abides in everything alike⁴, and is connected with (all) knowledge⁵; and he always enjoys nature as a lotus-leaf (enjoys) water. Even brought into contact with all qualities, a learned man remains untainted⁶. There is no doubt that the being is unattached just like the unsteady drop of water placed upon a lotus-leaf⁷. It is established that nature is the property⁸ of the being. And the relation of the two is like that of matter and the maker⁹. As one goes into (a) dark (place) taking a light (with him), so those who wish for the supreme go with the light of nature¹⁰. While there is oil

¹ P. 374 supra. The relation is one of close connexion, coupled with some identity of nature (because, says Nīlakaṇṭha, an entirely extraneous thing could not get into the inside of the fruit, and the gnat's body therefore must have come from the fruit itself), but still the elements are distinct.

² See p. 371 supra, note 4.

³ Cf. Maitrī, p. 108.

⁴ Cf. Gītā, pp. 105, 106.

⁵ Knowledge of the Kshetragña forms part of all real knowledge. Arguna Misra's reading and interpretation are different. He says, 'As he is seen coming to light everywhere alike, so,' &c.

⁶ Cf. Gītā, pp. 55-110.

⁷ Again the common simile.

⁸ The original is dravya, rendered 'matter' in the next sentence. Arguna Misra paraphrases it by 'upakarana,' paraphernalia.

⁹ So the original, the sense is not clear. But see Svetaśvatara, p. 368.

¹⁰ Knowledge, which, says Nīlakaṇṭha, is a manifestation of nature. Arguna Misra says the knowledge of the truth which the

and wick¹, the light shines; but the flame is extinguished when the oil and wick are exhausted. Thus nature is perceived²; the being is laid down (as being) unperceived. Understand this, O Brāhmaṇas! Well now, I will tell you something more. One who has a bad understanding does not acquire knowledge even with a thousand (admonitions). And one who is possessed of knowledge enhances (his) happiness even with a fourth share³. Thus should one understand the accomplishment of piety by (apt) means. For the talented man who knows (these) means, attains supreme happiness⁴. As a man travelling along some way without provisions for the journey, travels with great discomfort, and may even be destroyed on the way, so should one understand, that by action⁵ the fruit is or is not produced. For a man to see within (his) self⁶ what is agreeable and what is disagreeable to him is good. And as one who is devoid of a perception of the truth rashly travels on foot by a long way unseen before⁷, while (another) goes by the same self acquires is by means of nature. Cf. Sāṅkhya-kārikā 56, and comment.

¹ So Nilakanṭha. Arguna Misra does not take *guṇa* here to mean 'wick.'

² I. e., I presume, in its manifestations; it is perceived for some time and then vanishes. Cf. Sāṅkhya-kārikā 59-61; the Purusha is not 'perceived' in this sense. ³ Viz. of admonition, Arguna Misra.

⁴ Cf. Gītā, p. 70, where the same phrase occurs.

⁵ The fruit of this is uncertain; knowledge which is in one's self is the thing to be worked for.

⁶ I. e. the mind, Nilakanṭha. The meaning is, he should not care for external pleasure and pain. Cf. Gītā, *inter alia*, p. 50.

⁷ This seems to be so left imperfect in the original. The construction seems to be this: the progress of the latter is as great as that of one who drives in a chariot as compared with that of one who goes on foot with much suffering. Cf. the construction on next page.

way in a carriage¹ drawn by horses, and going swiftly, such is the progress of the men of understanding. Having climbed up a mountain one should not look at the surface of the earth². One sees a man travelling in a chariot, and void of intelligence, afflicted by reason of the chariot. As far as there is a carriage-path, he goes in the carriage; where the carriage-path stops, a learned man goes on abandoning the carriage. So travels the talented man, who understands the procedure respecting (knowledge of the) truth and devotion³, and who knows about the qualities, comprehending the gradations⁴ one above the other. As one who without a boat dives into the ocean with his arms only, through delusion, undoubtedly wishes for destruction; while a wise man likewise knowing distinctions⁵, and having a boat with good oars, goes in the water without fatigue, and soon crosses the reservoir, and having crossed (it) goes to the other shore, throwing

¹ I.e. the *Sāstras*, says *Nīlakantha*. Cf. *Gītā*, p. 117.

² When one has arrived at knowledge,—the highest seat, says *Nīlakantha*,—one need not perform the dictates of the *Sāstras*, which are only preliminary to the acquisition of knowledge. Cf. *Gītā*, pp. 48, 73. Cf. as to this figure of the chariot and the next one about the boat, *Bṛihadāraṇyaka*, p. 695.

³ I adopt *Arguna's* rendering of the original here, viz. Yoga. The meaning, on that rendering, is the same as it is in the *Gītā*.

⁴ According to *Arguna Mirra*, action with desire, action without desire, and lastly, knowledge. According to *Nīlakantha*, action laid down in the *Sāstras*, then Yoga, and then the condition of *Hamsa*, *Paramahamsa*, &c.

⁵ Literally, one knowing divisions. I presume the meaning is distinctions between various things as to which suits which, and so forth. The boat, says *Nīlakantha*, is a preceptor, and even a preceptor is not to be sought for after a man has achieved Yoga; hence the text proceeds to speak further on of casting aside the boat. Wishes for destruction= is sure to meet destruction.

aside the boat, and devoid of (the thought that this or that is) mine. This has been already explained by the parallel of the carriage and pedestrian. One who has come by delusion through affection, adheres to that like a fisherman to his boat, being overcome by (the thought that this or that is) mine. It is not possible to move on land after embarking in a boat. And likewise one cannot move in water after entering a carriage. Thus there are various actions in regard to different objects¹. And as action is performed in this world, so does it result to them². That which sages by their understanding meditate upon, which is void of any smell whatever, void of taste, and void of colour, touch, or sound, that is called the Pradhâna³. Now that Pradhâna is unperceived; a development of the unperceived is the Mahat; and a development of the Pradhâna (when it is) become Mahat is egoism. From egoism is produced the development, namely, the great elements; and of the elements respectively, objects of sense are verily stated to be the development⁴. The unperceived is of the nature of seed⁵, and also productive in its essence. And we have heard

¹ I. e. appertaining to the various orders of householders, &c., Nilakantha. But I am not aware of any authority for this sense of vishaya.

² I. e. those who perform them.

³ Nilakantha says, 'Having stated above the means of knowledge, he now states the proper object of knowledge.'

⁴ See p. 332 supra. The original for development is *gūṇa*, literally quality.

⁵ The meaning of this passage seems to be identical with that of Sāṅkhya-kārikā 3. Productive (Prasavātmakam) is probably to be explained as Prasavadharmi is at Sāṅkhya-kārikā 11 (see commentary of Vātsapati, pp. 59, 60), viz. always undergoing development. The great elements are of course the *tanmātra*s.

that the great self is of the nature of seed and a product. Egoism is of the nature of seed and a product also again and again. And the five great elements are verily of the nature of seed and products. The objects of the five elements are of the nature of seed¹, but they do not yield products. Learn about their properties. Now space has one quality, air is said to have two qualities; it is said that light has three qualities; and water, too, is of four qualities; and earth, abounding with movables and immovables, the divine source of all entities, full of examples of agreeable and disagreeable (things), should be understood to be of five qualities². Sound, touch, colour likewise, taste, and smell as the fifth—these, O best of the twice-born! should be understood to be the five qualities of earth. Smell always belongs to the earth³; and smell is stated to be (of) numerous descriptions. I will state at length the numerous qualities of smell⁴. Smell is agreeable or disagreeable, sweet, sour, and bitter likewise, diffusive and compact also, soft, and rough, and clear also⁵—thus should

¹ This is not clear, unless 'product' above means productive, and seed means a product, it being a product of the *aṅkura* or sprout. *Nilakanṭha* says, 'seed=cause; product=effect. The unperceived is an effect, and so the contrary doctrine of the *Sāṅkhya* is here shown to be wrong. The objects are causes, as their enjoyment causes an impression.'

² See pp. 285, 286 *supra*.

³ That is to say, smell is the special property of the earth only, the other qualities are common to it with the other elements. The word in the original is *guṇa* or quality everywhere.

⁴ See *Sānti Parvan* (*Moksha Dharma*), chap. 184, st. 27.

⁵ Bitter, *Nilakanṭha* exemplifies by the smell of the chili, apparently interpreting *kaṭvi*, as it may be interpreted, to mean sharp; diffusive=overcoming all other smells, like *Asafoetida*; compact=made up of many smells. *Nilakanṭha* adds, that soft is like that of

smell, which belongs to the earth, be understood to be of ten descriptions. Sound, touch, and colour likewise, and taste, are stated to be the qualities of water. I will now give (some) information about taste. Taste is stated to be of numerous descriptions. Sweet¹, sour, bitter, sharp, astringent, and saltish likewise—thus are the forms of taste, which is a development of water, said to be of six descriptions. Sound, touch, and likewise colour; thus is light said to have three qualities. The quality of light is colour, and colour is stated to be of numerous descriptions. White, black, red likewise, green, yellow, and grey likewise, short, long, narrow², broad, square, and circular—thus is the colour of light said to be of twelve forms. It should be understood³ by aged Brāhmaṇas, who speak the truth, and are conversant with piety. Sound and touch also should be understood; air is said to have (these) two qualities. And touch is the quality of air, and touch is stated to be of numerous descriptions. Rough, cold and hot likewise, tender and clear also, hard, glutinous, smooth, slippery, hurtful, and soft⁴—thus the quality of air is properly said by Brāhmaṇas who have reached perfection, who are conversant with piety and perceive the truth, to be of twelve descriptions. Now space has one quality.

liquid ghee, rough of the oil of mustard, and clear as of cooked rice. The Sānti Parvan passage omits 'sour.' ¹ Cf. Gītā, p. 118.

² Literally, lean and fat. These are rather unusual qualities to attribute to colour. The Sānti Parvan passage gives more.

³ Sic. Does it mean 'it is understood?' Cf. Pāṇini III, 3, 113.

⁴ Tender=like the touch of a son, &c.; clear=like that of an excellent cloth, Nilakanṭha; glutinous=like that of oil; smooth=like that of a gem; slippery=not really smooth, but appearing to be such, like that of saliva (?), Arguna Mīṣa. The enumeration of these in the Sānti Parvan loc. cit. is again different.

and that is stated to be sound only. I will speak at length of the numerous qualities of sound. *Shadga*, *Rishabha*, together with *Gândhâra*, *Madhyama*, and likewise *Pañkama*, and beyond these should be understood to be *Nishâda* and *Dhaivata* likewise¹; agreeable and disagreeable sound also, compact, and of (many) ingredients². Thus sound, which is produced in space, should be understood to be of ten descriptions. Space is the highest element³, egoism is above that; above egoism is understanding, and above that understanding is the self⁴; above that is the unperceived, and above the unperceived is the being. One who knows which is superior and inferior among entities, and who knows the proper procedure in all actions, and who identifies himself with every being⁵, repairs to the imperishable self.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Brahman said :

Since the mind is ruler of these five elements, in (the matter of) absorbing or bringing (them) forth⁶,

¹ This is the Hindu Gamut.

² These are not in the *Sânti Parvan*; of many ingredients = collection of sounds, *Arguna Misra*.

³ Being all-pervading, *Arguna Misra*. Cf. its position at *Taittiriya*, p. 67.

⁴ Cf. *Kaṭha*, pp. 114, 115, 149, and *Śaṅkarācārya's* commentary there, for an explanation of the whole passage. And see *Sāṅkhya-sāra*, p. 16, as to what are here called self and understanding.

⁵ Cf. *Gītā*, p. 64, where the words are identical.

⁶ The elements are perceived or are not perceived by the senses under the direction of the mind; absorbing = destroying; bringing forth = producing, *Nilakantha*. See p. 268 *supra*, and *Sânti Parvan* (*Moksha*), chap. 240, st. 12.

the mind itself is the individual self¹. The mind always presides over the great elements. The understanding proclaims its power², and it is called the Kshetragña. The mind yokes the senses as a charioteer (yokes) good horses. The senses, the mind, and the understanding are always joined to the Kshetragña³. That individual self, mounting the chariot to which big horses⁴ are yoked, and in which the understanding is the drag⁵, drives about on all sides. The great chariot which is pervaded by the Brahman⁶, has the group of the senses yoked (to it), has the mind for a charioteer, and the understanding for a drag. That learned and talented person verily, who always understands thus the chariot pervaded by the Brahman, comes not by delusion in the midst of all entities⁷. This forest of the Brahman⁸ begins with the unperceived, and ends with the gross objects⁹:

¹ The word is the same as at Maitrī, p. 41, the comment on which should be seen.

² I.e. the mind's power is to be perceived by itself, *Nīlakantha*. The meaning seems to be that the understanding can only operate on what the mind places before it.

³ The passage at *Kaṭha*, p. 111 seq., and Śaṅkara's commentary there, throw light on this, though the figure is not drawn out in the same way in both places. For a definition of Kshetragña, see *Sānti Parvan* (Moksha), chap. 187, st. 23.

⁴ I.e. the senses.

⁵ I.e. that which holds the horses in check. *Nīlakantha* seems to render it by 'whip,' but that is not correct, I think.

⁶ So *Arguna Misra*. *Nīlakantha* says, 'The senses, &c., when they turn towards the outer world make the self drive about, as an individual self; when turned inwards they show him that he is the Brahman.' *Nīlakantha* thus likens this to the *Kaṭha* passage. See also p. 187 and notes there.

⁷ Or it may mean, among all men.

⁸ See p. 164 *supra*, note 2; and p. 285, note 4.

⁹ That is to say, it includes all *Samsāra*, all the elements recognised by the Sāṅkhya philosophy, save the Being or *Puruṣa*.

and includes movables and immovables, receives light from the radiance of the sun and moon, is adorned with planets and nakshatras, and is decked on all sides with nets of rivers and mountains, and always beautified likewise by various (descriptions of) waters; it is (the means of) subsistence for all entities¹, and it is the goal of all living creatures. In this the Kshetragña always moves about. Whatever entities (there are) in this world, movable or immovable, they are the very first² to be dissolved; and next the developments produced from the elements³; and (after) these developments, all the elements. Such is the upward gradation⁴ among entities. Gods, men, Gandharvas, Pisâkas, Asuras, Râkshasas, all have been created by nature⁵, not by actions, nor by a cause. These Brâhmanas⁶, the creators of the world, are born here again and again. And what-

¹ Cf. p. 371 supra.

² Another reading means 'they are dissolved in the waters.' As to the order, cf. Vedânta Paribhâshâ, p. 48, and p. 335 supra.

³ I take these to mean the gross elements of which things movable and immovable may be said to be made, if one may use a non-idealist phrase in the Sâṅkhya philosophy. Then the elements next spoken of are the subtle ones or tanmâtras. Cf. the references in note 2. As to developments, see p. 382, note 4.

⁴ Viz. gross object, gross element, subtle element.

⁵ The original is *svabhâva*, which Arguna Mirra renders by *Prakṛiti*. 'Actions' both *Nīlakantha* and Arguna Mirra take to mean sacrifices, &c., and 'cause' the former interprets by Brahman; the latter by tanmâtras or subtle elements, and adds, 'the sense is—not by sacrifice or tanmâtras only.' *Nīlakantha* says, 'The gods, &c., are produced by nature, as the gods, &c., seen in a dream.' The meaning seems to be that there are energies in nature which evolve these forms of being. Cf. also *Gītâ*, p. 65.

⁶ I presume this means that the patriarchs (*Marīci* and others, says *Nīlakantha*) are also born again and again—that is to say, in different kalpas, I suppose—by nature only.

ever is produced from them¹ is dissolved in due time in those very five great elements, like billows in the ocean. The great elements are in every way (beyond) the elements that make up the world². And he who is released, even from those five elements, goes to the highest goal. The Lord Praṣā-pati created all this by the mind³ only. And in the same manner⁴ the sages attained the godhead⁵ by means of penance⁶. And in like manner, those who have achieved perfection, who have acquired concentration by a course of penance, and who likewise feed on fruits and roots, perceive the triple world⁷ here by penance. Medicines, and herbs, and the various sciences are all acquired⁸ by means of penance alone. For all acquisition⁹ has penance for its root. Whatever is difficult to obtain¹⁰, difficult to

¹ I think this must mean the elements, though it might at first sight be referred to the Brāhmanas.

² I. e. the gross elements, I take it; the others are the tanmātras.

³ I. e. the meditation which constitutes true knowledge, Arguna Misra. But see Gītā, p. 87, note 1, and Sāṅkhya-sūtra.

⁴ I. e. by the mind, as to which cf. Taittirīya, p. 89; Kaṭha, p. 164. Arguna Misra says, 'This apparent deviation from the ordinary modes of cause and effect is not altogether without parallel, so he adds this to show that.'

⁵ Literally, 'the gods,' but the meaning seems to be that given in the text, as Arguna Misra says.

⁶ This is only the concentration of mind and senses on one object, Nilakantha. See p. 166, note 1 supra.

⁷ See p. 174 supra.

⁸ Literally, 'are accomplished,' which seems to mean that they are acquired so as to be practically at one's command when required.

⁹ The original word is derived from the same root as the subject of the last note.

¹⁰ Difficult to obtain=the seat of Indra, &c.; to learn=Vedas, &c.; to vanquish=fire, &c.; to pass through=a great deluge, &c.,

learn, difficult to vanquish, and difficult to pass through; all that can be accomplished by penance, for penance is difficult to overcome. One who drinks spirituous liquors, one who kills a Brāhmaṇa, one who steals, one who destroys an embryo, one who violates the bed of his preceptor¹, is released from that sin only by penance well performed. (Those) men, Pitṛis, gods, (sacrificial) animals², beasts and birds, and all other creatures movable or immovable, (who are) constantly devoted to penance, always reach perfection by penance. And in like manner the noble(-minded) gods went to heaven³. Those who without sloth perform actions with expectations, and being full of egoism, they go near Pragāpati⁴. Those high-souled ones who are devoid of (the thought that this or that is) mine, and devoid of egoism, by means of a pure concentration (of mind) on contemplation, obtain the great and highest world. Those who best understand the self, attaining concentration (of mind) on contemplation⁵, and having their minds always tranquil, enter into the unperceived accumulation of happiness⁶. Those

Nīlakaṇṭha. Arguna Misra seems to interpret the last word, where his reading 'is doubtful, to mean 'difficult to do.'

¹ Cf. *Khândogya*, p. 361. Except the destruction of the embryo (see Taitt. Âraṇ. p. 870, but at *Bṛihadâraṇyaka*, p. 795, Kaushîtaki, p. 77, and Âpastamba I, 6, 19, 16, the commentators render *Bhrûna* by 'learned Brāhmaṇa'), the rest are the great sins. But note that stealing gold, not theft generally, is mentioned as a great sin.

² Or, perhaps, cattle. The original is *paśu*.

³ See p. 160 *supra*, and cf. p. 178.

⁴ I. e. Karyapa, as gods, &c. This seems to be Arguna Misra's interpretation. This condition is inferior to that described in the following sentence.

⁵ See p. 162, note 1.

⁶ *Nīlakaṇṭha*'s rendering is 'that by which (worldly) happiness is

who are free from (all thought that this or that is) mine, and who are free from egoism, attaining concentration (of mind) on contemplation¹, enter the highest world of the great, which is the unperceived. Born from that same unperceived² (principle), again acquiring knowledge, and getting rid of the (qualities of) passion and darkness, and resorting to the pure (quality of) goodness, a man gets rid of all sins, and abandons everything as fruitless. He should be understood to be the Kshetragnâ. He who understands him understands the Vedas³. Withdrawing from the mind the objects⁴ of mental operations, a sage should sit down self-restrained. (He) necessarily. (becomes) that on which his mind⁵ (is fixed). This is the eternal mystery. That which begins with the unperceived and ends with the gross objects⁶ is stated to be of the nature of ignorance⁷. But (you should) learn that whose nature is devoid

heightened.' He compares *Bṛihadâraṇyaka*, p. 816. See also *Taittirīya*, p. 112.

¹ See *Gîtâ*, p. 128, note 1, where *dhyâna* and *yoga* are taken separately. Here the compound is in the singular. *Nīlakaṇṭha's* reading is different.

² The sense here is not quite clear. It seems, however, to be this. The acquisitions mentioned in the preceding sentence take the acquirers to some temporary world from which they afterwards return; but when they get rid of the qualities, they get final emancipation. As to the unperceived, cf. *inter alia* *Gîtâ*, p. 112, note 1.

³ Cf. *Gîtâ*, p. 111, and note 2 there. That seems to approach the question from the opposite point of view.

⁴ So *Arguna Misra*. At *Gîtâ* XVI, 16, *hitta* means the operation itself. That also will do here.

⁵ Cf. *Gîtâ*, p. 78; *Maitrī*, p. 178; *Prasna*, p. 194; and the quotations at *Sāṅkhya-sāra*, p. 3.

⁶ This phrase has occurred before; it means all the developments which make up worldly life. See *Sāṅkhya-sāra*, p. 5.

⁷ See p. 371 *supra*.

of qualities. Two syllables¹ are death; three syllables the eternal Brahman. Mine is death, and not mine is the eternal². Some men of dull understandings extol action. But as to the high-souled ancients they do not extol action³. By action a creature is born with a body and made up of the sixteen⁴. Knowledge brings forth⁵ the being, and that is acceptable and constitutes immortality. Therefore those who are far-sighted have no attachment to actions. This being is stated to be full of knowledge, not full of action⁶. The self-restrained man who thus understands the immortal, changeless, incomprehensible, and ever indestructible and unattached (principle), he dies not⁷. He who thus understands the self to which there is nothing prior, which is uncreated, changeless, unmoving⁸, which is incomprehensible (even) to those who feed on nectar, he certainly becomes immortal⁹ and not to be restrained⁹, in consequence of these means¹⁰.

¹ See *Sānti Parvan* (*Rāgadharmā*) XIII, 4. Cf. *Maitrī*, p. 180. This means the two and three syllables of 'mama' and 'na mama,' mine and not mine. Cf. *Bṛihadāraṇyaka*, p. 970, and *Khândogya*, p. 118, and p. 548, for a similar conceit.

² Final emancipation follows on abandoning the idea of 'mine;' bondage on harbouring it. ³ See *Mundaka*, p. 279.

⁴ The eleven organs and the five great elements which go to form the body. See *Sāṅkhya-kārikā* 3, and comment thereon; *Sānti Parvan*, chap. 210, st. 32 seq.; chap. 242, st. 7 seq.; *Prana*, p. 230.

⁵ I. e. shows. ⁶ Cf. *Gītā*, p. 118; *Sānti Parvan*, ch. 242, st. 15.

⁷ See p. 367 supra, note 6; and cf. *Kaṭha*, pp. 155, 156.

⁸ I. e. which remains unconcerned, cf. *Īśa*, p. 10. *Apūrvam* (to which there is nothing prior), *Arguna* *Misra* renders by 'not familiarly known,' and *Nīlakaṇṭha* by 'not understood by any other means of knowledge.' See also *Bṛihadāraṇyaka*, p. 502, and *Saṅkara* on that.

⁹ This is not very clear, but I suppose the meaning to be the same as that of 'unconquerable' at p. 161, and see p. 231.

¹⁰ I. e. the means mentioned further on, says *Nīlakaṇṭha*.

Expelling all impressions¹, and restraining the self in the self², he understands that holy Brahman, than which nothing greater exists. And when the understanding is clear, he attains tranquillity³. And the nature of tranquillity is as when one sees a dream⁴. This⁵ is the goal of those emancipated ones who are intent on knowledge. And they see all the movements⁶ which are produced by development. This is the goal of those who are indifferent (to the world). This is the eternal piety. This is what is acquired by men of knowledge. This is the uncensured (mode of) conduct. This goal can be reached by one who is alike to all beings⁷, who is without attachment, who is without expectations.

¹ Impressions from external causes. Cf. inter alia Sâṅkhya-sūtra III, 83; see, too, pp. 247-358 supra and notes there.

² I. e. restraining the mind in the lotus-like heart, Nīlakaṇṭha. Cf. as to this, pp. 248, 372 inter alia.

³ Cf. Gītā, p. 51. See also Maitrī-upaniṣad, p. 176, and Mundaka, p. 314.

⁴ Arguna Misra says, 'The nature of tranquillity is this, that in that state you perceive everything to be unreal like what is seen in a dream.' Nīlakaṇṭha says, 'The nature of tranquillity is this, that in that state the self abides without attachment to the body, and any external objects, but working within itself as in a dream.' But see on this Kāṣha, p. 147.

⁵ Viz. tranquillity, Nīlakaṇṭha.

⁶ I. e., says Nīlakaṇṭha, they see all worldly objects past and future. Arguna Misra, 'They see the actions performed for some wealth and so forth.' I am not satisfied with either meaning. Arguna Misra's is besides based on a reading different from that adopted in the text, namely, Parimāṇagāh, instead of Parivāmagāh. I think 'parivāma' is the development which, according to the Sâṅkhya philosophy, produces the universe, and the movements are the actions which that development—namely, here the activity of egoism and its products—occasions. Cf. as to some extent supporting this, Sâṅkhya-sāra, p. 16.

⁷ See inter alia Gītā, pp. 68-70.

and who looks alike on everything¹. I have now declared everything to you, O best of Brāhmaṇa sages! Act thus forthwith; then you will acquire perfection.

The preceptor said:

Thus instructed by the preceptor Brahman, those high-souled sages acted accordingly, and then attained to the worlds². Do you, too, O noble person, of pure self! duly act according to the words of Brahman which I have stated. Then will you attain perfection.

Vāsudeva said:

That pupil thus instructed in the highest piety by the preceptor, did everything (accordingly), O son of Kuntl! and then attained final emancipation. And the pupil, having done all he should have done, attained to that seat, O supporter of the family of the Kauravas! going to which one grieves not³.

Arguna said:

Who, indeed, was that Brāhmaṇa, O *Krishna*! and who the pupil, O *Ganārdana*! If this verily is fit to be heard by me, O Lord! then tell it me.

Vāsudeva said:

I⁴ am the preceptor, O you of mighty arms! and

¹ See inter alia *Gītā*, pp. 68–70.

² I. e., I presume, Bhūr and the rest. But see also *Kāṇḍogya*, pp. 272, 541, 620, and *Bṛihadāraṇyaka*, pp. 302, 608.

³ See p. 285 supra, and cf. inter alia *Kāṇḍogya*, p. 550.

⁴ I. e. I, the *Kṣhetragṛha*, am the preceptor, and the mind is that which has to be taught. This shows that one's instructor must be oneself, *Nīlakantha*. Arguna Misra says, 'I am the preceptor, the mind is the pupil. The meaning of this is that anybody who has not acquired knowledge is treated here as a pupil; there is no other special pupil intended.' Cf. also p. 310 supra.

know the mind to be my pupil. And, O Dhanañgaya ! I have related this mystery to you out of love for you. If you have love for me, O supporter of the family of the Kauravas ! then having heard this (instruction) relating to the self, always duly act ¹ (according to it). Then when this piety is duly practised, you will attain the absolute final emancipation, getting rid of all sins. It was this same thing I stated to you before ² when the time for battle had come, O you of mighty arms ! Therefore fix your mind on this. And now ³, O chief of the descendants of Bharata ! it is long since I saw the lord my father. I wish to see him, with your consent, O Phālguna ⁴ !

Vaisampāyana said :

When *Kṛishṇa* spoke these words, Dhanañgaya replied (saying), 'O *Kṛishṇa* ! let us verily go to-day to the city of Gāgasa ⁵. Be pleased, O you who understand piety ! to see there king Yudhishthira, who is of a devout heart, and after taking leave of him to go to your own city.'

¹ *Nīlakantha* interprets the words without supplying anything, thus 'be devoted to yama niyama,' &c. Yama &c. are the eight requisites for Yoga or concentration of mind as taught by *Patañjali*.

² That is to say, in the *Gītā*.

³ Here he takes up the thread of the story. In the first chapter it was hinted that *Kṛishṇa* was anxious to go to *Dvārakā*.

⁴ This is a name of *Arguna*.

⁵ I. e. *Hastināpur*, the capital of the *Pāṇḍavas*. They were, when the dialogue was held, at *Indraprastha*. See p. 229 *supra*.

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CONSONANTS	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Philipt.	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	kh
3 Media	g	...	...	ग	𐬗	𐬓	𐬓	...	𐬓	...
4 " aspirata	gh	...	...	घ	𐬘	𐬔	𐬔	...	𐬔	...
5 Gutturulo-labialis	q	...	...	...	𐬙	𐬕	𐬕	...	𐬕	...
6 Nasalis	ñ (ng)	...	...	ङ	{ 𐬚 (ng) 𐬛 (N) 𐬜 (ng h)	...	...	...	...	...
7 Spiritus asper	h	...	...	ह	𐬞	𐬗	𐬗	...	𐬗	h, hs
8 " lenis . . . . .	,	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	𐬘	...
9 " asper faucalis	ʔ	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	𐬙	...
10 " lenis faucalis	ʔ	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	𐬙	...
11 " asper fricatus	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ	...	...	...	...	...	𐬙	...
12 " lenis fricatus	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ	...	...	...	...	...	𐬙	...
Gutturales modificatae (palatales, &c.)											
13 Tenuis	k	...	...	क	𐬕	𐬑	𐬑	...	𐬑	k
14 " aspirata	kh	...	...	ख	𐬖	𐬒	𐬒	...	𐬒	kh
15 Media	g	...	...	ग	𐬗	𐬓	𐬓	...	𐬓	...
16 " aspirata	gh	...	...	घ	𐬘	𐬔	𐬔	...	𐬔	...
17 " Nasalis	ṅ	...	...	ङ	𐬙	𐬕	𐬕	...	𐬕	...

CONSONANTS (continued)	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlevi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
18 Semivocalis	y			य	𐬶 𐬶𐬵 𐬶𐬵	𐬶	ی	ي	י	י
19 Spiritus asper		(y)								
20 " lenis		(y)								
21 " asper assibilatus		s		श	𐬰	𐬰	ش	ش	ש	ש
22 " lenis assibilatus		s			𐬰	𐬰	س	س	ס	ס
Dentales.										
23 Tenuis	t			त	𐬢	𐬢	ت	ت	ת	ת
24 " aspirata	th			थ	𐬢𐬵	𐬢𐬵	تھ	تھ	תה	תה
25 " assibilata			TH							
26 Media	d			द	𐬢𐬵	𐬢𐬵	د	د	ד	ד
27 " aspirata	dh									
28 " assibilata			DH							
29 Nasalis	n			न	𐬢𐬵	𐬢𐬵	ن	ن	נ	נ
30 Semivocalis	l			ल	𐬢𐬵	𐬢𐬵	ل	ل	ל	ל
31 " mollis 1		l								
32 " mollis 2			L							
33 Spiritus asper 1	s			स						
34 " asper 2			π (s)							
35 " lenis	z									
36 " asperimus 1			z (q)							
37 " asperimus 2			z (q)							

VOWELS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.									
	II Class.	III Class.	III Class.							
1 Neutral	o	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	ā
2 Laryngo-palatalis	ē	..	..	..	..	fin.	..	..	..	..
3 " labialis	ō	..	..	..	..	init.	..	..	..	..
4 Gutturalis brevis	a	..	..	अ	𐬀	𐬀	..	..	..	ā
5 " longa	ā	..	(a)	आ	𐬁	𐬁	..	..	..	ā
6 Palatalis brevis	i	..	..	इ	𐬂	𐬂	..	..	..	i
7 " longa	ī	..	(i)	ई	𐬃	𐬃	..	..	..	ī
8 Dentalis brevis	u	..	..	उ	𐬄	𐬄	..	..	..	..
9 " longa	ū	..	..	ऊ	𐬅	𐬅	..	..	..	..
10 Lingualis brevis	r	..	..	र	𐬆	𐬆	..	..	..	..
11 " longa	ṛ	..	..	ॠ	𐬇	𐬇	..	..	..	..
12 Labialis brevis	u	..	..	व	𐬈	𐬈	..	..	..	u
13 " longa	ū	..	(u)	ॡ	𐬉	𐬉	..	..	..	ū
14 Gutturo-palatalis brevis	e	..	..	...	...	...	..	..	..	e
15 " longa	āi	..	(e)	...	...	...	..	..	..	āi
16 Diphthongus gutturo-palatalis	ai	..	(ai)	...	...	...	..	..	..	ei, ēi
17 " " " "	ei	..	(ēi)	...	...	...	..	..	..	...
18 " " " "	oi	..	(ōu)	...	...	...	..	..	..	...
19 Gutturo-labialis brevis	o	..	..	...	...	...	..	..	..	o
20 " longa	āu	..	(o)	...	...	...	..	..	..	āu
21 Diphthongus gutturo-labialis	au	..	(au)	...	...	...	..	..	..	...
22 " " " "	eu	..	(ēu)	...	...	...	..	..	..	...
23 " " " "	ou	..	(ōu)
24 Gutturalis fracta	h
25 Palatalis fracta	y
26 Labialis fracta	ū	ū

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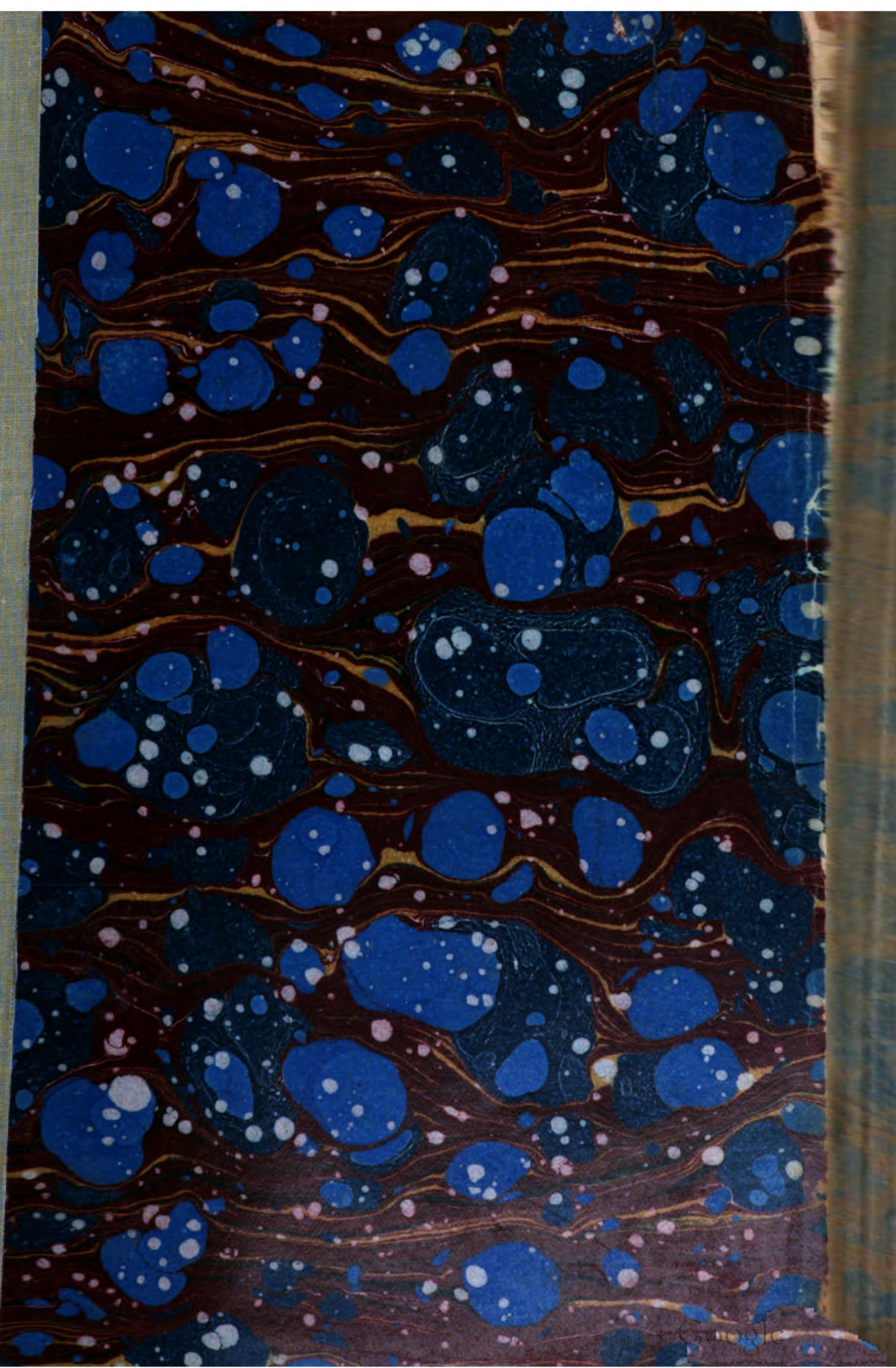
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THE
SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST

TRANSLATED

BY VARIOUS ORIENTAL SCHOLARS

AND EDITED BY

F. MAX MÜLLER

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1882

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21406

THE
SATAPATHA - BRÂHMANA

ACCORDING TO THE TEXT OF THE

MÂDHYANDINA SCHOOL

TRANSLATED BY

JULIUS EGGELING

PART I

BOOKS I AND II

xford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1882

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INTRODUCTION.

THE translator of the *Satapatha-brāhmaṇa* can be under no illusion as to the reception his production is likely to meet with at the hand of the general reader. In the whole range of literature few works are probably less calculated to excite the interest of any outside the very limited number of specialists, than the ancient theological writings of the Hindus, known by the name of *Brāhmaṇas*. For wearisome prolixity of exposition, characterised by dogmatic assertion and a flimsy symbolism rather than by serious reasoning, these works are perhaps not equalled anywhere; unless, indeed, it be by the speculative vapourings of the Gnostics, than which, in the opinion of the learned translators of Irenæus, 'nothing more absurd has probably ever been imagined by rational beings'.¹ If I have, nevertheless, undertaken, at the request of the Editor of the present Series, what would seem to be a rather thankless task, the reason will be readily understood by those who have taken even the most cursory view of the history of the Hindu mind and institutions.

The *Brāhmaṇas*, it is well known, form our chief, if not our only, source of information regarding one of the most important periods in the social and mental development of India. They represent the intellectual activity of a sacerdotal caste which, by turning to account the religious instincts of a gifted and naturally devout race, had succeeded in transforming a primitive worship of the powers of nature into a highly artificial system of sacrificial ceremonies, and was ever intent on deepening and extending its hold on the minds of the people, by surrounding its own vocation with the halo of sanctity and divine inspiration. A complicated ceremonial, requiring for its proper observance and

¹ A. Roberts and W. A. Rambaut, *The Writings of Irenæus*, vol. i. p. xv.

consequent efficacy the ministrations of a highly trained priestly class, has ever been one of the most effective means of promoting hierarchical aspirations. Even practical Rome did not entirely succeed in steering clear of the rock of priestly ascendancy attained by such-like means. There, as elsewhere, 'the neglect or faulty performance of the worship of each god revenged itself in the corresponding occurrence; and as it was a laborious and difficult task to gain even a knowledge of one's religious obligations, the priests who were skilled in the law of divine things and pointed out its requirements—the *pontifices*—could not fail to attain an extraordinary influence¹.' The catalogue of the duties and privileges of the priest of Jupiter might well find a place in the Talmud. 'The rule—that no religious service can be acceptable to the gods, unless it be performed without a flaw—was pushed to such an extent, that a single sacrifice had to be repeated thirty times in succession on account of mistakes again and again committed; and the games, which formed part of the divine service, were regarded as undone, if the presiding magistrate had committed any slip in word or deed, or if the music even had paused at a wrong time, and so had to be begun afresh, frequently for several, even as many as seven, times in succession².' Great, however, as was the influence acquired by the priestly colleges of Rome, 'it was never forgotten—least of all in the case of those who held the highest position—that their duty was not to command, but to tender skilled advice³.' The Roman statesmen submitted to these transparent tricks rather from considerations of political expediency than from religious scruples; and the Greek Polybius might well say that 'the strange and ponderous ceremonial of Roman religion was invented solely on account of the multitude which, as reason had no power over it, required to be ruled by signs and wonders⁴.'

The devout belief in the efficacy of invocation and sacri-

¹ Mommsen, *History of Rome*, translated by W. P. Dickson, vol. i. p. 181.

² *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 400.

³ *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 179.

⁴ *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 455.

ficial offering which pervades most of the hymns of the Rig-veda, and which may be assumed to reflect pretty faithfully the religious sentiments of those amongst whom they were composed, could not but ensure to the priest, endowed with the gift of sacred utterance, a considerable amount of respect and reverence on the part of the people. His superior culture and habitual communion with the divine rulers of the destinies of man would naturally entitle him to a place of honour by the side of the chiefs of clans, or the rulers of kingdoms, who would not fail to avail themselves of his spiritual services, in order to secure the favour of the gods for their warlike expeditions or political undertakings. Nor did the Vedic bard fail to urge his claims on the consideration and generosity of those in the enjoyment of power and wealth. He often dwells on the supernatural virtues of his compositions and their mysterious efficacy in drawing down divine blessings on the pious worshipper. In urging the necessity of frequent and liberal offerings to the gods, and invoking worldly blessings on the offerer, the priestly bard may often be detected pleading his own cause along with that of his employer, as *Kaṇva* does when he sings (Rig-veda VIII, 2, 13), 'Let him be rich, let him be foremost, the bard of the rich, of so illustrious a Maghavan¹ as thou, O lord of the bay steeds!' Though the *Dāna-stutis*, or verses extolling, often in highly exaggerated terms, the munificence of princely patrons, and generally occurring at the end of hymns, are doubtless, as a rule, later additions, they at least show that the sacerdotal office must have been, or must gradually have become during this period, a very lucrative one.

Although there is no reason to suppose that the sacrificial ceremonial was in early times so fully developed as some scholars would have us believe, the religious service would seem to have been already of a sufficiently advanced nature to require some kind of training for the priestly office. In course of time, while the collection of hymns were faithfully

¹ *Maghavan*, the mighty or bountiful, is a designation both of *Indra* and the wealthy patron of priests. Here it is evidently intended to refer to both.

handed down as precious heirlooms in the several families, and were gradually enriched by the poetical genius of succeeding generations, the ceremonial became more and more complicated, so as at last to necessitate the distribution of the sacerdotal functions among several distinct classes of priests. Such a distribution of sacrificial duties must have taken place before the close of the period of the hymns, and there can be little doubt that at that time the position of the priesthood in the community was that of a regular profession, and even, to some extent, a hereditary one¹. A post of peculiar importance, which seems to go back to a very early time, was that of the Purohita (literally 'praepositus'), or family priest to chiefs and kings. From the comparatively modest position of a private chaplain, who had to attend to the sacrificial obligations of his master, he appears to have gradually raised himself to the dignity of, so to say, a minister of public worship and confidential adviser of the king. It is obvious that such a post was singularly favourable to the designs of a crafty and ambitious priest, and must have offered him exceptional opportunities for promoting the hierarchical aspirations of the priesthood².

In the Rig-veda there is, with the single exception of the Purusha-sūkta, no clear indication of the existence of caste in the proper, Brāhmanical sense of the word. That institution, we may assume, was only introduced after the Brāhmins had finally established their claims to the highest

¹ See J. Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, I, p. 239 seq.

² See Max Müller, *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 485 seq.; A. Weber, *Indische Studien*, X, 31 seq. In Rig-veda IV, 50, 8, Vāmadeva is made to say, 'That king alone, with whom the Brahman walks in front (pūrva eti), lives well-established in his house; for him there is ever abundance of food; before him the people bow of their own accord.' If Grassmann was right in excluding verses 7-11 as a later addition, as I have no doubt he was (at least with regard to verses 7-9), these verses would furnish a good illustration of the gradually increasing importance of the office of Purohita. Professor Ludwig seems to take the verses 7-11 as forming a separate hymn; but I doubt not that he, too, must consider them on linguistic grounds, if on no other, as considerably later than the first six verses. The fact that the last pāda of the sixth verse occurs again as the closing formula of the hymns V, 55; VIII, 40; and X, 121 (though also in VIII, 48, 13, where it is followed by two more verses) seems to favour this view.

rank in the body politic; when they sought to perpetuate their social ascendancy by strictly defining the privileges and duties of the several classes, and assigning to them their respective places in the gradated scale of the Brâhmanical community. The period during which the main body of the Vedic hymns was composed, in the land of the seven rivers, seems to have been followed by a time of wars and conquests. From the literary products of the succeeding period we can see that the centre of the Âryan civilisation had in the meantime shifted from the region of the Sindhu (Indus) to that of the Yamunâ (Jumna) and Gaṅgâ. As the conquered districts were no doubt mainly occupied by aboriginal tribes, which had either to retire before their Âryan conquerors, or else to submit to them as Sûdras, or serfs, it seems not unnatural to suppose that it was from a sense of the danger with which the purity of the Brâhmanical faith was threatened from the idolatrous practices of the aboriginal subjects, that the necessity of raising an insurmountable barrier between the Âryan freeman and the man of the servile class first suggested itself to the Brâhmins. As religious interests would be largely involved in this kind of class legislation, it would naturally call into play the ingenuity of the priestly order; and would create among them that tendency towards regulating the mutual relations of all classes of the community which ultimately found its legal expression, towards the close of this period, in the Dharma-sûtras, the prototypes of the Hindu codes of law.

The struggle for social ascendancy between the priesthood and the ruling military class must, in the nature of things, have been of long duration. In the chief literary documents of this period which have come down to us, viz. the Yagur-veda, the Brâhmaṇas, and the hymns of the Atharva-veda some of which perhaps go back to the time of the later hymns of the *Rîk*, we meet with numerous passages in which the ambitious claims of the Brâhmins are put forward with singular frankness. The powerful personal influence exercised by the Purohitas, as has already been indicated, seems to have largely contributed to the final success of the

sacerdotal order. Thus we read in the *Aitareya-brâhmaṇa* VIII, 24-25, 'Verily, the gods do not eat the food offered by the king who is without a Purohita : wherefore let the king, who wishes to sacrifice, place a Brâhman at the head (puro adhita). . . .' 'Now Agni Vaisvânara, who is possessed of five destructive weapons, is the same as the Purohita. With them he constantly surrounds (protects) the king, even as the ocean surrounds the earth : the kingdom of such a ruler is undisturbed. His vital breath deserts him not before the (full term of) life, but he lives to old age, and attains to the full measure of life : he dies not (and is not born) again, whosoever possesses such a wise Brâhman for his Purohita, for the guardian of his realm.' And again, in the *Atharva-veda* III, 19, 'May this prayer of mine be accomplished ; may perfect vigour and strength, may perfect, unceasing, and victorious power accrue to those whose Purohita I am. I perfect their kingdom, their might, their vigour, their strength. With this oblation I cut off the arms of their enemies . . . Go forth, ye men, and conquer ; may your arms be terrible ! ye sharp-shafted, smite the weak-bowed ; ye of terrible weapons and terrible arms, (smite) the feeble ! when discharged, fly forth, O arrow, sped by prayer ; vanquish the enemies ; rush forward and slay all the best of them ; let not one of them escape¹.'

The question as to how the Brâhmins ultimately succeeded in overcoming the resistance of the ruling class receives but little light from the contemporaneous records. Later legendary accounts of sanguinary struggles between the two classes, and the final overthrow, and even annihilation, of the Kshatriyas can hardly deserve much credence. At best they seem to contain some small kernel of historical fact. Perseverance and tenacity of purpose were probably the chief means by which the Brâhmins gained their ends. Not unfrequently, too, kings may have lent their countenance to the aspirations of the priesthood, as calculated to counteract the unruly spirit and ambitious designs of the military order. We certainly meet with not a few instances of kings

¹ Cf. J. Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, I, p. 283.

figuring as the patrons of learned Brāhmans. As the old hymns were gradually assuming the character of divinely inspired utterances, additional matter might occasionally find its way into them, almost unconsciously, which more adequately expressed the actual scope of the aspirations of their priestly depositaries. That many such additions must have been made to the old hymns, prior to the age of diaskeuasts and exegetes, cannot be doubted.

Another, even more important, source of strength to the sacerdotal order was the sacrifice. The more complicated the ceremonial, the greater the dependence of the lay worshipper on the professional skill of the priests; and the greater the number of priests required for the proper performance of these ceremonies, the larger the gains derived by the priesthood generally from this kind of occupation. What more natural, therefore, than that the highest importance should have been ascribed to these performances, and an ever-increasing attention bestowed on the elaboration of the ceremonial. From clear indications in not a few hymns of the Rig-veda it appears, as has already been remarked, that a distribution of the sacrificial functions among different classes of priests had taken place before the final redaction of that collection. As to the time when such a step may have become necessary for the due performance of sacrifices, this is a question which will probably never be decided. The sacrifice is an old Indo-Iranian, if not Indo-Germanic, institution. Some of the chief Indian sacrifices undoubtedly go back, in some form or other, to the common Indo-Iranian period, notably the Soma-sacrifice, and, if we may judge from the coincidence of name between the *âprî*-hymns¹ and the *âfrî-gân* of the Pârsî ritual, the animal sacrifice.

As regards the third great division of Indian sacrifices, the *haviryagñas* (or offerings of milk, butter, grain-food, and similar materials), of which the present volume treats, we have hardly any evidence to fall back upon. It is,

¹ See Haug's *Essays*, p. 241; Max Müller, *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 463 seq.

however, highly probable that these sacrifices also reach at all events far back into the Vedic antiquity. Perhaps the careful preservation of the pravara-lists¹, or lists of ancestors required at the *ishî*, the normal form of offering which underlies the *haviryagñas*, might be adduced in favour of the antiquity of the latter. This, however, is a point which requires further investigation. Neither has the last word been spoken regarding the traditional arrangements of the hymns. It is well known that the majority of the single collections of which the first seven *Mandâlas* (and to some extent those of the tenth) are made up, begin with hymns addressed to Agni, which, as a rule, are followed by hymns addressed to Indra. These, again, are in many cases followed by hymns to the *Visve Devâh* (and *Maruts*)². Now, in the later dogmatic literature we find the three *Âryan* castes, the Brahman, the Kshatra, and the Vis, identified with Agni, Indra, and the *Visve Devâh* (all the gods, or, as a special class, the All-Gods)³ respectively. This identification is a very natural one. Agni, the sacrificial fire, the bearer of oblations and caller of the gods, is, like the priest, the legitimate mediator between God and man. Penetrating brilliance (*tegas*) and holy lustre (*varṇas*) are the common attributes of the Brahman. Again, Indra, the valiant hero, for ever battling with the dark powers of the sky, is a not less appropriate representative of the knightly order. According to Professor Roth, this truly national deity of the Vedic *Âryans* would seem to have superseded

¹ See the present volume, p. 115 note.

² See Max Müller, *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 461 seq.

³ See especially *Taitt. S. VII, 1, 1, 4, 5*; *Weber, Ind. Stud. X, pp. 8, 26*. In *Sat. Br. II, 4, 3, 6, 7*, Indra and Agni are identified with the Kshatra (!power in general) and the *Visve Devâh* with the Vis. Sometimes *Brihaspati* or *Brahmanaspati*, the lord of prayer or worship, takes the place of Agni, as the representative of the priestly dignity (especially *Taitt. S. IV, 3, 10, 1-3*; *Vâg. S. 14, 28-30*); and in several passages of the *Rik* this god appears to be identical with, or at least kindred to, Agni, the *purohita* and priest (see Max Müller, *Translation of Rig-veda, I, 77*; *J. Muir, Original Sanskrit Texts, V, p. 272 seq.*) In *Rig-veda X, 68, 9*, where *Brihaspati* is said to have found (*avindat*) the dawn, the sky, and the fire (*agni*), and to have chased away darkness with his light (*arka*, sun), he seems rather to represent the element of light and fire generally (*das Ur-licht*, cf. *Vâg. S. IX, 10-12*). In the second

the older Indo-Iranian god Trita¹, and to have gradually encroached on the province of Varuna, who perhaps was originally one of the highest deities of the Āryan (Indo-Germanic) pantheon. The warlike chiefs and clansmen evidently saw in Indra a more congenial object of their adoration. It can scarcely be without significance that of all the Vedic *Rishis*, *Vasishtha*, the priest *par excellence*, has ascribed to him by far the greatest number of hymns addressed to Varuna (and Mitra-Varuna), while there is not a single hymn to Varuna in the family collection of the royal *Rishi* Visvāmītra, whose religious enthusiasm is divided almost exclusively between Agni, Indra, and the Visve Devâḥ. Lastly, the identification of the common people with a whole class of comparatively inferior deities would naturally suggest itself. Hence we also find the Maruts², the constant companions and help-mates of Indra, the divine ruler, employed in a similar

Mandala the hymns to *Bṛhaspati* are placed immediately after those to Agni and Indra. Though the abstract conception represented by this deity may seem a comparatively modern one, it will by no means be easy to prove from the text of the hymns addressed to him, that these are modern. It would almost seem as if two different tendencies of adoration had existed side by side from olden times; the one, a more popular and sensuous one, which, in Vedic times, found its chief expression in Indra and his circle of deities; and the other, a more spiritual one, represented originally by Varuna (Mitra, &c.; cf., however, *Sat. Br. IV*, 1, 4, 1-4), and in Vedic times, when the sacerdotal element more and more asserted itself, by *Bṛhaspati*, and especially by Agni. The identification of this god with the priestly office was as happy as it was natural; for Agni, the genial inmate of every household, is indeed *vaisvânara*, the friend of all men. Shadowy conceptions, such as *Bṛhaspati* and Brahman, on the other hand, could evoke no feelings of sympathy in the hearts of the people generally. Of peculiar interest, in this respect, are the hymns in which Agni is associated with Indra (see Max Müller's *Science of Language*, Second Series, p. 495; J. Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, V. pp. 219, 220), and the passages in which Agni has ascribed to him functions which legitimately belong to Indra; viz. the slaying of *Vritra* and destruction of the enemies' cities. The mutual relation of Indra and Varuna has been well discussed in Dr. Hillebrandt's treatise '*Varuna and Mitra*,' p. 97 seq. It is most concisely expressed by *Vasishtha*, *Rig-veda VII*, 83, 9, 'The one (Indra) slays the enemies in battles; the other (Varuna) ever defends the ordinances.'

¹ See the present volume, p. 48 note; R. Roth, *Zeitsch. der D. M. G.*, VI, p. 73 seq.

² The Maruts are identified with the *visâḥ*, or clans, in *Sat. Br. II*, 5, 1, 12; 2, 24; 27; 35, etc. In *Sâṅkh.* 16, 17, 2-4 the heaven of the Maruts is assigned to the Vaisya (*Ind. Stud.* X, p. 26).

sense. The identification of the Vis with the Visve Devâḥ, which ultimately obtained, was probably determined chiefly by etymological considerations.

The same triad of divinities, as representative of the mutual relations of the social grades of the Āryan community, is repeatedly met with in the sacrificial ritual, and especially in its dogmatic exposition. This identification finds its most complete expression in the well-known passages of the Taittirīya-saṃhitā (VII, 1, 1, 4-5) and the Tāndya-brāhmaṇa (VI, 1, 6-11)¹. According to these authorities, Pragâpati, the lord of creatures, created from his mouth the Brāhmaṇa, together with Agni, the tri-vṛit stoma, the gâyatrî metre (and the rathantara sâman and he-goat, according to the first source; or the spring, according to the other). From his breast and arms he created the Râganya, together with Indra, the pañka-dasa stoma, the trishubh metre (and the bṛihat sâman, and the ram; or the summer respectively). From the middle part of his body he created the Vaisya, together with the Visve Devâḥ, the saptadasa stoma, the gagatî metre (and the vairûpa sâman, and the kine; or the rainy season respectively). Finally, from his feet he created the Sûdra, together with the ekavimsa stoma and the anushubh metre (and the vairâga sâman and the horse, according to the Taitt. S.), but no deity, and no season. In accordance with these speculations, single objects of those here enumerated are frequently found elsewhere identified with their respective deities and castes. On the same principle, the three savanas, or morning, mid-day, and evening libations² at the Soma-sacrifice, as well as the first three days of the

¹ See Weber, Ind. Stud. X, p. 8.

² In Ath.-veda IX, 1, 11, the three savanas are assigned to the Asvins, Indra-Agni, and the Rîbhus (cf. Ait. Br. VI, 12) respectively; and in another passage of the same collection. VI, 47, 1, to a. Agni; b. the Visve Devâḥ, Maruts and Indra; and c. the Bards (kavi). In Vâg. S. XIX, 26, also, the morning libation is assigned to the Asvins (as the two Adhvaryus of the gods, cf. Sat. Br. I, 1, 2, 17; IV, 1, 5, 15; Ait. Br. I, 18); but in Taitt. S. II, 2, 3, 1; Ait. Br. III, 13; Sat. Br. II, 4, 4, 12; IV, 2, 4, 4-5 they are referred to Agni, Indra, and the Visve Devâḥ respectively. See, also, Sat. Br. IV, 3, 5, 1, where the Vasus (related to Agni III, 4, 2, 1; VI, 1, 2, 10), Rudras, and Âdityas (cf. VI, 1, 2, 10, and Ait. Br. III, 13) are connected with the three libations.

Dvādasāha¹, are generally assigned to Agni, Indra, and the Visve Devāḥ respectively. If in the ekādasinī, or traditional order of eleven victims that have to be immolated at the Soma-sacrifice, the victim sacred to Agni is placed first, while those to the Visve Devāḥ and to Indra only come sixth and seventh respectively, we have probably to assume that this order was too firmly established (just as the so-called āprī-hymns are) by long usage to have been easily altered; the more so as the privileged position of the sacerdotal class was not thereby affected.

At the haviryagñas not less prominent a place is assigned to the divine representatives of the two leading classes. The first oblation at every ishā belongs to Agni. The second oblation at the new-moon sacrifice is offered either to Indra, or to Indra² and Agni; at the full-moon sacrifice, to Agni and Soma, the latter of whom constitutes Indra's chief source of strength. Indra also plays an important part at the Seasonal offerings which indeed, according to the dogmatic, and by no means improbable, explanation of the Brāhmaṇas, are performed with special reference to Indra's struggle with Vṛitra, the demon of drought. At the Agny-upasthāna, or worship of the fires, which succeeds the Agnihotra, the first prayer is addressed to Agni, the second to Indra and Agni³. Indeed, while Agni appears everywhere as the Purohita, the 'yagñasya deva rītvik,' or divine priest of the sacrifice, Indra is the god of sacrifice⁴, the Maghavan, or munificent patron of the priest.

From these indications it would appear far from improbable that the arrangement of the hymns in which the collections of the Rig-veda were finally handed down, was intended, as far as the leading deities are concerned, to

¹ See, for instance, Ait. Br. IV, 29; 31; V, 1.

² The special oblations of the offering of first-fruits consist of a rice-cake to Indra and Agni, and a pap of rice-grains to the Visve Devāḥ.

³ See Vāg. S. III, 12-13; Sat. Br. II, 3, 4, 11-12. 'Indra-Agni are everything,—Brahman, Kshatra, and Vis,' Sat. Br. IV, 2, 2, 14.

⁴ See, for instance, Sat. Br. I, 4, 5, 4; II, 3, 1, 38; 3, 4, 38; and especially IV, 1, 2, 15, 'for Indra, indeed, is the Maghavan, the ruler (netri) of the sacrifice.' He is, as it were, the divine representative of the human sacrificer or patron, who is the yagñapati or lord of sacrifice.

exhibit a social gradation of the Hindu community which was either already firmly established or was steadily kept in view by the sacerdotal class as 'a consummation devoutly to be wished.' In either case the claims of the priests could not fail to be materially strengthened by the pre-eminent position assigned to their divine prototype in the inspired utterances of the *Rishis*. The question, whether the present arrangement is entirely the result of the final redaction, or whether it was already a feature of the earlier redactions, will perhaps never receive a quite satisfactory answer. It cannot, however, be denied that there is some force in Professor Ludwig's¹ argument,—that, if the arrangement of the several collections had lain with the authors of the final redaction, the result would probably have been a far greater uniformity than they now present.

The idea of bringing together the different family collections would seem first to have suggested itself to the priests at a time when the hitherto divided Āryan tribes had moved from the Panjab to the eastern plains and became consolidated into larger communities, and the want of a more uniform system of worship would naturally make itself felt. To the same period, then, we may refer the first attempts at a systematic arrangement of the entire ceremonial of worship, and the definitive distribution of the sacrificial duties among four classes of priests,—viz. the *Adhvaryu*, or performer of the material part of the sacrifice; the *Udgâtri*, or chanter of hymns; the *Hotri*, or reciter of solemn sacrificial prayers; and the *Brahman*, or superintendent of the entire performance. Though some of these offices had no doubt existed for a long time, we possess no definite information as to the exact extent of the duties entrusted to them². The institution of the office

¹ Der Rig-veda, vol. iii. p. 45.

² Compare the following remarks of M. Haug, who believed in the identity of the Vedic *Adhvaryu* and the Zota and Rathwi of the Zend-Avesta:—'At the most ancient times it appears that all the sacrificial formulas were spoken by the *Hotar* alone; the *Adhvaryu* was only his assistant, who arranged the sacrificial compound, provided the implements, and performed all manual labour. It was only at the time when regular metrical verses and hymns were introduced into the ritual, that a part of the duties of the *Hotar* devolved on the *Adhvaryu*.

of Brahman, doubtless the latest of all, marks a new era in the development of the sacrificial system. While the other priests were only required to possess an accurate knowledge of their own special departments, the Brahman was to be the very embodiment of the sacrificial art and Vedic lore in general, so as to be able to advise the other priests on doubtful points and to rectify any mistakes that might be committed during the performance of sacrifices. Neither had the *Hotri* priest any special manual of his formulas assigned to him. He was rather expected to have acquired a thorough knowledge of the whole of the *Rik-samhitâ*, from which the sacrificial prayers recited by him were exclusively selected. It was probably out of this class—or the *Bahvrikas*, as the followers of the *Rig-veda* came to be called—more than from any other, that individual priests would fit themselves for the office of Brahman.

As regards the two remaining classes of priests—the *Udgâtris* and *Adhvaryus*—we have no means of determining in what form and to what extent the stock of chants and sacrificial formulas used by them may have existed from the time of the institution of their offices down to the formation of the collections that have been handed down, viz. the *Sâma-veda-samhitâ* and the *Yagur-veda*. From the close connection that exists between the *Sâman* and the eighth and ninth *mandalas* of the *Rik*, as well as from the fact that most of the hymns of these two *mandalas* are ascribed to authors whose family collections (including, in several instances, hymns of their own) are contained in earlier *mandalas*,—we may perhaps assume that already at the time when the first nine *mandalas* were collected the then existing hymns of the eighth and ninth *mandalas* were set apart for the purpose of being chanted at the Soma-sacrifice. In course of time—hand in hand with the fuller development of the Soma ritual and the gradual influx of new hymn material which was either incorporated with the old collections or formed into a new *mandala*—additional chants (or more suitable ones in the place of those hitherto

There are in the present ritual traces to be found, that the *Hotar* actually must have performed part of the duties of the *Adhvaryu*.' Ait. Br. I, p. 31.

used) might be required and selected from the hymns of other *mandalas*. In its original connected form, the material of these chants would naturally remain all along an essential part of the *R̥ik-saṃhitā*, for the use of the *Hotri* and Brahman priests; and thus each of these two collections would henceforth have a history of its own, and discrepancies in the texts common to both would gradually become more and more numerous.

The sacrificial texts used by the *Adhvaryu* priest are contained in the *Yagur-veda*, of which several recensions have come down to us. These texts consist, in about equal parts, of verses (*r̥ik*) and prose formulas (*yagus*). The majority of the former are likewise found in the *R̥ik-saṃhitā*, though not unfrequently with considerable variations, which may be explained partly from a difference of recension, and partly as the result of the adaptation of these verses to their special sacrificial purpose¹. With the prose formulas, on the other hand, save a few isolated sacrificial calls alluded to in the *R̥ik*², we meet for the first time in this collection. In the older recensions of the *Yagur-veda* the texts are, as a rule, followed immediately by their dogmatic explanation. Now, these theological treatises, composed chiefly with the view of elucidating the sacrificial texts and explaining the origin and hidden meaning of the various rites, form one of the most important departments of the literature of the period which succeeded the systematic arrangement of the sacrificial ceremonial, and in which we must place the gradual consolidation of the Brâhmanical hierarchy. Such as they lie before us, they contain the accumulated wisdom and speculations of generations of Indian divines. They are essentially digests of a floating mass of single discourses or *dicta* on various points of the ceremonial of worship, ascribed to individual teachers, and handed down orally in the theological schools. Single discourses of this kind were called *brâhmana*,—probably either because they were intended for the instruction and guidance of priests

¹ See A. Weber, *History of Indian Literature*, pp. 9, 115.

² See M. Haug, *Ait. Br. I*, p. 34.

(brahman) generally ; or because they were, for the most part, the authoritative utterances of such as were thoroughly versed in Vedic and sacrificial lore and competent to act as Brahmins or superintending priests¹. In later times a collection or digest of such detached pieces came to be likewise called a *Brāhmaṇa*. Works of this kind have come down to us in connection with all the Vedic *Samhitās*, generally in more than one version which, though on the whole betraying a common stock of material, often vary considerably, both in their arrangement and their treatment of these materials. Nay, owing as they do their origin to different schools of the same Veda, these recensions not unfrequently take the very opposite view of single points of ceremonial. Originally the number of such recensions, more or less differing from each other, must have been much larger ; but the practical tendencies of a later age, which led to the production of concise manuals of ceremonial rules—the *Kalpa-sūtras*—adapted to the sacrificial practices of more than one school, were not favourable to the perpetuation of these bulky cyclopædias of theological school-wisdom : thus only the *Brāhmaṇas* of the schools which had the greatest number of followers survived ; while others were probably never committed to writing, or at best had a precarious existence down to more recent times.

While the *Brāhmaṇas* are thus our oldest sources from which a comprehensive view of the sacrificial ceremonial can be obtained, they also throw a great deal of light on the earliest metaphysical and linguistic speculations of the Hindus. Another, even more interesting feature of these works, consists in the numerous legends scattered through them. From the archaic style in which these mythological tales are generally composed, as well as from the fact that not a few of them are found in *Brāhmaṇas* of different schools and Vedas, though often with considerable varia-

¹ See Max Müller, *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 172 ; *Rig-veda-samhitā* IV, p. vi. Professors Weber (*History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 11), Whitney, Westergaard, and other scholars derive *brāhmaṇa* from *brāhman*, 'prayer, worship.'

tions, it is pretty evident that the ground-work of many of them goes back to times preceding the composition of the Brāhmanas. From a mythological, and to some extent from a linguistic, point of view these legends thus form a connecting link between the latter and the Vedic hymns. In the case of some of these legends—as those of Sunah-sepha¹ and the fetching of the Soma from heaven²—we can even see how they have grown out of germs contained in the Vedic hymns; their relation to the latter being thus not unlike that of the Sagas of the younger Edda to the songs of the older Edda. The Kaushîtaki Brāhmaṇa³, at the end of a story of this kind about Soma, remarks that it is thus told by those versed in legend (ākhyānavidaḥ). We may perhaps infer from this passage that there was a class of people who took a special interest in such legends, and made it their business to collect and repeat them. Indeed, many of the elaborate mythical stories with which we meet in the later epical and Purāṇic literature doubtless owe their origin to simple popular legends of this kind⁴.

Besides the genuine myths which we find in the Brāhmanas, there is also a large number of stories which were evidently invented by the authors of these treatises for the purpose of supplying some kind of traditional support for particular points of ceremonial⁵. However small the intrinsic merit of such passages, they, too, are not entirely devoid of interest, especially from a linguistic point of view, since the style of narrative and the archaic mode of diction which they affect, readily lend themselves to syntactic turns of expression rarely indulged in by the authors in the purely explanatory and exegetic parts of their works. And, indeed, whatever opinion the general reader may form of the Brāhmanas, as purely literary com-

¹ See R. Roth in Weber's Ind. Stud. I, 475 seq.; II, 111 seq.; Max Müller, History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 408 seq.

² See the present volume, p. 183. Compare also Professor Aufrecht's remarks on the myth of Apâlâ, Ind. Stud. IV, p. 8.

³ K. B. III, 25; cf. Weber, Ind. Stud. II, 313.

⁴ Cf. Max Müller, Upanishads, I, p. 39 note.

⁵ See, for instance, Sat. Br. II, 4, 3, 1, where a legend of this kind seems to be directly ascribed to Yâgyavalkya.

positions—and, assuredly, it cannot be a very high one—to the Sanskrit student these works (together with their supplements, the *Āranyakas*; and their metaphysical appendages, the *Upanishads*) are of the highest importance as the only genuine prose works which the Sanskrit, as a popular language, has produced. For the comparative study of syntax, which has been taken up with such signal success by Professor Delbrück and other scholars, the *Brāhmaṇas* offer a rich field of enquiry. Nor is the style of these compositions—with its compact grammatical forms and expressive particles, and its habitual employment of the *oratio directa* instead of dependent clauses—without a certain rough beauty of its own, which, however, almost entirely evaporates in a rendering into modern analytical speech. And notwithstanding the general emptiness of the speculations of the Indian theologians, ‘there are,’ as Professor Max Müller observes¹, ‘passages in the *Brāhmaṇas* full of genuine thought and feeling, and most valuable as pictures of life, and as records of early struggles, which have left no trace in the literature of other nations.’

Although the *Adhvaryus*, who had to perform all the manual work connected with the sacrifice, were originally looked upon as a subordinate class of priests, their office seems to have risen in the general estimation with the increasing importance that was attributed to the endless details of the ceremonial. In a passage of the *Taittirīya Upanishad* (2, 3), the *Yagus* is said to be the head, the *Rik* the right side, the *Sāman* the left side, the *Ādesa*² the soul, and the *Atharvāṅgiras* (*Atharva-veda*) the tail. With better reason the *Yagur-veda* might be called the body of the sacrifice, since it contains almost the entire apparatus of sacrificial formulas, while the other ritualistic works are concerned, either chiefly or entirely, with the *Soma-sacrifice*. As a matter of fact, no other *Veda* has given rise to so large a number of schools as the *Yagur-*

¹ History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 408.

² That is, the *Brāhmaṇa*, according to *Saṅkara*. In *Sat. Br.* IV, 6, 7, 6, the *Rik* and *Sāman* are identified with Speech, and the *Yagus* with the Mind.

veda¹. The numerous subdivisions of the Adhvaryus trace their origin to either of two principal schools, an older and a younger one, the latter of which is itself an offshoot of the former. The oral transmission of the large body of exegetic and legendary matter attached to the sacrificial formulas could hardly fail, in course of time, to produce considerable variations, in different localities, both as regards the wording and the arrangement of these works. Different schools would naturally arise,—each with its own approved recension of the traditional texts,—which in their turn would sooner or later become liable to the same process of disintegration. Such, indeed, has been the case, more or less, with all the Vedic texts, until mechanical means were devised to arrest this process of change. The names of many such subdivisions of the older Yagur-veda are recorded; but hitherto the recensions of only three of them have come to light,—viz. the *Kâṭhaka*, the *Maitrāyaṇî-saṃhitâ*, and the *Taittirīya-saṃhitâ*. The two former texts belong to subdivisions of the *Kaṭhas* and *Maitrāyaṇīyas*, two branches of the old school of the *Karakas* or *Karakādhvaryus*. The *Taittirīyas*, on the other hand, seem to have been an independent branch of the old Yagus², the origin of which is ascribed to a teacher named Tittiri. Their text has come down to us in the recension of one of its subdivisions³, the *Āpastambins*.

The chief characteristic of the old Yagus texts consists, as has already been indicated, in the constant inter-

¹ Except, perhaps, the *Sāma-veda*, which, in the *Karavyūha*, is said to have counted a thousand schools; though that work itself enumerates only seven schools, one of them with five subdivisions. The number of teachers mentioned in connection with this Veda is, however, very considerable.

² As such, at least, the *Taittirīyas* are mentioned in the *Karavyūha*. The term *Karaka*, however, is also (e. g. in the *Pratigñā-sūtra*) applied to the schools of the Black Yagus generally. If the Berlin MS. of the *Kâṭhaka* professes, in the colophon, to contain the *Karaka* text of the work (which Professor Weber takes to refer to the *Kārāyaṇīyâṭ*), the *Karaka-sākhâ* of the *Kâṭhaka* has perhaps to be understood in contradistinction to those portions of the *Kâṭhaka* which have been adopted by the *Taittirīyas* and incorporated into their *Brāhmaṇa*.

³ The *Taittirīyas* divide themselves into two schools, the *Aukhīyas* and the *Khândikīyas*; the *Āpastambins* are a subdivision of the latter branch. We have also the list of the contents (*anakramanī*) of the *Ātreyas*, a subdivision of the *Aukhīyas*.

mingling of the sacrificial formulas and the explanatory or Brâhmana portions. It was with the view of remedying this want of arrangement, by entirely separating the exegetic matter from the formulas, that the new school of Adhvaryus was founded. The name given to this school is Vâgasaneyins, its origin being ascribed to Yâgñavalkya Vâgasaneya. The result of this new redaction of the Yagus texts was the formation of a Samhitâ, or collection of mantras, and a Brâhmana. This re-arrangement was doubtless undertaken in imitation of the texts of the Hotri priests, who had a Brâhmana¹ of their own, while their sacrificial prayers formed part of the Rîk-samhitâ. Indeed, the Taittirîyas themselves became impressed with the desirability of having a Brâhmana of their own,—and attained their object by the simple, if rather awkward, expedient of applying that designation to an appendage to their Samhitâ, which exhibits the same mixture of mantra and brâhmana as the older work. They also incorporated a portion of the Kâthaka text into their Brâhmana and its supplement, the Taittirîyâranyaka. Of all the schools of the old Yagus those of the Taittirîyas seem to have attracted by far the greatest number of adherents; and in southern India their texts have continued pre-eminently the subject of study till the present day. In northern India, on the other hand, they have been largely superseded by their later rivals. On account of the lucid arrangement of their sacred texts, the Vâgasaneyins called them the White (sukla) Yagur-veda; the term of Black or Dark (krishna) Yagur-veda being, for the opposite reason, applied to the texts of the older schools. In later times, an absurd story was invented (doubtless by followers of the White Yagus), in which the origin of the name Taittirîya is connected with the word tittiri², in the sense of ‘partridge.’

¹ It has come down to us in two different recensions, the Aitareya and the Kaushîtaki (or Sâukhâyana) Brâhmana.

² Professor Weber, however, thinks there may be some reason for this derivation; the name of Taittirîya having perhaps been applied to this school on account of the motley (partridge-like) character of its texts. According to the story alluded to, Yâgñavalkya, having been taught the old Yagus texts by Vaisampâyana, incurred the displeasure of his teacher, and was forced by him to disgorge the sacred science which, on falling to the ground, became soiled

The Brāhmana of the Vāgasaneyins bears the name of Satapatha, that is, the Brāhmana 'of a hundred paths,' because it consists of a hundred lectures (adhyāyas). Both the Vāgasaneyi-samhitā and the Satapatha-brāhmana have come down to us in two different recensions, those of the Mādhyandina and the Kāṇva schools. Of the latter recension of the Brāhmana, however, three books out of seventeen are wanting in the European libraries and have, as far as I know, not yet been discovered in India. The Mādhyandina text both of the Samhitā and the Brāhmana has been edited by Professor Weber; the former with the various readings of the Kāṇva recension. To the same scholar we owe a German translation of the first adhyāya of the first kanda¹; and he has, moreover, subjected the entire accessible literature of the White Yagur-veda—with the exception of the Kāṇva text of the Brāhmana—to a careful examination, and has extracted from it all that seems calculated to throw light on its history, so that in this respect little remains to those who come after him but to state the results of his enquiries. Professor Max Müller, in his History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, has also fully discussed the questions regarding the date and authorship of these texts, and has done much to clear up what was obscure in their relations to the older Yagus texts and to Vedic literature generally. Many points, however, still remain doubtful; and, above all, opinions are as divided as ever regarding the approximate date of the teacher with whose name tradition connects the origin of the modern school of the Adhvaryus.

The schools of the Vāgasaneyins are stated to have been either fifteen or seventeen; and their names are given, though with considerable variations, in different works. No distinct traces, however, have as yet been discovered of any recensions besides the two already referred to. As regards the names of these two,—the Mādhyandina and Kāṇva,—the latter is the name of one of the chief families of Rishis

(hence Black Yagus), and was picked up by Yāgñavalkya's condisciples, who had assumed the form of partridges. This story seems first to occur in the Purāṇas; see Wilson's translation of the Vishnu Purāṇa (ed. Hall), III, p. 54. Pāṇini (IV, 3, 102) and Patañjali only know of the Taittirīya texts as 'promulgated by Tittiri.'

¹ Zeitsch. der D. M. G., IV, p. 289 seq.; reprinted in Indische Streifen I, p. 31 seq.

of the *R̥ik-samhitā*; and certain orthoepic peculiarities of the Yagus texts of the *Kāṇvas* would seem to favour the assumption of a connection of this school with the redaction of the *R̥ik*. The name of the *Mādhyandinas*, literally 'meridional,' on the other hand, does not occur in the older literature. Nor can we draw any definite conclusions, as to the probable date of their recension, from Lassen's identification of this name with the *Μαυδιαδινοί*, mentioned by Megasthenes (as quoted by Arrian) as a people on the banks of a tributary of the Ganges; or from Professor Weber's conjecture that the *Mādhyandina* school may have taken its origin among that people.

The *Mādhyandina* text of the *Satapatha* is divided into fourteen books (*kāṇḍa*). For several reasons, however, some of these books have to be assigned to a later period than the others. In the first place, the twelfth *kāṇḍa* is called *madhyama*, 'the middle one;' a fact which in itself would suggest the idea that, at the time when this nomenclature was adopted, the last five books (or perhaps books 11-13) were regarded as a separate portion of the work¹. Besides, *Patañgali*, in a *kārikā* or memorial couplet to *Pāṇ.* IV, 2, 60, mentions the words *shashṭhipatha* ('consisting of sixty paths') and *satapatha*, with the view of forming derivative nouns from them, in the sense of one who studies such works. Now, as the first nine books of the *Satapatha*, in the *Mādhyandina* text, consist of sixty *adhyāyas*, it was suggested by Professor Weber that it was probably this very portion of the work to which *Patañgali* applied the term '*shashṭhipatha*,' and that consequently the first nine books were at that time considered as, in some sense, a distinct work and were studied as such. This conjecture has been generally accepted. There is indeed a possibility that *Patañgali* may have been acquainted with some other

¹ The *Kāṇva* text is divided into seventeen books. *Kāṇḍas* 12-15 correspond to *Mādhyandina* 10-13; and *kāṇḍa* 16, which treats of the *Pravargya* ceremony, corresponds to the first three *adhyāyas* of the last *kāṇḍa* of the *Mādhyandinas*. Thus, in the *Kāṇva* recension the fourteenth *kāṇḍa*, called '*madhyama*,' is the middle one of *kāṇḍas* 12-16; the seventeenth *kāṇḍa*, or *Bṛihadāraṇyaka*, being apparently considered as a supplement. Perhaps this division is more original than that of the *Mādhyandinas*.

recension of the Brāhmaṇa of the Vāgasaneyins which consisted of only forty adhyāyas; but even in that case the latter would in all probability correspond to the first nine books of the Mādhyandina text. As regards the Kāṇva recension, we are unfortunately not yet able, owing to the want of some of its *kāṇḍas*, to determine its exact extent; and have to rely on a list added by a scribe on the front page of one of the *kāṇḍas* in the Oxford MS.¹, according to which that text consists of 104 adhyāyas. Still further evidence regarding the mutual relations of the several portions of our Brāhmaṇa is contained in a passage of the Mahābhārata (XII, 11739), where Yāgñavalkya relates that, at the inspiration of the Sun, he composed (*kakre*) the Satapatha, including² the Rahasya (mystery), the Samgraha (epitome), and the Parisishṭa (supplement). Now the tenth book is really called Agni-rahasya; while the eleventh contains a kind of summary of the preceding ritual; and *kāṇḍas* 12-14 treat of various other subjects. This relation between the first nine and the remaining five books is also fully borne out by internal evidence, as well as by a comparison with the Vāgasaneyi-saṃhitā. The latter consists of forty adhyāyas, the first eighteen of which contain the formulas of the ordinary sacrifices—the Havir-yagñas and Soma-sacrifice—and correspond to the first nine books of the Satapatha-brāhmaṇa. The succeeding adhyāyas have been clearly shown by Professor Weber³ to be later additions. As a rule only those formulas which are contained in the first eighteen adhyāyas are found in the Taittirīya-saṃhitā; while those of the later adhyāyas are given in the Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa.

At the end of the Satapatha the White Yagus is said to have been promulgated (*ā-khyā*) by Yāgñavalkya Vāgasaneyā. Now the name of this teacher is indeed more frequently met with in the Brāhmaṇa than that of any other;

¹ The accuracy of this list cannot be relied upon, as several mistakes occur in the number of *kāṇḍikās* there given. It is, however, unlikely that the scribe should have committed any mistake regarding the number of adhyāyas.

² Literally 'together with the rahasya (saṃhāsyam)'; &c.

³ History of Indian Literature, p. 107 seq.

especially in some of the later books where his professional connection with *Ganaka*, king of *Videha*, and his skill in theological disputations are favourite topics. As regards the earlier portion of the work, however, it is a remarkable fact that, while in the first five books *Yāgñavalkya*'s opinion is frequently recorded as authoritative¹, he is not once mentioned in the four succeeding *kāṇḍas* (6-9). The teacher whose opinion is most frequently referred to in these books, is *Sāṇḍilya*. This disagreement in respect of doctrinal authorities, coupled with unmistakable differences², stylistic as well as geographical and mythological, can scarcely be accounted for otherwise than by the assumption of a difference of authorship or original redaction. Now the subject with which these four *kāṇḍas* are chiefly concerned, is the *agnikāyana*, or construction of the sacred fire-altar. For reasons urged by Professor Weber, it would appear not improbable that this part of the ceremonial was specially cultivated in the north-western districts; and since the geographical allusions in these four *kāṇḍas* chiefly point to that part of India; while those of the other books refer almost exclusively to the regions along the Ganges and Jumna, we may infer from this that the fire-ritual, adopted by the *Vāgasaneyins* at the time of the first redaction of their texts—that is, of the first nine *kāṇḍas*, as far as the *Brāhmaṇa* is concerned—had been settled in the north-west of India.

Here, however, we meet with another difficulty. The tenth book, or *Agnirahasya*, deals with the same subject as the preceding four *kāṇḍas*; and here also *Sāṇḍilya* figures as the chief authority, while no mention is made of *Yāgñavalkya*. Moreover, at the end of that *kāṇḍa*, a list of teachers is given in which the transmission of the sacrificial science (either in its entirety, or only as regards the fire-ritual) is traced from a teacher *Tura Kāvasheya*—who is said to have received it from the god *Pragāpati*—downwards, through two intermediate teachers, to *Sāṇḍi-*

¹ See, however, *Sat. Br.* II, 5, 1, 2-3, where *Yāgñavalkya*'s opinion is referred to as being contrary to the *Rig-veda*.

² See Weber, *Ind. Stud.* XIII, p. 266 seq.

lya; and from thence, through six intermediate teachers, to *Sāmgîvi-putra*. Tura Kâvasheya is referred to in another passage of the tenth *kānda* (X, 6, 5, 9) as having built a fire-altar¹ to the gods at Kârotî; and in the *Aitareya-brâhmana* he is mentioned as the high-priest who officiated at the inauguration-ceremony of king Ganamegaya Pârîkshita, renowned in epic legend. From these indications we may, it seems to me, take it for certain that Tura Kâvasheya and *Sândilya* (the latter of whom is also held in high repute by the *Khandogas* or *Sāman*-priests) were regarded by the *Vâgasaneyins* as the chief arrangers, if not the originators, of the fire-ritual such as it was finally adopted by that school. On the other hand, we saw that the first nine books of the *Satapatha*, if their identification with *Patañgali's* 'shashîpatha' be correct, must have been regarded as, in some particular sense, a complete work. Now this combination of the fire-ritual in *kāndas* 6-9 with the complete exposition of the *Havir-yagña* and *Soma*-sacrifice, contained in the first five books, would seem to presuppose some kind of compromise between the two schools recognising *Yâgñavalkya* and *Sândilya* respectively as their chief authority. What, then, are we to understand to be the exact relations between the later *kāndas*, especially the tenth, and the earlier portion of the work? We do not, and could not, meet with such a term as '*katvârîmsat-patha*,' or work of forty paths, as applying to the last five *kāndas* of the *Satapatha*; their nature was too well understood for that, as we see from the passage of the *Mahâbhârata*, above referred to. The list of teachers at the end of the tenth *kānda* shows no sign of any amalgamation of the two schools up to the time of *Sāmgîvi-putra*, the last teacher mentioned in it: with one exception, it belongs exclusively to the *Sândilya* school. It contains, however, an additional remark to the effect that from *Sāmgîvi-putra* downward the list is 'identical,'—viz. with some other list. Now this remark can only refer to the *vamśa* given at the end of the last *kānda*. In this list the

¹ The author of this passage would seem to imply, though he does not exactly express it, that this was the first fire-altar built in the proper way.

transmission of the science of the Adhvaryus is traced—as far as human agency is concerned—from Kasyapa Naidhruvi, through nine teachers, to Yâgñavalkya, and thence, through four other teachers, to Sâmgîvi-putra¹. The only name which this list has in common with the former one, previous to Sâmgîvi-putra, is that of Kusri. According to the former list, he was the teacher of Sândilya, who, in his turn, taught Vâtsya². But since in the same book (X, 5, 5, 1) he is referred to as Vâgasravasa, and in the list at the end of the Satapatha he is set down as the pupil of Vâgasravasa, the same teacher is evidently referred to in both lists; and if we can at all rely on the authenticity of these *vamsas*, we should have to infer from this coincidence, that there was already some connection between the two schools prior to both Yâgñavalkya and Sândilya.

The two lines of teachers meet once more in the name of Sâmgîvi-putra. In the later list the succession of teachers

¹ I here give, side by side, the lists, in inverted order, from Sâmgîvi-putra upwards. For the complete lists, see Max Müller, History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 438 seq.

End of Book XIV.

- 58. Âditya.
- 57. Ambinî.
- 56. Vâk.
- 55. Kasyapa Naidhruvi.
- 54. Silpa Kasyapa.
- 53. Harita Kasyapa.
- 52. Asita Vârshagana.
- 51. Gihvâvat Bâdhyoga.
- 50. Vâgasravasa.
- 49. Kusri.
- 48. Upavesi.
- 47. Aruna.
- 46. Uddâlaka (Âruneya).
- 45. Yâgñavalkya (Vâgasaneya).
- 44. Âsuri.
- 43. Âsurâyana.
- 42. Prâsnî-putra (Âsurivâsin).
- 41. Kârakeyi-putra.
- 40. Sâmgîvi-putra.

End of Book X.

- (52) Brahman Svayambhu.
- (51) Pragâpati.
- (50) Tura Kâvasheya.
- (49) Yagñavalkas Râgastambâyana.
- (48) Kusri.
- (47) Sândilya.
- (46) Vâtsya.
- (45) Vâmakakshâyana.
- (44) Mâhitthi.
- (43) Kautsa.
- (42) Mândavya.
- (41) Mândûkâyani.
- (40) Sâmgîvi-putra.

Follow 39 names formed by the addition
of 'putra' to the mother's name.

(Same as elsewhere.)

² In the *Bṛihad-âraṇyaka* (Kâṇva) VI, 5, 4 the order is Kusri, Vâtsya, Sândilya.

is then continued by forty-nine more names—all of them formed by the addition of 'putra' (son) to the mother's name—which, it appears, we are to supply in the former list. According to Professor Max Müller¹, 'Sāṃgīvi-putra seems to have united two lines of teachers.' That this must have been the case, cannot be doubted, provided, of course, that the *vamsas* are trustworthy². Nay, I should even be inclined to assign to the time of Sāṃgīvi-putra the final adjustment of the ritual and its dogmatic exposition such as we find them in the Shashāpatha (and the first eighteen adhyāyas of the Vāgasaneyi-samhitā), and consequently the first redaction of that part of the Satapatha. Not that all the matter contained in the latter part of the work must necessarily be more modern. There can, on the contrary, be little doubt that much of it is quite as old as anything in the earlier books; and of the Madhukāṇḍa, which forms part of the Brīhad-āraṇyaka in the last book, we know at any rate, from a reference to the Madhu-brāhmana in the fourth kāṇḍa, that some such tract existed at that time. But such matter as, for some reason or other, was not included in the systematic exposition of the ceremonial, would naturally be in a less settled condition and more liable to modifications and additions.

According to the two lists, Sāṃgīvi-putra is removed from Sāṃdīlya by six intermediate teachers, the three older³ of whom are referred to in kāṇḍas 6-9; and from Yāgñā-

¹ History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 437.

² Professor Weber, Ind. Stud. II, 201 note, expresses his conviction that 'the *vamsas* are, on the whole, quite authentic; though they do not of course belong to the text, but are later additions; judging from the great number of names, some *vamsas* must have been added at a very late time.' It seems to me, however, that if the *vamsas* are at all authentic—and I see no reason for doubt as far as the two lists above referred to are concerned—we have rather to assume that the lists were kept from early times and gradually added to. On the other hand, little can be made of the two *vamsas* at the end of the Madhu and Yāgñavalkya kāṇḍas. They look rather like attempts—and very unsuccessful ones—at throwing several independent lists into one.

³ Viz., Vātsya IX, 5, 1, 62; Vāmakakshāyana VII, 1, 2, 11; Māhitthi VI, 2, 2, 10; VIII, 6, 1, 16 seq.; IX, 5, 1, 57. Not mentioned are Kautsa, Māṇḍavya, and Māṇḍūkāyani. A Māṇḍavya occurs in the twelfth book of the Mahābhārata, as a contemporary of Ganaka and Yāgñavalkya.

valkya by four intermediate teachers, the first of whom (Āsuri)¹ is repeatedly quoted in the second (and once each in the first, fourth, and fourteenth) *kāṇḍas*. Although these indications do not, of course, supply more than a *terminus a quo* for the final settlement of this part of the work, they would nevertheless seem to favour the supposition that the combination of the fire-ritual with the sacrificial system cannot have taken place at a time far removed from that of Sāṃgīvi-putra. The custom of forming metronymics by means of 'putra' is of some interest. It first shows itself in the predecessor of Sāṃgīvi-putra's teacher in the Yāgñavalkya line, and continues from thence down to the very end of the *vamśa*. Unfortunately, however, we have no means of ascertaining whether this custom had already been commonly practised, in certain localities, before that time, or whether, as seems to me more probable, it was a fashion of recent date. If the latter alternative could be proved, it might help to settle the chronological relations between Yāgñavalkya and Pāṇini, since it would appear from Pāṇ. IV, 1, 159² (and VI, 1, 13), that the great grammarian was well acquainted, not only with the practice of forming metronymics of this kind, but also with that of forming patronymics from such metronymics.

The relative date of Pāṇini and Yāgñavalkya has been discussed more than once by Sanskrit scholars³; but no agreement has as yet been come to on what Goldstücker justly called 'one of the most important problems of Sanskrit literature.' The chief difficulty of this problem lies in the ambiguity of Kātyāyana's well-known *vārttika* to Pāṇ. IV, 3, 105. According to Pāṇini's rule the names

¹ He is also the *Rishi* of Vāg. S. III, 37.

² This rule, which applies to the people of the north, is not explained in the *Mahābhāṣya*. The *Kāśikā Vṛtti* gives the patronymics of Gārgīputra and Vātsīputra, both of whom occur in our *vamśa*. It is worthy of remark that Kavasha Ailūsha, who is mentioned in Ait. Br. II, 19, and to whom the hymns Rig-veda X, 30-34 are ascribed, is called Kavasha Ailūshīputra in the *Kāṇḍaka* 25, 7. Cf. Weber, *Ind. Stud.* III, pp. 459, 157, 485.

³ See especially Max Müller, *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 360 seq.; Goldstücker, *Pāṇini*, p. 132 seq.; Weber, *Ind. Stud.* V, 65 seq.; XIII, 443; Bühler, *Sacred-Laws of the Āryas*, I, p. xxxix note.

of Brāhmanas and Kalpas proclaimed by old (sages) are formed by the addition of the affix in (to the sages' names). As instances of Brāhmanas, the names of which are formed in this way, the Kāsikā Vṛtti gives Bhāllavinaḥ (proclaimed by Bhallu), Sātyayaninaḥ, Aitareyinaḥ. In accordance with this rule the texts of the White Yagus are called Vāgasaneyinaḥ. This name does not, however, occur in any of Pāṇini's rules, but follows only from the word 'vāgasaneya' being included in the gana 'saunakādi' to Pāṇ. IV, 3, 106; and since we have no evidence as to whether any of the words in a gana except the first really belong to Pāṇini, it must remain doubtful whether or not he knew of the existence of the school known by that name. Kātyāyana's vārttika runs thus: 'Among the Brāhmanas and Kalpas proclaimed by the old, there is an exception in regard to Yāgñavalkya and others, on account of contemporaneousness: hence (Yāgñavalkya's Brāhmanas are called, not Yāgñavalkinaḥ, but) Yāgñavalkāni Brāhmanāni; Saulabhāni B.' The question, then, is, Does Kātyāyana mean to say that the Brāhmanas proclaimed by Yāgñavalkya do not fall under this rule, because he was contemporary with Pāṇini,—and therefore not an old sage in the sense of the rule,—or, that those works should have been excepted by Pāṇini from his rule, because they are of the same age as those (old) Brāhmanas to which the rule applies? The former alternative was the one generally accepted, until the late Professor Goldstücker made known the text of Patañjali's and Kaiyaṭa's comments¹ on this vārttika. He showed that Kaiyaṭa, at least, clearly interprets it in the sense that Pāṇini should have excepted works like the Yāgñavalkāni Brāhmanāni, since they, too (api), are of the same age as the Sātyayaninaḥ and others. The Mahābhāshya, on the other hand, is not quite so explicit. It merely says that the Yāgñavalkāni Brāhmanāni &c. ought to have been excepted, because they, too (api), are of the same age. Goldstücker naturally took this explanation to convey the same meaning as that of Kaiyaṭa. This view was, however, controverted by

¹ Pāṇini, p. 138.

Professor Weber in his review of Goldstücker's 'Pāṇini.' The interpretation of the *vārttika* adopted in the *Kāśikā Vṛtti*—according to which Pāṇini's rule does not apply to those works, because Yāgñavalkya and others are not old authorities in the sense of Pāṇini's rule—is likewise rejected by him, since in that case Kātyāyana's exception would be no exception at all. On the other hand, Professor Weber thinks that, if we accept Kaiyaṣa's interpretation, Kātyāyana's additional remark 'on account of contemporaneity' would be entirely superfluous. He, therefore, proposes, in the passage of the *Mahābhāṣya*, to take 'api' in the sense of 'even,' and to interpret the passage thus¹: 'Among the Brāhmaṇas and Kalpas proclaimed by the ancients, Pāṇini ought to have made an exception in regard to Yāgñavalkya &c., because the Brāhmaṇas and Kalpas proclaimed by them, though indeed going back to ancient (sages), are nevertheless contemporaneous (with Pāṇini himself).' This rather paradoxical argumentation, on the part of Patañjali, would have to be understood to mean, that the Yāgñavalkāni Brāhmaṇāni and similar works, though ascribed to old authorities, are in reality modern productions; or—if we may venture to express it in somewhat different words—Pāṇini ought to have made an exception in regard to works which, in point of fact, are no exception at all. Now, if this be the correct interpretation, I can only say this—that, had Patañjali been anxious to conceal his real meaning, he could scarcely have done so more effectually than by choosing words which, at first sight, look as clear as day.

Professor Bühler², who has recently touched upon this controversy, sides with Kaiyaṣa and Goldstücker; and I, too, can take no other view. But, like him, I see no necessity for accepting the inferences which Goldstücker has drawn from this *vārttika*, viz. that we have to assume so long an interval between Pāṇini and Kātyāyana, that authors, whom Kātyāyana considered as far older than Pāṇini, were in reality his contemporaries. This assumption, surely, would involve a degree of ignorance, on the part of

¹ Ind. Stud. V, 68 seq.; XIII, 443.

² Sacred Laws of the Āryas, I, p. xxxix note.

Kātyāyana, regarding the age of Pāṇini, such as would seem altogether unaccountable. The weakness of Goldstücker's argument lies in his identification of the Yāgñavalkāni Brāhmaṇāni with the Brāhmaṇa of the Vāgasaneyins. With Professor Weber I believe that Pāṇini was perfectly well acquainted with the term 'Vāgasaneyinaḥ,' but saw no occasion for specially mentioning it in his rules. Surely, if his silence could possibly have been construed into an act of negligence, Kātyāyana, who was so intimately connected with the White Yagus that, on Goldstücker's own showing, he composed the Vāgasaneyi-prātisākhya before he wrote his vārttikas, would have been the first to notice it. The Yāgñavalkāni Brāhmaṇāni, in their relation to the sacred canon of the school, seem to me to stand somewhat on a par with the 'Tittirīnā proktāḥ slokāḥ¹,' which, in Patañjali's time, were excluded from the term 'Taittirīyāḥ' as uncanonical, and which Professor Weber would identify, perhaps rightly, with some portions of the Taittirīyāranyaka. Both kinds of tracts probably belong to the last floating materials of Advaryu tradition, which had not yet been incorporated with the canon. Whether or not the Yāgñavalkāni Brāhmaṇāni form part of the text of the Satapatha which has come down to us, and what exact portions of that text we have to understand by this designation, must remain uncertain for the present. Most probably, however, we have to look for them to certain portions of the last book (or books) in which Yāgñavalkya figures so prominently. If we had a complete copy of the Kāṇva recension, we might perhaps be in a better position for forming an opinion on this subject; for if that version should really turn out to consist of 104 adhyāyas, four of these adhyāyas may have to be considered as a later interpolation; and the fact might have become obscured in the Mādhyandina recension by a different division of the text². But, however this may

¹ Mahābhāṣhya on Pāṇ. IV, 2, 66; 3, 104.

² Possibly, however, this redundancy may have been caused by the insertion of the third or uddhārī-kāṇḍa, consisting of 124 kāṇḍikās, to which there seems to be nothing corresponding in the Mādhyandina text. We have no MS. of this particular kāṇḍa. I may also mention that, while in the first kāṇḍa (or second Kāṇva), the Mādhyandinas count 9, and the Kāṇvas 8 adhyāyas,—in the fourth kāṇḍa (or

be, it appears to me quite intelligible why such portions should have been considered as of equal age to the body of the work ; in fact they would probably go back to about the same time as some of the earlier portions ; only that, owing to a longer state of uncertain transmission, they may have been more liable to changes and additions. If these tracts are not mentioned by Pāṇini, it may be an accidental omission on his part, or he may not have been aware of their existence, for geographical or other reasons : we can hardly expect Pāṇini to have been so intimately acquainted with the Yagur texts as Kātyāyana. As regards the dates of Kātyāyana and Patañjali, I accept with Professor Bühler and others, as by far the most probable, the fourth and the middle of the second century B.C. respectively.

Under the title of Vāgasaneyaka, the Satapatha-brāhmaṇa is quoted once in Lātyāyana's Srauta-sūtra IV, 12, 12 ; but I have not been able to find the passage either in the Mādhyandina text or in that part of the Kāṇva text which I have hitherto had at my disposal, viz. kāṇdas I, II, IV-VII (Kāṇva). Far more frequently the work is quoted, either as Vāgasaneyaka or as Vāgasaneyi-brāhmaṇa, by Āpastamba, both in his Srauta and his Dharma-sūtras. On comparing one of these quotations in the Dharma-sūtras (I, 4, 12, 3) with the corresponding passage in the Mādhyandina recension, Professor Bühler found that 'its wording possessed just sufficient resemblance to allow us to identify the passage which Āpastamba meant, but differed from the Satapatha-brāhmaṇa in many details¹.' From this he naturally inferred that Āpastamba probably took his quotations from the Kāṇva recension. Now, although I have not been able to compare this particular passage with the Kāṇva text², I have done so regarding a number of other passages quoted from Āpastamba in Karka's commentary on the Kātiya-Srauta-sūtra. The result was that in no single case did Āpastamba's quotations agree with the corresponding passages in the Kāṇva,

fifth Kāṇva), on the other hand, the Kāṇvas have 8, instead of 6 adhyāyas ; and in the fifth kāṇda (or sixth and seventh Kāṇvas) they have together 7, instead of 5 adhyāyas.

¹ Bühler, loc. cit. p. xxv. ² The passage occurs in Mādhyandina XI, 5, 6, 3.

any more than they did with those of the Mādhyandina text¹. In some cases they came nearer to the one text, in others to the other. To several quotations, again, I could find nothing corresponding in either text. Now, supposing the quotations, as given by Karka, to be on the whole correct, there seem to be only two ways of accounting for these discrepancies, viz. either Āpastamba did not mean to quote the passages literally, but only to give the substance of them ; or he had a third recension of the Satapatha before him. While some passages would seem to be in favour of the former alternative, others would scarcely admit of this explanation. This question, however, requires further investigation, before it can be definitely settled. In connection with this question the fact will also have to be taken into account, that Kātyāyana, in composing his Vāgasaneyi-prātisākhya, seems to have had before him a different recension of the Samhitā, from those of the Kāṇva and Mādhyandina schools².

Professor Bühler appears to be inclined to place Āpastamba somewhere about the fifth century B.C.; and though probably he himself does not consider the reasons he adduces as conclusive, they seem at any rate to show that that writer cannot have lived later than the third century B.C. From

¹ I select a few passages :—

1. Āp. (Kāty. VII, 1, 36). *prāgvamsasya madhyamam sthûnârâgam âlabhya gapatîti vâgasaneyakam.*
Mādhy. III, 1, 1, 11. *sa pûrvârdhyam sthûnârâgam abhipadyaitad yagur âha.*
Kāṇva IV, 1, 1, 7. *sâ yāsau varshishîkâ pûrvârdhe sâlâsthûnâ bhavati tām abhipadya gapati.*
2. Āp. (Kāty. V, 3, 6). *atrâpi mesham ka meshîm ka karotîti vâgasaneyakam.*
Mādhy. II, 5, 2, 15. *tatrâpi mesham ka meshîm ka kurvanti.*
Kāṇva I, 5, 1, 13. *mesham ka vâ api meshîm ka kurvanti.*
3. Āp. (Kāty. VII, 2, 34). (*vritrasya kanînikâstîti traikakudênâṅganenânkte*) *yadi traikadukam nâdhigakkhed yenaiva kenâṅganenânṅgîti vâgasaneyakam.*
Mādhy. III, 1, 3, 12. (*traikadukam bhavati; yatra vâ indro vritram aham tasya yad akshy âstî tam girim trikakudam akarot . . .*) *yadi traikakudam na vinded apy atraikakudam eva syât samânî hy evâṅganasya bandhutâ.*
Kāṇva IV, 1, 3, 10. (*tat traikakudam syât; yatra vâ indro vritram aham tasya ha yâ kanînakâsa yak lakshus tam etam girim lakâra trikakudam; sa yat traikakudam bhavati lakshushy evaitak lakshur dadhâtî*); *yadi traikakudam na vinded api yad eva kiṇka syât.*
4. Āp. (Kāty. VII, 3, 28). *ûshnîshena pradakshinam siro veshîyata iti vâgasaneyakam.*
Mādhy. III, 2, 1, 16–17. *sa prornute.*
Kāṇva IV, 2, 1, 11–12. *athainam prornoti,—sa prornoti.*

² See Weber, Ind. Stud. IV, p. 69.

the fact that Svetaketu, the son of Uddālaka Āruṇi, the reputed teacher (and rival¹) of Yāgñavalkya, is counted by Āpastamba among the Avaras or moderns, Dr. Bühler infers that the promulgator of the White Yagur cannot have preceded Āpastamba 'by a longer interval than, at the utmost, two or three hundred years.' That the two authors may not have been separated from each other by a longer interval seems likely enough; but, on the other hand, Āpastamba, by his remark, pays no very great compliment to the inspired texts of his own school, since Aruna Aupavesi, the grandfather of Svetaketu Āruṇeya, is twice referred to in the Taittirīya-saṃhitā².

The geographical and ethnical allusions contained in the Satapatha-brāhmaṇa have been carefully collected by Professor Weber³. With the exception of those in *kāṇḍas* 6–10, as I have already remarked, they point almost exclusively to the regions along the Ganges and Jumna. In the legend about Videgha Māthava⁴, and his Purohita Gotama Rāhūgaṇa, tradition seems to have preserved a reminiscence of the eastward spread of Brāhmanical civilisation. Among the peoples that occupied those regions, a prominent position is assigned in the Satapatha to the closely-allied Kuru-Paṇḍkālās. The Kurus occupied the districts between the Jumna and Ganges—the so-called Madhyadesa or middle country—and the Paṇḍkālās bordered on them towards the south-east. According to Sat. Br. XIII, 5, 4, 7, the Paṇḍkālās were in olden times called Krivi; and a tribe of this name is evidently referred to in Rig-veda VIII, 20, 24; (22, 12)⁵, in connection with the rivers Sindhu and Asiknī. The Kurus, on the other hand, are not directly referred to in the *R̥ik*; but a king Kurusravana, 'glory of the Kurus,' and a patron with the epithet Kaurayāṇa are mentioned in the hymns. In Aitar. Br. VIII, 14, the Uttara (northern) Kurus, together with the Uttara-Madras, are said to dwell beyond the Himālaya.

¹ See *Bṛih. Ār.* 3, 5, where he is defeated by Yāgñavalkya in disputation.

² Taitt. S. VI, 1, 9, 2; 4, 5, 1.

³ Ind. Stud. I, 187 seq.

⁴ See the present volume, p. 104, with note. It would have been safer to give the name as Videgha Māthava, instead of Māthava the Videgha.

⁵ See Ludwig, Rig-veda III, p. 205; Zimmer, Altindisches Leben, p. 103.

From these indications Professor Zimmer infers that, in the times of the hymns, the Kurus and Krivis—whose names evidently are merely variations of the same word—may have lived together in the valleys of Kāsmīr, on the upper Indus; and he also offers the ingenious conjecture, that we may have to look for the Kuru-Krivis in the twin-people of the Vaikarṇau, mentioned in Rig-veda VII, 18, 11. The names of the principal teachers of the Satapatha mark them as belonging to the land of the Kuru-Pañkâlas; and as in I, 7, 2, 8, preference is given to a certain sacrificial practice on the ground that it is the one obtaining among these peoples, it seems highly probable that the redaction of the work, or at least of the older portion of it, took place among the Kuru-Pañkâlas¹. A prince² of Pañkâla, Pravâhana Gaivali, is mentioned XIV, 9, 1, 1, in connection with Yâgñavalkya's teacher, Uddâlaka Âruni.

East of the Madhyadesa, we meet with another confederacy of kindred peoples, of hardly less importance than the Kuru-Pañkâlas, at the time of the redaction of the Brâhmana, viz. the Kosala-Videhas. In the legend above referred to they are said to be the descendants of Videgha Mâthava, and to be separated from each other by the river Sadânîrâ (either the modern Gandakî or Karatoyâ). The country of the Videhas, the eastern branch of this allied people, corresponding to the modern Tirhut or Puraniya, formed in those days the extreme east of the land of the Âryas. In the later books of the Satapatha, king Ganaka of Videha appears as one of the principal promoters of the Brâhmanical religion, and especially as the patron of Yâgñavalkya. In XI, 6, 2, 1, Ganaka is repre-

¹ The passage III, 2, 3, 15, where the Kuru-Pañkâlas are apparently placed in the north—in direct contradiction to XI, 4, 1, 1, where they are placed in opposition to the Northerners (udîkyaḥ)—seems to go against this supposition. Professor Weber, Ind. Stud. I, 191, tries to get over this difficulty by translating Kurupañkâlatrâ by 'as among the Kuru-Pañkâlas,' instead of 'among the Kuru-Pañkâlas;' so that the meaning of the passage would be that 'the same language is spoken in the northern region, as among the Kuru-Pañkâlas.' Unfortunately, however, the Kâṇva text of the passage is not favourable to this interpretation. It runs as follows (K. IV, 2, 7, 10):—udîkīm pathayâ svastyâ vâg vai pathyâ svastis tasmâd atrottarâhai vâg vadatītyâhuḥ kurupañkâleshu kurumahāvisheshv ity etām hi tayâ disam prâgânann eṣhâ hi tasyâ dik pragñâtâ.

² He is styled râganyabandhu in Kâṇdogyop. V, 3, 5.

sented as meeting, apparently for the first time, with Svetaketu Āruneya, Somasushma Sâtyayagñi, and Yâgñavalkya, while they were travelling (dhâvayadbhiḥ). Probably we are to understand by this that these divines had then come from the west to visit the Videha country. A considerable portion of the *Bṛihadâraṇyaka* deals with learned disputations which Yâgñavalkya was supposed to have held at Ganaka's court with divers sages and with the king himself. In *Bṛih. Ār. II, 1, 1* (and *Kaush. Up. IV, 1*) Ganaka's fame as the patron of Brâhmanical sages is said to have aroused the jealousy of his contemporary, Agâta-satru, king of the Kâsis¹. The name Ganaka is also interesting on account of its being borne likewise by the father of Sitâ, the wife of Râma. Unfortunately, however, there is not sufficient evidence to show that the two kings are identical. With the legend of the other great epic, the *Satapatha* offers more points of contact; but on this subject also no definite results have as yet been obtained, it being still doubtful whether the internecine strife between the royal houses of the Kurus and Pañkâlas which, according to the late Professor Lassen, forms the central fact of the legend of the *Mahâbhârata*, had not yet taken place at the time of the *Satapatha-brâhmana*, or whether it was already a thing of the past². In the *Mahâbhârata*, I, 4723, Pându, in speaking to his wife Kuntî, mentions Svetaketu, the son of the Maharshi Uddâlaka, as having lived 'not long ago'³.

As regards the two recensions of the *Satapatha-brâhmana*, this is hardly the place to enter into any detailed discussion of their mutual relations. Nor is my acquaintance with the *Kâṇva* text as yet sufficiently extensive to do justice to this important question. I intend, however, to publish before long a number of extracts from several *kândas* of this recension,—including the text of all the

¹ They occupied the country about the modern Benares (Kâśī).

² *Dhṛitarâshṭra Vaikitravīrya*, whose sons and nephews form the chief parties of this great feud, is mentioned in the *Kâṭhaka* 10, 6. From this passage—which, unfortunately, is not in a very good condition in the Berlin MS.—it would appear that animosities had then existed between the Kurus and Pañkâlas. It is doubtful, however, whether this part of the *Kâṭhaka* is older than the bulk of the *Satapatha*. See Weber, *Ind. Stud.* III, 469 seq.

³ See Weber, *Ind. Stud.* I, 176.

legends as well as other portions which seemed to me of special interest,—from which Sanskrit scholars will be able to form an opinion regarding the exact nature of the variations between the two versions. In my notes to the present translation of the first two *kāṇḍas*, I have considered it desirable occasionally to notice some of the *variae lectiones* of the *Kāṇva* school; it should, however, be understood that these readings have been given solely on the authority of the Oxford MS., for the loan of which I am deeply indebted to the liberality of the Curators of the Bodleian Library. With the aid of the Paris MS., the use of which has also just been kindly granted to me, I hope soon to be able to verify these extracts. For most of the *kāṇḍas*, from the fourth¹ onwards, our materials have been lately enriched by a copy which Mr. Whitley Stokes has had made for Professor Weber from a Benares MS.

The various readings of the *Kāṇva* recension of the *Vāgasaneyi-samhitā* have been given in Professor Weber's edition, at the end of each *kāṇḍa*. They may be said to consist either of mere verbal variations or of additional mantras. In regard to these readings the *Brāhmaṇa* of the same school exhibits a feature which may have an important bearing on the textual criticism of the *Samhitā*. While the *Brāhmaṇa* generally shows the same verbal variations in the sacrificial texts as the *Samhitā*, it, as a rule, takes no notice whatever of the additional mantras, but agrees in this respect pretty closely with the *Mādhyandina* text. Indeed, so far as I am able to judge, the two relations seem to coincide almost entirely, as far as the subject-matter is concerned; the differences, considerable as they sometimes are, being rather of a grammatical and stylistic nature. Occasional omissions, which I have hitherto noticed², may perhaps turn out to be due to the carelessness of scribes. As regards the additional mantras referred to, they may have found their way into the *Samhitā* at the time when the *Sūtras*

¹ Viz. *kāṇḍas* 4-7, 9, 10, 12, 14-17.

² For instance, the *brāhmaṇas* *Mādhy.* I, 4, 3; II, 3, 2 and 3; IV, 5, 10; 6, 8 are wanting in the Oxford MS.; see p. 338, note 3.—In the fourth (fifth *Kāṇva*) *kāṇḍa*, the *Kāṇvas*, on the other hand, have two *brāhmaṇas* (V, 7, 5; 8, 2, the latter of which treats of the *adābhya* *graha*, *Vāg. S. VIII, 47-50*) which are not found in the *Mādhyandina* text.

were composed; though, it is true, they do not as a rule appear in the Kâṭiya-sūtra, and no other sūtra of the White Yagus, as far as I know, has hitherto come to light¹. On the other hand, as there are also not a few mantras in the Mādhyandina Samhitâ², which are not noticed in the Brâhmana of that school, this question must be left for future investigation.

I have already referred to the connection which seems to have existed between the Kânva school of the White Yagus and the redactors of the *Rik-samhitâ*. One of the chief points of contact between our existing recension of the *Rik* and the Kânva text of the Yagur-veda is the use of the letters *l* and *lh* instead of *d* and *dh* used by the Mādhyandinas. Besides, the *riks* of the Kânva text generally approach more nearly to the readings of the Rig-veda than those of the other school. Another, even more interesting, feature which the Kânva recension has in common with the *Rik*, is the constant³ employment of the ordinary genitive and ablative of feminine bases, where the other Samhitâs and Brâhmanas generally use the dative; thus the Kânvas read 'tasyâh' instead of 'tasyai' (M. I, 1, 4, 16); 'gâyatriâh' instead of 'gâyatriyai' (I, 7, 1, 1); 'prithivyâh' instead of 'prithivyai' (I, 2, 5, 18); 'kumbhyâ bhastrâyâh' instead of 'kumbhyai bhastrâyai' (I, 1, 2, 7); 'stîrâyâ vedeh' instead of 'stîrâyai vedeh' (IV, 2, 5, 3); 'dhenoh' instead of 'dhenvai' (III, 1, 2, 21), &c. Thus the Kânva text is in this respect more in accordance with the *Rik-samhitâ* than even the Aitareya-brâhmana⁴. Again, the Kânvas seem to form the dative of feminine i-bases in accordance with the usual and older practice of the *Rik*; at least I find everywhere 'âhutaye' and 'guptaye' (as also in the Atharvan) instead of 'âhutyai' and 'guptyai' as the Mādhyandinas (and Taittirîyas) read⁵. Of minor points of grammatical

¹ Professor Weber thinks that the sūtra of Vaigavâpa, of which mention is occasionally made in the commentaries on the Kâṭiya-sūtra, may belong to the White Yagus. See History of Indian Literature, p. 142. Professor Bühler, Sacred Laws, I, p. xxvi, remarks that 'Kânva is considered the author of the still existing Kalpa-sūtras of the Kânva school;' but I have found no notice of these sūtras anywhere.

² That is, in those adhyâyas to which the Brâhmana forms a running commentary.

³ I have not met with any exception in the kâṇdas hitherto examined.

⁴ See Aufrecht, Ait. Br. p. 428. ⁵ See also the form 'dhenoh' mentioned above.

differences may be mentioned the form 'nililye,' which occurs once in the Mādhyandina text (I, 2, 3, 1), and is otherwise only found in the Mahābhārata; while the Kāṇva recension has the periphrastic form (*nilayām kakre*), which the Mādhyandina text also offers in the other two cases (I, 6, 4, 1; IV, 1, 3, 1) in which the word occurs. On the other hand, the Kāṇvas seem to read invariably 'ātmani (dhā or kri),' where the Mādhyandinas have 'ātman,' which is also (doubtless on metrical grounds) the more usual formation in the Rīg-veda¹. Of cases of material differences I can only at present adduce the passage I, 1, 4, 12 (M.), where the Mādhyandina text is guilty of a transposition of the second and third castes, while that of the Kāṇvas gives them in the proper order. Though most of these points of difference between the two schools would seem to tell in favour of the higher antiquity of the Kāṇva text, there will always be great difficulty in deciding this question, as it is by no means impossible that these variations are entirely due to different local or family traditions. In favour of the latter alternative one or two other points may be mentioned. The Mādhyandina text, as has already been remarked, offers not a few grammatical and other differences between the first five and the succeeding four kāṇdas, or, as we may say, between the Yāgñavalkya and the Sāṇḍilya books of the Shashāpatha. Though I cannot speak with confidence on this point, as I have not yet examined the Kāṇva text of the Sāṇḍilya kāṇdas, I may refer here to at least two points in which the Kāṇvas, in the Yāgñavalkya portion, agree with the Sāṇḍilya portion of the Mādhyandina text, viz. the use of the imperfect (*asparidhanta*) instead of the perfect (*paspridhire*) in the opening clause of legends; and the frequent employment of the particle 'vāva' in the place of 'vai.'

As regards the present translation of the first two kāṇdas,

¹ Another curious feature of the Kāṇva text is the frequent insertion of an 'ity uvāka' in the middle of speeches, much like the colloquial 'says he.' As an instance I may adduce K. IV, 2, 3, 3 (M. III, 2, 3, 5):—*Sā hovātā 'ham eva vo yagñam amūmuham iti hovāka yad eva mayi tanvānā iti mām yagñād antara-gāta tenaiva vo yagñam amūmuham iti te mahyam nu bhāgam kalpayatety atha vo yagñāḥ prarokishyata iti tatheti hoṭus, &c.* The Kāṇvas also insert much more frequently an 'iti' in the middle of speeches.

I need hardly say that I am fully aware of its shortcomings. My chief endeavour has been to translate as literally as seemed at all compatible with the English idiom. If, in consequence of this, many passages should be found to read somewhat awkwardly, I hope at least that the wish to follow the original as closely as possible, has not rendered them unintelligible. Those who have given any attention to the *Brāhmaṇas* and the sacrificial system of the Hindus, know how difficult the task is, and how easy it is to commit mistakes regarding the intricate minutiae of the ceremonial. The *Brāhmaṇas* presuppose a full knowledge of the course of sacrificial performance, and notice only such points as afford an opportunity for dogmatic and symbolic explanations, or seem to call for some authoritative decision to guard them against what were considered as heretical practices. In order to enable the reader to follow the course of the performance with something like completeness, I have supplied in my notes the chief details from Kātyāyana's *Kalpa-sūtras*. That not a few of these details did not belong to the sacrificial ceremonial of the *Satapatha*, but were the result of later development, or of an adaptation of sacrificial practices of other schools, can scarcely be doubted. Dr. Hillebrandt¹ is of opinion that sacrificial manuals, somewhat similar to the later *Prayogas*, must have existed as early as the time of the composition of the *Brāhmaṇas*. In the absence of any direct evidence, speculation on this point can scarcely lead to any definite results. I may say, however, that it seems to me quite sufficient to assume that the performance of sacrifices was taught as a practical art, and that the theoretic instruction, supplied by the *Brāhmaṇas*, was conveyed orally in connection with such practical performances. That the latter was the case, is sufficiently evident from the constant occurrence in the *Brāhmaṇas* of demonstrative pronouns and particles of a 'deictic' force².

I have occasionally referred to corresponding passages of the *Taittirīyas*: an exhaustive comparison of the two branches of the *Yagur-veda*, however interesting this might be, lay outside the scope of my notes. A general view of

¹ Das Altindische Neu- und Vollmondsopfer. p. xv.

² See, for instance, *Sat. Br.* I, 3, 1, 7; 8, 1, 14.

the sacrificial system might be considered desirable in this place; but I have found it necessary to defer this part of my duty as translator to some future opportunity. Those who desire further information on this point, I may refer to Professor Weber's general survey of Hindu sacrifices, in vols. x and xiii of his *Indische Studien*. No other scholar has contributed so much to our knowledge of the sacrificial ceremonial of the Hindus. I need hardly say that I have also obtained much useful information from the late Professor Haug's notes to his translation of the *Aitareya-brāhmaṇa*, although on many points the practices of modern *Srotīyas*, on which he chiefly relied, are manifestly at variance with those enjoined by the old ritualistic authorities. For the first *kāṇḍa*, I have also been able to avail myself of Dr. Hillebrandt's careful exposition of the new and full-moon sacrifice; and though I had already worked myself through that part of the ritual before the appearance of his treatise, his constant references to the *Sūtras* of the Black *Yagur-veda* have been of great assistance to me.

The *Brāhmaṇas* and *Kalpa-sūtras* treat of the so-called *Srauta* or Vaidik sacrifices, requiring for their performance three sacrificial fires; while the *Pāka-yagñas*, or simple oblations of cooked food prepared on the domestic fire, are dealt with in the *Gr̥hya-sūtras*. The present volume contains that portion of the *Brāhmaṇa* which deals with the *Haviryagñas*—or offerings of milk, butter, rice, barley, and similar materials—as distinguished from the animal and Soma sacrifices. The new and full-moon offering being considered as the normal type of an *ishṭi*, or simplest form of a complete sacrificial performance, the place of honour is assigned to it in most texts of the *Yagur*; only points of difference being generally noted regarding the performance of *ishṭis*, as parts of subsequent sacrifices. In point of time, the *Darsa-pūrṇamāsau* ought to be preceded—as indeed they are in the *Kāṇva* text of the *Brāhmaṇa*—by the *Agnyādhāna*, or establishment of a sacred fire on the part of a young householder; and by the *Agnihotra*, or morning and evening libations.



SATAPATHA-BRÂHMANA.

FIRST KÂNDĀ.

THE DARSAPÛRĀMĀSA-ISHTĪ OR NEW AND FULL-MOON SACRIFICES.

FIRST ADHYĀYA. FIRST BRÂHMANA.

A. THE VOW OF ABSTINENCE.

EACH of the two half-monthly sacrifices, the regular performance of which is enjoined on the Brâhmanical householder for a period of thirty years from the time of his performance of the ceremony of agny-âdhâna, or setting up of a fire of his own,—according to some authorities even for the rest of his life—usually occupies the greater part of two consecutive days. Whilst the first day—the upavasatha or fast-day—is chiefly taken up with preparatory rites, such as the sweeping and trimming of the fire-places and lighting of the fires; and the formal taking of the vow of abstinence (vrata) by the sacrificer and his wife; the second day is reserved for the main performance of the sacrifice. As to the exact days of the month appointed for these ceremonies, there is some difference of opinion among native authorities, some of them deciding in favour of the last two days of each half of the lunar month, whilst the generality of ritualistic writers consider the first day of the half-month—or the first and sixteenth day of the month respectively—to be the proper time for the main performance. The personal restrictions involved in the householder's entering on the vrata include chiefly the abstention from certain kinds of food, especially meat, and from other carnal pleasures; the cutting (optional, according to some) of the beard and hair, except the crest-lock; the sleeping on the ground in one of the chief fire-houses; and the observance of silence during the ceremonies. It was, however, permitted to compress the two-days'

rites of the Full-moon sacrifice into one single day, in which case some of these restrictions would of course not be applicable.

The ceremonies begin with the preparation of the sacrificial fires. [First, the fivefold lustration successively of the *Āhavanīya* and *Dakshināgni* fire-places, to render them fit for receiving the fire from the *Gârhapatya* or householder's fire, viz. by thrice sweeping the hearths; thrice besmearing them with *gomaya*; drawing three lines across them from west to east, or south to north, with the wooden sword (*sphya*); removing the dust from the lines with the thumb and ring-finger; and thrice sprinkling the lines with water¹.] Then the *Adhvaryu* performs the *agny-uddharaṇa*, or twice taking out of the fire from the *Gârhapatya*, and putting it successively on the forepart of the *Āhavanīya* and *Dakshināgni* hearths. After this takes place the *agny-anvâdhâna*, or putting (fuel) on the fires, by either the householder or the *Adhvaryu*; two logs being put on each of the three fires. This may be done in three different ways, viz. first on the *Āhavanīya*, then on the *Gârhapatya*, and last on the *Dakshināgni*, in which case the first log is put on by him whilst muttering the verse *Rig-veda* X, 128, 1 (*Taitt. S.* IV, 7, 14, 1), 'Let there be lustre, O Agni, at my invocations!' &c., the second log silently. Or the first logs are put on with one of the three mystical words '*bhûr, bhuvaḥ, svar*' on the *Gârhapatya*, *Dakshināgni*, and *Āhavanīya* successively, and the second logs again silently. Or both logs may be put on silently, the order of fires being in that case the one in which they originate, viz. *Gârhapatya*, *Āhavanīya*, and *Dakshināgni*.

In the afternoon the householder and his wife partake of the *vratopanīya* or fast-day food (prepared chiefly of rice, barley, or *mudga* beans) with clarified butter; whereupon they take the vow in the manner prescribed in the *Brāhmaṇa*. In the evening, immediately after sunset, and on the following morning just before sunrise, the householder has, as usual, to perform the *Agnihotra*, a burnt-offering of fresh milk, which has to be made by him twice daily, with certain exceptions, from the *Agnyâdhâna* to the end of his life.

1. He who is about to enter on the vow, touches water², whilst standing between the *Āhavanīya*

¹ The statements enclosed in brackets [] are drawn from the comments and *Paddhati* on *Kâtyâyana's Srauta-sûtra*.

² I. e. 'he dips his hand into water contained in a vessel,' *Schol. Kâty. Sr. S.* I, 10, 14. According to the general rule there given,

and Gârhapatya fires, with his face turned towards east. The reason why he touches water is, that man is (sacrificially) impure on account of his speaking untruth; and because by that act an internal purification (is effected),—for water is indeed (sacrificially) pure. 'After becoming sacrificially pure, I will enter on the vow,' thus (he thinks); for water is indeed purifying. 'Having become purified through the purifying one, I will enter on the vow,' thus (he thinks, and) this is the reason why he touches water.

2. Looking towards the (Âhavantya) fire¹, he enters on the vow, with the text (Vâg. S. I, 5 a): 'O Agni, Lord of Vows! I will keep the vow! may I be equal to it, may I succeed in it!' For Agni is Lord of Vows to the gods, and it is to him therefore that he addresses these words. In the words, 'I will observe the vow; may I be equal to it; may I succeed in it,' there is nothing that requires explanation.

3. After the completion (of the sacrifice) he divests himself (of the vow), with the text (Vâg. S. II, 28 a), 'O Agni, Lord of Vows! I have kept the vow; I have been equal to it; I have succeeded in

the same purificatory act has to be repeated whenever, in the course of ceremonial performances, a sacrificial formula or prayer has been used, which is addressed to, or directed against, Rudra, the Rakshas and Asuras, and the Manes; or one directed against some specified enemy of the sacrificer with the view of exorcising or averting the evil influences with which the latter is supposed to be threatened from that quarter; or lastly, when a touching of one's self has taken place, either accidentally or as part of the ceremonial.

¹ 'Stepping between the Gârhapatya and Dakshina fires (aparâgnî), and standing west of the Âhavanîya, with his face turned eastward and looking at the fire.' Kâty. Sr. S. II, 1, 11.

it;’ for he who has attained the completion of the sacrifice, has indeed been equal to it; and he who has attained the completion of the sacrifice, has succeeded in it. It is in this way that most (sacrificers) will probably enter on the vow; but one may also enter on it in the following way.

4. Twofold, verily, is this, there is no third, viz. truth and untruth. And verily the gods are the truth, and man is the untruth. Therefore in saying (Vâg. S. I, 5 b), ‘I now enter from untruth into truth,’ he passes from the men to the gods¹.

5. Let him then only speak what is true; for this vow indeed the gods do keep, that they speak the truth; and for this reason they are glorious: glorious therefore is he who, knowing this, speaks the truth.

6. After the completion (of the sacrifice) he divests himself (of the vow), with the text (Vâg. S. II, 28 b): ‘Now I am he who I really am.’ For, in entering upon the vow, he becomes, as it were, non-human; and as it would not be becoming for him to say, ‘I enter from truth into untruth;’ and as, in fact, he now again becomes man, let him therefore divest himself (of the vow), with the text: ‘Now I am he who I really am.’

7. Now then of the eating (or) fasting². And on this point Âshâdha Sâvayasa, on the one hand, was of opinion that the vow consisted in fasting. For assuredly, (he argued,) the gods see through the mind of man; they know that, when he enters on this

¹ I. e. ‘he obtains a divine body (devatâsarîram),’ Mahtdh.; ‘man’s existence is untruth on account of its perishableness,’ id.

² The discussion which here follows refers to the evening meal which the sacrificer is allowed to take after he has performed the Agnihotra. Cf. Kâty. Sr. S. II, 1, 13.

vow, he means to sacrifice to them the next morning. Therefore all the gods betake themselves to his house, and abide by (him or the fires, upa-vas) in his house; whence this (day) is called upa-vasatha¹.

8. Now, as it would even be unbecoming for him to take food, before men (who are staying with him as his guests) have eaten; how much more would it be so, if he were to take food before the gods (who are staying with him) have eaten: let him therefore take no food at all.

9. Yâgñavalkya, on the other hand, said: 'If he does not eat, he thereby becomes a sacrificer to the Manes; and if he does eat, he eats before the gods have eaten: let him therefore eat what, when eaten, counts as not eaten.' For that of which no offering is made, even though it is eaten, is considered as not eaten. When he therefore eats, he does not become a sacrificer to the Manes; and by eating of that of which no offering is made, he does not eat before the gods have eaten.

10. Let him therefore eat only what grows in the forest, be it forest plants or the fruit of trees. And in regard to this point Barku Vârshṇa said: 'Cook ye beans for me, for no offering is made of them!' This, however, he should not do; for pulse

¹ The primary meaning of upa-vas probably is 'to dwell or abide near (? the gods or fires);' its secondary and technical meaning being 'to fast,' whence upavasatha, 'a fasting or fast-day,' literally 'the abiding near (? or honouring, the gods or fires).' Cf. III, 9, 2, 7. The term is more usually applied to the preliminary fast-day of the Soma-sacrifice; but the latter being considered the most solemn and efficacious of sacrificial rites, a strong tendency prevails to establish some kind of connection between it and the other ceremonies. Cf. Kâty. Sr. S. IV, 15, 36.

serves as an addition to rice and barley; and hence he increases the rice and barley by means of it: let him therefore eat only what grows in the forest.

11. Let him sleep that night in the house of the Âhavanîya fire or in the house of the Gârhapatya fire. For he who enters on the vow approaches the gods; and he sleeps in the midst of those very gods whom he approaches. Let him sleep on the ground¹; for from below, as it were, one serves one's superior.

B. THE PREPARATION OF THE OFFERINGS.

After the morning's performance of the Agnihotra and the subsequent rising of the sun, the sacrificer chooses his Brahman, or superintending priest. [In the first place he gets six seats ready, covered with sacrificial grass: two of these, to be used by the Brahman and sacrificer during the ceremony of election, are placed somewhere on the north side of the sacrificial ground; another south of the Âhavanîya fire, to serve for the Brahman's permanent seat (*brahmasâdanam*), and west of the latter (placed so as to be quite close to the altar to be constructed hereafter, cf. *Kâty. Sr. I, 8, 28*), the sacrificer's permanent seat; finally a seat north of each of the two fires, the Gârhapatya and the Âhavanîya, to be used by the Adhvaryu on certain occasions. The sacrificer and future Brahman then having seated themselves on the two first-mentioned seats on the north side, the former with his face turned northward, and the latter looking toward east; the sacrificer, holding the wooden sword (*sphya*) in his left hand, touches the right knee of the Brahman with his right hand, in which he holds barley-corns and] chooses him for his Brahman with the formula: ['Thou, of such and such a family, N. N. Sarman! we are about to perform the Full-moon sacrifice,'] 'O Lord of the earth! Lord of the world! Lord of the great universe! we choose thee for our Brahman!' The chosen one then mutters (cf. *Vâg. S. p. 57*): 'I am the lord of the earth, I lord of the world, I lord of the great universe (*mahâ-bhûta*)! earth! ether! heaven! O God *Savitri*, thee they choose for their Brahman, their lord of prayer (*Brihaspati*)!' &c., 'Brihaspati is Brahman to the gods, I to the men!' He (or, according

¹ A shake-down of grass (*âstaranam*, ? a blanket) is not forbidden. *Paddh. on Kâty. Sr. II, 1.*

to some, the sacrificer) further says, 'O Lord of speech, protect the sacrifice!' after which he betakes himself to the Brahman's seat (south of the Âhavanîya), and whilst [standing north of it, with his face turned eastward and] looking on it, he mutters: 'Avaunt! unholy one (daidhishavya, lit. son of a re-married woman)! take thee away from here and seat thee on another's seat who is less exalted (pâkatara) than we!' He takes one blade of grass from the seat and flings it towards south-west (the region of the Rakshas or evil spirits) with the formula: 'Expelled is sin with him whom we detest!' and then sits down with the formula: 'Here I sit on the seat of Brîhaspati, at the command of the divine Savitrî! This I proclaim to the fire, this to the wind, this to the earth!' Here he remains seated, with his face towards the Âhavanîya fire, to watch the progress of the ceremony and give directions, whenever he is appealed to. When the full or new-moon sacrifice is performed for the first time, it should be preceded by the Anvârambhanîyâ offering, performed in much the same way as the Paurṇamâsî, except that the oblations themselves consist of a rice cake on eleven potsherds for Agni and Vishṇu, a potful of boiled (rice) grains (karu) for Sarasvatî; and a rice cake on twelve potsherds for Sarasvat; the priest's fee on this occasion consisting of a cow four years old, or a pair of cattle, instead of the Anvâhârya mess. Kâty. Sr. IV, 5, 22-23.

12. By way of his first act on the following morning he (the Adhvaryu priest) betakes himself to the water, and brings water forward¹: for

¹ He, in the first place, pours water into a jug [usually made of varāṇa wood (Crataeva Roxburghii), four-cornered, about a span or twelve fingers' breadths deep and four fingers' breadths square, and furnished with a handle], puts it down north of the Gârhapatya fire, and touches it with the formula: 'I, the existent, will operate with thee (ṛtvâ karishyâmi), O existent one!' He then addresses himself to the Brahman: 'O Brahman! shall I bring the water forward?' and to the patron or sacrificer: 'Sacrificer, restrain thy speech!' The Brahman,—after muttering the mantra (as he does, with certain modifications, on similar occasions when his permission is asked in the course of the performance): 'Lead on the sacrifice! gladden the deities! May the sacrificer be on the vault of heaven! Where the world of the seven pious R̥shis is, thither do thou lead this sacrifice and sacrificer!'—replies aloud: 'Hail (ṣm)! bring forward!'

water is (one of the means of) sacrifice. Hence by this his first act he approaches (engages in) the sacrifice; and by bringing (water) forward, he spreads out (prepares) the sacrifice.

13. He brings it forward with those mysterious words (Vâg. S. I, 6): 'Who (or Pragâpati) joins (or yokes) thee (to this fire)'¹? He joins thee. For what (or, for Pragâpati) does he join thee? For that (or him) he joins thee!' For Pragâpati is undefined² (mysterious); Pragâpati is the sacrifice: hence he thereby yokes (gets ready for the performance) Pragâpati, this sacrifice.

14. The reason why he brings forward water is, that all this (universe) is pervaded by water³; hence by this his first act he pervades (or gains) all this (universe).

15. And whatever here in this (sacrifice) the Hotri, or the Adhvaryu, or the Brahman, or the Âgnîdhra, or the sacrificer himself, does not succeed in accomplishing, all that is thereby obtained (or made good).

16. Another reason why he brings forward water is this: whilst the gods were engaged in performing sacrifice, the Asuras and Rakshas forbade (raksh)

¹ 'Ka (i. e. who? or Pragâpati) joins thee (i. e. places thee, O water, by the side of the Âhavanîya fire)? (I) . . . Kasmai (i. e. for what purpose? or, for whom? or, for Pragâpati) does he join thee? (I)' Mahîdh. Dark is the meaning of these words because of the ambiguity of ka, the interrogative pronoun, which speculative theology also takes for a mystic name of Pragâpati. Cf. XI, 5, 4, 1 seq.; Max Müller, History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 433.

² Cf. also I, 6, 1, 20, where Sâyana says that Pragâpati is anirukta, because he represents all deities.

³ A play on the word âpaḥ (ap), 'water,' and the root âp, 'to obtain, to pervade.'

them, saying, 'Ye shall not sacrifice!' and because they forbade (raksh), they are called Rakshas.

17. The gods then perceived this thunderbolt, to wit, the water : the water is a thunderbolt, for the water is indeed a thunderbolt; hence wherever it goes, it produces a hollow (or depression of ground); and whatever it comes near, it destroys (lit. it burns up). Thereupon they took up that thunderbolt, and in its safe and foeless shelter they spread (performed) the sacrifice. And thus he (the Adhvaryu priest) likewise takes up this thunderbolt, and in its safe and foeless shelter spreads the sacrifice. This is the reason why he brings forward water.

18. After pouring out some of it (into the jug) he puts it down north of the Gârhapatya fire. For water (ap) is female and fire (agni) is male; and the Gârhapatya is a house : hence a copulation productive of offspring is thereby effected in this house. Now he who brings forward the water, takes up a thunderbolt; but when he takes up the thunderbolt, he cannot do so unless he is firmly placed; for otherwise it destroys him.

19. The reason then why he places it near the Gârhapatya fire is, that the Gârhapatya is a house, and a house is a safe resting-place; so that he thereby stands firmly in a house, and therefore in a safe resting-place : in this way that thunderbolt does not destroy him,—for this reason he places it near the Gârhapatya fire.

20. He then carries it north of the Âhavantya fire¹. For water is female and fire is male : hence

¹ After the water has been brought forward by the Adhvaryu from the house of the Gârhapatya fire, its technical name is *Pranîtâh*,

a copulation productive of offspring is thereby effected. And in this way alone a regular copulation can take place, since the woman lies on the left (or north) side of the man.

21. Let nobody pass between the water (and the fire), lest by passing between them he should disturb the copulation which is taking place. Let him set the water down without carrying it beyond (the north side of the fire, i. e. not on the eastern side); nor should he put it down before reaching (the north side, i. e. not on the western side). For, if he were to put the water down after carrying it beyond,—there being, as it were, a great rivalry between fire and water,—he would cause this rivalry to break forth on the part of the fire; and when they (the priests and the sacrificer) touch the water of this (vessel), he would, by carrying it and setting it down beyond (the northern side), cause the enemy to rise (spirt) in the fire. If, on the other hand, he were to put it down before gaining (the northern side), he would not gain by it the fulfilment of the wish for which it has been brought forward. Let him therefore put it down exactly north of the Âhavanîya fire.

22. He now strews sacrificial grass all round (the fires)¹, and fetches the utensils, taking two at a

‘brought forward.’ On putting it down north of the Âhavanîya, he covers the jug over with sacrificial grass.

¹ Kâty. Sr. II, 3, 6: ‘Having strewn sacrificial grass around the fires, beginning on the east side,’ which the Comm. interprets: ‘He strews eastward and northward-pointed grass around first the Âhavanîya, then the Gârhapatya, and last the Dakshinâgni, beginning each time on the eastern side, and then moving around from left to right, and turning his right side towards the fire, so as to end on the north side’ (cf. Kâty. IV, 13, 15). The Paddhati, on

time, viz. the winnowing basket and the Agnihotra ladle, the wooden sword and the potsherds, the wedge and the black antelope skin, the mortar and the pestle, the large and the small mill-stones. These are ten in number; for of ten syllables consists the *Virâg* (metre), and radiant (*virâg*)¹ also is the sacrifice: so that he thereby makes the sacrifice resemble the *Virâg*. The reason why he takes two at a time is, because a pair means strength; for when two undertake anything, there is strength in it. Moreover, a pair represents a productive copulation, so that a productive copulation (of those respective objects) is thereby effected.

SECOND BRĀHMAṆA.

1. Thereupon he takes the winnowing basket and the Agnihotra ladle², with the text (*Vâg. S. I, 6 b*): 'For the work (I take) you, for pervasion (or accomplishment) you two!' For the sacrifice is a work: hence, in saying 'for the work you two,' he says, 'for the sacrifice.' And 'for pervasion you two,' he says,

the other hand, following Âpastamba, interprets it to the effect that on the eastern and western sides he strews the grass with its tops turned northward, and on the southern and northern sides with the tops turned eastward.

¹ Or, 'and the sacrifice also is *Virâg*,' as the scholiast interprets the passage on the ground that at the performance of the *Gyotish/oma* 190 *stotriyâ* verses are used, and that this number is dividable by ten, the number of syllables in the *Virâg* metre; cf. Weber, *Ind. Streifen I*, 36, note 4. See also X, 4, 3, 21, where the fire is identified with the *virâg* on the ground that there are ten fires, viz. eight *dhishnya* fires and the *Âhavanîya* and *Gârhapatya*. In VIII, 4, 5, 5 *virâg* is explained as 'that which rules.'

² For the Agnihotra-havanî or ladle used for making the morning and evening milk-oblations, see note on I, 3, 1, 1. For the winnowing basket (*śûrpa*), see I, 1, 4, 19 seq.

because he, as it were, pervades (goes through, accomplishes) the sacrifice.

2. He then restrains his speech ; for (restrained) speech means undisturbed sacrifice ; so that (in so doing) he thinks : ' May I accomplish the sacrifice ! ' He now heats (the two objects on the Gârhapatya), with the formula (*Vâg. S. I, 7 a*) : ' Scorched is the Rakshas, scorched are the enemies ! ' or (*Vâg. S. I, 7 b*) : ' Burnt out is the Rakshas, burnt out are the enemies ! '

3. For the gods, when they were performing the sacrifice, were afraid of a disturbance on the part of the Asuras and Rakshas : hence by this means he expels from here, at the very opening¹ of the sacrifice, the evil spirits, the Rakshas.

4. He now steps forward (to the cart²), with the text (*Vâg. S. I, 7 c*) : ' I move along the wide aërial realm. ' For the Rakshas roams about in the air, rootless and unfettered in both directions (below and above) ; and in order that this man (the Adhvaryu) may move about the air, rootless and unfettered in both directions, he by this very prayer renders the atmosphere free from danger and evil spirits.

5. It is from the cart that he should take (the rice required for the sacrifice). For at first the cart (is the receptacle of the rice) and afterwards this hall ;

¹ Literally, 'from the very mouth,' which refers both to the mouth or hollow part of the two vessels (from which the enemies are, as it were, burnt out), and to the opening of the sacrifice. The same symbolical explanation is met with on the occasion of the heating of the sacrificial spoon, *I, 3, 1, 5*.

² The cart containing the rice or barley, or whatever material may be used instead, stands behind (i. e. west of) the Gârhapatya, fitted with all its appliances (except the oxen). *Kâty. Sr. II, 3, 12*. Rice-grains, as the most common material, will be assumed to constitute the chief havis (sacrificial food) at the present sacrifice.

and because he thinks 'what was at first (in the cart, and hence still unimpaired by entering the householder's abode), that I will operate upon;' for that reason let him take (rice) from the cart.

6. Moreover, the cart represents an abundance; for the cart does indeed represent an abundance: hence, when there is much of anything, people say that there are 'cart-loads' of it. Thus he thereby approaches an abundance, and for this reason he should take from the cart.

7. The cart further is (one of the means of) the sacrifice; for the cart is indeed (one of the means of) sacrifice. To the cart, therefore, refer the (following) Yagus-texts, and not to a store-room, nor to a jar. The *Rishis*, it is true, once took (the rice) from a leathern bag, and hence, in the case of the *Rishis*, the Yagus-texts applied to a leathern bag. Here, however, they are taken in their natural application. Because he thinks 'from (or, by means of) the sacrifice I will perform the sacrifice,' let him, therefore, take (rice) from the cart.

8. Some do indeed take it from a (wooden) jar. In that case also he should mutter the Yagus-texts without omitting any; and let him in that case take (the rice) after inserting the wooden sword¹ under

¹ The *sphya* is a straight sword (*khadga*) or knife, a cubit long, carved out of *khadira* wood (*Mimosa Catechu*). *Kâty. Sr.* I, 3, 33; 39. It is used for various purposes calculated to symbolically insure the safe and undisturbed performance of the sacrifice. On the present occasion it represents the yoke, by touching which (par. 10) the cart is connected with the sacrifice. At the close of the sacrifice also the offering spoons are, as it were, unyoked (or relieved of their duties), by being placed on the yoke, if the rice was taken from the cart; or on the wooden sword lying on the jar, if it was taken from the latter. See I, 8, 3, 26.

(the jar). He does so, thinking 'where we want to yoke, there we unyoke;' for from the same place where they yoke, they also unyoke.

9. (Like) fire, verily, is the yoke of that very cart; for the yoke is indeed (like) fire: hence the shoulder of those (oxen) that draw this (cart) becomes as if burnt by fire. The middle part of the pole behind the prop represents, as it were, its (the cart's) altar¹; and the enclosed space of the cart (which contains the rice) constitutes its havirdhânam (receptacle of the sacrificial food)².

10. He now touches the yoke, with the text (Vâg. S. I, 8 a): 'Thou art the yoke (dhur); injure (dhûrv) thou the injurer! injure him that injures us! injure him whom we injure!' For there being a fire in the yoke by which he will have to pass when he fetches the material for the oblation, he thereby propitiates it, and thus that fire in the yoke does not injure him when he passes by.

11. Here now Âruni said: 'Every half-moon³ I destroy the enemies.' This he said with reference to this point.

¹ The pole of an Indian cart consists of two pieces of wood, joined together in its forepart and diverging towards the axle. Hence, as Sâyana remarks, it resembles the altar in shape, being narrower in front and broader at the back, the altar measuring twenty-four cubits in front and thirty cubits at the back. At the extreme end of the pole a piece of wood is fastened on, or the pole itself is turned downwards, so as to serve as a prop or rest (popularly called 'sipoy' in Western India, and 'horse' in English).

² The havirdhâna (-mandapa) is a temporary shed or tent erected on the sacrificial ground for the performance of the Soma-sacrifice, in which the two carts containing the Soma-plants are placed. These carts themselves, however, are also called havirdhâna. Cf. IV, 6, 9, 10 seq.; III, 5, 3, 7.

³ I. e. at the time of the new and the full moon. Schol.

12. Thereupon, whilst touching the pole behind the prop, he mutters (Vâg. S. I, 8 b-9 a): 'To the gods thou belongest, thou the best carrying one, the most firmly joined¹, the most richly filled², the most agreeable (to the gods), the best caller of the gods!' 'Thou art unbent, the receptacle of oblations; be thou firm, waver not!' Thus he eulogises the cart, hoping that he may obtain the oblation from the one thus eulogised and pleased. He adds (Vâg. S. I, 9 b), 'May thy Lord of Sacrifice not waver!' for Lord of Sacrifice is the sacrificer, and it is for the sacrificer, therefore, that he thus prays for firmness.

13. He now ascends (the cart by the southern wheel), with the text (Vâg. S. I, 9 c): 'May Vishṇu ascend thee!' For Vishṇu is the sacrifice; by striding (vi-kram) he obtained for the gods this all-pervading power (vikrânti) which now belongs to them. By his first step he gained this very (earth), by the second the aerial expanse, and by the last step the sky. And this very same pervading power Vishṇu, as sacrifice, by his strides obtains for him (the sacrificer).

14. He then looks (at the rice) and (addressing the cart) mutters (Vâg. S. I, 9 d): 'Wide open (be

¹ Sasni-tama (? 'the most bountiful'); sasni is explained by Mahîdhara (in accordance with Yâska, Nir. V, 1) by *samsnâta*, from *snâ*, 'to purify, cleanse,' or from *snâ* (*snai*), 'to envelop, wrap round;' hence 'cleanest or purest,' or 'most firmly secured by being tied (with thongs, &c.)' The latter was probably the meaning connected with the word in this sacrificial formula; though the correct derivation is no doubt from *san*, 'to acquire, gain,' and 'to bestow' (Roth, Nirukta notes, p. 52). In modern Indian carts the yoke is fastened on to the pole by a string.

² Papritama, 'most filled with rice,' &c. Schol.

thou) to the wind!' For wind means breath; so that by this prayer he effects free scope for the air of the (sacrificer's) breath.

15. With the text (Vâg. S. I, 9 e), 'Repelled is the Rakshas!' he then throws away whatever (grass, &c.) may have fallen on it. But if nothing (have fallen on it), let him merely touch it. He thereby drives away from it the evil spirits, the Rakshas.

16. He touches (the rice), with the text (Vâg. S. I, 9 f), 'Let the five take!' for five are these fingers, and fivefold also is the sacrifice¹; so that he thereby puts the sacrifice on it (the cart).

17. He then takes (the rice), with the text (Vâg. S. I, 10 a, b): 'At the impulse (prasavana) of the divine Savitri, I take thee with the arms of the Asvins, with the hands of Pûshan, thee, agreeable to Agni!' For Savitri is the impeller (prasavitri) of the gods: therefore he takes this as one impelled by Savitri. 'With the arms of the Asvins,' he says, because the two Asvins are the Adhvaryu priests (of the gods). 'With the hands of Pûshan,' he says, because Pûshan is distributor of portions (to the gods), who with his own hands places the food before them. The gods are the truth, and men are the untruth: thus he thereby takes (the rice) by means of the truth.

¹ According to Sâyana, because there are five kinds of oblations (havish-pankti) at the Soma-sacrifice. Cf. Ait. Br. II, 24, with Haug's translation. Compare also the distinction of five different parts in the victim at animal sacrifices: Sat. Br. I, 5, 2, 16; Ait. Br. II, 14; III, 23; and the five kinds of victims, viz. man, horse, bullock, ram, and he-goat: Ath. V. XI, 2, 9; Sat. Br. I, 2, 3, 6. 7; VI, 2, 1, 6. 18; VII, 5, 2, 10; Taitt. S. IV, 2, 10; Kând. Up. II, 6, 1.

18. He now announces (the oblation) to the deity (for whom it is intended). For when the Adhvaryu is about to take the oblation, all the gods draw near to him, thinking, 'My name he will choose! my name he will choose!' and among them who are thus gathered together, he thereby¹ establishes concord.

19. Another reason for which he announces (the oblation) to the deity, is this: whichever deities are chosen, they consider it as an obligation that they are bound to fulfil whatever wish he entertains whilst taking (the oblation); and for that reason also he announces it to the deity. After taking the oblations (to the other deities) in the same way as before²,—

20. He touches (the rice that is left), with the text (*Vāg. S. I, 11 a*): 'For existence (or, abundance,— I leave) thee, not for non-offering³!' He thereby causes it to increase again.

¹ Viz. by calling out the names, since, without this being done, quarrels would arise among the deities as to whom the offering might be intended for. *Mahīdh.*

² Viz. as in the case of the oblation to Agni, and substituting the name of the respective deity in the formula used above (par. 17), 'Thee, agreeable to (Agni)!' The oblations prescribed for the full-moon sacrifice are a cake on eight potsherds for Agni, and one on eleven potsherds for Agni and Soma: for each of these cakes he takes four handfuls from the cart [and throws them into the Agnihotra ladle lying on the winnowing basket which he holds with his left hand. With each of the first three handfuls of each of the two oblations he repeats the above text, whilst the fourth handful is thrown in silently. After the oblation for Agni is taken, he pours it from the ladle into the winnowing basket so as to lie on the southern side; and then takes out the oblation for Agni-Soma, which is afterwards poured into the basket so as to lie north of the first heap]. *Kāty. Sr. II, 3, 20-21* and Scholl.

³ Thus *Mahīdhara* (i. e. 'to serve for future oblations, or as food for the priests'). Perhaps the meaning is, 'For a (divine or human) being thee, not for the evil spirit!' Cf. *St. Petersburg Dict. s. v. bhūta*.

21. He now (whilst seated on the cart) looks towards east, with the text (Vâg. S. I, 11 b): 'May I perceive the light!' For that cart being covered up, its eye is thereby, as it were, affected with evil. Light, moreover, represents the sacrifice, the day, the gods, and the sun; so that he thereby perceives this same (fourfold) light.

22. He then descends (from the cart), with the text (Vâg. S. I, 11 c): 'May those provided with doors stand firm on the earth!' Those provided with doors are the houses: for the houses of the sacrificer might indeed be capable of breaking down behind the back of his Adhvaryu, when he walks forward (from the cart) with the sacrifice, and might crush his (the sacrificer's) family. By this (text), however, he causes them to stand firmly on this earth, so that they do not break down and crush (his family); for this reason he says: 'May those provided with doors stand firm on the earth!' He then walks forward (north of the Gârhapatya fire), with the text (Vâg. S. I, 11 d), 'I move along the wide aerial realm;' the application of which is the same (as before; see par. 4).

23. In the case of one (viz. householder) whose Gârhapatya fire they (the priests) use for cooking oblations, they place the utensils in the Gârhapatya (house); and let him (the Adhvaryu) in that case put (the winnowing basket with the rice) down at the back (or west) side of the Gârhapatya. But in the case of one whose Âhavanīya they use for cooking oblations, they place the utensils together in the Âhavanīya; and let him in that case put it (the rice) down at the back of the Âhavanīya. He should (in either case) do so, with the text (Vâg. S. I, 11 e), 'On the navel of the earth I place thee!' for

the navel means the centre, and the centre is safe from danger: for this reason he says, 'On the navel of the earth I place thee!' And further, 'In the lap of Aditi (the boundless or inviolable earth)!' for when people guard anything very carefully, they commonly say that 'they, as it were, carried it in their lap;' and this is the reason why he says, 'In the lap of Aditi!' And further, 'O Agni, do thou protect this offering!' whereby he makes this oblation over for protection both to Agni and to this earth: for this reason he says, 'O Agni, do thou protect this offering!'

THIRD BRÂHMANA.

1. He now prepares two strainers (pavitra)¹, with the text (Vâg. S. I, 12 a): 'Purifiers (or strainers, pavitra) are ye, and belonging to Vishṇu!' For Vishṇu is the sacrifice; so that he thereby says, 'You belong to the sacrifice.'

2. Two there are of them: for means of cleansing (pavitra) is this (wind) which here ventilates (pavate); and this, it is true, ventilates as one only; but on entering into man, it becomes a forward and a backward one, and they are these two, to wit, the prâṇa (breathing out) and the udâna (breathing up or in)². And as this (clarifying process) takes place

¹ These strainers (or clarifiers) are to consist of two blades of Kusa grass, with unbroken or undecayed tops, and without buds on them; and they must be severed from their roots by means of other Kusa blades, so as to be of equal length (viz. one prâṇa, or span of thumb and fore-finger, long). Kâty. Sr. II, 3, 31.

² Thus Sâyana here takes the terms prâṇa (idâpiṅgalâdinâḍḍvârâ bahir nirgakkhan prâṇaḥ prâṇ) and udâna (tathaiva dvârâ punar antaḥ pravisan pratyaṇ). In Ait. Br. II, 29, and Kâṇḍ. Up. I, 3, 3, prâṇa, apâna, and vyâna are mentioned as the

in accordance with the measure of that (process of breathing), therefore there are two (strainers).

3. There may also be three: for the *vyâna* (or pervading vital air)¹ is a third (kind of breathing); but in reality there are only two. Having then strained the sprinkling water² with these two (strainers), he sprinkles with it. The reason why he strains it with the two (strainers) is this:

4. *Vritra* in truth lay covering all this (space) which here extends between heaven and earth. And because he lay covering (*vri*) all this, therefore his name is *Vritra*.

5. Him Indra slew. He being slain flowed forth stinking in all directions towards the water; for in every direction lies the ocean. And in consequence of this, some of the waters became disgusted, and, rising higher and higher, flowed over: whence (sprung) these grasses (of which the strainers are made); for they represent the water which was not putrified. With the other (water), however, some

three vital airs; where *prâna* is taken by Professors Haug and Müller as 'in-breathing' ('respiration' or 'expiration,' Röer), and *apâna* as 'out-breathing' ('inspiration,' Röer). Five vital airs are generally enumerated (Sat. Br. IX, 2, 2, 5); but theological speculation evidently considered these bodily processes a very convenient source of symbolism, as we find mention made in the Sat. Br. of six (XIV, 1, 3, 32); seven (III, 1, 3, 21; XIII, 1, 7, 2); nine (I, 5, 2, 5); and ten (XI, 6, 3, 7) breaths or vital airs.

¹ 'A combination of the out-breathing and in-breathing;' but as there is no distinction between this kind of breath and the others (combined), two must be considered as the normal number of strainers. Schol.

² He pours water into the Agnihotra ladle (in which some of the awn of the rice remains), and after cleaning it with the two strainers, he sprinkles with it. Kâty. II, 3, 33 seq. The details of this process are given in par. 6 seq.

matter has become mixed up, inasmuch as the putrid *Vṛitra* flowed into it. This he now removes from it by means of these two strainers; whereupon he sprinkles with the (sacrificially) pure water. This is the reason why he strains it through them.

6. He strains it, with the text (*Vâg. S. I, 12 b*): 'By the impulse of *Savitri* I purify thee with this flawless purifier (or ventilator, *pavitra*), with the rays of the sun!' For *Savitri* is the impeller (*prasavitri*) of the gods, so that he strains this (water) as one impelled by *Savitri*. 'With this flawless purifier (ventilator, *pavitra*),' he says, because this (wind) which here ventilates (or purifies, *pavate*) is a flawless purifier. 'With the rays of the sun,' he says, because they, the rays of the sun, are certainly purifying; and for this reason he says, 'With the rays of the sun.'

7. Having taken it (the water with the ladle) in his left hand, he makes it spirt upwards with his right hand, and eulogises and glorifies it, with the text (*Vâg. S. I, 12 c*): 'Shining (or divine) waters! ye the first-going, the first-drinking¹ ones!' For the waters are shining; and for this reason he says, 'Shining waters!' 'First-going,' he calls them, because they flow towards the sea and are therefore going in front (or forwards). 'First-drinking,' he calls them, because they are the first that drink of king *Soma*² and are therefore 'drinking first.' And further: 'Forward now lead this sacrifice³,

¹ *Agrepuvaḥ*; *Mahîdhara* allows to it the alternative meaning 'first-purifying.'

² 'Because, for the sake of extracting the juice from the *Soma*-plants, water is poured on them, so that the water drinks of the juice before the gods do.' *Sây.*

³ I. e. 'carry the sacrifice through without hindrance.' *Mahîdh.*

forward the Lord of Sacrifice, the liberal, god-loving Lord of Sacrifice!' whereby he says, 'Well (lead) the sacrifice, well the sacrificer!'

8. And further (Vâg. S. I, 13 a): 'You Indra chose (for his companions) in the battle against *Vritra*!' For Indra, when he was battling with *Vritra*, did choose them (the waters) and with their help he killed him; and for this reason he says, 'You Indra chose in the battle against *Vritra*!'

9. 'You chose Indra in the battle against *Vritra*!' for they, too, chose Indra when he was battling with *Vritra*, and with them he killed him: therefore he says, 'You chose Indra in the battle against *Vritra*!'

10. And further (Vâg. S. I, 13 d): 'Consecrated by sprinkling are ye!' With these words he makes amends to them¹. He then sprinkles the (first) oblation². One and the same meaning applies to the (whole process of) sprinkling, viz. he thereby makes sacrificially pure that (which he sprinkles).

11. He sprinkles, with the text (Vâg. S. I, 13 e): 'Thee, agreeable to Agni, I sprinkle!' Thus for whichever deity the oblation is intended, for that one he thereby renders it sacrificially pure. When he has in the same way as before sprinkled (all) the oblations,—

12. He then sprinkles the sacrificial vessels³,

¹ He, in the first place, sprinkles the sprinkling water in the ladle with itself; and the guilt incurred in the act of consecrating it with itself, that is, with something unconsecrated, is made amends for by the accompanying formula, *Sây*. Similarly *Mahîdhara*: 'The unconsecrated (water) cannot consecrate other (water).'

² Before doing so he asks the Brahman's permission (cf. p. 7, note 1), 'O Brahman! shall I sprinkle the oblation?' when the latter, after muttering the mantra, 'Sprinkle the sacrifice! gladden the deities,' &c., gives the permission by 'Ôm! sprinkle!' Paddh. on *Kâty*. II, 3, 36.

³ According to some authorities the vessels are placed together

with the text (Vâg. S. I, 13 g), 'Be ye pure for the divine work, for the sacrifice to the gods!' for it is for the divine work, the sacrifice to the gods, that he consecrates them. 'Whatever, that belongs to you, the impure have defiled by touching, that I hereby purify for you!' For whatever belonging to them some impure one—either a carpenter or some other impure person—has on this occasion desecrated by touching, that he thereby renders sacrificially pure for them by means of the water; and therefore he says, 'Whatever, that belongs to you, the impure have defiled by touching, that I hereby purify for you!'

FOURTH BRĀHMANĀ.

1. He now takes the black antelope skin², for completeness of the sacrifice. For once upon a time the sacrifice escaped the gods, and having become a black antelope roamed about. The gods having thereupon found it and stripped it of its skin, they brought it (the skin) away with them.

on one heap, and are then consecrated together by one sprinkling. According to others, each vessel must be consecrated separately. Kâty. Sr. II, 3, 39.

¹ After he has done the sprinkling, he puts the remaining water away in some place where nobody is allowed to walk [as between the *pranîtās* and the *Âhavanîya*; or (according to *Âpastamba*) before, or east of, the *Gârhapatya*, since nobody is allowed to pass between the *Gârhapatya* and *Âhavanîya*. The two strainers also remain in the sprinkling water]. Kâty. Sr. II, 3, 40.

² The skin of the black antelope may be regarded as one of the symbols of Brâhmanical worship and civilisation. Thus it is said in *Manu* II, 22-23: 'That which lies between these two mountain ranges (the *Himâlāya* and the *Vindhya*), from the eastern to the western ocean, the wise know as *Âryāvarta* (the land of the *Âryas*). Where the black antelope naturally roams about, that should be known as the land suitable for sacrifice; what lies beyond that is the country of the *Mlekkhas* (barbarians).'

2. Its white and black hairs represent the *Rik*-verses and the *Sâman*-verses; to wit, the white the *Sâman* and the black the *Rik*; or conversely, the black the *Sâman* and the white the *Rik*. The brown and the yellow ones, on the other hand, represent the *Yagus*-texts.

3. Now this same threefold science is the sacrifice; that manifold form, that (varying) colour of this (science) is what is (represented by) this black antelope skin. For the completeness of the sacrifice (he takes the skin): hence the rite of initiation (for the Soma-sacrifice) is likewise performed on the black antelope skin;—for the completion of the sacrifice: hence it is also used for husking and bruising (the rice) on, in order that nothing of the oblation may get spilt; and that, if any grain or flour should now be spilt on it, the sacrifice would still remain securely established in the sacrifice. For this reason it is used for husking and bruising upon.

4. He thus takes the black antelope skin, with the text (*Vâg. S. I, 14 a*): 'Bliss-bestowing (*sarman*) art thou!' For *karman* ('hide') is the name of that (skin of the) black deer used among men, but *sarman* (bliss) is (that used) among the gods; and for this reason he says, 'Bliss-bestowing art thou!' He shakes it, with the text (*Vâg. S. I, 14 b*), 'Shaken off is the *Rakshas*, shaken off are the enemies!' whereby he repels from it the evil spirits, the *Rakshas*. He shakes it whilst holding it apart from the vessels¹; whereby he shakes off whatever impure matter there may have been on it.

¹ According to some exegetes the *Adhvaryu* himself must step beyond (i. e. aside from) the vessels when he shakes the skin; according to others, he should not move, but only hold the skin

5. He spreads it (on the ground with the hairy side upwards, and) with its neck-part turned to the west¹, with the text (*Vâg.* S. I, 14 c) : 'The skin of Aditi art thou! May Aditi acknowledge thee!' For Aditi is this earth, and whatever is on her, that serves as a skin to her: for this reason he says, 'The skin of Aditi art thou!' And 'may Aditi acknowledge thee!' he says, because one who is related (to another) acknowledges (him). Thereby he establishes a mutual understanding between her and the black antelope skin, (thinking) 'they will not hurt each other.' While it is still being held down with his left hand,—

6. He at once takes the mortar with his right hand, fearing lest the evil spirits, the Rakshas, might rush in here in the meantime. For the priest (*brâhmana*)² is the repeller of the Rakshas: therefore, whilst it is still being held down with his left hand,—

7. He puts the mortar (on it), with the text (*Vâg.* S. I, 14 d, e) : 'A wooden stone (*adri*) art thou!'

apart from the vessels, so that no impure matter should fall on them. Some also maintain that the skin should only be shaken once, whilst others think it should be done three times. Cf. *Kâty.* Sr. II, 4, 2. Schol.

¹ Special mention is here made of this feature, since as a rule (*Kâty.* I, 10, 4) the skin is spread with its neck-part turned eastwards. He lays it down on the north side of the sacrificial ground, either west of the *utkara* (the mound formed by the earth dug out in constructing the altar, and by other rubbish) or exactly north of the *Gârhapatya*. Schol. on *Kâty.* II, 4, 3.

² Only a *Brâhman* can perform sacrifice. If, as is permitted in certain ceremonies, a *Kshatriya* or *Vaisya* officiates, he, as it were, becomes a *Brâhman* (and is addressed as such) for the occasion, by means of the *dîkshâ*, or rite of initiation. Cf. *Sat. Br.* III, 2, 1, 39; XIII, 4, 1, 3.

or 'A broad-bottomed stone (grâvan) art thou!' For, just as there (in the Soma-sacrifice) they press king Soma out with stones (grâvan), thus here also he prepares the oblation (haviryagñā) by means of the mortar and pestle, and the large and small mill-stones¹. Now 'stones (adrayañ)' is the common name of these, and therefore he says, 'a stone art thou.' And 'wooden,' he calls it, because this one (the mortar) really is made of wood². Or, he says, 'a broad-bottomed stone (grâvan) art thou,' because it is both a stone and broad-bottomed. He adds: 'May Aditi's skin acknowledge (receive) thee!' whereby he establishes a mutual understanding between it (the mortar) and the black antelope skin, thinking: 'they will not injure each other.'

8. He then pours the (two portions of) rice (from the winnowing basket into the mortar), with the text (Vâg. S. I, 15 a): 'Thou art the body of Agni, thou the releaser of speech!' For it is (material for) sacrifice, and hence (by being offered in the fire) it becomes Agni's body. 'The releaser of speech,' he adds, because he now releases that speech which he restrained when he was about to take the rice (from the cart). The reason why he now releases his speech, is that the sacrifice has now obtained a firm footing in the mortar, that it has become diffused; and for this reason he says, 'the releaser of speech!'

¹ Here, as in I, 5, 2, 11 (haviryagñe 'tha saumye 'dhvare), we have the simple division of the Srauta-sacrifices into oblations (of ghee, milk, rice, barley, &c.) and libations (of Soma). More usually the parubandhu, or animal-sacrifice, is added as a third division. See also I, 7, 2, 10.

² The mortar (ulûkhala) and pestle (musala) are to be made of very hard wood, viz. both of varāṇa wood (Cratæga Roxburghii), or the mortar of palāsa wood (Butea Frondosa), and the pestle of

9. Should he, however (by some accident), utter any human sound before this time, let him in that case mutter some *Rik* or Yagus-text addressed to Vishṇu¹; for Vishṇu is the sacrifice, so that he thereby again obtains a hold on the sacrifice, and penance is thereby done by him (for not keeping silent). He adds: 'For the pleasure of the gods I seize thee!' for the oblation is taken with the intention 'that it shall gladden the gods.'

10. He now takes the pestle, with the text (Vâg. S. I, 14 b), 'A large, wooden stone art thou!' for it is a large stone, and made of wood, too. He thrusts it down, with the text (Vâg. S. I, 14 c), 'Do thou prepare this oblation for the gods²! do thou prepare it thoroughly!' thereby saying, 'Get this oblation ready for the gods! get it quite ready!'

11. He then calls the Havishkrîṭ³ (preparer of the sacrificial food), 'Havishkrîṭ, come hither! Havishkrîṭ, come hither!' The Havishkrîṭ⁴ no doubt is speech, so that he thereby frees speech from

khadira wood (Acacia Catechu). The former is to be of the height of the knee, and the latter three aratnis (cubits) long. Schol. on Kâty. I, 3, 36; M. Müller, Die Todtenbestattung bei den Brahmanen, Zeitsch. der D. Morg. Ges. IX, p. xl.

¹ Kâty. Sr. II, 2, 6-7 lays down the general rule, that if the Brahman or Adhvaryu (and according to some, the sacrificer also) by some slip were to utter any sound during the time for which restraint of speech (vâg-yama) is enjoined, they must atone for the transgression by muttering some mantra addressed to Vishṇu, such as the couplet (Vâg. S. V, 38, 41), 'Widely, O Vishṇu, stride!' &c., or the formula (ib. I, 4), 'O Vishṇu, preserve the sacrifice!'

² Or 'for the god,' 'for the goddess,' as the case may be.

³ Or, he pronounces the havishkrîṭ formula, see next note. According to Kâty. Sr. II, 4, 13 he calls out three separate times.

⁴ Havishkrîṭ denotes not only the person that prepares the oblation, but also this formula by which that person is called.

restraint. And speech, moreover, represents sacrifice¹, so that he thereby again calls the sacrifice to him.

12. Now there are four different forms of this call, viz. 'come hither (ehi)!' in the case of a Brāhman; 'approach (āgahi)!' and 'hasten hither (ādrava)!' in the case of a Vaisya and a member of the military caste (rāganyabandhu²); and 'run hither (ādhāva)!' in that of a Sūdra. On this occasion he uses the call that belongs to a Brāhman, because that one is best adapted for a sacrifice, and is besides the most gentle: let him therefore say, 'come hither (ehi)!'

13. Now in former times it was no other than the wife (of the sacrificer) who rose at this (call, to act) as Havishkṛit; therefore now also (she or) some one (priest)³ rises in answer to this call. And at the time when he (the Adhvaryu) calls the Havishkṛit, one of the priests⁴ beats the two mill-stones.

¹ Viz. in the shape of the sacrificial formulas.

² This inversion of the order of the second (or Kshatriya) and third (or Vaisya) castes is rather strange. The Sūtras of Bhāradv., Āpast., and Hirany. assign the same formulas to the several castes as here. Cf. Hillebrandt, Neu- und Vollmondsopfer, p. 29.

³ According to the Schol. on Kāty. Sr. II, 4, 13, either the wife of the patron or the Āgnīdhra (the priest who kindles the fire) acts as Havishkṛit. Mahīdh. on Vāg. S. I, 15 includes the patron (sacrificer) himself, unless yagamānaḥ patnī is a misprint for yagamānapatnī. According to Āpastamba, 'either a maid-servant or the wife grinds; or the wife threshes and the Sūdra woman grinds' (cf. Schol. on Kāty. Sr. II, 5, 7). Similarly Bhāradv. and Hirany.; cf. Hillebrandt, p. 38, n. 2. Similar cases of differences between the ritualistic practices of the present time and those of former times are very frequently alluded to in the ritualistic books; and are of especial interest, as they afford some insight into the gradual development of the sacrificial ceremonial. Cf. Weber, Ind. Stud. X, 156 seq.

⁴ Viz. the Āgnīdhra, whilst seated north of the expansion

The reason why they produce this discordant noise, is this :

14. Manu was in possession of a bull¹. Into him had entered an Asura-killing, foe-killing voice ; and by his snorting and roaring the Asuras and Rakshas were continually being crushed. Thereupon the Asuras said to one another : ' Evil, alas ! this bull inflicts upon us ! how can we possibly destroy him ? ' Now Kilâta and Âkuli were the two priests (brahman) of the Asuras.

15. These two said, ' God-fearing, they say, is Manu : let us two then ascertain ! ' They then went to him and said : ' Manu ! we will sacrifice for thee ! ' He said : ' Wherewith ? ' They said : ' With this bull ! ' He said : ' So be it ! ' On his (the bull's) being killed the voice went from him.

16. It entered into Manâvatî, the wife of Manu ; and when they heard her speak, the Asuras and Rakshas were continually being crushed. Thereupon the Asuras said to one another : ' Hereby even greater evil is inflicted on us, for the human voice speaks more ! ' Kilâta and Âkuli then said : ' God-fearing, they say, is Manu : let us then ascertain ! ' They went to him and said : ' Manu ! we will sacrifice for thee ! ' He said : ' Wherewith ? '

(vihâra) of the fires ; he strikes with the wedge (samyâ, a stick of khadira wood, usually some six or eight inches long, used for placing under the lower grindstone on the north side, so as to make it incline towards east) twice the lower and once the upper grindstone. Schol. on Kâty. Sr. II, 4, 15.

¹ This bull of Manu has been compared by Dr. Kuhn (*Zeitschrift für Vergl. Sprachf.* IV, 91 seq.) with the Minotaur of the Greeks. Cf. also J. Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, vol. i. p. 188 seq. ; and Professor Weber's *Translation of the first Adhyâya*, Ind. Streifen, I, p. 50.

They said : 'With this thy wife!' He said : 'So be it!' And on her being killed that voice went from her.

17. It entered into the sacrifice itself, into the sacrificial vessels; and thence those two (Asura priests) were unable to expel it. This same Asura-killing, foe-killing voice sounds forth (from the mill-stones when they are beaten with the wedge). And for whomsoever that knows this, they produce this discordant noise on the present occasion, his enemies are rendered very miserable.

18. He beats the mill-stones with the wedge, with the text (Vâg. S. I, 16 a) : 'A honey-tongued cock (kukku/a ¹) art thou (O wedge)!' For honey-tongued indeed was he (the bull) for the gods, and poison-tongued for the Asuras: hence he thereby says : 'What thou wert for the gods, that be thou for us!' He adds : 'Sap and strength do thou call hither! with thy help may we conquer in every battle!' In these words there is nothing that is obscure.

19. Thereupon ² he (the Adhvaryu) takes the winnowing basket, with the text (Vâg. S. I, 14 b) : 'Rain-grown art thou!' For rain-grown it is indeed, whether it be made of reeds or of cane or of rushes, since it is the rain that makes these grow.

¹ Mahîdhara offers the following etymological derivation of this word: 1. from kva kva, 'where? where?' ['He who, wishing to kill the Asuras, roams about everywhere, crying 'where, where are the Asuras?']; 2. from kuk, 'a hideous noise,' and ku/, 'to spread;' or 3. one who, in order to frighten the Asuras, utters a sound resembling that of the bird called kukku/a (cock). Professor Weber translates it by 'Brüller' (roarer, crier).

² Viz. when the rice has been husked (by the Havishkrît in the mortar). Schol. on Kâty. Sr. II, 4, 16.

20. He then pours out the (threshed) rice (from the mortar into the winnowing basket), with the text (Vâg. S. I, 16 c): 'May the rain-grown acknowledge (receive) thee!' For rain-grown also are these (grains), whether they be rice or barley, since it is the rain that makes them grow. By these words he establishes an understanding between them and the winnowing basket, in the hope 'that they will not injure each other.'

21. He now winnows (the rice), with the text (Vâg. S. I, 16 d): 'Cleared off is the Rakshas! cleared off are the evil-doers!' The husks (which have fallen on the ground) he throws away¹, with the text (Vâg. S. I, 16 e), 'Expelled is the Rakshas!' for those evil spirits, the Rakshas, he thereby expels.

22. He then separates (the husked grains from the unhusked), with the text (Vâg. S. I, 16 f): 'May the wind separate you!' For it is that wind (which is produced by the winnowing) which here purifies (or blows, pavate); and it is the wind that separates everything here (on earth) that undergoes separation: therefore it also separates here those (two kinds of grain) from each other. Now when they are undergoing this process, and whilst he is separating² (the husked, so as to drop them into a pot),—

¹ He puts them into the central one of the potsherds for the Agni cake, and throws them on the utkara, or heap of rubbish (cf. p. 25, note 1). Schol. on Kâty. Sr. II, 4, 19. Before he proceeds with his work, he has to touch water; cf. p. 2, note 2.

² He separates them whilst holding the mouth of the winnowing basket sideways or horizontally, and makes the husked ones fall into the pot. Schol. on Kâty. Sr. II, 4, 20. According to the Pad-dhati, he now puts the unhusked once more into the mortar and threshes them again, and then pouring them back into the basket, repeats the same process.

23. He addresses (those in the pot) thus (Vâg. S. I, 16 g): 'May the divine Savit^{ri}, the golden-handed, receive you with a flawless¹ hand!' By this he says: 'May they be well received!' He then cleans them thrice²; for threefold is the sacrifice.

24. Here now some clean them with the formula: 'For the gods get clean! for the gods get clean!' But let him not do so: for this oblation is intended for some particular deity; and if he were to say, 'For the gods get clean!' he would make it one intended for all the deities, and would thereby raise a quarrel among the deities. Let him therefore do the cleaning silently!

SECOND ADHYÂYA. FIRST BRÂHMANA.

1. Now the one (viz. the Âgnîdhra) puts the potsherds on (the Gârhapatya fire); the other (viz. the Adhvaryu) the two mill-stones (on the black antelope skin): these two acts are done simultaneously. The reason why they are done simultaneously (is this):

2. The head of this sacrifice is (represented by) the rice-cake³: for those potsherds (kapâla), no doubt, are to this (rice-cake) what the skull bones (kapâla) are to the head, and the ground rice is

¹ Viz. with the fingers joined together so as not to allow any grains to fall to the ground. Mahîdh.

² By removing the minute husks and grains (kaṇa) he makes the husked grains (tanûla) free from dust and shiny (this is apparently done by repeated winnowings). Schol. on Kâty. Sr. II, 4, 22.

³ This idea was no doubt suggested by the derivation of the word purodâs (rice-cake), from puras, 'before, in front, at the head,' and dâs, 'to offer' (see I, 6, 2, 5); the double meaning of kapâla (shell or cup and skull) being made use of to complete the simile.

nothing else than the brain. Now this (combination of skull and brain) certainly forms one limb: 'Let us put that (which is) one together! Let us make it one!' thus they think; and therefore the two acts are done simultaneously.

3. He who puts the potsherds on (the fire), takes the shovelling-stick (*upavesha*), with the text (*Vâg. S. I, 17 a*): 'Bold (*dhṛishī*) art thou!' For since with it he, as it were, attacks the fire boldly, therefore it is called *dhṛishī*¹. And since with it he touches (the coals) at the sacrifice, since with it he attends to (*upa-vish*) this (*Gârhapatya* fire), therefore it is called *upavesha*.

4. With it he shifts the coals to the fore-part² (of the *khara* or hearth-mound), with the text (*Vâg. S. I, 17 b*): 'O fire! cast off the fire that eateth raw flesh! drive away the corpse-eating one!' For the raw flesh-eating (fire) is the one with which men cook what they eat; and the corpse-eating one is that on which they burn (the dead) man: these two he thereby expels from it (the *Gârhapatya*).

5. He now pulls toward himself³ one coal, with the text (*Vâg. S. I, 17 c*): 'Bring hither that (fire) which maketh offerings to the gods!' He thinks: 'On that (fire), which makes offerings to the gods, we

¹ The *upavesha*, or *dhṛishī*, is made of fresh *varāṇa* or *palāśa* wood, a cubit (*aratni*) or span (*vitasti*) long; one of its ends having the shape of a hand (*hastākṛīti*), to serve as a coal shovel; cf. *Mahīdh.* and *Schol.* on *Kāty. I, 3, 36*; *II, 4, 26*. *Dhṛishī* is apparently derived from the root *dhṛish*, 'to be bold.'

² The burning coals have been hitherto lying on the western side of the *Gârhapatya* hearth, and as this side, which has been well heated by this time, will be used for the potsherds to be put on, he shifts the coals to the eastern or fore-part of the hearth.

³ *Viz.* to the centre of the cooking-place.

will cook the oblations! on that one we will perform the sacrifice!' and for this reason he pulls (one of the coals) toward himself.

6. On it he places the central potsherd¹. For

¹ In Yâgñika Deva's commentary on Kâty. II, 4, 37, full explanations are given regarding the manner of arranging the potsherds (kapâlas) on which the sacrificial cakes are spread, and which vary in number and shape. The Adhvaryu is first to describe a circle, the diameter of which is six *aṅgulas* (an *aṅgula* or thumb's breadth = about $\frac{3}{4}$ inch). This circle he then divides into three parts by drawing across, from west to east, two parallel lines at a distance of two *aṅgulas* from one another, so as to make the two outer (or southern and northern) segments of equal size. The middle division he then covers with three equal square potsherds (measuring two *aṅgulas* on each side), by laying down first the central one, then the one behind or west of it, and lastly the front or eastern one. He then lays down another (the fourth) south of the first or central one; after which he divides the still remaining potsherds equally between the southern and the northern segments, or, in case of that number being uneven, assigns the odd potsherd to the southern division. Thus, in the present case, where in the first place a cake on eight potsherds is to be offered to Agni; after laying down the three intermediate ones and the fourth, or central one of the southern division, he divides the remaining four equally between the southern and northern segments, beginning, in laying them down, in the south-east corner, and moving around from right to left, so as to end in the north-east. Similarly in the case of the cake on eleven potsherds for Agnîshomau, after laying down the first four potsherds, he assigns four of the remaining seven to the southern, and three to the northern division. Thus with cakes requiring an uneven number of potsherds, the number of those of the southern division exceeds that of the northern one by two; and in the case of an even number, by one only. 'This is the rule applying to cakes requiring at least six potsherds. When one potsherd only is required, it is to be of the size of a hand; when two, they are to form a circle divided into two equal parts by a line drawn from south to north; when three, the circle is divided into three sections from south to north; when four or five, it is divided into two halves from west to east; and in the one case three potsherds are placed in the southern and one (of half-moon shape) in the northern half; in the other case three in the northern and two in the southern division. The potsherds,

the gods, when they were performing sacrifice, were in fear of a disturbance from the Asuras and Rakshas. They were afraid lest those evil spirits, the Rakshas, might rise from below them. Now Agni (fire) is the repeller of the Rakshas, and for this reason he thus places (the potsherd) on it. The reason why it is just this (coal) and no other (on which the potsherd is put) is, that this one, having been consecrated by the (above) sacrificial formula, is sacrificially pure: that is why he places the central potsherd on it.

7. He puts it on, with the text (Vâg. S. I, 17 d): 'Thou art firm; make thou the earth firm!' For under the form of the earth he renders this same (sacrifice) firm; by it he chases away the spiteful enemy. He adds: 'Thee, devoted to the brahman, devoted to the kshatra, devoted to the (sacrificer's) kinsmen, I put on for the destruction of the enemy!' Manifold, indeed, are the prayers for blessing in the sacrificial texts (yagus): by this one he prays for the priestly and military orders, those two towers of strength (vîrye, energies)¹. 'Thee, devoted to the (sacrificer's) kinsmen,' he says, because kinsmen mean wealth, and wealth he thereby prays for. When he says, 'I put thee on for the destruction of the enemy,' whether or not he wishes to exorcise, let him say, 'for the destruction of so

though mostly irregular in shape, must always exactly fit one another, so as not to leave any space between. This is effected by rubbing the edges. The cake itself is to be of the shape of a tortoise; the convex shield, or carapace, of the latter consisting of plates arranged in a somewhat similar way as the potsherds of most cakes, viz. in a central (dorsal) and two lateral sets.

¹ For special prayers for the two highest castes, in the Vâgas. Samh., cf. Weber, Ind. Stud. X, 27.

and so!’ The moment it (the potsherd) has been put down (and while it is still being touched) with the (fore-)finger of his left hand,—

8. He seizes a (second) coal, lest the evil spirits, the Rakshas, should in the meantime rush in here. For the Brāhman is the repeller of the Rakshas¹: hence, the moment it (the potsherd) has been put down (and while it is still being touched) with the finger of his left hand,—

9. He pushes the coal on it, with the text (Vâg. S. I, 18 a): ‘Accept, O Agni, this holy work (brahman)²!’ He says this, lest the evil spirits, the Rakshas, should rush in here before; for Agni is the repeller of the Rakshas: this is the reason why he pushes it on (the potsherd).

10. He then puts on that (potsherd) which is (to stand) behind (or west of the first or central one), with the text (Vâg. S. I, 18 b): ‘A support art thou! make firm the aërial region!’ Under the form of the atmosphere he makes this (sacrifice) firm; by this he chases away the spiteful enemy. He adds: ‘Thee, devoted to the brahman, devoted to the kshatra, devoted to the (sacrificer’s) kinsmen, I put on for the destruction of the enemy!’

11. He then puts on that one which is (to stand) before (i. e. east of the first potsherd), with the text (Vâg. S. I, 18 c): ‘A stay art thou! do thou make firm the sky!’ Under the form of the sky he makes this same (sacrifice) firm; by it he chases away the spiteful enemy. He adds: ‘Thee, devoted to the brahman, devoted to the kshatra, devoted to the kinsmen, I put on for the destruction of the enemy!’

¹ Cf. I, 1, 4, 6.

² Mahîdhara admits the alternative interpretation, ‘Receive (me) the priest!’

12. He now puts on the one that is (to stand) on the right (i.e. south of the first), with the text (Vâg. S. I, 18 d): 'For all the regions I put thee on!' What fourth (world) there is or is not beyond these (three) worlds, by that indeed he thereby chases away the spiteful enemy. Uncertain, no doubt, is what fourth (world) there is or is not beyond these (three) worlds, and uncertain also are all those regions; for this reason he says, 'For all the regions I put thee on!' The remaining potsherds he puts on¹ either silently, or with the text (Vâg. S. I, 18 e): 'Layer-forming are ye! heap-forming are ye!'

13. He then covers them over with (hot) coals, whilst muttering the text (Vâg. S. I, 18 f): 'May ye be heated with the heat of the *Bhrigus* and

¹ Viz. dividing them in the manner explained at p. 34, note 1, and beginning (south)-east, and moving around from left to right (i.e. following the course of the sun). Mr. Ralph Griffith (Translation of the *Râmâyan*, I, p. 90) has compared this Hindu rite of *pradakshina* or *dakshinîkarana* with the Gaelic *deasil*, as described in the following passage of Sir W. Scott's *The Two Drovers*: "But it is little I would care for the food that nourishes me, or the fire that warms me, or for God's blessed sun itself, if aught but weel should happen to the grandson of my father. So let me walk the *deasil* round you, that you may go safe out into the far foreign land, and come safe home." Robin Oig stopped, half embarrassed, half laughing, and signing to those near that he only complied with the old woman to soothe her humour. In the meantime she traced around him, with wavering steps, the propitiation, which some have thought has been derived from the Druidical mythology. It consists, as is well known, in the person, who makes the *deasil*, walking three times round the person who is the object of the ceremony, taking care to move according to the course of the sun.' Cf. note at p. 45. Note also the etymological connection between *dakshina* and *deiseil* (Old Ir. *dessel*, from *dess*, Gael. *deas*, south or right side). For the corresponding rite (*dextratio*) at the Roman marriage ceremonies see Rossbach, *Römische Ehe*, pp. 315, 316; Weber, *Ind. Stud.* V, p. 221.

Āṅgiras¹ for it is indeed the brightest light, that of the Bhr̥igus and Āṅgiras. He covers them with the view that 'they shall be well heated.'

14. Now he² who puts the two mill-stones on (the black antelope skin), (in the first place) takes up the black antelope skin, with the text (Vāg. S. I, 19): 'Bliss-bestowing art thou!' He shakes it, with the text (ib.): 'Shaken off is the Rakshas, shaken off are the enemies!' the import and application of which is the same (as above, I, 1, 4, 4). He spreads it (on the ground) with the neck-part turned towards west, whilst muttering the text (ib.): 'The skin of Aditi (the inviolate or boundless earth) art thou! May Aditi acknowledge (receive) thee!' the import (of this formula) being the same (as before, I, 1, 4, 5).

15. He then puts the lower mill-stone on it, with the text (Vāg. S. I, 19): 'A rock-bowl art thou! May the skin of Aditi acknowledge thee!' for it is a bowl (dhishanâ) and a rock too; and by saying, 'May the skin of Aditi acknowledge thee,' he establishes an understanding between it and the black antelope skin, so that 'they will not hurt each other.' This one (the lower mill-stone) represents the earth.

16. He now puts upon (the west side of) it the wedge³ with its point turned towards north, whilst

¹ The old families of the Bhr̥igus and Āṅgiras are frequently mentioned together, and often also in conjunction with the Atharvans: it is indeed to these three families that the native authorities attribute the texts and ritual of the Atharva-veda, or fourth Veda, which is generally referred to in the later Vedic writings under the designation Atharvāṅgirasas. It is probable that the Bhr̥igu-Āṅgiras in the above formula of the Vāgas. Samhitâ are intended as equivalent to the latter term. Cf. Weber, *Omina et Portenta*, p. 346.

² Viz. the Adhvaryu; cf. I, 2, 1, 1.

³ According to the corresponding rule of Kâtyâyana (II, 5, 4)

muttering the text (Vâg. S. I, 19): 'The stay of the sky art thou!' that is to say, it represents the atmosphere; for by means of the atmospheric region those two, the sky and the earth, are firmly kept asunder; and for this reason he says, 'The stay of the sky art thou!'

17. He then puts the upper mill-stone on (the lower one), with the text (Vâg. S. I, 19): 'A rock-born bowl art thou! May the rock acknowledge thee!' For this one being smaller is, as it were, the daughter (of the lower mill-stone)¹; for this reason he calls it 'rock-born.' 'May the rock acknowledge thee!' he says, because one of the same kin acknowledges (receives the other): thereby he establishes an understanding between those two mill-stones, thinking 'they will not hurt one another!' This one, as it were, represents the sky; (or) the two mill-stones are, as it were, the two jaws, and the wedge is the tongue: that is why he beats (the mill-stones) with the wedge², for it is with the tongue that one speaks.

18. He now pours the rice on (the lower stone), with the text (Vâg. S. I, 20): 'Grain (dhânyam) art thou! do thou gratify (dhi)³ the gods!' for it is

and to his commentators (and Mahîdhara on Vâg. S. I, 19) and the Black Yagur-veda, he does not lay the wedge on the lower mill-stone, but inserts it under the west or back-part of the stone, so as to make the latter incline towards east and to steady it.

¹ In the Gobhiltiya Grîhya-sûtra II, 1, 16 the upper stone is similarly called 'the son or child' of the lower one [dṛīṣhatputra], which the editor, Kandrakānta, interprets as 'dṛīṣhad and its son;' or optionally, 'the son of the dṛīṣhad.' Cf. Weber, Ind. Stud. V, p. 305 note.

² See I, 1, 4, 13.

³ Mahîdhara derives dhânya from the root dhi; and apparently allows to it here the double meaning 'corn or grain,' and 'that which satisfies or pleases.'

grain; and it is with the intention 'that it may gratify the gods' that the rice-oblation is taken.

19. He then grinds it, with the text (Vâg. S. I, 20): 'For out-breathing (I grind) thee! for in-breathing thee! for through-breathing (pervading vital air)¹ thee! May I impart a long duration to the life (of the sacrificer)²!' He pours it (the ground rice on the skin), with the text (ib.): 'May the divine Savitṛi, the golden-handed, receive thee with a flawless hand³!' 'For his (the sacrificer's) eye (I look at) thee⁴!'

20. The reason why he thus grinds it, is that the sacrificial food of the gods is living, is amṛita (ambrosia, or not dead) for the immortals. Now with the mortar and pestle, and with the two mill-stones they kill this rice-offering (havyagṛ̥ṇa).

21. When he now says: 'For out-breathing thee! for in-breathing thee!' he thereby again imparts out-breathing and in-breathing (to it), and by saying 'for through-breathing thee!' he imparts through-breathing (to it). By 'may I impart a long duration to the life!' he bestows life on it. By 'may the divine Savitṛi, the golden-handed, receive thee with a flaw-

¹ On the three kinds of breathing, see I, 1, 3, 2-3.

² According to Kātyāyana (II, 5, 7) and Mahīdhara, this last formula ('May I, &c.') should be joined to the one that follows, and pronounced by the Adhvaryu whilst he pours the ground rice on the skin. Mahīdhara interprets it thus: 'I put thee, (O rice! on the black antelope skin) for (increasing) the life (of the sacrificer) with a view to a long continuance (of the sacrificial work);' or 'I place thee along the long expanse (i.e. the skin) for thy (the rice's) long life!'

³ See I, 1, 4, 23.

⁴ Thus, according to Kāty. or Mahīdh., whilst he looks at the ground rice on the skin.

less hand!' he says: 'May they be well received!' By 'for the eye thee!' he bestows eye-sight on it. Now these (attributes) are those of a living being; and thus that sacrificial food for the gods is indeed living, is *amṛita* (ambrosia, or not dead) for the immortals. This is the reason why he thus grinds (the rice). (Whilst) they are grinding the (ground) grains¹, (and whilst) they are heating the potsherds,—

22. Some one² pours clarified butter (into the *âgyasthâlt*, or butter-pot). Now whatever oblation, in being taken, is announced to a (particular) deity, that belongs to the respective deity, that he takes with a special prayer; but in taking this oblation, to wit, the butter, he does not announce it to any particular deity, and therefore takes it with an undefined formula, viz. with (*Vâg. S. I, 20*): 'Juice of the great ones art thou!' For 'the great ones' some (take to be) a name for the cows; and their juice indeed it is: for this reason he says, 'The juice of the great ones art thou!' And thus, moreover, is some of that (butter) taken with a sacrificial formula: and for this reason also he says, 'The juice of the great ones art thou!'

¹ *Pimshanti pish/âni*; the grinding of the ground or grinding of flour (*pish/a-peshana*) is a common expression in later Sanskrit for doing a useless work ('carrying owls to Athens,' or 'coals to Newcastle'). In the present passage, however, the phrase has to be understood, according to *Sâyana*, as meaning 'whilst they (the sacrificer's people) carry on the work of grinding begun by the Adhvaryu.'

² The *Âgnîdhra* or somebody else, according to *Sâyana*; but according to the Schol. on *Kâty. II, 5, 9*, it is done by the sacrificer himself, who thereupon prepares the *veda* or bunch of sacrificial grass, tied in the middle, and cut straight at each end, and used for sweeping, &c. Cf. *Kâty. I, 3, 21-22; II, 5, 9*.

SECOND BRÂHMANA.

1. He pours (the ground rice) into that which contains the strainers—viz. into a dish (pâtrī) on which he has laid the two strainers—with the text (Vâg. S. I, 21): ‘At the impulse of the divine Savi-*tri* I pour thee out, with the arms of the Asvins, with the hands of Pûshan!’ The import of this formula is the same (as before, I, 1, 2, 17).

2. He now sits down somewhere inside the altar (vedi)¹. Then some one (viz. the Âgnîdhra) comes with the kneading-water² and brings it to him. He (the Adhvaryu) receives it through the strainers, with the text (Vâg. S. I, 21): ‘Let the waters mingle with the plants!’ for thereby the water unites with the plants, viz. with the ground rice,—‘The plants with the sap!’ for the plants thereby unite with the sap; viz. that ground rice with the water, for water is their sap,—‘The shining (or wealthy ones) with the moving!’ for the shining ones are the waters, and the moving ones are the plants, and these two are thereby mixed together,—‘Let the sweet mingle with the sweet!’ whereby he says, ‘let the savoury be mixed with the savoury!’

3. He then mixes (the two) together, with the text (Vâg. S. I, 22): ‘For generation I unite thee!’ for, in order that it (the dough or the sacrificial cake prepared from it) may bring offspring to the sacri-

¹ ‘He sits down (with the dish) either behind the cooking fire, or inside the altar,’ Kâty. II, 5, 11. According to Mahâdeva, the former alternative is the one favoured by the Kânvas.

² According to Kâty. II, 5, 1, the kneading-water (or mixing-water, upasarganî) has been put on the (Gârhapatya) fire (by the Âgnîdh) at the time of, or previously to, the spreading of the black antelope skin.

ficer, for his prosperity, for food, and so on,—for these reasons he mixes them together. And he also mixes them together with the intention of placing it (the dough) on (the fire): hence, in order that it (the sacrificial cake) may be produced over the fire, for that purpose also he mixes them together.

4. He now divides it into two halves, if there be two oblations: at the full-moon sacrifice there really are two oblations. He then touches them,—where (by so doing) he would not again mix (the two) together,—with the (respective) formulas (*Vâg. S. I, 22*): ‘This to Agni!’ ‘This to Agni-Soma!’ Separately indeed they take that sacrificial food (from the cart) in the first place¹; then they thresh it together, then they grind it together, then he again divides it: for this reason he thus touches (them separately). The one (the *Adhvaryu*) now places the cake over (the fire), the other (the *Āgnīdhra*) puts the clarified butter on:

5. These two acts are done simultaneously. The reason why these two acts are done simultaneously is that one half of the body of the sacrifice no doubt is that butter, and the other half is this rice-offering. ‘That half and this half, these two let us now take to the fire!’ thus (they think): for this reason those two acts are done simultaneously, and thus this body of the sacrifice is joined together.

6. That one (the *Āgnīdhra*) puts the butter on, with the text (*Vâg. S. I, 22*): ‘For sap—thee!’ When he says ‘for sap thee!’ he says it for the sake of rain; therefore he takes it off again, with the text (*Vâg. S. I, 30*): ‘For juice—thee!’ What juice is

¹ See I, 1, 2, 17 seq., especially p. 17, note 2.

derived (by the plants) from the rain, for that he says this.

7. Now he (the Adhvaryu) puts on (*adhi-vrig*) the cake, with the text (*Vâg. S. I, 22*): 'Heat (or a hot vessel, *gharma*) art thou!' whereby he makes it (a means of) sacrifice, and puts it on in the same way as if he were putting the (*pravargya*) cauldron (*gharma*)¹ on,—'Life-sustaining (*visvâyus*)!' he adds, whereby he obtains life (for the sacrificer).

8. He spreads it (over the respective potsherds), with the text (*Vâg. S. I, 22*): 'Spread widely, thou wide-spreading one!' whereby he causes it to spread. He adds: 'May thy Lord of Sacrifice spread widely (prosper)!' Lord of Sacrifice, namely, is the sacrificer: hence it is for the sacrificer that he thereby prays for blessing.

9. Let him not make it too broad; for he would make it a human (profane, common cake), if he were to make it (too) broad. Unlucky for (or, excluded from) the sacrifice indeed is that one, to wit, the common (cake). 'That I may not do anything that

¹ *Gharma*, literally 'heat,' is also the technical term for a kind of cauldron (also called *mahâvîra*) used at the *Pravargya* ceremony, a preparatory rite of the Soma-sacrifice: the empty cauldron is there put on the fire, and when thoroughly heated (whence its name), fresh milk is poured into it. The technical phrase for putting on the cauldron is *pra-vrig*, from which *pravargya* is derived; and the same verb, though with a different preposition (*viz. adhi-vrig*), being technically used for the putting on of the sacrificial cake, this verbal coincidence has probably suggested this connection of the two ceremonies, there being a constant tendency to establish some kind of relation between ordinary offerings and the Soma-sacrifice, as the most solemn one; cf. III, 4, 4, 1; X, 2, 5, 3 seq.; Ait. Br. I, 18 seq. Previously to the spreading of the cake, the cinders are swept off from the potsherds with the grass-brush (*veda*), Hilleb. p. 41, note 7.

is unlucky at the sacrifice,' thus (he thinks, and) for that reason he should not make it too broad.

10. And some now say: 'He should make it of the size of a horse's hoof!' But who knows how large is a horse's hoof? Let him make it of such a size as in his own mind he does not think would be too broad.

11. He then touches it over with water, either once or three times: for whatever in this (rice-offering) they either injure or tear asunder in the threshing or grinding of it, that—water being (a means of) expiation (or purification)—he thereby expiates with water, that is, with (the means of) expiation; that he thereby makes good: for this reason he touches it over with water.

12. He touches it over, with the text (*Vāg. S. I, 22*): 'May the fire not injure thy skin!' for on the fire he is now going to heat it: 'May that (fire) not injure thy skin!' this is what he thereby says.

13. He now carries fire round it¹. By this he encloses it with an unbroken fence, lest the evil

¹ The *paryagnikaraṇam* consists in performing *pradakṣiṇā* (see p. 37, note 1) on an object whilst holding a fire-brand or burning coal; or (according to the *Paddhati*) in moving one's hand, which holds the burning coal, round the oblation, from left to right. According to *Kāty. II, 5, 22*, the *Adhvaryu* does so on the present occasion, whilst muttering the formula, 'Removed is the *Rakshas*! removed are the enemies!' (*Taitt. S. I, 1, 8, 1.*) This practice of *paryagnikaraṇam* may be compared with the carrying of fire round houses, fields, boats, &c., on the last night of the year, a custom which, according to Mr. A. Mitchell (*The Past in the Present*, p. 145), still prevails in some parts of Scotland, and which he thinks is probably a survival of some form of fire-worship, and intended to secure fertility and general prosperity. The obvious meaning of the ceremony would seem to be the warding off of the dark and mischievous powers of nature.

spirits, the Rakshas, should seize upon it; for Agni (fire) is the repeller of the Rakshas: this is the reason why he carries fire round it.

14. He bakes¹ it, with the text (Vâg. S. I, 22): 'Let the divine (or God) Savitṛi bake thee!' for it is not a man that bakes it, but a god it is: therefore it is the God Savitṛi that bakes it². He adds: 'In the highest heaven!' He means to say 'among the gods,' when he says 'in the highest heaven.' He touches it: 'I will ascertain whether it is done!' thus (he thinks, and) for that reason he touches it.

15. He touches it, with the text (Vâg. S. I, 23): 'Be not afraid! shrink not!' He thereby says: 'Do not thou be afraid, do not thou shrink, because I, a man, touch thee that art not human!'

16. When it is done, he covers it over (with hot ashes): 'Lest the evil spirits, the Rakshas, should espy it,' thus (he thinks); and 'Lest it should lie, as it were, naked and despoiled!' thus also (he thinks):—that is the reason why he covers it over.

17. He covers it over, with the text (Vâg. S. I, 23): 'May the sacrifice not be liable to languish, nor the sacrificer's race liable to languish!' 'That the sacrifice or the sacrificer may not languish after this, when I cover this over,' thus (he thinks, and) for this reason he covers it over in this manner (i. e. with the above text).

¹ On the upper side it is baked by burning straw put on or held over it, whereby it takes a crust (*tvaḥ*, 'skin'). Schol. on Kâty. II, 5, 23.

² With the name of no other God the epithet *deva* ('shining,' 'God') is so frequently used as with that of Savitṛi: hence, according to the author's reasoning, it is he that must be intended, whenever a god not otherwise specified is alluded to.

18. He then pours out for the Âptya deities the water with which the dish has been rinsed and that in which he has washed his fingers¹. The reason why he pours it out for the Âptyas (is this) :

THIRD BRĀHMANA.

THE PREPARATION OF THE ALTAR.

1. Fourfold, namely, was Agni (fire) at first. Now that Agni whom they at first chose for the office of Hotri priest passed away. He also whom they chose the second time passed away. He also whom they chose the third time passed away². Thereupon the one who still constitutes the fire in our own time, concealed himself from fear. He entered into the waters. Him the gods discovered and brought forcibly away from the waters. He spat upon the waters, saying, 'Bespitten are ye who are an unsafe place of refuge, from whom they take me away against my will!' Thence sprung the Âptya deities, Trita, Dvita, and Ekata.

2. They roamed about with Indra, even as nowadays a Brâhman follows in the train of a king. When he slew Visvarûpa, the three-headed son of Tvashtri, they also knew of his going to be killed; and straightway Trita slew him. Indra, assuredly, was free from that (sin), for he is a god³.

¹ The washing of the fingers and the dish, and has taken place after the putting on and touching over of the cake, and before the paryagnikarânam is performed.

² In I, 3, 3, 13-16, the three former Agnis (or the three brothers of Agni, acc. to Mahîdh., Vâg. S. II, 2) are said to have fled from fear of the thunderbolt, in the shape of the vashat formula.

³ Cf. I, 6, 3, 1 seq. In the Taitt. Samh. II, 5, 1, 1, Visvarûpa, the Tvâshtra, is said to have been a sister's son of the Asuras, and

3. And the people thereupon said: 'Let those be guilty of the sin who knew about his going to be killed!' 'How?' they asked. 'The sacrifice shall wipe it off upon (shall transfer it to) them!' they said. Hence the sacrifice thereby wipes off upon them (the guilt or impurity incurred in the preparation of the offering), when they pour out for them the water with which the dish has been rinsed, and that in which he (the Adhvaryu) has washed his fingers.

4. And the Âptyas then said: 'Let us make this pass on beyond us!' 'On whom?' they asked. 'On him who shall make an offering without a *dakshinâ* (gift to the officiating priests)!' they said. Hence one must not make an offering without a *dakshinâ*; for the sacrifice wipes (the guilt) off upon the Âptyas, and the Âptyas wipe it off upon him who makes an offering without a *dakshinâ*.

5. Thereupon the gods ordained this to be the

house-priest (*purohita*) to the gods, and to have been killed by Indra, because he had secretly contrived to let the oblations go to the Asuras, instead of to the gods. Thus by killing him, Indra (or Trita, according to our version of the legend) became guilty of that most hideous crime, the *brahmahatyâ*, or killing of a *Brâhmaṇa*. Trita, the Âptya (i. e. probably 'sprung from, or belonging to the ap, or waters of the atmosphere'), seems to have been a prominent figure of the early Indo-Iranian mythology, the prototype, in many respects, of Indra, the favourite god of the Vedic hymns. The notion of wishing evil and misfortune away to Trita, or far, far away, is a familiar one to the Vedic bards. The name *Traitana* also occurs once in *Rig-veda* (I, 158, 5), though in a rather dark passage. On the connection between Trita (? *Traitana*) and the Iranian *Thraetona* (*Ferîdûn*), son of *Athvya*, see E. Burnouf, *Journ. Asiat.* V, 120; R. Roth, *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morg. Ges.* II, p. 216 seq. *Dvita* (the second) and *Ekata* are no doubt later abstractions suggested by the etymology of the name Trita (the third), although the former, *Dvita*, occurs already in the Vedic hymns.

dakshinâ at the new- and full-moon sacrifices, to wit, the Anvâhârya mess of rice¹, 'lest the oblation should be without a dakshinâ.' That (rinsing water) he pours out (for each Âptya) separately: thus he avoids a quarrel among them. He makes it hot (previously)²: thus it becomes boiled (drinkable) for them. He pours it out with the formulas, 'For Trita thee!' 'For Dvita thee!' 'For Ekata thee!'—Now it is as an animal sacrifice that this sacrificial cake is offered³.

¹ The Anvâhârya consists of boiled rice prepared from the rice-grains that remain after the sacrificial cakes have been prepared. It is put on the Dakshina fire by the Adhvaryu for cooking after covering over the cakes and pouring out the water. Kâty. II, 5, 27. Sâyana explains the term as 'that which takes away (anvâ-hri) from the sacrificer the guilt incurred by mistakes during the sacrifice;' but the St. Petersburg Dictionary offers the more probable explanation of it as 'that which serves to supplement (anvâ-hri) the sacrifice.'

² According to Sâyana 'he makes the poured-out water hot with a coal.' Kâtyâyana (II, 5, 26) and his commentators, on the other hand, supply the following particulars: 'Having heated (with straw lighted in the Gârhapatya) the water which has been used for washing the dish and hands, he pours it out for the Âptyas (from east to west into three lines drawn with the wooden sword from west to east, north of the sacrificial ground) in such a manner that it does not flow together, with the formulas, "For Trita thee!" &c., respectively.'

³ That is to say, the sacrificial cake is a substitute or symbol (pratimâ) for the animal sacrifice (as this it would seem was originally a substitute for the human sacrifice) by which the sacrificer redeems himself from the gods. Cf. Sat. Br. XI, 1, 8, 3; Taitt. Br. III, 2, 8, 8. The initiation (dîkshâ) of the sacrificer constitutes his consecration as the victim at the animal sacrifice (Sat. Br. XI, 7, 1, 3; Ait. Br. II, 3, 9; 11; Taitt. Br. II, 2, 82; T. S. VI, 1, 11, 6; Kaush. Br. X, 3; XI, 8), or as the sacrificial food at the haviryagña (Sat. Br. III, 3, 4, 21; Taitt. Br. III, 2, 8, 9), or as the horse at the horse-sacrifice (Taitt. Br. III, 9, 17, 4-5), &c. See, also, Taitt. S. VII, 2, 10, 4; Kâh. 34, 11, where it is said that one must

6. At first, namely, the gods offered up a man as the victim¹. When he was offered up, the sacrificial essence went out of him. It entered into the horse. They offered up the horse. When it was offered up, the sacrificial essence went out of it. It entered into the ox. They offered up the ox. When it was offered up, the sacrificial essence went out of it. It entered into the sheep. They offered up the sheep. When it was offered up, the sacrificial essence went out of it. It entered into the goat. They offered up the goat. When it was offered up, the sacrificial essence went out of it.

7. It entered into this earth. They searched for it, by digging. They found it (in the shape of) those two (substances), the rice and barley : therefore even now they obtain those two by digging ; and as much

not perform the dvâdasâha for any one, since in having to eat of the victim, the cake, &c., one would eat the sacrificer's own flesh, &c. Cf. Weber, *Ind. Streifen*, I, p. 73. In accordance with these notions it would seem that man originally sacrificed his equal, as the best substitute for his own self ; and that, as advancing civilisation rendered human sacrifices distasteful, the human victim was supplied by domestic animals, ennobled by constant contact with man ; and finally by various materials of human diet.

¹ On this legend and the one in the *Ait. Br.* II, 8, but slightly differing from ours, see Max Müller's *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 420 ; A. Weber's *Ind. Streifen*, I, p. 55 ; Haug's *Transl. of the Ait. Br.* p. 90 ; J. Muir's *Original Sanskrit Texts*, IV, p. 289 note. Professor Max Müller remarks : ' The drift of this story is most likely that in former times all these victims had been offered. We know it for certain in the case of horses and oxen, though afterwards these sacrifices were discontinued. As to sheep and goats, they were considered proper victims to a still later time. When vegetable offerings took the place of bloody victims, it was clearly the wish of the author of our passage to show that, for certain sacrifices, these rice-cakes were as efficient as the flesh of animals.' Cf. also II, 1, 4, 3.

efficacy as all those sacrificed animal victims would have for him, so much efficacy has this oblation (of rice &c.) for him who knows this. And thus there is in this oblation also that completeness which they call 'the fivefold animal sacrifice.'

8. When it (the rice-cake) still consists of rice-meal, it is the hair¹. When he pours water on it, it becomes skin². When he mixes it, it becomes flesh : for then it becomes consistent ; and consistent also is the flesh. When it is baked, it becomes bone : for then it becomes somewhat hard ; and hard is the bone. And when he is about to take it off (the fire) and sprinkles it with butter, he changes it into marrow. This is the completeness which they call 'the fivefold animal sacrifice.'

9. The man (purusha) whom they had offered up became a mock-man (kim-purusha³). Those two, the horse and the ox, which they had sacrificed,

¹ According to Sâyana, because, like the hair of the victim, the particles of the ground rice are minute and numerous. According to Ait. Br. II, 9, on the other hand, the awn or beard of the rice represents the hair ; the husks the skin ; the minute particles of chaff removed by the final winnowings, the blood ; the ground rice the flesh ; and 'whatever other substantial part is in the rice' are the bones of the victim.

² 'Because it becomes as flexible as skin,' Sâyana.

³ It is doubtful what particular kind of being the term kimpurusha (depraved man) is here intended to denote. The authors of the St. Petersburg Dictionary, whom Professor Weber follows (Ind. Stud. IX, 246), take it (probably correctly) to denote 'a monkey.' Professor Haug, on the other hand, in his translation of the corresponding passage in the Ait. Br. II, 8, thinks 'the author very likely meant a dwarf,' whilst Professor Max Müller (History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 420) translates it by 'a savage.' Perhaps one of the species of apes which particularly resemble man, is intended by it. Cf. Weber, *Omina et Portenta*, p. 356.

became a *bos gaurus* and a *gayal* (*bos gavaeus*) respectively. The sheep which they had sacrificed, became a camel. The goat which they had sacrificed, became a *sarabha*¹. For this reason one should not eat (the flesh) of these animals, for these animals are deprived of the sacrificial essence (are impure).

FOURTH BRÂHMANA.

1. When Indra hurled the thunderbolt at *Vṛitra*, that hurled one became fourfold. Of (three parts of) it the wooden sword (*sphya*) represents one-third or thereabouts, the sacrificial post one-third or thereabouts, and the chariot one-third or thereabouts. That piece, moreover, with which he struck him, was broken off (*sri*); and on falling down it became an arrow (*sara*): hence the designation arrow, because it was broken off. And in this way the thunderbolt became fourfold.

2. In consequence of this, the priests make use of two (of these pieces) at the sacrifice, and men of the military caste (*râganyabandhu*) also make use of two of them in battle: viz. the priests make use of the sacrificial post and the wooden sword, and the men of the military caste of the chariot and the arrow.

3. Now when he takes up the wooden sword², he raises that thunderbolt against the wicked, spiteful enemy, even as Indra at that time raised the thunderbolt against *Vṛitra*: that is the reason why he takes the wooden sword.

4. He takes it, with the text (*Vâg. S. I, 24*): 'At the impulse of the divine *Savitṛi*, I take thee with

¹ A fabulous kind of deer with eight legs, which was supposed to kill elephants and lions.

² See note on I, 1, 2, 8.

the arms of the Asvins, with the hands of Pûshan ; thee that performs sacred rites to the gods !' Savitri, namely, is the impeller of the gods : thus he thereby takes that (wooden sword) as one impelled by Savitri. 'With the arms of the Asvins,' he says, because the Asvins are the two Adhvaryu priests (of the gods) : with their arms he therefore takes it, not with his own. Pûshan is distributor of portions (to the gods) : with his hands he therefore takes it, not with his own ; for it is the thunderbolt, and no man can hold that : he thus takes it with (the assistance of) the gods.

5. 'I take (thee) that performs sacred rites to the gods,' he says, because a sacred rite means a sacrifice : 'that performs sacrifices to the gods,' he thereby says. After taking it in his left hand and touching it with his right, he murmurs—by what he murmurs he makes it sharp,—

6. He murmurs (Vâg. S. I, 24) : 'Thou art Indra's right arm !' for Indra's right arm no doubt is the most powerful one, and for that reason he says : 'Thou art Indra's right arm !' 'The thousand-spiked, hundred-edged !' he adds, for a thousand spikes and a hundred edges had that thunderbolt which he hurled at Vritra : he thereby makes it to be that (thunderbolt).

7. 'The sharp-edged Vâyû (wind) art thou !' he adds ; for that indeed is the sharpest edge, to wit, that (wind) which here blows : for that one sweeps right across these worlds. He thereby makes it sharp. When he (further) says : 'The killer of the enemy !' let him, whether he wishes to exorcise or not, say : 'The killer of so and so !' When it has been sharpened, he must not touch either himself or the earth with it : 'Lest I should hurt either myself or the earth with that sharp thunderbolt,' thus he thinks, and for

that reason he does not touch either himself or the earth with it.

8. The gods and the Asuras, both of them sprung from Pragâpati¹, were contending for superiority. The gods vanquished the Asuras; and yet these afterwards harassed them again.

9. The gods then said: 'We do, no doubt, vanquish the Asuras, but nevertheless they afterwards again harass us. How then can we vanquish them so that we need not fight them again?'

10. Agni then said: 'By fleeing northwards they escape from us.' By fleeing northwards they had indeed escaped from them.

11. Agni said: 'I will go round to the northern side, and you will then shut them in from here²; and whilst shutting them in, we will put them down by these (three) worlds; and from what fourth world there is beyond these (three) they will not be able to rise again.'

12. Agni thereupon went round to the northern side; and they (the other gods) shut them in from here; and whilst shutting them in, they put them down with these (three) worlds; and from what fourth world

¹ Pragâpati is called the father of the gods and Asuras, I, 5, 3, 2; and they are represented as entering on his inheritance, I, 7, 2, 22; IX, 5, 1, 12. Not only the gods and Asuras, but also the men derive their origin from Pragâpati, XIV, 8, 2, 1. He has created all beings, I, 6, 3, 35; Ait. Br. III, 36.

² I. e. 'from the sacrificial ground,' Sâyana. It seems doubtful to me whether it does not rather mean 'you will then shut them in, or block them up, within that place,' that is to say, north of the altar, where the utkara, or heap of rubbish, lies. The four worlds by which he puts down the enemies are represented by the loose soil which is dug up by the sphya being flung four separate times at the grass-bush lying on the altar (vedi), and which is then thrown on the utkara.

there is beyond these (three) they did not rise again. Now this same (expulsion of the Asuras) is virtually the same act as the flinging away of the grass-bush¹.

13. The Âgnîdhra goes round to the north, for he is virtually the same person as Agni himself. The Adhvaryu then shuts them in from here; and whilst shutting them in, he puts them down by means of these (three) worlds; and from what fourth world there is beyond these (three) they do not rise again. Thus now also they do not rise again, for by the same means by which the gods kept them off, the priests now also keep them off during the sacrifice.

14. And whoever has evil designs upon the sacrificer and hates him, him he thereby puts down by means of these (three) worlds, and what fourth world there is beyond these. And in putting him down with these (three) worlds, and what fourth world there is beyond these, he flings everything away from this (earth), for on it all these worlds rest: for what would he fling away, if he were to fling (the grass-bush) away with the words, 'The air I throw away, the heaven I throw away!' therefore he flings everything away from this (earth)².

15. Thereupon, after putting the grass-bush between³, he flings (the wooden sword at it). 'Lest I

¹ The ceremony called *stambayagus* (-*haranam*) consists in 'the throwing away of the grass-bush after cutting it by the (flinging of the) wooden sword, with the simultaneous reciting of Yagus-texts' [*yagurmantrako darbhaḥ stambayaguḥ, taḥḥa stambarūpam sphryena bhittvotkaradese haret, Sây., Taitt. S. I, 1, 9*].

² This passage, in which the author seems to argue against some other ritualistic authority, is not quite clear to me. The Taitt. Br. has, 'from the atmosphere he drives him away (by the second throw), from the sky he drives him away (by the third throw).'

³ That is, between himself, or the wooden sword, and the altar. According to Kâty. II, 6, 15, he lays the grass-bush down on the

should injure the earth with this sharp thunderbolt !' thus (he thinks, and) for that reason he flings after putting the grass-bush between.

16. He flings it, with the text (Vâg. S. I, 25): 'O earth, that affordest the place for making offerings to the gods! may I not injure the root of thy plant!' He thereby makes her, as it were, with roots remaining in her¹. Whilst he takes up (the earth dug up by the sword), he thus addresses her: 'May I not injure the roots of thy plants!'—And in further saying, 'Go to the fold, the abode of the cows!' when he is about to throw it away (on the heap of rubbish), he causes it not to forsake him; for that which is within the fold² does not forsake him: for that reason he says, 'Go to the fold, the abode of the cows!'—He further says (whilst looking at the hole in the ground): 'May the sky rain on thee!' Wherever, in digging into her, they wound and injure her—water being (a means of) expiation—that he thereby expiates by the water which is (a means of) expiation; that he thereby makes good by means of the water: that is the reason why he says: 'May the sky rain on thee!'—'Tie him down, O divine Savitrî, to the furthest end of the earth!' he says (whilst throwing on the heap of rubbish the soil dug up); he thus

altar with its top pointing northwards, with the text: 'The armour of the earth art thou!'

¹ *Sâyana* explains it by *uttaramûlâm iva karoti*; '*pr̥thivîm uparibhâgâvasthitamûlayuktâm ivâ*' (? 'with the roots remaining in its (the earth's) upper part, or surface'). Cf. also *Sây.* on *Taitt. S. I, 1, 9* (p. 155).

² The *Taitt. Br.* (III, 2, 9, 3) identifies the fold (pen, stable) with the metres (? which enclose the altar in the shape of the first set of lines), cf. *Sat. Br. I, 2, 5, 6* seq. This identification rests on the double meaning of *go* (in *gosthânam*) as 'cow' and 'metre.'

says to the divine Savitrî: 'Tie him down to blind darkness!' when he says 'to the furthest end of the earth,'—'With a hundred fetters!' by this he means to say, 'so that he cannot free himself.'—'Him who hates us and whom we hate, do not release from there!' Whether or not he wishes to exorcise, let him say: 'So and so . . . do not release from there!'

17. He then throws (the wooden sword) a second time, with the text (Vâg. S. I, 26): 'May I drive Araru away from the earth, the place of offerings!' Araru¹, namely, was an Asura and Rakshas. Him the gods drove away from this (earth), and in the same way he (the Adhvaryu) thereby drives him away from this (earth). He adds (whilst repeating the several corresponding acts): 'Go to the fold, the abode of the cows! May the sky rain on thee! Tie him down, O divine Savitrî, to the furthest end of the earth, with a hundred fetters, him who hates us and whom we hate, do not release him from there!'

18. The Âgnîdhra presses it down (on the heap of rubbish), with the text (Vâg. S. I, 26): 'O Araru! thou shalt not fly up to heaven!' For when the gods drove away Araru, the Asura-Rakshas, he wished to fly up to heaven. Agni pressed him down, saying, 'O Araru, thou shalt not fly up to heaven!' and he did not fly up to heaven. In the same way the

¹ Of this demon we have no further particulars except that in Rig-veda X, 99, 10, he is said to have four feet; see also Taitt. Br. III, 2, 9, 4 seq. Perhaps there is some connection between Araru and the Arurmaghas in Ait. Br. VII, 28, and the Arunmukhas in Kaushît. Up. 3, 1; both of them enemies of Indra. Cf. M. Haug's and Max Müller's translations of these works; and Weber, Ind. Stud. I, 411.

Adhvaryu thereby cuts him off from this world, and the Âgnîdhra from the side of heaven. That is the reason why he does this.

19. He then throws (the wooden sword) a third time, with the text (Vâg. S. I, 26): 'Let thy drop not spring up to the sky!' Her (the earth's) drop no doubt is that moisture of hers upon which the creatures subsist. 'Let this thine (moisture) not fly away to the sky!' he thereby says.—He adds (whilst again repeating the several acts): 'Go to the fold, the abode of the cows! May the sky rain on thee! Tie him down, O divine Savitrî, to the furthest end of the earth, with a hundred fetters, him who hates us and whom we hate, do not release him from there!'

20. Three times he throws it, with the sacrificial formula (Yagus); for three are these worlds, and with these worlds he thereby puts him (the evil spirit) down¹. And what these worlds are, that in truth is the Yagus: for that reason he throws it thrice with the sacrificial formula.

21. Silently (he throws) a fourth time². What fourth world there may or may not be beyond these (three), by that one he thereby drives away the spiteful enemy. For uncertain indeed is what fourth world there may or may not be beyond these (three); and uncertain also is what (is done) silently: for that reason (he throws) silently a fourth time.

¹ In the corresponding passage of the Black Yagus (Taitt. Br. III, 2, 9, 5 seq.) the Adhvaryu is represented as driving the enemy away from the four worlds by throwing the sword four times.

² When, together with the dug-out soil, he throws the grass-bush on the heap of rubbish. Kâty. II, 6, 24.

FIFTH BRĀHMANA.

1. The gods and the Asuras, both of them sprung from Pragâpati, were contending for superiority. Then the gods were worsted, and the Asuras thought: 'To us alone assuredly belongs this world!'

2. They thereupon said: 'Well then, let us divide this world between us; and having divided it, let us subsist thereon!' They accordingly set about dividing it with ox-hides from west to east.

3. The gods then heard of this, and said: 'The Asuras are actually dividing this earth: come, let us go to where the Asuras are dividing it. For what would become of us, if we were to get no share in it?' Placing Vishṇu, (in the shape of) this very sacrifice, at their head, they went (to the Asuras).

4. They then said: 'Let us share in this earth along with yourselves! Let a part of it be ours!' The Asuras replied rather grudgingly: 'As much as this Vishṇu lies upon, and no more, we give you!'

5. Now Vishṇu was a dwarf¹. The gods, however,

¹ This legend is given in Muir's Original Sanskrit Texts, IV, p. 122, where it is pointed out that we have here the germ of the Dwarf Incarnation of Vishṇu; and in A. Kuhn's treatise, 'Ueber Entwicklungsstufen der Mythenbildung,' p. 128, where the following remarks are made on the story: 'Here also we meet with the same struggle between light and darkness: the gods of light are vanquished and obtain from the Asuras, who divide the earth between themselves, only as much room as is covered by Vishṇu, who measures the atmosphere with his three steps. He represents (though I cannot prove it in this place) the sun-light, which, on shrinking into dwarf's size in the evening, is the only means of preservation that is left to the gods, who cover him with metres, i. e. with sacred hymns (probably in order to defend him from the powers of darkness), and in the end kindle Agni in the east—the dawn—and thereby once more obtain possession of the earth.' Compare also the corresponding legend in Taitt. Br. III, 2, 9, 7,

were not offended at this, but said : ' Much indeed they gave us, who gave us what is equal in size to the sacrifice.'

6. Having then laid him down eastwards, they enclosed him on all (three) sides with the metres, saying (Vâg. S. I, 27), on the south side, ' With the Gâyatrî metre I enclose thee!' on the west side : ' With the Trishûbh metre I enclose thee!' on the north side : ' With the Gagatî metre I enclose thee!'

7. Having thus enclosed him on all (three) sides, and having placed Agni (the fire) on the east side, they went on worshipping and toiling with it (or him, i.e. Vishṇu, the sacrifice). By it they obtained (sam-vid) this entire earth; and because they obtained by it this entire (earth), therefore it (the sacrificial ground) is called vedi (the altar). For this reason they say, ' As great as the altar is, so great is the earth ;' for by it (the altar) they obtained this entire (earth). And, verily, he who so understands this, wrests likewise this entire (earth) from his rivals, excludes his rivals from sharing in it.

8. Thereupon this Vishṇu became tired; but being enclosed on all (three) sides by the metres, with the

where the gods are granted by the Asuras as much as they can enclose ; and by the Vasus being placed in the south, the Rudras in the west, the Âdityas in the north, and Agni in the east, they obtain the whole of the earth.

¹ In the actual performance of the sacrifice this represents the pûrva-parigraha, or first enclosing of the altar by a single line being drawn with the wooden sword on each of the three sides (viz. S.W. to S.E. ; S.W. to N.W. ; N.W. to N.E.) whilst muttering the respective texts. Before doing so he has, however, to ask and receive the permission of the Brahman, mutatis mutandis, in the usual way (cf. p. 7 note): the same forms have to be gone through at the marking of the second and third enclosures. Kâty. II, 6, 25 seq. On the ritualistic application of the metres, see note on I, 3, 2, 9.

fire on the east, there was no (means of) escaping: he then hid himself among the roots of plants.

9. The gods said: 'What has become of Vishṇu? What has become of the sacrifice?' They said: 'On all (three) sides he is enclosed by the metres, with Agni to the east, there is no (way of) escaping: search for him in this very place!' By slightly digging they accordingly searched for him. They discovered him at a depth of three inches (or thumb's breadths): therefore the altar should be three inches deep; and therefore also Pāñḍī¹ made the altar for the Soma-sacrifice three inches deep.

10. This, however, one must not do. Among the roots of the plants he (Vishṇu) hid himself: therefore let him (the Adhvaryu) bid (the Âgnîdhra) to cut out the roots of the plants. And since they found (anu-vid) Vishṇu in that place, therefore it is called vedi (altar).

11. When they had found him, they enclosed him with a second enclosure, saying (Vâg. S. I, 27), 'Of good soil art thou, and auspicious art thou!' on the south side; for when they had thus obtained this earth they made it of good soil and auspicious;— 'Pleasant art thou, and soft to sit upon!' they said on the west side, for when they had thus obtained this earth, they made it pleasant and soft to sit upon;— 'Abounding in food and drink art thou!' they said on the north side, for when they had thus obtained this earth, they made it abounding in food and drink.

¹ This teacher is mentioned again, Sat. Br. II, 1, 4, 27, along with two others, viz. Âsuri and Mâdhuki, but nothing further is known of him. According to the Black Yagur the altar is made four (not three) aṅgulas deep.

12. Threefold¹ he draws round the first line of enclosure, threefold the second: hence sixfold (the two); for six seasons there are in the year, and the year, as Pragâpati (Lord of Creation), is the sacrifice². As large as the sacrifice, as wide as its extent is, so wide does he thereby enclose it.

13. With six sacred words³ he draws around the first line of enclosure, with six the second: thus (together) twelvefold, for twelve no doubt are the months of the year; and the year, as Pragâpati, is the sacrifice. As large as the sacrifice, as wide as its extent is, so wide does he thereby enclose it.

14. 'Let it (the altar) measure a fathom⁴ across on the west side,' they say: that, namely, is the size of a man, and it (the altar) should be of (the) man's size. 'Three cubits long (should be) the

¹ Viz. each enclosing line consists of three divisions corresponding to the three sides (S., W., N.) of the altar.

² Pragâpati (Lord of Creation) is here, as elsewhere, identified with the year (probably as the representative of the eternal process of regeneration) and consequently with the annual cycle of sacrificial performance, or the sacrifice itself. Cf. Sat. Br. I, 5, 2, 16; X, 4, 3, 1.

³ According to Sâyana, because each of the three mantras, 'gâyatreṇa (traishubhena, gâgatena resp.) tvâ khandasâ pari grîhnâmi,' consists of two parts, the first ending with tvâ, the second with grîhnâmi, which makes together six. Similarly with the second triad of mantras. In the former case the Taittiriya text (Taitt. S. I, 1, 9, 3), 'The Vasus may enclose thee with the Gâyatrî metre, the Rudras with the Trishubh metre, the Âdityas with the Gagatrî metre!' would furnish a more natural explanation of the six sacred words.

⁴ Vyâma, the space between the extreme ends of the outstretched arms. It is doubtful whether it is here intended for a fixed measure, or whether it is a relative one, depending on the size of the respective sacrificer. The size of a man was supposed to be equal to the extent of his outstretched arms.

“easterly line¹,” for threefold is the sacrifice,’ (so they say, but) in this there is no (fixed) measure: let him make it as long as he thinks fit in his own mind!

15. The two shoulders (of the altar) he carries along both sides of the (Âhavantya) fire. For the altar (vedi, fem.) is female and the fire (agni, masc.) is male; and the woman lies embracing the man: thereby a copulation productive of offspring is obtained. For this reason he carries the two shoulders (of the altar) along both sides of the fire.

16. It (the altar) should be broader on the west side, contracted in the middle, and broad again on the east side; for thus shaped they praise a woman: ‘broad about the hips, somewhat narrower between the shoulders, and contracted in the middle (or, about the waist).’ Thereby he makes it (the altar) pleasing to the gods.

17. It should be sloping towards east, for the east is the quarter of the gods; and also sloping towards north, for the north is the quarter of men. To the south side he sweeps the rubbish (loose soil), for that is the quarter of the deceased ancestors. If it (the altar) were sloping towards south, the sacrificer would speedily go to yonder world; and thus (by making the altar in the prescribed way) the sacrificer lives for a long time: for this reason he sweeps the loose soil to the south side. Let

¹ I. e. a line drawn from the middle of the western side through the centre of the altar to the Âhavantya fire. The same line prolonged from the western side of the altar westwards to the Gârhapatya would measure eight (eleven or twelve) steps (prakrama or vikrama, of two feet or pada each) from fire to fire. See I, 7, 3, 23-25.

him then cover it (the altar) over with (fresh) rubbish : for rubbish means cattle, and well-stocked with cattle he thereby makes it ¹.

18. He (the Âgnîdhra) smooths it down (from east to west). The gods, namely, when they were preparing for the contest, said to one another : 'Come, let us remove to the moon for safety what imperishable place of worship there is on this earth ; so that if the Asuras, on vanquishing us, should drive us away from here, we may afterwards, by praising and mortifying, prevail again !' They accordingly removed to the moon what imperishable place of worship there was on this earth. That now is the black (spots) in the moon : hence they say, 'In the moon is the place of worship for this earth.' It is in this place of worship also that his sacrifice is performed : for that reason he smooths (the altar) down ².

19. He smooths it down, with the text (Vâg. S. I, 28) : 'Before the bloody (battle) with its rushings hither and thither ³, O mighty one !' the bloody one no doubt is the battle, for in battle

¹ Purîsha, rubbish ; 'sandy or gravel-like soil,' Sây. on Taitt. Br. III, 2, 9, 12 ; purîsha also means 'fæces, manure,' in which sense it is probably taken symbolically for 'cattle.' The Taitt. Br. better : 'well supplied with cattle he thereby makes him (the sacrificer).'

² ? By stroking along the altar he shifts it to the moon.

³ The interpretation of purâ krûrasya visrîpâh here given by the author, and also by Mahîdhara on Vâg. S. I, 28, is more than doubtful. Sâyana on Taitt. S. I, 1, 9 is probably more correct in taking purâ visrîpâh (abl. or gerund) krûrasya to mean 'before the sneaking away of the cruel enemy (Araru, lying fettered on the heap of rubbish)'—he supplies : 'thou, O altar, containest merely the divine oblations, but since his removal thou containest everything.' Cf. also Weber, Ind. Streifen, II, p. 463.

bloody deeds are done, and slain lie man and horse; and before that battle they removed it (the altar to the moon); therefore he says, 'Before the bloody (battle) with its rushings hither and thither, O mighty one!'—'lifting up the life-bestowing earth,' for after lifting up what was living on this earth, they removed it to the moon; therefore he says, 'lifting up the life-bestowing earth;'—'which they raised to the moon by prayers,' 'which they placed in the moon by worship,' he thereby says,—'that (earth) the wise still point out and worship,' to that they accordingly address their worship; and the offering of him also who so understands this, is performed in that place of worship.

20. He now says (to the Âgñidhra; Vâg. S. I, 28), 'Put the sprinkling-water down (on the altar)!' That thunderbolt, the wooden sword, and the priest (brâhmaṇa) have hitherto defended that sacrifice. Now the water also is a thunderbolt: that thunderbolt he thereby lays down for its defence. While the sprinkling-water is being held close above the wooden sword, he takes up the latter. If he were to set the sprinkling-water down, while the wooden sword is still lying, the two thunderbolts would come into collision with each other; but in this way the two thunderbolts do not come into collision with each other: for that reason he takes up the wooden sword, while the sprinkling-water is being held close above it.

21. He pronounces this (entire) speech:—'Put the sprinkling-water down (on the altar)! put fuel and barhis (sacrificial grass) beside it! wipe the ladles! gird the (sacrificer's) wife! come hither with the clarified butter!' This is a direction (given to

the Āgntdhra); he (the Adhvaryu) may pronounce it, if he choose; or, if he so choose, he may omit it: for he (the Āgntdhra) himself knows that this work has now to be done.

22. He then flings the wooden sword northwards (on the heap of rubbish). If he wishes to exorcise¹, (he does so), with the text, 'I fling thee as a thunderbolt for so and so!' and as a thunderbolt the wooden sword accordingly strikes down (the enemy).

23. He then washes his hands²; for what there was bloody (or injured) on it (the altar) that he thereby removes from it: that is why he washes his hands.

24. Now those who made offerings in former times, touched (the altar and oblations) at this particular time, while they were sacrificing. They became more sinful. Those who washed (their hands) became righteous. Then unbelief took hold of men: 'Those who sacrifice become more sinful, and those who sacrifice not become righteous,' they said. No sacrificial food then came to the gods from this world: for the gods subsist on what is offered up from this world³.

25. The gods thereupon said to Br̥haspati Āngirasa, 'Verily, unbelief has come upon men; ordain thou the sacrifice to them!' Br̥haspati Āngirasa then went and said, 'How comes it that you do not sacrifice?' They replied, 'From a desire for what

¹ Otherwise he uses the text (Vâg. S. I, 28): 'A killer of the enemy art thou!' Kâty. II, 6, 42.

² He does so (on the utkara) and then lays down the wooden sword west of the prañtâ water. Kâty. II, 6, 43.

³ Men, on the other hand, subsist on what is bestowed on them from yonder world. Taïtt. S. III, 2, 9, 7; Taïtt. Br. II, 2, 7, 3.

should we sacrifice, since those who sacrifice become more sinful, and those who sacrifice not become righteous?’

26. *Br̥haspati* Âṅgīrasa then said, ‘What we have heard of as produced¹ for the gods that is this sacrifice, that is to say, the cooked oblations and the prepared altar; therewith you have performed while touching: that is why you have become more sinful. Sacrifice therefore without touching, for thus you will become righteous!’ How long?’ they asked. ‘Till the spreading of the sacrificial grass (on the altar),’ he said. By the sacrificial grass, namely, it (the altar) becomes appeased. If, therefore, before the spreading of the sacrificial grass anything were to fall on it, let him only remove it at the time when he spreads the sacrificial grass; for when they spread the sacrificial grass, then they also step on it with the foot. He who knowing this sacrifices without touching, becomes indeed righteous: let him therefore sacrifice, without touching (the altar and oblations).

THIRD ADHYÂYA. FIRST BRÂHMANA.

1. He (the Âgnīdhra) now brushes the spoons² (with the grass-ends). The reason why he brushes

¹ Parishûtam, which Sâyana interprets by parigrîhitam, ‘hedged round’ [‘set apart’]. The Kâṇva MS. reads parishutam.

² Besides the Agnihotra-havanî, or milk ladle used at the morning and evening oblations (see p. 11, note 2; and II, 3, 1, 17), three different sruvâ or offering-spoons are used, viz. the guhû, upabhrît, and dhruvâ. They are made each of a different kind of wood, of an arm’s length (or, according to others, a cubit long), with a bowl of the shape and size of the hand, and a hole cut through the bark and front side of the bowl and fitted with a spout some eight or nine inches long, and shaped like a goose’s bill. The sruva or dipping-spoon, on the other hand, chiefly used for ladling the clarified

the spoons is that the course¹ pursued among the gods is in accordance with that pursued among men. Now, when the serving up of food is at hand among men,—

2. They rinse the vessels, and having rinsed them, they serve up the food with them : in the same way is treated the sacrifice to the gods, that is to say, the cooked oblations and the prepared altar ; and those vessels of theirs, the sacrificial spoons.

3. Now, when he brushes (the spoons), he in reality rinses them, thinking, 'with these rinsed ones I will proceed.' He thereby rinses them with two substances for the gods, and with one for men ; viz. with water and the brahman (spirit of worship) for the gods,—for the water is (represented by) the sacrificial grass², and the brahman (by) the sacrificial formula ;—and with one for men, that is with water alone : and thus this takes place separately³.

4. He, in the first place, takes the dipping-spoon

butter (or milk) from the butter vessel into the offering-spoons, is of khadira wood (*Acacia Catechu*), a cubit long, with a round bowl measuring a thumb's joint across, and without a spout. In our text the term *sruḥ* is used both in the general sense of 'spoon' and in the narrower one of 'offering-spoon,' as distinguished from the *sruva* or 'dipping-spoon.'

¹ The brushing of the spoons is here compared with the rinsing of vessels preparatory to their being used for serving up the food. At the same time, we shall see further on (I, 8, 3, 26–27) that the two principal offering-spoons, the *guhû* and *upabhrit*, are looked upon as yoke-fellows, they being the two horses that are supposed to convey the sacrifice (and consequently the sacrificer himself) to the world of the gods ; hence this process of cleaning also corresponds to the rubbing down of the horses preparatory to the setting out of the sacrificer on his progress to the world of the gods.

² See I, 1, 3, 5.

³ It is doubtful to me whether this last passage merely refers to the several spoons, or whether it refers to the symbolical meaning

(sruva, masc.) and makes it hot (on the Gârhapatya fire), with either of the texts (Vâg. S. I, 29), 'Scorched is the Rakshas, scorched are the enemies!' or, 'Burnt out is the Rakshas, burnt out are the enemies!'

5. For when the gods were performing sacrifice they were afraid of a disturbance on the part of the Asuras and Rakshas. Hence by this means he, from the very opening of the sacrifice, expels from here the evil spirits, the Rakshas¹.

6. He brushes it thus inside with the (grass)-tops (cut off from the grass in tying the veda), with the text (Vâg. S. I, 29), 'Not sharp² art thou, (but yet) a destroyer of the enemies!' he says this in order that it may unceasingly destroy the enemies of the sacrificer. Further, 'Thee, the food-abounding (masc.), I cleanse for the kindling of food³!'— 'thee that art suitable for the sacrifice, I cleanse for the sacrifice,' he thereby says. In the same way he brushes all the spoons, saying, 'Thee, the food-abounding (fem.) . . .,' in the case of the offering-spoon (sruk, fem.). The prâsitraharaṇa⁴ (he brushes) silently.

of the wiping with sacrificial grass and the accompanying formula. In the latter case it might mean: 'and thus that (act) becomes different (i.e. has a different significance).'

¹ Cf. I, 1, 2, 3, and note.

² A-nisita, 'not sharpened,' from sâ (so), 'to sharpen' (thus also Mahîdh.). If, however, anuparata, 'unceasing,' in the text is intended by the author to explain anisita, he would seem to identify the root sâ with sâ (so), 'to bring to an end, to finish.' The spoon is sharpened by the wiping, cf. Taitt. Br. III, 3, 1, 1.

³ Vâgedhyâyai, 'for the lighting (brightening) of the sacrifice (by means of the butter which is poured into the fire), the sacrifice being the food of the gods,' Mahîdh. The St. Petersburg Dictionary suggests vâgetyâyai, 'thee, the courser, I wipe for the race!' Cf. p. 68, note 1.

⁴ The prâsitraharaṇa is a pan of khadira wood, either

7. Inside he brushes with the (grass)-tops thus (viz. from the handle to the top, or in a forward, eastward direction from himself); outside with the lower (grass)-ends thus (viz. in the opposite or backward direction, towards himself)¹: for thus (viz. in the former way) goes the out-breathing, and thus (in the opposite way) the in-breathing. Thereby he obtains out-breathing and in-breathing (for the sacrificer): hence these hairs (on the upper side of the elbow) point that way, and these (on the lower side) point that way².

8. Each time he has brushed and heated (a spoon), he hands it (to the Adhvaryu). Just as, after having rinsed (the eating vessels) while touching them, one would finally rinse them without touching them, so here: for this reason he hands over each (spoon) after heating it³.

square or round (? oval, of the shape of a cow's ear, Sâya.; of the shape of a mirror, Kâty.), used for holding the Brahman's portion (prâsitra) of the sacrificial cake. According to Kâty. II, 6, 49, the *sṛṣṭâvadânam* (cake-cutter) and (*purodâsa*-)pâtṛî (cake-dish) also have to be cleaned on this occasion.

¹ While brushing the spoons he stands east of the Âhavanīya fire-house, looking toward east. The way of brushing, prescribed by the Black Yagus (Taitt. Br. III, 3, 1, 3-4; comm. on Taitt. S. I, 1, 10), seems to be more complicated.

² Viz. the former ('aratner uparibhâgasya lomâni'), according to Sâyana, point in a forward direction (away from the body), and the latter ('prîṣh/ababhâgasya lomâni') in a backward direction. The Taitt. Br. III, 3, 1, 4 has 'on the elbow (aratnau) the hairs above (point) forward, those below backward,' which Sâyana (Taitt. S. I, 1, 1, 10) explains by 'the short hairs above the wrist (? *manibandhâd ūrdhvam*) are forward-pointed (*prânmukha*), but those below are backward-pointed (*pratyañk*).'

³ That is to say, the heating of the spoons corresponds to the usual final rinsing of household vessels with water without touching them. Sâyana.

9. The dipping-spoon (sruva, masc.) he brushes first, and then the other spoons (sruḥ, fem.). The offering-spoon (sruḥ), namely, is female, and the dipping-spoon is male, so that, although in this way several women meet together, the one that is, as it were, the only male youth among them, goes there first, and the others after him. This is the reason why he brushes the dipping-spoon first, and afterwards the other (offering-)spoons.

10. Let him brush them so as not to spatter anything towards the fire, as he would thereby bespatter him, to whom he will be bringing food, with the slops of the vessels: therefore let him brush them so as not to spatter anything towards the fire, that is to say, after stepping outside (the Âhavanīya fire-house) towards the east.

11. Here now some throw the grass-ends used for cleaning the spoons into the (Âhavanīya) fire. 'To the veda (grass-bunch) they assuredly belonged, and the spoons have been cleaned with them: hence it is something that belongs to the sacrifice, and (we throw it into the fire) in order that it should not become excluded from the sacrifice,' thus (they argue). Let him, however, not do so, since he would thereby make him to whom he will offer food, drink the slops of the vessels¹. Let him therefore throw them away (on the heap of rubbish).

12. He (the Âgnīdhra) then girds the wife (of the

¹ The Black Yagus (Taitt. Br. III, 3, 2, 1) prescribes that the grass-ends, after the brushing, should be thrown into the fire, and not on the heap of rubbish, as some do; or at all events they should not be thrown on the utkara, without their having been previously washed with water, as they would otherwise bring ill-luck to the cattle.

sacrificer)¹. She, the wife, truly is the hinder part of the sacrifice. 'May the sacrifice go on increasing before me!' thus (she thinks while) he girds her, thinking, 'may she sit thus girt by my sacrifice!'

13. He girds her with a cord (yoktra): for with a cord (yoktra) they yoke the draught-animal (yogya). Impure indeed is that part of woman which is below the navel; and therewith she will be facing the sacrificial butter: that part of her he thereby conceals with the cord, and only with the pure upper part of her body she then faces the sacrificial butter. This is the reason why he girds the wife².

14. He girds her over the garment. Now the garment represents the plants, and (the cord represents) Varuṇa's noose³ (raggu): hence he thereby places the plants between (her and the noose), and

¹ The mistress of the house is seated south-west of the Gârha-patya fire [with bent (or raised) knees and her face turned towards north-east]. The Âgnîdhra then girds her round the waist, outside the garment, with a triple cord of reed-grass (muṅga). Kâty. II, 7, 1; and Sâyana on our passage.

² According to Taitt. Br. III, 3, 3, 2-3 the symbolical meaning of this act is, that it represents the vratopanayana, or initiation of the wife into the sacred rite. The girding of the wife would thus possess a significance similar to that of the ordinary upanayana, or investiture of the youth with the sacred cord.

³ The noose (pâsa) is one of the chief attributes of God Varuṇa, the symbol of his supreme power and his abhorrence of sin. Thus we read in Atharva-veda IV, 16, 4 seq.: 'And if one were to flee far beyond the sky, one would not escape from king Varuṇa. From heaven his spies issue forth to this (world), and with their thousand eyes survey the earth. King Varuṇa sees all that happens between heaven and earth and beyond them: the very twinklings of the eyes of men are numbered by him. . . . May all those baleful nooses of thine, O Varuṇa, that are thrown sevenfold and three-

thus that noose of Varuṇa does not injure her. This is the reason why he girds her over the garment.

15. He girds her, with the text (Vâg. S. I, 30), 'A zone art thou for Aditi!' Aditi, indeed, is this earth. She is the wife of the gods, and that one is his (the sacrificer's) wife. It is for the latter, accordingly, that he makes it a zone instead of a noose (or string). A zone means a girdle, and he thereby makes it this for her.

16. Let him not make a knot¹, for the knot is Varuṇa's (attribute); and Varuṇa would lay hold on the (sacrificer's) wife, if he were to make a knot. For this reason he does not make a knot.

17. He twists it through upwards², with the text (Vâg. S. I, 30), 'The pervader³ of Vishṇu art thou!' Let her not sit to the west of the sacrifice, with her face towards the east. For Aditi is this earth⁴, she is the wife of the gods, and she indeed sits on the west of the sacrifice of the gods, with her face turned

fold, ensnare him who speaks untruth, and pass by him who speaks the truth !'

¹ Taitt. Br. III, 3, 3, 4, on the contrary, prescribes a knot (granthim grathnâti), as the symbol which is to secure all blessings for her.

² He winds the cord round her waist from left to right (pradakṣiṇam), and having fixed the southern end by twice twisting round the northern one, he draws the southern end through the encircling cord upwards (so as to hang down, uparishâl lambayet, Sâyana. Kâty. II, 7, 1, &c., Scholl.).

³ Veshya=vyâpaka, Mahîdh.; 'perhaps a headband,' St. Petersburg Dict. It is apparently an etymological play on the name of Vishṇu (? the all-pervading sun). The formula, according to Mahîdhara, is addressed to the southern end of the cord which is drawn through the girdle (? the pervading ray of Vishṇu).

⁴ Aditi is the earth and therefore the altar, which represents the earth : hence Aditi, in the shape of the altar, looks towards the east.

towards the east: and this lady would, therefore, raise herself to her (Aditi), and would speedily go to yonder world. And thus (viz. by sitting in the prescribed way) she lives for a long time, thus she propitiates her (Aditi), and thus the latter harms her not. For this reason let her sit somewhat to the south.

18. She looks down upon the sacrificial butter¹; for assuredly that wife is a woman, and the butter (represents) seed: hence a productive union is thereby brought about. For this reason she looks towards the butter.

19. She looks, with the text (Vâg. S. I, 30), 'With an unimpaired eye I look on thee;' whereby she says, 'with an uninjured eye I look on thee.'—'Agni's tongue art thou!' for when they offer up that (butter) in the fire, then Agni's tongues, as it were, issue forth: therefore she says, 'Agni's tongue art thou!'—'A good caller² of the gods,' whereby she says, 'well for the gods;'—'be thou for every dainty (or, sacrificial site, dhâman), for every prayer of mine!' whereby she says, 'for every sacrifice of mine be thou (a good caller)!'

20. Having then taken up the butter (from the

¹ He takes the pot containing the clarified butter from the fire, with the text (Vâg. S. I, 30): 'For juice thee!' [see I, 2, 2, 6,] puts it down on the ground before the sacrificer's wife and bids her look down on it. Kâty. II, 7, 4.

² Suhûk. The Kârva recension and Taitt. S. I, 1, 10, 3 have subhûk, 'well-being, good,' which reading seems also to be presupposed by our author's explanation 'well (or good) for the gods.' The Black Yagus assigns this entire mantra to the Adhvaryu, when he has taken the butter from the Âhavanîya, and puts it down north of the altar. In other respects also it differs considerably from the order followed by our author.

ground), he (the Āgñīdhra) carries it eastwards. In the case of one whose Āhavanīya fire is used for the cooking, he (now in the first place) puts it on the Āhavanīya, thinking, 'My oblation shall be entirely cooked on the Āhavanīya¹!' The reason why he first puts it thereon (viz. on the Gārhapatya) is, because he will have to make the wife look at it: for it would not be proper, if he were to take it (from the Āhavanīya) to the west in the midst of the performance, for the purpose of making the wife look at it; and if he were not to let the wife look at it at all, he would thereby exclude her from the sacrifice. And in this way, then, he does not exclude the (sacrificer's) wife from the sacrifice: therefore he does not take it eastwards till after melting it close by the wife (on the Gārhapatya), and making her look at it. In the case of one who (through death or from other causes) has not his wife with him, he puts it from the very beginning on the Āhavanīya. He then takes it again from thence and puts it down within the altar.

21. Here now they say,—'He must not place it within the altar; for from that (butter) they make the oblation to the wives of the gods²: he therefore excludes the wives of the gods from the company (of

¹ According to the ritual of the Black Yagus, the butter, after the sacrificer's wife has looked at it, is again heated on the Gārhapatya fire, in order to remove the impurity which has thereby been imparted to it.

² The *patnīsamyaṅgas* are four oblations of butter to Soma, *Tvashṛi*, the wives of the gods, and Agni *Gārhapati* respectively, made at the end of these sacrifices. See I, 9, 2, 1. It would seem that, according to the ritual of the Black Yagus, the butter is not put on the altar, but on a line drawn with the wooden sword north of the altar. See p. 74, note 2.

their husbands)¹, and thereby his (the sacrificer's) wife becomes dissatisfied with her own husband.' Yâgñavalkya, however, said in reference to this point, 'Let it be so as it has been prescribed for the wife! who would care whether his wife may consort with other men²?' 'As the altar is (part of the) sacrifice, and the butter is (part of the) sacrifice, I will build up the sacrifice from out of the sacrifice!' thus thinking, let him place it within the altar.

22. The two strainers are lying in the sprinkling water. He takes them from thence and purifies (ut-pû) the butter with them. Now one of them is related to the wind (that blows) upwards (utpavana)³, so that he thereby makes it (the butter) sacrificially pure.

23. He clarifies it, with the text (Vâg. S. I, 31), 'By the impulse of Savitrî I purify thee with a flawless purifier (strainer), with the rays of the sun!' The meaning (of this formula) is the same (as before).

24. He then purifies the sprinkling water with the strainers covered with butter, with the text (Vâg. S.

¹ Avasabhâh karoti=avagataganasamûhâh karoti, Sây.; the gods are supposed to be assembled around the altar (cf. I, 3, 3, 8): hence by placing the butter, from which the oblations to the wives of the gods are to be made, within the altar, the Adhvaryu would separate the wives from their husbands.

² I am not quite certain as to whether this last scornful remark is really to be assigned to Yâgñavalkya. The Kânva text has,—Yâgñavalkya, however, said, 'Let him place it within the altar!' thus he said. 'Let it be so as it has been prescribed for the wife,' thus (thinking) let him place it, whether or not she consort with other men.

³ Probably the same as ud-âna (breathing upwards or inspiration), which one of the strainers is said to represent in I, 1, 3, 2. See also I, 1, 3, 6; Taitt. Br. III, 3, 4, 4. The St. Petersburg Dictionary proposes the meaning 'an implement for cleaning' for utpavana in this passage.

I, 31), 'By the impulse of Savitri I purify you (O waters) with a flawless purifier, with the rays of the sun!' The meaning is the same (as before).

25. The reason why he purifies the sprinkling water with the strainers covered with butter is, that he thereby puts milk into the water, and that the milk thereby (becomes) beneficial¹ in the water, for, when it rains, plants are thereby produced; and on eating the plants and drinking the water, vital fluid (serum) results therefrom: and thus (he does this) in order to supply the vital fluid (of the sacrificer).

26. He then looks down on the butter. Here now some make the sacrificer look down. Yâgñavalkya, however, said in reference to this point,—'Why do not (the sacrificers) themselves become (act as) Adhvaryu priests? and why do not they (the sacrificers) themselves recite when far higher blessings are prayed for²? How can these (people) possibly have faith in this³? Whatever blessing the officiating priests invoke during the sacrifice that is for the benefit of the sacrificer alone.' The Adhvaryu should accordingly look down on it.'

¹ A play on the word *hitam*, which means both 'put, placed,' and 'beneficial, salutary.'

² The Kâṇva text has as follows,—Here now some make the sacrificer eye it, arguing, 'whatever blessing (resides therein) that he should himself pray for.' Yâgñavalkya, however, said in reference to this point, 'Why then does not he himself become Adhvaryu? and why does he not recite (the solemn prayers of the Hotri priest), and that when they pray for higher blessing? Whatever blessing the priests invoke at the sacrifice, that they invoke for the sacrificer alone;' thus he said. The Adhvaryu, therefore, should look down on it.

³ Teshâm sâkshinâm atraivâvekshanam yagamânenaiiva kartavyam iti kasmât kâranât sraddhâ gâtâ, evam tâm sraddhâm prahasya, Sây. The Kâṇva text omits this derisive remark.

27. He looks down on it. The eye assuredly is the truth, for the eye is indeed the truth. If, therefore, two persons were to come disputing with each other and saying, 'I have seen it!' 'I have heard it!' we should believe him who said, 'I have seen it!' and not the other: hence he thereby causes it (the butter) to increase by means of the truth.

28. He looks down on it, with the text (Vâg. S. I, 31), 'Lustrous art thou! resplendent art thou! immortal (or, ambrosia) art thou!' That prayer is indeed true, for that (butter) is lustrous, it is resplendent, it is immortal: hence he thereby causes it to increase by that (prayer) which is true.

SECOND BRĀHMANA.

1. Now the sacrifice is the man. The sacrifice is the man for the reason that the man spreads (performs) it; and that in being spread it is made of exactly the same extent as the man¹: this is the reason why the sacrifice is the man.

2. The *guhû* (spoon) further belongs to that (man-shaped sacrifice) and so does the *upabhrîit*; and the *dhruvâ*² represents its trunk. Now it is from the

¹ The sacrifice is the representation of the sacrificer himself; and hence its dimensions are to be those of a man, viz. the altar (*vedi*) on its western side is to measure a fathom, or space between the extreme ends of the outstretched arms (? of the sacrificer), which is supposed to be equal to the size of a man; see I, 2, 5, 14. Originally these measurements were no doubt relative to the size of the sacrificer; but it is doubtful whether this was still the case at the time of our author.

² For a description of these spoons, see p. 67, note 2. The *guhû* is supposed to represent the right, and the *upabhrîit* the left arm, and the *dhruvâ* the trunk.

trunk that all these limbs proceed, and for this reason the entire sacrifice proceeds from the dhruvâ.

3. The dipping-spoon (*sruva*, masc.) is no other than the breath. This breath passes through (or, goes to) all the limbs, and for that reason the dipping-spoon goes to all the offering-spoons (*sruḥ*, fem.).

4. That *guhû* further is to him no other than yonder sky, and the *upabhṛit* this atmosphere, and the *dhruvâ* this same (earth). Now it is from this (earth) that all the worlds originate: and from the *dhruvâ*, therefore, the whole sacrifice proceeds.

5. The dipping-spoon then is no other than that blowing one (the wind); it is this that sweeps across all these worlds: and for that reason the *sruva* goes to all the offering-spoons.

6. Now when this sacrifice is being performed, it is performed for the gods, the seasons, and the metres (or sacred texts). To the gods belongs what sacrificial food there is, to wit, king Soma and the sacrificial cake: all this he takes, while announcing it with the formula, 'I take thee, agreeable to so and so!' for thus it becomes theirs.

7. And whatever oblations of butter are taken, they are taken for the seasons and the metres. Every one of them he takes in the form of butter without announcing it (to any particular deity). In the *guhû* he takes of it four times (with the *sruva* from the pot), in the *upabhṛit* eight times¹.

8. Now when he takes of it four times (with the *sruva*) in the *guhû*, he takes it for the seasons, since

¹ He takes butter in the *guhû* and *upabhṛit* by four or eight ladlings with the dipping-spoon. As we learn further on, the quantity taken in the *guhû*, by ladling four times, should exceed that in the *upabhṛit*, although the latter requires eight ladlings. Cf. Kāty. II, 7, 13.

he takes it for the fore-offerings¹, and the fore-offerings are the seasons: all this he takes in the form of butter without making any announcement, in order to avoid sameness; for if he were to take it with the formulas 'For Spring (I take) thee!' 'For Summer—thee!' he would commit (the fault of) a repetition²: he therefore takes it in the form of butter without making any announcement.

9. When, on the other hand, he takes eight times (with the *sruva*) in the *upabhr̥it*, he takes it for the metres³, since it is for the after-offerings¹ that he takes it; and the after-offerings are the metres: all this he takes in the form of butter without making any announcement, in order to avoid sameness; for were he to take it with the formulas 'For the *Gâyatri*—thee!' 'For the *Trishubh*—thee!' he would commit a repetition: he therefore takes it in the form of butter without making any announcement.

10. Again, when he takes four times (with the *sruva*)

¹ On the *prayâgas*, or oblations of clarified butter introductory to, and the *anuyâgas*, oblations of the same material made subsequently to, the chief sacrifice, see I, 5, 3, 1 seq. and I, 8, 2, 1 seq.

² Repetition of one and the same sacrificial act on the same day is to be avoided, as far as possible. The repetition in the present case would consist in his announcing the butter-oblations to the several deities in the same way as he has done in regard to the rice-portions. See I, 1, 2, 17-18.

³ On the frequent symbolical employment of the metres in the ritual, as the embodiment of supreme harmony and the efficacy of prayer, see Weber, Ind. Stud. VIII, 8 seq. The three principal Vedic metres are the *gâyatri* (three times eight syllables), the *trishubh* (four times eleven syllables), and the *gagatî* (four times twelve syllables); and three *anuyâgas* there are at these sacrifices, viz. to the *barhis* or sacrificial grass, to *Narâsamsa* and *Agni Svish-takr̥it* respectively. In the present instance (see par. 16) the *trishubh* and *gagatî* metres are taken together as one, and as a fourth is added the *anushubh* (four times eight syllables).

in the *dhruvâ*, he takes it for the whole sacrifice, and all this he takes in the form of butter without making any announcement. To whom indeed should he announce it, since he cuts it off for all the deities? He therefore takes it in the form of butter without making any announcement.

11. Now the sacrificer stands behind the *guhû*, and he who means evil to him stands behind the *upabhṛit*. The eater stands behind the *guhû*, and what (or, he who) is to be eaten stands behind the *upabhṛit*. And the *guhû*, indeed, is the eater, and the *upabhṛit* is that which is to be eaten. In the *guhû* he takes four times (with the *sruva*), and in the *upabhṛit* eight times.

12. Now when he takes four times (butter) in the *guhû*, he thereby makes the eater more limited, smaller; and when he takes eight times in the *upabhṛit*, he makes that which is to be eaten more unlimited, more abundant: for a flourishing condition indeed exists where the eater is smaller and that which is to be eaten more abundant.

13. In taking four times in the *guhû*, he takes (altogether) more butter, and in taking eight times in the *upabhṛit* he takes less butter.

14. For when, in taking four times (butter with the *sruva*) in the *guhû*, he takes more butter, he thereby, in making the eater more limited, smaller, imparts vigour and strength to him. And when, in taking eight times in the *upabhṛit*, he takes less butter, he thereby, in making that which (or, him who) is to be eaten more unlimited, more abundant, makes it (or, him) vigourless and weaker. And thus a king who has established himself among a numberless people, subdues them even from a single dwelling,

and takes possession of whatever he likes ¹: with that very same energy (the Adhvaryu acts) when he takes a greater quantity of butter in the *guhû*. Now what he takes in the *guhû*, that he offers with the *guhû*; and what he takes in the *upabhṛit*, that also he offers with the *guhû*.

15. And in reference to this point they say: 'Wherefore then is he to take it in the *upabhṛit*, if he does not offer it with the *upabhṛit*?' Now, if he were to offer it with the *upabhṛit*, those subjects (of the king) would assuredly become separated from him, nor would there be either an eater or what is to be eaten. When, on the other hand, he pours (the butter) together and thus offers it with the *guhû*, thereby the people pay tribute to the Kshatriya. Hence by what he takes in the *upabhṛit*, the Vaisya (man of the people), under the rule of the Kshatriya, becomes possessed of cattle; and when he pours (the butter) together and offers it with the *guhû*, thereby the Kshatriya, whenever he likes, says, 'Hallo Vaisya, just bring to me what thou hast stored away!' Thus he both subdues him and obtains possession of anything he wishes by dint of this very energy.

16. These butter-portions, then, are taken for the metres. Now what he takes in the *guhû* (by ladling) four times (with the *sruva*), that he takes for the *gâyatri*; and what he takes in the *upabhṛit* (by ladling) eight times, that he takes for the *trishubh* and *gagati*; and what he takes in the *dhruvâ* (by

¹ Tasmâd uta râgâpârâṃ viṣaṃ prâvasâyâpy ekaveṣṇaiva ('by one who has a single dwelling, i. e. by himself,' Sâyaṇa) ginâti tvaḍ yathâ tvaḍ kâmayate tathâ saḥate. The MS. of the Kâṇva text has: 'Tasmât kshatriyo râgotâpârâd viṣaṃ prâvasâya ginâti tvaḍ yathâ tva(t) kâmayate tat karoti.'

ladling) four times, that he takes for the anushṭubh. For the anushṭubh is speech, and from speech all this (universe) springs: hence it is from the dhruvâ that the whole sacrifice originates. The anushṭubh also is this (earth), and from it all this (universe) originates: hence it is from the dhruvâ that the whole sacrifice originates.

17. He takes (butter with the sruva), with the text (Vâg. S. I, 31), 'Verily, thou art the favourite resort (or, dainty) of the gods!' He thereby makes that butter the most favourite resort of the gods: for this reason he says, 'verily, thou art the favourite resort of the gods!'—'An unassailable means of worship!' the butter is indeed a thunderbolt: therefore he says, 'an unassailable means of worship!'

18. Once he puts (butter with the sruva) into the guhû with this formula, three times silently. With the same formula he puts (butter) once into the upabhrîṭ, seven times silently. With the same formula he puts once (butter) into the dhruvâ, three times silently. Now, as to this, they say, 'Thrice he should take with the formula in each case, for three-fold is the sacrifice.' Nevertheless (it is done) only once with each (spoon), for it is just in this way that the taking thrice (with a formula) is accomplished.

THIRD BRÂHMANA.

1. The Adhvaryu takes the sprinkling-water, and sprinkles in the first place the fire-wood¹, with the

¹ The fire-wood had been brought by the Âgnîdhra and laid down on the altar. The Adhvaryu now unties and sprinkles it. [Before doing so he has, as usual, to ask and obtain the permission of the Brahman. The same is the case in regard to the barhis, but not in regard to the altar.] Kâty. II, 7, 19.

text (Vâg. S. II, 1), 'A black deer, living in the den, art thou¹; I sprinkle thee, agreeable to Agni!' He thereby makes it sacrificially pure for Agni.

2. He then sprinkles the altar, with the text (Vâg. S. II, 1), 'Thou art the altar; I sprinkle thee, agreeable to the barhis (sacrificial-grass covering)!' He thereby makes it sacrificially pure for the grass covering.

3. He (the Âgnîdhra) then hands the sacrificial grass² to him (the Adhvaryu). The latter puts it down (on the altar) with the knot turned to the east, and sprinkles it, with the text (Vâg. S. II, 1), 'Barhis art thou! I sprinkle thee, agreeable to the spoons!' He thereby makes it sacrificially pure for the spoons.

4. Thereupon he pours the sprinkling-water

¹ ? Âkhare-sh/â; it probably has a double meaning in this place, viz. 'that which dwells in a den (âkhara)' and 'that which has its place on the hearth (khara).'

² 'At the beginning of the sacrifice the Adhvaryu makes of the load of Darbha or sacred grass, which has been brought to the sacrificial compound, seven mush/is or bunches, each of which is tied together with a stalk of grass, just as the Baresma (Barsom) of the Parsis. The several names of these seven bunches are, 1. Yagamânamush/i, the bunch kept by the sacrificer himself in his hand as long as the sacrifice lasts. 2. Three bunches from the Barhis, or the covering of the Vedi on which the sacrificial vessels are put. These are unloosened and spread all over the Vedi. 3. Prastara. This bunch, which must remain tied, is put over the Darbha of the Vedi. 4. Paribhoganî. From this bunch the Adhvaryu takes a handful out for each priest, and the sacrificer and his wife, which they then use for their seat. 5. The Veda. This bunch is made double in its first part; the latter part is cut off and has to remain on the Vedi; it is called parivâsana. The Veda itself is always wandering from one priest to the other, and is given to the sacrificer and his wife. It is handed over to the latter only when one of the priests makes her recite a mantra.' Haug's translation of the Ait. Br. p. 79.

which is left on the roots of the (grass) plants, with the text (Vâg. S. II, 2), 'A moistening art thou for Aditi!' Aditi, indeed, is this earth; hence it is for the latter that he thus moistens the roots of the plants: thereby these plants become root-moistened; and even if their tops are dry, their roots at least remain moist.

5. Having thereupon untied the knot, he takes the prastara bunch from the front (of the barhis), with the text (Vâg. S. II, 2), 'Vishnu's crest art thou!' Vishnu, namely, is the sacrifice, and this (the prastara) is his top-knot or crest: this he thereby makes it at this sacrifice¹. From the front he takes it, because this top-knot also is (worn) on the front (of the head): for this reason he takes it from the front.

6. He then undoes the band (of the barhis). 'His (the sacrificer's) wife is sure to bring forth without difficulty²,' thinking thus he undoes the band. He puts it down on the right hip (of the altar); for this represents his (the sacrificer's) waist-band, and it is on the right side that the waist-band is (tied): this is the reason why he puts it down on the right hip. He again covers it over (with sacrificial grass); for the waist-band also is covered (by the upper garment): for this reason he again covers it.

7. He now spreads the barhis (on the altar). For the prastara is the top-knot; and this other

¹ Because, according to Sâyaṇa, it lies on the front, or eastern side of the altar, near the Âhavanīya fire, and men also wear their top-knot (in the form of a ball or lump) on the fore-part of their head. The prastara he hands to the Brahman-priest. Kâty. II, 7, 22.

² Prakṛīptam; Sâyaṇa takes it in the sense of 'a completely formed (child).'

sacrificial grass is for this (sacrifice) what other hair there is below that (top-knot, viz. the beard, &c.):— that (hair) he thereby puts on it, and for this reason he spreads the barhis.

8. Now the altar (vedi, fem.) is a woman, and around her sit the gods and those priests who have studied and teach revealed lore¹; and as they thus sit around her, he makes her not naked: hence it is in order to avoid nudity (on her or the altar's part) that he spreads the barhis.

9. As large as the altar is, so large is the earth; and the plants (are represented by) the barhis; so that he thereby furnishes the earth with plants; and those plants are firmly established in this earth: for this reason he spreads the barhis.

10. Here now they say, 'Let him strew abundantly; for where the plants are most abundant on her, there the means of subsistence are most amply afforded by her: let him therefore strew abundantly!' It is in favour of him (the sacrificer) who procures (the sacrificial grass), then, (that this is done.) He strews it threefold², for threefold is the sacrifice. Or he may also spread it whilst lifting up (the tops)³; for

¹ 'Around her on the south sit the gods and those man-gods (manushyadevâḥ), the priests who have studied and teach revealed lore.' Kāṇva recension.

² Viz. in three layers, one beside the other, each consisting of one handful of grass. He first spreads a layer on the east side from the southern to the northern shoulder of the altar, with the tops of the blades turned towards the east; then a second one west of it, so as to cover the roots of the first with the tops of the second layer; and in the same way a third one on the west side of the altar. If he thinks fit, he may make more than three layers, but their number should be uneven. Kāty. II, 7, 22–26 (schol.).

³ That is to say, he is to begin on the west side, and in laying down the successive layers, he is to lift up (with a stick or some

it has been said by the seer (Vâg. S. VII, 32), 'They spread the barhis continuously.' He spreads it with the roots below (the tops); for it is with their roots below that those plants are firmly established in this earth: for this reason he spreads it with the roots below.

11. He spreads it, with the text (Vâg. S. II, 2), 'I spread thee, soft as wool, pleasant to sit upon for the gods!'—when he says 'thee, soft as wool,' he thereby means to say 'agreeable to the gods;' and by 'pleasant to sit upon for the gods,' he means to say 'forming a good seat for the gods.'

12. He now trims the fire¹. The Âhavanīya, doubtless, is the head of the sacrifice, for the head is the fore-part²: that fore-part of the sacrifice he thereby trims. He trims it while holding the prastara (which he has received back from the Brahman) close over it; for the prastara is the top-knot, and it is this which he thereby puts on it: for this reason he trims (the fire) while holding the prastara close over it.

13. He then lays the (three) enclosing-sticks (paridhi) around (the fire). The reason why he lays the enclosing-sticks around (is this). When at first the gods chose Agni for the office of Hotri, he said: 'Verily, I am not equal to this, that I should be your Hotri, and that I should carry your oblation. Already you have chosen three before,

other object) the heads of the preceding layer and push the roots of the succeeding one under them. Ib. 27 (schol.).

¹ He takes one stick from the fuel and gets the fire ready (for the oblations, either by throwing the stick into it, or by stirring it with the stick). Ib. 29.

² The Âhavanīya is at the foremost or eastern end of the sacrificial ground.

and they have passed away¹. Restore them to me: then I shall be equal to this, that I should be your Hotri and that I should carry your oblation!' They said, 'So be it!' and they restored to him those (three former Agnis): they are these enclosing-sticks.

14. He then said, 'The thunderbolt, (in the shape of) the vasha²-call, has struck these down: I am afraid of that thunderbolt, the vasha²-call. Lest that thunderbolt, the vasha²-call, should strike me down, enclose me by those (three Agnis, or paridhis); and thus that thunderbolt, the vasha²-call, will not strike me down.' They said, 'So be it!' and they enclosed him with those (three sticks), and that thunderbolt, the vasha²-call, did not strike him down. When he encloses Agni with those (sticks) he buckles armour on him.

15. They (the other three Agnis) then said, 'If you join us with the sacrifice in this wise, then let us also have a share in the sacrifice!'

16. The gods said: 'So be it! What shall fall outside the enclosure, that is offered unto you; and what they shall offer just upon you, that will sate

¹ See I, 2, 3, 1.

² The call 'vasha' (or vausha), apparently signifying 'may he (Agni) carry it (the oblation) up!' (from vah, to bear, carry), is pronounced by the Hotri at the end of the yâgyâs or offering prayers (see note on I, 5, 1, 16). Professor Weber has somewhere proposed to derive it from vaksh, to grow, increase, hence 'may it prosper, or agree, with you!' Different, but quite fanciful, interpretations of vasha are given Sat. Br. I, 5, 2, 18; Ait. Br. 3, 6. As to the awful solemnity of this formula, and the danger arising from a careless use of it, see Ait. Br. 3, 8, on which Haug remarks, 'Up to the present day the Shrotriyas or sacrificial priests never dare to pronounce this formula save at the time of sacrificing. They say that if they would do so at any other time, they would be cursed by the gods.'

you ; and what they shall offer up in the fire that will sate you !' Thus what they offer up in the fire, that satisfies them (the Agnis) ; and what they offer up just upon them (the enclosing-sticks, or Agnis), that satisfies them ; and what is spilled outside the enclosure, that is offered to them¹ : hence no sin attaches to what (butter) is spilt ; for into this earth they entered (when they, the Agnis, passed away), and whatever is spilt here,—all that remains indeed in her.

17. That which is spilt he touches, with the formulas (Vâg. S. II, 2), 'To the Lord of the Earth—svâhâ !' 'To the Lord of the World—svâhâ !' 'To the Lord of Beings—svâhâ !' These, indeed, are the names of those Agnis,—to wit, Lord of the Earth, Lord of the World, and Lord of Beings. Thus in like manner as that (oblation) which is accompanied by 'Vasha' is offered up (to the particular deity to which it is announced), so is this (offered up) on his (the sacrificer's) part to those Agnis.

18. Here now some people take the sticks they lay around from the fire-wood ; but let him not do so, for unsuitable for laying around are those which they take from the fire-wood, since the fire-wood is prepared for the purpose of being put upon (the fire) ; but what other (kind of sticks) they bring to him, called 'enclosing-sticks (paridhis),' they are indeed suitable for his purpose : let them therefore bring others.

19. Indeed, they should be of Palâsa wood

¹ The Kâṇva text has as follows :—They said, 'So be it ! what shall fall outside the enclosure that shall be yours ! and what they shall offer just upon you that shall sate you !' for what they offer just upon them that does indeed sate them (enân) ; and what they offer up in the fire that is theirs (eshâm, ? the gods') ; and what falls outside the enclosure by that he shall incur no guilt, &c.

(*Butea Frondosa*); for the *Palāsa* tree, doubtless, is the Brahman¹, and *Agni* also is the Brahman: for this reason the *Agnis* should be of *Palāsa* wood.

20. Should he be unable to procure them of *Palāsa* wood, they may be of *Vikankata* wood (*Flacourtia Sapida*); and if he be unable to procure any of *Vikankata*, they may be of *Kārshmarya* wood (*Gmelina Arborea*); and if he be unable to procure any of *Kārshmarya* wood, they may be of *Vilva* (*Aegle Marmelos*), or of *Khadira* (*Acacia Catechu*), or of *Udumbara* wood (*Ficus Glomerata*). These, doubtless, are the trees that are suitable for sacrificial purposes, and from these trees they (the enclosing-sticks) are therefore (taken).

FOURTH BRĀHMANA.

1. They should be green (fresh); for that is (what constitutes) their living element, by that they are vigorous, by that possessed of strength: for this reason they should be green.

2. The middle stick he lays down first (on the west side of the fire), with the text (*Vāg. S. II, 3*), 'May the *Gandharva Visvāvasu*² lay thee around

¹ The Brahman, or supreme spirit (? or, sacred writ), is more than once identified with the *Palāsa* tree in the *Satapatha Br.*, as in V, 2, 4, 18; VI, 6, 3, 7; XII, 7, 2, 15; and with the leaf of that tree (*palāśasya palāsam*) in II, 6, 2, 8. [? Cf. *Rig-veda* X, 31, 7, 'Which was the wood, which was the tree, out of which they fashioned heaven and earth?' and *Taitt. Br.* II, 8, 9, 6, 'Brahma was the wood, Brahma was that tree out of which they fashioned heaven and earth;' also *Ath.-veda* X, 7, 38, 'The gods form part of the divine essence (*Skambha-Brahma*) as branches of a tree.']

² The genius *Visvāvasu* is already mentioned in *Rig-veda* X, 85, 21 seq., and X, 139, 4, where Grassmann identifies him with the rainbow (cf. Roth, *Nirukta* notes, p. 145). See also *Sat. Br.* III, 2, 4, 2; XIV, 9, 4, 18.

for the security of the All! Thou art a fence to the sacrificer, thou (art) Agni, invoked and worthy of invocation!

3. He then lays down the southern one, with the text (ib.), 'Thou art Indra's arm for the security of the All! Thou art a fence to the sacrificer; thou Agni, invoked and worthy of invocation!'

4. He then lays down the northern one, with the text (ib.), 'May Mitra-Varuṇa lay thee around in the north with firm law for the security of the All! Thou art a fence to the sacrificer, thou Agni, invoked and worthy of invocation!' They are indeed Agnis, and for that reason he says, 'Agni, invoked and worthy of invocation!'

5. Thereupon he puts on (the fire) a samidh (kindling-stick). He first touches with it the middle enclosing-stick: thereby he first kindles those (three Agnis). After that he puts it on the fire: thereby he kindles the visible fire.

6. He puts it on¹, with the gâyatrî stanza (Vâg. S. II, 4), 'Thee, O Sage, who callest (the gods) to the feast, we will kindle so as to shine brilliantly; thee, O Agni, mighty at the sacrifice!' He thereby kindles the gâyatrî²; the gâyatrî, when kindled, kindles the other metres; and the metres, when kindled, carry the sacrifice to the gods.

¹ According to Sâyana, the two sticks or pieces of wood are put on the fire in a manner similar to that in which the two âghâras or sprinklings of clarified butter are made (see I, 4, 4-5); viz. the first in the direction north-west to south-east, and the second from south-west to north-east.

² The gâyatrî is the first of the three principal metres, cf. p. 80, note 3. It consists of three octo-syllabic pâdas, of which Rig-veda I, 164, 25 says,—'The gâyatra, they say, has three flames (or fire-brands, samidh): therefore it excelled in grandeur and power.'

7. By the second kindling-stick (*samidh*), which he now puts on, he kindles the spring; the spring, when kindled, kindles the other seasons; and the seasons, when kindled, cause living beings to be produced and the plants to ripen. He puts it on, with the formula (*Vâg. S. II, 5*), 'A kindler (*samidh*) art thou!' for the spring is indeed a kindler.

8. When he has put it on, he murmurs (*ib.*), 'May the sun guard thee from the east against any imprecation!' for the enclosing-sticks serve for protection on all (the other three) sides; and thereby he makes the sun the protector on the east side, fearing 'lest the evil spirits, the *Rakshas*, should rush in from the east:' for the sun is the repeller of the evil spirits, the *Rakshas*.

9. By that third kindling-stick, then, which he puts on at the after-offerings¹, he kindles the officiating priest (*brâhmana*); and he, the priest, when kindled, carries the sacrifice to the gods.

10. He now returns to the altar covered (with sacrificial grass). Having taken two stalks of grass, he lays them down across (the *barhis* or grass covering, with the tops to the north), with the formula (*Vâg. S. II, 5*), 'Savitri's arms² are ye!' The *prastara* bunch is indeed the top-knot (of the sacrifice); and he now lays down these two cross-wise as its eye-brows: thereby these two (represent) the transverse eye-brows. The *prastara*, further,

¹ See I, 8, 2, 3.

² *Bâhû*, 'the two arms,' is apparently taken here by our author both in its natural sense and as the arms of the bow or arch, formed by the eye-brows. The *barhis*, or grass covering of the altar, was, as we saw (I, 3, 3, 7), identified with the beard and other hair of the body.

(represents) the kshatra (or military class); and the other barhis the vis (or, the common Âryan people);—(and the two stalks he puts down between them) for the sake of separating (vidhṛiti) the kshatra and the vis: for this reason he lays them down crosswise; and for this reason these two (stalks) are called vidhṛiti.

11. On them he spreads the prastara, with the formula (Vâg. S. II, 5), 'I spread thee, soft as wool, pleasant to sit upon for the gods!' When he says 'thee, soft as wool,' he means to say 'agreeable to the gods;' and by 'pleasant to sit upon for the gods' he means to say 'forming a good seat for the gods.'

12. He presses it down (with his left hand), with the text (ib.), 'May the Vasus, the Rudras, the Âdityas sit on thee!' These three, that is, the Vasus, the Rudras, and the Âdityas, namely, are (classes of) gods; and these, he means to say, are to sit down on it. While it is still being held down with his left hand,—

13. He seizes the guhû with his right, fearing 'lest the evil spirits, the Rakshas, should enter there in the meantime;' for the officiating priest (brâhmana) is the repeller of the Rakshas: therefore, while it (the prastara) is still being held down with his left hand,—

14. He seizes the guhû, with the text (Vâg. S. II, 6), 'Fond of butter art thou, Guhû by name!' for fond of butter indeed it is, and Guhû by name;—'Sit down here with the favourite resort¹ (or dainty) on the favourite seat!' The upabhṛit (he takes), with the formula (ib.), 'Fond of butter art thou, Upabhṛit

¹ Viz. the butter, which is the dear resort, or home, of the gods; see I, 3, 2, 17. Possibly, however, dhâman may here mean 'dainty.'

by name!' for fond of butter indeed it is, and Upa-bhṛit by name;—'Sit down here with the favourite resort on the favourite seat!' The dhruvâ (he takes) with 'Fond of butter art thou, Dhruvâ by name!' for fond of butter indeed it is, and Dhruvâ by name;—'Sit down here with the favourite resort on the favourite seat!' What other sacrificial food there is, (he puts down on the prastara), with the formula, 'With the favourite resort sit down on the favourite seat!'

15. He lays the *guhû* down on (the prastara), and the other spoons down below, (viz. on the barhis, north of the *guhû*, and so as not to touch it or one another); for the *guhû* assuredly is the kshatra, and the other spoons (*sruḥ*) are the vis: he thereby makes the kshatra superior to the vis. Hence the people here serve, from a lower position, the Kshatriya seated above them: for this reason he places the *guhû* upon (the prastara) and the other spoons down below it.

16. He touches the offerings, with the text (Vâg. S. II, 6), 'Safely they have sat down,' for safely indeed they sat down;—'in the lap (*yoni*) of divine truth!' for the sacrifice is indeed the lap of divine truth, and in the sacrifice they sat down;—'Protect these, O Vishṇu! protect the sacrifice! protect the lord of sacrifice!' thereby he refers to the sacrificer;—'Protect me, the leader of the sacrifice!' thereby he does not exclude himself either from the sacrifice. Vishṇu, assuredly, is the sacrifice: hence it is to the sacrifice that he makes all that over for protection. This is the reason why he says, 'Protect these, O Vishṇu!'

FIFTH BRÂHMANA.

THE KINDLING OF THE FIRE, THE PRAVARA, AND THE TWO
LIBATIONS (ÂGHÂRA) OF BUTTER.

1. With the fire-wood (idhma, lighting material) the Adhvaryu lights (indh) the fire: hence it is called fire-wood. And with the kindling verses (sâmidhent) the Hotri kindles (sam-indh, to make blaze): hence they are called kindling verses.

2. He (the Adhvaryu ¹) says (to the Hotri): 'Recite to the fire as it is being kindled!' for it is to the fire, when it is being kindled, that he recites.

3. Here now some people say, 'O Hotar, recite to the fire as it is being kindled!' But let him not say so; for that (priest) is not a Hotri as yet; only when he (the sacrificer) elects him ², does he

¹ The Adhvaryu, in the first place, prepares a seat for the Hotri, either west of the altar or north of its left hip; and covers it with dry Kusa grass. [He then calls, 'O Hotri, come!'] The Hotri, having rinsed his mouth north-east of the Âhavanîya, with his face to the east, turns round from left to right and betakes himself to the sacrificial ground, always keeping his right foot before the left. He finally takes up his position so as to have the heel of the right foot in a line with the north hip of the altar, and the toes on the barhis; whilst he keeps the hands on a level with the heart, spread open and joined together, and looks towards the junction of the earth and sky. The Adhvaryu then takes a samidh (kindling-stick) and calls on him as above. The Hotri now mutters the formulas 'Adoration to the teacher! Adoration to the observer! Adoration to the promulgator!' &c. (Âsv. Srautas I, 2, 1). The sacrificer then takes the wooden sword and says, 'Recite for me, as it were, stretching along (i. e. continuously)!' whereupon the Hotri, having asked and received the permission of the Brahman, proceeds to recite the kindling verses. Kâty. III, 1, 1 seq.; Âsv. I, 1, 4 seq.

² This does not take place until the pravara or invitation addressed to Agni, the Hotri of the gods, to assist in calling the

become a *Hotri*. Let him therefore say, 'Recite to the fire as it is being kindled!'

4. He recites (verses) addressed to Agni: he accordingly kindles it (the fire) with the aid of its own deity. In the *gâyatrī* metre (are the verses which) he recites; for the *gâyatrī* is Agni's metre: by means of its own metre he thereby kindles it. The *gâyatrī* is vigour, the *gâyatrī* is the *brahman*¹ (the priestly order): with vigour he thereby kindles it.

5. Eleven (verses) he recites; for of eleven syllables consists the *trishūbh* metre. The *gâyatrī* is the *brahman* and the *trishūbh* is the *kshatra* (or military order)². With the aid of these two energies he thus kindles it: for this reason he recites eleven (verses).

6. Thrice he recites the first verse, and thrice the last one; for of threefold beginning are sacrifices, and of threefold termination: therefore he recites thrice the first and the last (verses).

7. Fifteen *sâmidhent* verses result (from this repetition of the first and last of the eleven verses). The fifteen-versed chant³, doubtless, is the thunderbolt,

gods to the sacrifice, cf. *Sâyana* and *Sat. Br. I, 5, 1, 1* seq. According to some authorities, however, the choosing of the *Hotri* seems to take place at this particular time, or even before, at the time of the *agnyanvâdhâna*; cf. *Hillebrandt*, p. 73.

¹ The *gâyatrī* (though it is not the most frequent metre) is considered as the first, as it is the shortest, of Vedic metres. The hymns addressed to Agni are mostly in the *gâyatrī* metre.

² The hymns celebrating the heroic deeds of Indra and his associates, the wind-gods, are almost entirely composed in the *trishūbh*, the most frequent of Vedic metres.

³ The *pañkadasa-stoma*, or form of recitation in fifteen verses at the Soma-sacrifice, is sacred to Indra (*Nirukta* 7, 10), the wielder of the thunderbolt.

and the thunderbolt means strength; so that he thereby converts the sâmidhentis into strength: hence, if he should hate any one, he may crush him with his great toes¹ at the time when those (verses) are recited. By saying, 'I here crush so and so!' he crushes him with that thunderbolt.

8. Fifteen nights indeed there are in a half-moon; and growing by half-moons the year passes: hence he thereby obtains the nights.

9. Now in the fifteen gâyatṛi verses there are indeed three hundred and sixty syllables²; and three hundred and sixty days there are in a year: hence he thereby obtains the days, he thereby obtains the year.

10. For an ishṭi (which is performed in order to obtain the fulfilment of a special wish)³ let him recite seventeen sâmidhent verses; for in a low voice he sacrifices to the deity to which he offers an ishṭi.

¹ Or, with his thumbs (aṅgush/hâbhyâm). The Kânva text has 'pâdyâbhyâm aṅgush/hâbhyâm;' but Kâty. III, 1, 7 has 'aṅgush/hâbhyâm pâdyâbhyâm vâ,' which would seem to leave a choice between the thumbs and the great toes; the commentator, however, takes vâ in a restrictive sense. The sacrificer is to press down the earth with his great toes (or thumbs) each time when a kindling verse is recited.

² The gâyatṛi verse consists of three times eight syllables, and $24 \times 15 = 360$. In the place of the last sâmidhent (called paridhânîyâ), however, the Vâsishṭas have a trish/ubh stanza (4×11 syllables), so that the above computation of syllables does not hold good in their case. One might be inclined to infer from this that the trish/ubh was the more original, a gâyatṛi being substituted later to yield the above symbolical number of syllables. Cf. Taitt. S. II, 5, 7 seq.; Taitt. Br. III, 5, 3.

³ The kâmyeshṭis, and ishṭis generally, are performed with certain modifications, on the model of the new and full-moon sacrifice, of which they are therefore said to be vikṛītis or modifications.

Twelve months, namely, there are in a year, and five seasons¹: this (makes) the seventeenfold Pragâpati. For verily Pragâpati is all: hence for what wish he performs the ishî, that wish he thus accomplishes by means of the All. In a low voice he sacrifices to the deity; for what is spoken in a low voice is undefined (indistinct), and undefined is the 'All:' hence for whatever wish he performs the ishî, that wish he thus accomplishes by means of the All. This is the practice in regard to an ishî.

11. Some people say: 'Let him recite twenty-one sâmidhenî verses also at the full and new-moon sacrifice.' Twelve, doubtless, are the months of the year, five the seasons, and three these worlds: this (makes) twenty; and the twenty-first is this very (sun) that here shines: he is the resort, he the stay; thereby he (the sacrificer) obtains this resort, this stay. He may therefore recite twenty-one.

12. Let him recite them only for one of established prosperity (gatasrî), who would not wish to become either better or worse. For, what he for whom they recite is like, like that he will either be or worse², for whom, that knows this, they recite

¹ In other passages, and in later times generally, six seasons, comprising two months each, are counted, but the transitional season between winter and spring, *sisira*, is not unfrequently, as in our passage, combined with the winter season (*hemanta*), or partially with that and the spring (*vasanta*). On the identification of Pragâpati with the year, cf. note on I, 2, 5, 12.

² The condition of one who is *gatasrî* cannot be improved, but only impaired. The construction of this paragraph is somewhat doubtful to me. It runs thus: *Tâ haitâ gatasrî evânubhîyâd ya ikkhen na sreyânt syâm na pâptyân iti yâdrîsâya haiva sate 'nvâhus tâdrîñ vâ haiva bhavati pâptyân vâ yasyaivam vidusha etâ*

those (twenty-one verses). This, however, is mere speculation, for those (twenty-one verses) are not recited¹.

13. Thrice he should recite the first and thrice the last (verse), without drawing breath; for three are these worlds, so that he thereby spreads (santan) these worlds, gains these worlds. Also three breaths there are in man: this recitation thereby causes him (the sacrificer) to be extended (santata), not cut short (by death).

14. He (the Hotṛi) should endeavour to recite thus (uninterruptedly) as long as his strength lasts. If, on the other hand, he were to take breath in the middle (of the verse), it would be a slight on this very (sacrifice)²: by reciting this (holy) com-

anvāhuḥ so eshā mīmāṃsaiva na tv evaitā anūṭyante. Sāyana seems to take it thus:—‘He should recite them only for a gatasrī. A householder who desires neither an improvement nor a lowering of his position, is just such a one or whom the Hotṛis recite the sāmīdhenīs in the appointed (niyatena) way. Further, for whomsoever, that thus knows the irregular ? aniyata, not regulated) way of recitation, they recite those twenty-one sāmīdhenīs, he becomes either worse or better. What is set forth in the words from “A householder who desires neither an improvement” &c. is mere speculation; the recitation is not to be performed in this way.’ The corresponding paragraph of the Kāṇva recension is much briefer and clearer:—Tad etad gatasrī eva kurvīta na ha sreyān na pāpīyān bhavati yasyaivam anvāhuḥ saishā mīmāṃsaiva na tv anūṭyante, ‘only a gatasrī, however, should do this; for neither better nor worse becomes he for whom they recite thus. This is indeed speculation, but they (the twenty-one sāmīdhenīs) are not recited.’

¹ In the Taitt. S. II, 5, 10, the number of verses (effected by the repetition) is given as varying, according to the special object in view, between fifteen and forty-eight.

² ? Or, it would be an act of neglect on his, the sacrificer’s, part: by (the Hotṛi) reciting without fetching breath, that act, that neglect would be avoided.

position without taking breath, that slight will be avoided.

15. If, however, he do not care to undertake this, he may also recite one (verse) at a time without drawing breath: he thereby spreads those worlds one by one, gains those worlds one by one. The reason why he takes breath, is that the gâyatrî is indeed breath; and that by reciting a complete gâyatrî verse, he accordingly bestows complete breathing (on the sacrificer): let him therefore recite one (verse) at a time without breathing.

16. He recites them in a continuous, uninterrupted way: thereby he makes the days and nights of the year continuous, and in a continuous, uninterrupted way revolve those days and nights of the year. And in this way he gives no access to the spiteful enemy; but access he would indeed give, if he were to recite them discontinuously: he therefore recites in a continuous, uninterrupted way.

FOURTH ADHYĀYA. FIRST BRĀHMAṆA.

1. He recites after uttering (the syllable) 'Hiñ!' Sacrifice, they say, is not (performed) without the Sâman; and neither is the Sâman chanted without 'Hiñ' having been uttered. By his uttering 'Hiñ!' the peculiar nature (rûpam) of the word 'Hiñ' is produced (in the sacrifice); and by the sacred syllable (om) it assumes the nature of the Sâman. By uttering 'Om! Om¹!' this his entire sacrifice becomes endowed with the Sâman.

¹ That is, by uttering 'Om!' after each verse. The recitation of the first verse is preceded by the mystic words 'Hiñ bhûr bhuvaḥ svar om!' Âsv. S. I, 2, 3. Both syllables 'hiñ' and 'om' are essential elements in the recitation of Sâman hymns. See II, 2, 4, 11 seq.

2. And (another reason) why he utters 'Hiñ!' is this. The word 'Hiñ' means breath, for the word 'Hiñ' does indeed mean breath: he cannot therefore pronounce the word 'Hiñ,' when he closes his nostrils. The *rik* (verse) he recites with his voice. Now, voice and breath are a pair, so that a productive union of the *sâmidhents* is thereby effected at the outset: for this reason he recites, after uttering 'Hiñ!'

3. He utters the word 'Hiñ' in a low voice. Were he, on the contrary, to pronounce 'Hiñ' aloud, he would make 'voice' of both the one and the other: for this reason he utters the word 'Hiñ' in a low voice.

4. He recites with 'â (hither)!' and 'pra (forth or thither)!'. He thereby joins a *gâyatri* verse directed hitherward to one directed away from here: the one which tends from hence carries the sacrifice to the gods, and the one which tends hitherward pleases the men. For this reason he recites with 'â' and 'pra.'

5. And (another reason) why he recites with 'â' and 'pra,' is this. 'Pra (forth)' clearly means out-breathing, and 'â (hither)' means in-breathing: hence he thereby obtains out-breathing and in-breathing (for the sacrificer). For this reason he recites with 'â' and 'pra.'

¹ The particles *pra* and *â* were apparently used in phrases wishing one a safe journey and return (cf. Ait. Br. 3, 26, with Haug's note). The first *sâmidhent* begins, 'prâ vo vâgâ abhîdyavaḥ' (forth go your viands, heavenward); and the second, 'âgna â yâhi vitâye' (come hither, Agni, to the feast!). It is from these verses that the above symbolical explanation is derived. Cf. Taitt. S. II, 5, 7, 3 [*prâtinam* reto dhîyate—*pratikîḥ* pragâ gâyante].

6. Yet (other reasons) why he recites with 'hither (â)' and 'thither (pra),' are these. 'Thither' the seed is cast, and 'hither' birth takes place. 'Thither' the cattle disperse (for grazing), 'hither' they return. Indeed, everything here (moves) 'hither' and 'thither:' for this reason he recites with 'â' and 'pra.'

7. He recites¹, 'Forth go your viands, heaven-

¹ The following is a connected translation (as literal as possible, if not elegant) of the eleven sâmidhents, or kindling verses, in the same octosyllabic metre as the original. The first and eleventh verses are recited three times; and when at the end of each verse the Hotri pronounces the syllable *om*, the Adhvaryu throws a stick (sâmidh) into the fire,—up to the eighth verse, at the end of which the tenth stick is thrown in. At the end of the ninth verse five of the remaining six sticks are thrown into the fire. The throwing of the first stick is accompanied by the sacrificer pronouncing the dedicatory formula (tyâga), 'For Agni this, not for me!'

1. Forth go your viands, heavenward,
In havis rich; with buttered (spoon)
He nears the gods, wishful of bliss.
2. Come hither, Agni, to the feast;
Invokéd for the offering-gift,
As Hotri on the barhis sit!
3. With sâmidhs thee, O Ângiras,
With butter we exhilarate:
Shine forth, O youngest, brilliantly!
4. Agni, do thou obtain for us
That region wide and glorious,
That great and mighty one, O God!
5. Praiseworthy he, adorable,
Visible through the veil of gloom,
Agni, the mighty one, is lit.
6. The mighty Agni is lit up,
Yea, as a horse that bears the gods:
With offerings him they glorify.
7. O mighty one! we mighty men
Do kindle thee, the mighty one,—
O Agni, thee that brightly shines.

ward!—hereby, then, the ‘thither’ is (realised). And (in the second verse), ‘Come hither, Agni, to expand¹!’—by this, on the other hand, the ‘hither’ is (realised).

8. Now, in reference to this point, some people say, ‘Both these (texts) surely result in a “thither².”’ This, however, is beyond the ordinary understanding: the text, ‘forth go your viands, heavenward!’ is clearly (directed) a way from (the sacrificer); and the text, ‘Come hither, Agni, to expand!’ is (directed) towards (him).

9. He recites (the first kindling verse), ‘Forth go your viands, heavenward!’ this, then, tends in a forward direction. ‘Viands’ (*vâga*)³ he says, because viands mean food: hence food is obtained (for the sacrificer) by this recitation. ‘Heavenward’ he says, because those that tend heavenward are the half-

8. Agni we choose as messenger,
As *Hotri* the all-knowing,—him,
Performing well this sacrifice.

9. He who is kindled at the cult,
Agni, the bright, the laudable,
The flaming-locked, him we adore.

10. O Agni, worshipped, thou art lit:
Adore, good worshipper, the gods!
Oblation-bearer, sure, art thou.

11. Make offerings! do reverence!—
Him, Agni, while the cult proceeds,
For your oblation-bearer choose!

¹ See further on, par. 22 seq.

² Inasmuch as Agni, whilst coming to the sacrifice, goes away from the gods. *Sây.*

³ In the *Taitt. S.* II, 5, 7, 3-4 also *vâga* is in the first place rendered by ‘food,’ while afterwards it is identified with the months (i. e. the coursers? *gamanasîla*, *Sây.*); as *abhidyava* (in the sense of ‘shining in both directions,’ i. e. in the form of the waxing and waning moon, *Sây.*) is referred to the half-moons.

moons : it is, therefore, the half-moons which he obtains by this recitation. 'In havis rich' he further says, because those that are rich in havis (milk, butter) are the cattle ; it is cattle, therefore, that he thereby obtains through the recitation.

10. 'With buttered (spoon)—' he adds. Now Māthava, the (king of) Videgha¹, carried Agni Vaisvānara in his mouth. The R̥ishi Gotama Rāhûgana was his family priest. When addressed (by the latter), he made no answer to him, fearing lest Agni might fall from his mouth.

11. He (the priest) began to invoke the latter with

¹ To this important legend attention was first drawn by Professor Weber, Ind. Stud. I, 170 seq. (cf. also Ind. Streifen, I, p. 13 ; J. Muir, Sanskrit Texts, II, p. 402). It was pointed out by Weber that this legend distinguishes three successive stages of the eastward migration of the Brāhmanical Hindus. In the first place the settlements of the Āryans had already been extended from the Pañgab (where they were settled in the times of the hymns of the Rig-veda) as far as the Sarasvatī. They thence pushed forward, led by the Videgha Māthava and his priest, according to our legend, as far east as the river Sadânîrâ (that is, 'she that is always filled with water'), which, according to Sāyana, is another name for the Karatoyâ (the modern Kurattee, on which Bograh lies), which formed the eastern boundary of the Videhas ; or more probably the Gandakī (the modern Gunduck, a noble river which falls into the Ganges opposite Patna, and) which formed the boundary between the Kosalas and the Videhas (cf. par. 17). It would appear from our legend, that for some time the Āryans did not venture to cross this river ; but at the time of the author the country to the east of it had long been occupied by them. Sāyana takes the hero of the legend to be Videgha, the Mādhava or son of Madhu ; but Videgha, an older form of Videha, is more probably intended here (as Weber takes it) for the name of that people and country (corresponding to the modern Tirhut). The Agni Vaisvānara (or Agni who is common to all men) of our legend Professor Weber considers a personification of Brāhmanical worship and civilisation and the destructive effects of their extension.

verses of the Rig-veda, 'We kindle thee at the sacrifice, O wise Agni, thee the radiant, the mighty caller to the sacrificial feast (Rig-veda V, 26, 3)!—O Videgha!'

12. He (the king) did not answer. (The priest went on), 'Upwards, O Agni, dart thy brilliant, shining rays, thy flames, thy beams (Rig-veda VIII, 44, 16)!—O Videgha-a-a!'

13. Still he did not answer. (The priest continued), 'Thee, O butter-sprinkled one, we invoke! (Rig-veda V, 26, 2);' so much he uttered, when at the very mentioning of butter, Agni Vaisvânara flashed forth from the (king's) mouth: he was unable to hold him back; he issued from his mouth, and fell down on this earth.

14. Mâthava, the Videgha, was at that time on the (river) Sarasvatî¹. He (Agni) thence went burning along this earth towards the east; and Gotama Râhûgana and the Videgha Mâthava followed after him as he was burning along. He burnt over (dried up) all these rivers. Now that (river), which is called 'Sadânîrâ,' flows from the northern (Himâlâya) mountain: that one he did not burn over. That one the Brâhmins did not cross in former times, thinking, 'it has not been burnt over by Agni Vaisvânara.'

15. Now-a-days, however, there are many Brâhmins to the east of it. At that time it (the land east of the Sadânîrâ) was very uncultivated, very marshy, because it had not been tasted by Agni Vaisvânara.

16. Now-a-days, however, it is very cultivated, for the Brâhmins have caused (Agni) to taste it through

¹ Or, according to Sâyana, he was then in the Sarasvatî, plunged into the river in order to quench the heat produced by Agni.

sacrifices. Even in late summer that (river), as it were, rages along¹: so cold is it, not having been burnt over by Agni Vaisvânara.

17. Mâthava, the Videgha, then said (to Agni), 'Where am I to abide?' 'To the east of this (river) be thy abode!' said he. Even now this (river) forms the boundary of the Kosalas and Videhas; for these are the Mâthavas (or descendants of Mâthava).

18. Gotama Râhûgana then said (to Mâthava), 'Why didst thou not answer when addressed by us?' He replied, 'Agni Vaisvânara was in my mouth; I did not reply, lest he should escape from my mouth.'

19. 'How then did this happen?'—'At the moment when thou didst utter the words, " (Thee), O butter-sprinkled one, we invoke!" just then, at the mention of butter, Agni Vaisvânara flashed forth from my mouth; I was unable to hold him back, he issued from my mouth.'

20. That (word) in the sâmidhents, therefore, which contains butter (*ghṛita*) is especially suitable for kindling (*sam-indh*); and by it he accordingly kindles him (Agni, the fire) and bestows vigour on this (sacrificer).

21. Now that (word) is *ghṛitâkya*, 'with the buttered (spoon).'¹—'He nears² the gods, wishful of bliss.' Wishful of bliss, truly, is the sacrificer, since he wishes to approach the gods, to go to³

¹ That is to say, it is not affected by the heat of the summer, as the other rivers, but rushes along as rapidly and as well-filled as ever.

² *Gigâti* is taken by *Sâyana* in the sense of 'he sings, praises.' Our author, on the other hand, seems to interpret it by 'he conquers (*gi*)'; see, however, next note.

³ The text has, 'Sa hi devân *gigîshati* sa hi devân *gigâmsati*.' The *Kânva* recension has the same reading, except that it omits 'hi'

the gods: therefore he says, 'he nears the gods, wishful of bliss.' This (verse), which is addressed to Agni, is undefined (vague); and undefined, doubtless, is the 'All:': he thus commences (this holy work) with the All.

22. [He recites the second sâmidhenī]: 'Come hither, Agni, to expand!'—'To expand' he says, because at the beginning these worlds were well-nigh contiguous to one another: at that time one could touch the sky thus¹.

23. The gods desired, 'How could these worlds of ours become farther apart from one another? How could there be more space for us?' They breathed through them (the worlds) with these three syllables (forming the word) 'vītaye²,' and these worlds became far apart from one another; and there was then ampler space for the gods: ample space, therefore, he will have for whom, knowing this, they recite this (verse) containing (the word) 'vītaye.'

24. He proceeds, 'Invoked for the giver of oblations!' 'The giver of oblations³,' of course, is the

in both cases. Instead of *gigâṃsati*, however, some MSS., as well as *Sâyana*, read *gighâṃsati* ('he wishes to conquer, or beat, the gods'), probably an old corruption, easily accounted for by the circumstance that *gigîshati* is the regular desiderative of *gi*, 'to conquer,' though it also occurs in some passages as the desiderative of *gâ*, 'to go.' *Sâyana*, however, though he reads *gighâṃsati*, here allows to the root *han* (with Naigh. 2, 14) the meaning of 'to go.' Cf. Weber, *Omina und Portenta*, p. 406, note 4.

¹ Viz. by stretching the arms upwards. *Sâyana*.

² That is, *vi-itaye*, 'for going asunder,' a fanciful analysis of the word *vīti*; the correct rendering is 'for the meal or food,' 'for the feast.'

³ *Havyadâti*, the correct meaning of the word is 'the giving of oblations.'

sacrificer : hence 'invoked for the sacrificer' is what he thereby means to say.—'As Hotri on the barhis sit!' Agni, indeed, is the Hotri, and the barhis (the covering of sacrificial grass on the altar) is this world : hence he thereby establishes Agni (the fire) in this world, as this fire is established (or, beneficial, hita) in this world. This (verse), then, is recited with reference to this world (the earth) : through it this world is conquered by him for whom, knowing this, they recite this (verse).

25. [He recites the third sâmidhent]: 'With samidhs thee, O Âṅgiras!'—with samidhs (kindling-sticks), indeed, the Âṅgiras kindled him. 'O Âṅgiras!' he says, for Agni is indeed Âṅgiras¹.—'With butter we exhilarate!' This (viz. ghr̥itena, 'with butter') is a word which is especially suitable for the kindling of Agni : by it he kindles him, and bestows vigour on this (sacrificer).

26. 'Shine forth, O youngest, brilliantly!' he adds ; for brilliantly he shines, when kindled ; and 'O youngest!' he says, because he is really the youngest Agni² : therefore he says, 'O youngest!' This (verse) is recited with reference to yonder world, to wit, the aërial world ; hence this (verse), which is addressed to Agni, is undefined, for undefined is yonder world : that world he thereby gains, for whom, knowing this, they recite this verse.

27. [He recites the fourth sâmidhent]: 'Agni, do thou obtain for us that (region) wide and

¹ Rig-veda I, 31, 1, he is called the first of the Âṅgiras.

² The fire which has just been kindled is frequently called the youngest (yavish/a). Sâyana takes it as 'the ever young.' See also the legend regarding the three Agnis who preceded the present Agni in the office of divine Hotri, I, 2, 3, 1 ; 3, 3, 13.

glorious!' For wide, indeed, is yonder (region) wherein the gods (dwell), and glorious is that (region) wherein the gods (dwell). When he says, 'Do thou obtain for us¹,' he means to say, 'make us go to it!'

28. 'That great and mighty one, O God!' For great, indeed, is yonder (region) wherein the gods (dwell), and mighty² is that wherein the gods (dwell). This (verse), then, is recited with reference to yonder world: that heavenly world he thereby gains, for whom, knowing this, they recite this (verse).

29. He recites (the fifth sâmidhent): 'Praise-worthy he, adorable,' for worthy of praise he is, and worthy of adoration;—'visible through the veil of gloom,' for when kindled he is seen right through the gloom;—'Agni, the mighty one (bull), is lit,' for he is indeed lit up, the mighty one.

[He recites the sixth sâmidhent]: 'The mighty Agni is lit up,' for he is indeed lit up.

30. 'Yea³, as a horse that bears the gods,' for having become a horse he does indeed carry the sacrifice to the gods: the (word) 'na' which occurs in this verse has the meaning of 'om' (verily); hence he says, 'Yea, as a horse that bears to the gods.'

¹ Vivâsasi, Sâyana explains it by prakâsaya, 'illuminate it;' but cf. Sâyana on Rig-veda VI, 16, asmân *akṣha* abhigamaya, 'make it (dhanam) come to us.'

² Suvîrya is taken by our author as an adjective, co-ordinate with the others; but it is evidently a noun ('abundance of heroes' or 'manliness, manly power,' St. Petersburg Dictionary) qualified by the adjectives.

³ Na is taken by our author as a particle of asseveration; though in reality it is a particle of comparison. In later Sanskrit na is only used as particle of negation.

31. 'With offerings him they glorify,' for with offerings men indeed glorify him; therefore he says, 'with offerings him they glorify.'

32. [He recites the seventh sâmidhent]: 'O mighty one¹! we mighty men do kindle thee, the mighty one!' for they indeed kindle him;—'O Agni, thee that brightly shines!' for he indeed shone brightly when he was kindled.

33. He recites this tristich which contains the word (*vri*shan), 'mighty.' All these kindling verses, it is true, are addressed to Agni; Indra, however, is the deity of sacrifice, Indra is the mighty (hero); hence these his (the sacrificer's) kindling verses thereby become possessed of Indra: this is the reason why he recites the tristich containing the word 'mighty.'

34. He recites [the eighth sâmidhent]: 'Agni we choose as messenger!' Now the gods and the Asuras, both of them sprang from Pragâpati, were contending for superiority. When they were thus contending, the gâyatṛī stood between them. That gâyatṛī was the same as this earth, and this earth indeed lay between them². Now both of them knew that whichever she would side with, they would be victorious and the others would be defeated. Both parties then invited her secretly to come to them. Agni acted as messenger for the gods; and an Asura-Rakshas, named Sa-

¹ *Vri*shan, 'the male, the vigorous one, the bull;' cf. Max Müller, Translation of Rig-veda Sanhitâ, I, p. 121 seq.

² 'On the top of Mount Meru lies the city of Amarâvatî, wherein the gods dwell; and beneath Meru lies Irâvatî, the city of the Asuras: between these two lies the earth.' *Sâyana*.

harakshas¹, for the Asuras. She then followed Agni: he therefore recites, 'Agni we choose for messenger,' because he was the messenger of the gods.—'As Hotri the all-knowing, him!'

35. Here now some people recite, 'He who is the Hotri of the all-knowing²;' lest (in saying 'for Hotri, the all-knowing, him') one should say to oneself 'enough (i.e. have done)!' This, however, he should not do; for by (doing) so they do at the sacrifice what is human; and what is human, is inauspicious at a sacrifice. Therefore, lest he should do what is inauspicious at the sacrifice, he should recite, just as it is recited by the *Rik*, 'for Hotri, the all-knowing, him!' [He continues], 'Performing well this sacrifice!' for he, Agni, is indeed a good performer of the sacrifice: for this reason he says, 'performing well this sacrifice.' She (gâyatri, or the earth) sided with the gods, and the gods thereupon were victorious and the Asuras were defeated: and verily he for whom, knowing this, they recite this (verse), is himself victorious and his adversaries are defeated.

36. He therefore recites this, the eighth (sâmidhenî). This, indeed, is peculiarly a gâyatritrî verse, since it is of eight syllables that the gâyatritrî (metre) consists: for this reason he recites the eighth (sâmidhenî).

¹ Cf. the corresponding passage in Taitt. S. II, 5, 11, 8, where Daivya is given as the name of the messenger of the Asuras.

² That is to say, instead of 'Hotâram visvavedasam,' they recite 'Hotâ yo visvavedasah;' for the reason that Hotâram (accusative of hotri) might be understood to be 'hotâ aram,' aram, 'enough,' being a particle implying a prohibition. Our author, however, promptly sets his face against this application of human reasoning to an inspired text.

37. Here now some people place the two (dhâyyâs) additional kindling verses before (the eighth sâmidhenî), arguing, 'The two dhâyyâs¹ mean food: this edible food we place in front (or, in the mouth, mukhata~~h~~).' But let him not do this: for with him who inserts the additional verses before (the eighth), the latter (the eighth) is clearly out of its place², since in that case it (and the succeeding verse) become the tenth and eleventh verses. With him, on the other hand, for whom they recite this as the eighth (kindling verse), it is indeed in its proper place: let him therefore insert the two additional verses after (the ninth).

38. [He recites the ninth kindling verse]: 'He who is kindled at the cult'—the cult (adhvara), doubtless, is the sacrifice: 'he who is kindled at the sacrifice' he thereby says;—'Agni, the bright, the laudable,' for he is both bright and laudable;—'the flaming-locked, him we adore!' for when he is kindled, his locks, as it were, flame. Previously to (the beginning of the tenth verse), 'O Agni, worshipped, thou art lit!' let him (the Adhvaryu) put on

¹ Whenever thirteen kindling verses are recited instead of eleven (or counting the repetitions of the first and last verses, seventeen instead of fifteen), the two verses Rig-veda III, 27, 5 and 6 are inserted according to our author after the ninth, and according to others before the eighth, sâmidhenî. They are called dhâyyâ, probably derived from dhâ, 'to put, add,' whilst those ritualists whose practice is here rejected apparently connect the word with the root dhâ (dhe), 'to suck.'

² According to Sâyana, because it no longer occupies the eighth place for which it is specially appropriate on account of its being, according to our author, 'peculiarly a gâyatrí (eight-syllabled) verse.' This reasoning is far from satisfactory, since the two dhâyyâs (Rig-veda III, 27, 5 and 6) are also gâyatrí verses.

all the kindling-sticks with the exception of the one stick (which is to be put on at the after-offerings¹); for it is now that the *Hotri* completes (the kindling); and what then is left of the kindling-sticks, other than the one stick, that is left (unused altogether); and what is left (unused) of the sacrifice, that is left for his (the sacrificer's) spiteful enemy: let him, therefore, previously to this (verse), put on all the *samidhs*, save one.

39. [He continues]: 'Adore, good worshipper, the gods!' worship (*adhvara*) doubtless means sacrifice: 'adore the gods, good sacrificer' he thereby says;—'Oblation-bearer, sure, art thou!' for he, Agni, is indeed the bearer of oblations: for this reason he says 'oblation-bearer, sure, art thou.'

[He recites the last *sâmidheni*]: 'Make offerings! do reverence! Him, Agni, while the cult proceeds, for your oblation-bearer choose!' by this (verse) he urges them on: 'make offerings and worship! do this for (the accomplishment) of whatever desire you kindled him!' this is what he thereby means to say. 'Him, Agni, while the cult proceeds,' he says, because cult means sacrifice: hence he thereby says, 'him, Agni, whilst the sacrifice proceeds;—'for your oblation-bearer choose!' for he, Agni, is indeed the oblation-bearer, and for this reason he says 'for your oblation-bearer choose (him)!'

40. This tristich, containing (the word) 'cult (*adhvara*),' he thus recites. For once when the gods were engaged in sacrificing, their rivals, the Asuras, wished to injure (*dhurv*, *dhvar*) them; but, though desirous of injuring them, they were

¹ See I, 8, 2, 3.

unable to injure them and were foiled : for this reason the sacrifice is called *adhvara* ('not damaged, uninterrupted'); and for whomsoever, that knows this, they recite this tristich containing (the word) *adhvara* ('cult, sacrifice'), his rival, though desirous of injuring him, is foiled; and he (the sacrificer), moreover, gains as much as one gains by offering a Soma-sacrifice¹.

SECOND BRÂHMANA.

1. Now in former times the gods appointed Agni to the chief (office), namely, that of *Hotri*; and having appointed him to the chief (office) saying 'do thou carry this our oblation!' they cheered him up, saying, 'Surely, thou art vigorous; surely, thou art equal to this!' thereby endowing him with vigour, even as in our own days, when they appoint any one from among their kinsmen to the chief (office), they cheer him up saying 'surely, thou art vigorous; surely, thou art equal to this!' thereby endowing him with vigour. By what, therefore, he recites after this, he eulogizes him, puts vigour into him².

2. 'O Agni, thou art great! O priest (*brâhmana*), O *Bhârata*!' for Agni, indeed, is the *brahman*

¹ *Saumya adhvara* is the common designation of the solemn Soma-sacrifice; hence, our author argues, the word *adhvara* is here used for sacrifice (*yagña*) with a view to insure to this offering the efficacy of a Soma-sacrifice.

² The invocations he now proceeds to recite, on the termination of the *sâmidhents* or kindling verses, belong to the class of formulas called *nigada*. In the present case, they consist of the *pravara mantra*—or formula by which Agni is invited to assist the sacrificer as *Hotri* or Invoker on the present occasion, as he has of old assisted his ancestors (cf. the following note)—and of short detached formulas called *nivid*. *Sâyana* on Taitt. S. II, 5, 8.

(sacerdotium) : therefore he says 'O Brāhmaṇa !'— 'O Bhârata' he says, because he (Agni) bears (bhar) the oblation to the gods : therefore they say 'Agni is bhârata (the bearer).' Or, he, being the breath, sustains (bhar) these creatures : therefore he says 'O Bhârata (sustainer) !'

3. He now calls on (Agni as) the ancestral (Hotri priest)¹. He thereby introduces him both to the Rishis and to the gods (as if he were to say), 'Of great vigour is he who has obtained the sacrifice !' This is the reason why he calls on (Agni as) the ancestral (Hotri).

4. He calls from the remote end (of the sacri-

¹ Ârsheyam pravṛinīte, literally 'he chooses the ancestral' (rishi). I take 'ârshheyam' as a masculine adjective qualifying a supplied '(Agnim) hotâram.' In this way the formula is explained by Sâyana on I, 5, 1, 9 (*rishinâm sambandhinam adhvaryur hotâram vṛinīte*), and this seems to me the most natural interpretation. It is true, however, that, as the formula ('he chooses the ancestral') became stereotyped, its exact import became forgotten, and ârsheya was generally taken as a neuter, either adjective (viz. 'nâmadheyam,' 'apatyam'), or noun (ancestral lineage). Agni is invoked as the one who has of old officiated as the Hotri of the sacrificer's ancestors, three or five ancestral names being usually mentioned : thus, in the case of a sacrificer belonging to the Gâmadagna Vatsa family, claiming Bhrigu, Kyavana, Apnavâna, Aurva, and Gamadagni as its founders, Agni is invoked, on the present occasion, as 'Bhârgava Kyâvana Âpnavâna Aurva Gâmadagna !' (Âsval. Sr. 12, 10, 6 ; Sâyana on Taitt. S. II, 5, 8). If the sacrificer belongs to the Kshatriya or Vaisya castes, the priest substitutes for the sacrificer's ancestors those of his family priest (purohita) or his spiritual guide (guru) ; and in the case of kings the same course was adopted, or the names of their royal rishi ancestors (râgarshi) were chosen. As to the second pravara, or the election of the human Hotri, for the present sacrifice, see I, 5, 1, 1. Cf. Max Müller, History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 386 seq. ; A. Weber, Ind. Stud. IX, 321 seq. ; X, 78 seq. ; M. Haug, Aitar. Br., Translation, p. 479.

ficer's ancestral line) downwards; for it is from the remote end downwards that a race is propagated. He (the Hotri) also thereby propitiates the lord of seniority for him (the Sacrificer); for here among men the father comes first, then the son, and then the grandson: this is the reason why he calls from the remote end downwards.

5. Having named (him as) the ancestral one, he says, '(thou wert) kindled by the gods, kindled by Manu;' for in olden times the gods did kindle him: for this reason he says 'kindled by the gods;' and 'kindled by Manu' he says, because in olden times Manu did kindle him: for this reason he says 'kindled by Manu.'

6. He continues, 'Praised by the *Rishis* (wert thou);' for in olden times the *Rishis* did praise him: for this reason he says 'praised by the *Rishis*.'

7. Further, 'Gladdened by bards (*vipra*);' for those bards, the *Rishis*, indeed gladdened him: for this reason he says 'gladdened by bards.'

8. Further, 'Celebrated by sages (*kavi*);' for those sages, the *Rishis*, indeed celebrated him: this is why he says 'celebrated by sages.'

9. Further, 'Sharpened by the brahman (the Veda or vedic formulas),' for he is indeed sharpened by the brahman;—'the receiver of butter-offerings,' for he is indeed the receiver of butter-offerings.

10. Further, 'The leader of oblations (*yagña*), the carrier of (Soma-)sacrifices (*adhvara*),' for through him they lead forward all oblations, both the domestic oblations and the others: this is why he says 'the leader of oblations.'

11. 'The carrier (*rathi*) of sacrifices;' for being a cart (as it were) he conveys the sacrifice to the

gods: this is the reason why he says 'the carrier of sacrifices.'

12. Further, 'The unsurpassed Hotri, the surpassing bearer of oblations;' for him the Rakshas do not surpass (tar): for this reason he says 'the unsurpassed - (atârta) Hotri.' 'The surpassing (târni, rather 'swift') bearer of oblations,' for he overcomes (tar) every evil: therefore he says 'the surpassing bearer of oblations'¹.

13. Further, 'The mouth-vessel², the offering-spoon of the gods;' for he, Agni, is indeed the vessel of the gods: therefore they make offerings in Agni to all the gods, he being the vessel of the gods. And, verily, whosoever knows this, obtains the vessel of him whose vessel he desires to obtain³.

14. Further, 'The cup from which the gods drink;' for from him, being (as it were) a cup, the gods drink (the Soma-libations): for this reason he says 'the cup from which the gods drink.'

15. Further, 'Thou, O Agni! dost encompass the gods, as the felly the spokes;' 'in the same way in which the felly on all sides encompasses the spokes, so dost thou on all sides encompass the gods,' this is what he thereby says.

16. 'Bring hither the gods for the sacrificer!' this he says in order that he (Agni) may bring the gods

¹ At this point of the recitation a pause is made, during which (as already partly during the preceding recitation) the Adhvaryu and Âgnîdhra engage in the acts detailed in I, 4, 4, 13 seq. Cf. Hillebrandt, Neu und Vollm. p. 81.

² Âs-pâtram: the fire is, as it were, the vessel into which the sacrificial food is thrown and from which it is eaten by the gods.

³ ? Sâyana supplies 'food:' he obtains the vessel of that food of which he wishes to obtain the vessel.

to this sacrifice¹.—‘Bring Agni hither, O Agni!’ this he says in order that he may bring Agni to the butter-portion intended for Agni.—‘Bring Soma hither!’ this he says in order that he may bring Soma to the butter-portion intended for Soma.—‘Bring Agni hither!’ this he says in order that he (Agni) may bring Agni hither to that indispensable² cake which is offered to Agni on both occasions (at the new and the full-moon sacrifices).

17. And (in the same way) according to the respective deities³. He then continues, ‘Bring hither the butter-drinking gods!’ this he says in order that he may bring hither the prayâgas and anyâgas (fore and after-offerings), for the prayâgas and anyâgas (represent) indeed the butter-drinking gods.—‘Bring Agni hither for the Hotri⁴ship!’ this he says in order that he may bring Agni hither for the office of Hotri.—‘Your own greatness bring hither!’ this he says in order that he (Agni) may

¹ Here begins what is called the devatânâm âvahanam, or invitation (lit. bringing) of the deities to the oblations. Whilst the Hotri recites these formulas, the Adhvaryu performs what is set forth in I, 4, 5, 2 seq.

² *Akṣyuta*, lit. ‘not fallen,’ i. e. immutable, invariable. For the legendary explanation of this epithet of Agni and his oblation, see I, 6, 1, 6; 2, 5-6.

³ The three preceding invocations are used alike at the new and full-moon sacrifices, but the subsequent ones differ according to the oblations that are made, viz. a rice-cake to Indra-Agni (or an oblation of mixed milk and butter to Indra) at the new-moon ceremony; and to Agni-Soma at the full-moon sacrifice. Previously to these an *upâmsuyâga* or ‘low-voiced oblation’ is made by some to Agni-Soma at the full moon, and one to Vishṇu (or to Agni-Soma) at the new-moon sacrifice; according to others also one to Pragâpati,—the names of the gods being whispered in the respective formulas.

bring hither his own greatness; his own greatness, in truth, is his voice: hence he says it in order that he may bring hither his voice¹.—‘Bring thou hither (the gods), O *Gâtavedas*², and offer up a good offering!’ what deities he bids him bring hither, with regard to those (deities) he thereby says ‘bring them hither!’ When he says, ‘offer up a good offering!’ he means to say, ‘sacrifice in the proper order!’

18. He recites (the invitatory prayer)³ while standing, since it is yonder (sky) which he thereby recites; for, indeed, the invitatory prayer (signifies) yonder (sky), and by it he recites that which is yonder (sky). This is the reason why he recites standing.

19. The offering-prayer³ he pronounces while sitting, since the offering-prayer (represents) this (earth): hence no one pronounces the offering-prayer while standing; for the offering-prayer is

¹ *Sâyana* on *Taitt. S. II, 5, 9* explains the formula ‘Bring hither the own greatness’ by ‘bring hither whatever greatness or power is peculiar to each of the havis-eating gods,’ and he remarks expressly that it is not to be referred to *Agni*, as our author certainly appears to do. Cf. I, 7, 3, 13.

² *Gâtavedas* probably means ‘he who knoweth (all) beings,’ but it is more generally explained by ‘he who possesseth riches (or wisdom),’ not to mention other interpretations. According to *Haug, Ait. Br. vol. ii. p. 224*, the proper meaning of the term is ‘having possession of all that is born, i. e. pervading it.’ He further mentions that the *R̥shis* are quite familiar with the idea of the fire being an all-pervading power; and that by *Gâtavedas* the ‘animal fire’ is particularly to be understood. Our present formula ‘*â ka vaha gâtavedaḥ suyagâ ka yaga*’ somewhat differs from the corresponding formula of the *Taitt. S. II, 5, 9, 5*, ‘*â kagne devân vaha suyagâ ka yaga gâtavedaḥ*.’

³ For the *anuvâkyâ* or invitatory prayer, and the *yâgyâ* or offering-prayer, see p. 135 note.

this earth, and by it he pronounces that which is this (earth). This is the reason why he pronounces the offering-prayer while sitting.

THIRD BRĀHMAṆA.

1. The fire that has been kindled by means of the kindling verses, assuredly, blazes more brightly than any other fire; for, indeed, it is unassailable, unapproachable.

2. And in like manner as the fire blazes when kindled by means of the kindling verses, so also blazes the priest (brāhmaṇa) that knows and recites the kindling verses; for, indeed, he is unassailable, unapproachable.

3. He recites, 'Pra va¹;' for the (word) prāṇa contains the syllable pra ('forwards'; or, is directed forwards): hence it is the prāṇa (out-breathing) which he kindles by this (the first sāmīdhenī). [He further recites the second verse], 'Come hither, Agni, to expand!' the backward breathing (apāṇa)², doubtless, is of this nature: the backward breathing he accordingly kindles with this (verse). Further (in the third verse), 'Shine forth, O youngest, brilliantly!' the high-flaming one³, indeed, is the upward breathing (udāna): the upward

¹ The first two words of the first sāmīdhenī, cf. p. 101 note. A mystic meaning is obtained for them by our author combining them and identifying the form obtained with the adjective pravant, meaning both 'containing the syllable pra' and 'directed forwards,' both of which meanings apply to the breathing-forth or expiration (prāṇa, cf. I, 1, 3, 2).

² Bahir nirgatasya vāyor ātmābhīmukhī vṛtitir hy apāṇaḥ, udāna-vāyur dehasyotkshepaṇād adhikategoyuktaḥ. Sāyana.

³ The author apparently takes brīhakkhokā(h) as a compound.

breathing he accordingly kindles with this (the third verse).

4. Further, 'Sa naḥ *prīthu sravāyyam*¹,' the 'far-hearing one,' indeed, is the ear, for it is with the ear that one hears here far or widely: the ear he accordingly kindles with this (the fourth verse).

5. Further, 'Praiseworthy he, adorable;' the praiseworthy² one, doubtless, is the voice; for it is the voice which praises everything here; by the voice everything is praised here: he accordingly kindles the voice with this (the fifth verse).

6. Further, 'Yea, as a horse that bears (to) the gods;' that which conveys to the gods is indeed the mind, for it is the mind which chiefly conveys the wise man (to the gods): the mind he accordingly kindles with this (the sixth verse).

7. Further, 'O Agni, thee, that brightly shines!' the eye, assuredly, shines: the eye he accordingly kindles by this (the seventh verse).

8. Further, 'Agni we choose for messenger,'—what central breath there is (in the body), that he kindles with this (the eighth verse): that one indeed is the internal motive force of the breathings; from it (two) others tend upwards, and from it (two) others tend downwards, for it is indeed the internal motive force. And whosoever knows that internal motive force of the breathings, him they regard as the internal motive force.'

¹ 'That (region) wide and glorious' (do thou obtain for us); but the author takes *prīthu sravāyyam* as 'that widely hearing one' or 'the wide hearing.' *Sâyana*, on Taitt. S. II, 5, 8, interprets it by 'that (holy work) which is extended and worthy of being heard by the gods.'

² He apparently takes *īdenya* in an active sense.

9. Further, 'The flaming-locked, him we adore!' the flaming-locked, doubtless, is the *sisna*, for it is that organ which chiefly burns (torments) him who is endowed with it: the *sisna* he accordingly kindles by this (the ninth verse).

10. Further, 'O Agni, worshipped, thou art lit!' what downward breathing there is that he kindles with this (the tenth verse); 'make offerings, do reverence!' with this (the eleventh verse) he kindles the entire body from the nails to the hair.

11. And if any one were to curse this one (the *Hotri*) at the (recitation of the) first kindling verse, then he (the *Hotri*) should say to him, 'Thereby thou hast put thine own out-breathing into the fire: by that out-breathing of thine shalt thou undergo suffering!' for this is what would take place.

12. If any one were to curse him at the second (verse), he should say to him, 'Thereby thou hast put thine own in-breathing into the fire: by that in-breathing of thine shalt thou undergo suffering!' for this is what would take place.

13. If any one were to curse him at the third (verse), he should say to him, 'Thereby thou hast put thine own up-breathing into the fire: by that up-breathing of thine shalt thou undergo suffering!' for this is what would take place.

14. If any one were to curse him at the fourth (verse), he should say to him, 'Thereby thou hast put thine own ear into the fire: by that ear of thine shalt thou undergo suffering, thou shalt become deaf!' for this is what would take place.

15. If any one were to curse him at the fifth (verse), he should say to him, 'Thereby thou hast put thine own voice into the fire: by that voice of

thine shalt thou undergo suffering, thou shalt become dumb!' for this is what would take place.

16. If any one were to curse him at the sixth (verse), he should say to him, 'Thereby thou hast put thine own mind into the fire: by that mind of thine shalt thou undergo suffering, thou shalt move about as one possessed with the (demon) "mind-stealer," as one deranged in mind!' for this is what would take place.

17. If any one were to curse him at the seventh (verse), he should say to him, 'Thereby thou hast put thine own eye into the fire: by that eye of thine shalt thou undergo suffering, thou shalt become blind!' for this is what would take place.

18. If any one were to curse him at the eighth (verse), he should say to him, 'Thereby thou hast put thine own central breath into the fire: by that central breath of thine shalt thou undergo suffering, thou shalt expire and die!' for this is what would take place.

19. If any one were to curse him at the ninth (verse), he should say to him, 'Thereby thou hast put thine own organ into the fire: by that organ of thine shalt thou undergo suffering, thou shalt become emasculate!' for this is what would take place.

20. If any one were to curse him at the tenth (verse), he should say to him, 'Thereby thou hast put thine own down-breathing into the fire: by that down-breathing of thine shalt thou undergo suffering, thou shalt die from constipation!' for this is what would take place.

21. If any one were to curse him at the eleventh (verse), he should say to him, 'Thereby thou hast

put thine entire body into the fire : with that entire body of thine shalt thou undergo suffering, thou shalt swiftly pass to yonder world !' for this is what would take place.

22. For in like manner as one undergoes suffering on approaching the fire that has been kindled by means of the kindling verses, so also does one undergo suffering for cursing a priest (*brāhmaṇa*) who knows and recites the kindling verses.

FOURTH BRĀHMANA.

1. That same fire, then, they have kindled, (thinking), 'In it, when kindled, we will sacrifice to the gods.' In it, indeed, he makes these two first oblations¹ to Mind and Speech (or, Voice); for mind and speech, when yoked together, convey the sacrifice to the gods.

2. Now, what is performed (with formulas, pronounced) in a low voice, by that the mind conveys the sacrifice to the gods; and what is performed (with formulas) distinctly uttered by speech, by that the speech conveys the sacrifice to the gods. And thus takes place here a twofold performance, whereby

¹ Viz. the two *âghâras*, or pourings (libations) of butter. The first libation, which belongs to *Pragâpati*, is made by the *Adhvaryu*, while seated north of the fire, immediately after the commencement of the *pravara*, in a continuous line from west to east, on the north part of the fire. The second libation (cf. note on I, 4, 5, 3) is made by the *Adhvaryu* while standing on the south side, in the same way on the southern part of the fire. According to some authorities of the Black Yagus ritual (quoted by Hillebrandt, *Neu und Vollm.* pp. 80, 86) the sacrificer pronounces the *anumantranas*, 'For *Pragâpati* is this, not for me: thou art the mind of *Pragâpati*!' and 'Indra's voice (speech) art thou: enter into me with the voice, with Indra's power!' over the two libations respectively.

he gratifies these two, thinking, 'gratified and pleased, these two shall convey the sacrifice to the gods.'

3. With the dipping-spoon (*sruva*, m.) he makes that libation (of clarified butter) which he makes for the mind; for the mind (*manas*, n.!) is male, and male is the *sruva*.

4. With the offering-spoon (*sruk*, f.) he makes that libation which he makes for speech (*vâk*, f.); for speech is female, and female is the *sruk*.

5. Silently (without a formula) and even without 'svâhâ (hail)!' he makes that libation which he makes for the mind; for undefined (or indistinct) is the mind, and undefined is what takes place silently.

6. With a mantra he makes that libation which he makes for speech; for distinct is speech, and distinct is the formula.

7. Sitting he makes that libation which he makes for the mind, and standing that which he makes for speech. Mind and speech, when yoked together, assuredly convey the sacrifice to the gods. But when one of two yoke-fellows is smaller (than the other) they give him a shoulder-piece¹. Now speech is indeed smaller than mind; for mind is by far the more unlimited, and speech is by far the more limited (of the two); hence he thereby (by standing) gives a shoulder-piece to speech, and as well-matched yoke-fellows these two now convey the sacrifice to the gods: for speech, therefore, he sprinkles while standing.

8. Now the gods, when they were performing sacrifice, were afraid of a disturbance on the part

¹ *Upavaha* (m.; *upavaḥas*, n., *Kârva* rec.), explained by *Sâyana* as a piece of wood inserted under the yoke (and on the neck of an ox) in order to make it level with the height of the yoke-fellow.

of the Asuras and Rakshas. They, therefore, stood up erect against them on the south side (of the sacrificial ground); for strength is, as it were, erect; hence he makes the (second) libation while standing to the south (of the fire). When he makes a libation on each side (of the fire, north and south), this (pair), mind and speech, though indeed joined together, become separate: for one of the two libations is the head of the sacrifice and the other is its root.

9. With the dipping-spoon (*sruvā*) he makes that libation which is the root of the sacrifice, and with the offering-spoon (*sruk*) that which is the head of the sacrifice.

10. Silently he makes that libation which is the root of the sacrifice; for silent, as it were, is this root (of trees &c.), and in it the voice does not sound.

11. With a formula he makes that libation which is the head of the sacrifice; for the formula is speech, and from the head this speech sounds.

12. Sitting he makes that libation which is the root of the sacrifice; for seated, as it were, is this root. Standing he makes that libation which is the head of the sacrifice; for this head stands, as it were.

13. When he has made the first libation with the dipping-spoon, he says, 'Agnīdh, sweep (touch over) the fire¹!' In like manner as one would lay the yoke on (the shoulders of the team), so also he makes that first libation; for after laying on the yoke they fasten (the team to it).

14. He (the *Āgnīdhra*) then sweeps (the fire with

¹ See I, 4, 2, 12, with note.

the band of the fire-wood): he thereby harnesses it, thinking, 'Now that it has been harnessed, may it convey the sacrifice to the gods!' for this reason he sweeps it. While sweeping it he moves around, since in harnessing they move around the team. He sweeps thrice each time (i.e. thrice along each of the three enclosing-sticks): threefold is the sacrifice.

15. He sweeps (once), with the text (Vāg. S. II, 7 a), 'O Agni, food-gainer! I cleanse thee, the food-gainer, who art about to hasten to the food!' Whereby he says, 'I cleanse thee who art going to convey the sacrifice (to the gods), thee fit for the sacrifice!' He then sweeps thrice over (the fire) silently: for just as, after harnessing (the animal), one urges it on, saying, 'Go on! pull!' so does he thereby strike it with the lash¹, thinking, 'Go on and convey the sacrifice to the gods!' That is why he (sweeps) thrice over it silently; and in like manner as this act is performed between (the two sprinklings of butter), so this mind and speech, though forming one, thereby become, as it were, separate.

FIFTH BRĀHMAṆA

1. When he (the Adhvaryu) is about to make the second libation with the offering-spoon (*sruk*), he (twice) lays his joined hands (*aṅgali*) on the ground before the two offering-spoons (*guhû* and *upa-bhṛit*), with the formulas (Vāg. S. II, 7 b), 'Adoration to the gods!' 'Svadhâ to the fathers!' Thereby he propitiates the gods and the fathers, now that

¹ The sweeping of the fire is performed with the straw-band with which the fire-wood was tied together (Kâty. III, 1, 13), and which is here compared with the lash of a whip.

he is about to perform the duties of the sacrificial priest. With the formula, 'May ye two be easy to manage for me!' he takes the two offering-spoons: he thereby means to say, 'May ye two be easy to handle for me; may I be able to handle you!'—He further says (*Vâg. S. II, 8*), 'May I this day offer up the butter to the gods unspilt!' whereby he means to say, 'May I to-day perform an undisturbed sacrifice to the gods!'

2. And again, 'May I not sin against thee with my foot, O Vishnu!' Vishnu, indeed, is the sacrifice: it is the latter therefore that he propitiates by saying, 'may I not sin against thee!' Further, 'May I step into thy wealth-abounding shade, O Agni!' whereby he says, 'may I step into thy auspicious shade, O Agni!¹'

3. Further, 'Thou art the abode of Vishnu!' Vishnu, indeed, is the sacrifice, and near to this he now stands: this is why he says, 'thou art the abode of Vishnu!'—'Here Indra performed his heroic deed²;' for it was while standing in this place that Indra drove off towards the south the evil spirits, the Rakshas: for this reason he says, 'here Indra performed his heroic deed.'—'Erect stood the cult;' cult,

¹ While he pronounces this formula (and while the *Hotri* recites the formula of invitation to the gods, cf. note on I, 4, 2, 16) the *Adhvaryu* steps to the south side of the altar (and *Âhavanīya* fire) and in so doing must take care always to keep the left foot before the right (*Kâty. III, 1, 16, 18*) and not to touch the top of the *prastara*, ib. 17, schol. In returning (par. 5) to his former position he has to keep the right foot before the left.

² With this and the succeeding formulas, the *Adhvaryu* makes the second libation (cf. note on I, 4, 4, 1). Before the butter is poured into the fire the sacrificer pronounces the dedicatory formula, 'Om! for Indra this, not for me!'

namely, means sacrifice, hence he thereby says 'erect stood the sacrifice.'

4. Further (Vâg. S. II, 9): 'O Agni, take thou upon thyself the office of Hotri, take thou upon thyself the part of messenger!' for Agni is both Hotri and messenger to the gods: hence he thereby says, 'know thou¹ both (offices) which thou art (holding) for the gods!'—'May earth and heaven guard thee! Guard thou earth and heaven!' there is nothing obscure in this.—'Indra, by this butter-oblation, may be the maker of good offering (svishṭakṛit) for the gods! Svâhâ!' Indra, indeed, is the deity of sacrifice; therefore he says 'Indra, by this butter-oblation. . .' 'It is for speech that he makes this sprinkling, and Indra is speech' so say some; and for this reason also he says 'Indra, by this butter-oblation. . .'

5. Having then returned (to his former position behind the altar), without letting the two offering-spoons touch each other, he mixes (some of the butter left in the guhû) with (that in) the dhruvâ. Now the second libation (which he has just offered) is the head of the sacrifice, and the dhruvâ is its body²: hence he thereby replaces the head on the body. And the second libation, moreover, is the head of the sacrifice, and the head (siras) represents excellence (srî), for the head does indeed represent excellence: hence, of one who is the most excellent (sreshṭha) of a community, people say that he is 'the head of that community.'

¹ Veḥ, in the formula, our author refers to vid, 'to know,' instead of to vî, 'to strive after, undertake.'

² Cf. I, 3, 2, 2, and Taitt. S. II, 5, 11, 7-8. The second libation (âghâra) has just been made with the guhû.

6. The sacrificer, assuredly, stands behind the dhruvâ, and he who means evil to him stands behind the upabhṛit¹. Hence if he were to mix (the butter remaining in the guhû) with (that in) the upabhṛit, he would bestow excellence on him who means evil to the sacrificer; but in this way he bestows that excellence on the sacrificer himself: for this reason he mixes (the butter in the guhû) with (that in) the dhruvâ.

7. He mixes it, with the text (Vâg. S. II, 9 h), 'Light with light!' for light (lustre), indeed, is the butter in the one (spoon) and light also is that in the other. Thereby these two lights unite with each other, and for this reason he mixes (the butter) in this manner.

8. Now a dispute once took place between Mind and Speech as to² which was the better of the two. Both Mind and Speech said, 'I am excellent!'

9. Mind said, 'Surely I am better than thou, for thou dost not speak anything that is not understood by me; and since thou art only an imitator of what is done by me and a follower in my wake, I am surely better than thou!'

10. Speech said, 'Surely I am better than thou, for what thou knowest I make known, I communicate.'

¹ The same idea has been expressed above, I, 3, 2, 11.

² Cf. Taitt. S. II, 5, 11, 4: 'Mind and Speech (or Voice) were contending against one another.' 'I will carry the oblation to the gods!' said Speech. 'I (will carry it) to the gods!' said the Mind. They went to Pragâpati to question him. Pragâpati said (to Speech), 'Thou art the handmaid (dûttî) of the mind, for what one thinks in one's mind that one speaks with one's speech.' [Speech replied], 'Then indeed they shall not offer to thee with speech!' For this reason they offer to Pragâpati with the mind; for Pragâpati, as it were, is the mind, &c.

11. They went to appeal to Pragâpati for his decision. He, Pragâpati, decided in favour of Mind, saying (to Speech), 'Mind is indeed better than thou, for thou art an imitator of its deeds and a follower in its wake; and inferior, surely, is he who imitates his better's deeds and follows in his wake.'

12. Then Speech (*vâk*, fem.) being thus gainsaid, was dismayed and miscarried. She, Speech, then said to Pragâpati, 'May I never be thy oblation-bearer, I whom thou hast gainsaid!' Hence whatever at the sacrifice is performed for Pragâpati, that is performed in a low voice; for speech would not act as oblation-bearer for Pragâpati.

13. That germ (*retas*) the gods then brought away in a skin or in some (vessel). They asked: 'Is it here (*atra*)?' and therefore it developed into Atri. For the same reason one becomes guilty by (intercourse) with a woman who has just miscarried (*âtreyi*); for it is from that woman, from the goddess Speech, that these (germs) originate¹.

FIFTH ADHYÂYA. FIRST BRÂHMANA.

1. He (the Adhvaryu) now utters his call for the Pravara (choosing of the Hotri)². The reason why he utters his call, is that the (Adhvaryu's) call is

¹ 'Tasmâd apy âtreyyâ yoshitainasvy etasyai hi yoshâyai *vâko* devatâyâ ete sambhûtâh,' [ete laukikâh sarve garbhâh sambhûtâh, Sây.].—The Kâṇva text has, 'Tasmâd api striyâtreyyainasvity âhur etasyâ hi sa yoshâyâ devatâyâ *vâka*h sambhûta iti' ['—for it is from that woman, from the goddess Speech, that he (Atri) originated'].

² The Hotri, on concluding the invitation of the gods, sits down with raised knees in the same place where he has been standing (see p. 95, note 1), parts the sacrificial grass of the altar, and measures a span on the earth, with the text (*Âsv. I, 3, 22*), 'Aditi is his mother, do not cut him off from the air. With the aid of

the sacrifice: 'having bespoke the sacrifice, I will choose the *Hotri*,' thus (he thinks, and) for this reason he utters his call for the Pravara.

2. He utters his call after taking the fuel-band; for if the Adhvaryu were to utter his call without taking hold of the sacrifice, he would either be unsteady or meet with some other ailment.

3. Here now some utter the call after taking sacrificial grass (*barhis*) from the covered altar, or they utter the call after cutting off and taking a chip of fire-wood, arguing, 'this, surely, is something belonging to the sacrifice; after taking hold of this, the sacrifice, we will utter the call.' Let him, however, not do this; for that also wherewith the fire-wood was tied together and wherewith they sweep the fire¹ is, doubtless, something belonging to the sacrifice; and thus indeed he utters his call after taking hold of the sacrifice: for this reason let him utter the call after taking the fuel-band.

4. Having uttered the call, he in the first place chooses him who is the *Hotri* of the gods, that is, Agni. Thereby he propitiates both Agni and the gods: for by first choosing Agni, he propitiates Agni;

Agni, the god, the deity; with the threefold chant, with the *râthantara-sâman*, with the *gâyatri* metre, with the *agnishoma* sacrifice, with the *vasha*-call, the thunderbolt,—I here kill him who hates us, and whom we hate! The Adhvaryu having thereupon walked round the *Hotri* from left to right, steps behind the *utkara* (heap of rubbish) with his face to the east and the fuel-band in his hand, and calls on (*âsrâvayati*) the *Âgnîdhra*, with *Ô srâvaya* (or *Ôm srâvaya*, i.e. *â srâvaya*; or simply *srâvaya*; cf. *Sâyana* on *Taitt. S. I, 6, 11*). The *Âgnîdhra* (whilst standing north of the Adhvaryu, with his face to the south, and taking the wooden sword and the fuel-band from the Adhvaryu) responds (*pratyâsrâvayati*) by '*astu srausha*.'

¹ See p. 127, note 1.

and by first choosing him who is the *Hotri* of the gods, he propitiates the gods.

5. He says, 'Agni, the god, the divine *Hotri*—,' for Agni is indeed the *Hotri* of the gods, therefore he says 'Agni, the god, the divine *Hotri*:' thereby he propitiates both Agni and the gods; for by his first mentioning Agni he propitiates Agni; and by his first mentioning him who is the *Hotri* of the gods, he propitiates the gods.

6. 'May he worship, knowing the gods¹, he the thoughtful one,'—for he, Agni, indeed, knows the gods well: hence he thereby says 'may he who knows them well worship (them) in due form!'

7. 'Like as Manu (did), like as Bharata;—Manu, indeed, worshipped with sacrifice in olden times, and doing as he did these descendants of his now sacrifice: therefore he says 'like as Manu.' Or, say they, (it means) 'at the sacrifice of Manu,' and therefore he says 'as (he did) with Manu.'

8. 'Like as (with) Bharata,'—for, say they, he bears (*bhar*) the oblation to the gods, hence Bharata (the bearer) is Agni; or, say they, he, having become the breath, supports (*bhar*) these creatures, and therefore he says 'like as Bharata.'

9. He then chooses (Agni as) the ancestral (*Hotri*). He thus introduces him both to the (ancestral) *rishis* and to the gods (as if he were saying), 'he is of mighty strength who obtained the sacrifice!' for this reason he chooses (him as) the ancestral one.

10. He chooses from the remote end (of the sacrificer's ancestral line)² downwards; for it is from the

¹ Thus our author. It should rather be 'May (he) worship the gods, he the wise, the considerate one.'

² Cf. p. 115, note 1.

remote end downwards that a race is propagated. Thereby he also propitiates the lord of seniority; for here among men the father comes first, then the son, and then the grandson: this is the reason why he chooses from the remote end downwards.

11. Having named the ancestral, he says, 'Like as Brahman;'—for Agni is the Brahman (the Veda, or the sacerdotium), and therefore he says 'like as Brahman;'—'may he bring (the gods) hither!' what deities he bids him bring hither, those he refers to in saying 'may he bring (them) hither.'

12. 'The Brāhmaṇas (priests) are the guardians of this sacrifice;' for guardians of the sacrifice, indeed, are those Brāhmaṇas who are versed in the sacred writ, because they spread it, they originate it: these he thereby propitiates; and for this reason he says, 'the Brāhmaṇas are the guardians of the sacrifice.'

13. 'N. N. is the man,' thereby he chooses this man for his Hotri; heretofore he was not a Hotri, but now he is a Hotri.

14. The chosen Hotri mutters,—has recourse to the deities: in order that he may give the vashaṭ-call to the gods in its proper order, that he may convey the oblation to the gods in its proper order, that he may not stumble, he has thus recourse to the deities.

15. He mutters on this occasion¹, 'Thee, O divine Savitri, they now choose,'—thereby he has recourse to Savitri for his impulsion (prasava), for Savitri is the impeller (prasavitri) of the gods;—'(thee who art) Agni, for the Hotriship,' thereby he

¹ Except the beginning, these formulas are entirely different from those given by Âsv. S. I, 3, 23-24.

propitiates both Agni and the gods; for by first naming Agni, he propitiates Agni; and by first naming him who is the Hotri of the gods, he propitiates the gods.

16. 'Together with father Vaisvânara,'—for the father Vaisvânara ('common to all men'), doubtless, is the year, is Pragâpati (lord of creatures); hence he thereby propitiates the year and thus Pragâpati.—'O Agni! O Pûshan! O Brihaspati! speak forth and offer up sacrifice (pra-yag)!—he (the Hotri), namely, will have to recite the anuvâkyâs and the yâgyâs¹; he therefore now propitiates those gods: 'do ye recite, do ye offer!' thus (he thereby says).

17. 'May we partake of the bounty of the Vasus, of the wide sway of the Rudras! may we be beloved of the Âdityas for the sake of (aditi) security from injury, free from obstruction!'—these, to wit, the Vasus, Rudras, and Âdityas, namely, are three (classes of) gods: 'may we enjoy their protection' he thereby says.

18. 'May I this day utter speech that is agreeable to the gods;'—by this he means to say 'may I this day recite what is agreeable to the gods,' for auspicious it is when one recites what is agreeable to the gods.

19. 'Agreeable to the Brahmanas,'—by this he means to say 'may I this day recite what is agreeable to the Brâhmanas (priests);' for auspicious it is when one recites what is agreeable to the Brâhmanas.

¹ The yâgyâs (offering-prayers) are the prayers which the Hotri pronounces when the offerings are poured into the fire (this being done simultaneously with, or immediately after, the vaushaṭ, 'may he carry it,' with which the yâgyâ ends, is pronounced). At the chief oblations the offering-prayer is preceded by an anuvâkyâ or puro'nuvâkyâ (invitatory prayer) by which the gods are invited to come to the offering, and which ends with 'om.'

20. 'Agreeable to *Narâṣamsa* ¹, — man (*nara*), namely, is a creature : hence he says this for all the creatures ; thereby it is auspicious, and whether or not he knows (forms of speech that are agreeable), they are uttered (and received with applause), 'well he has recited ! well he has recited !' — 'What at the *Hotri* choice may escape the crooked eye this day, that may *Agni* bring back here, he, the knower of beings (*gâtavedas*), the nimble one (*vikarshani*) !' — by this he means to say, 'even as those (three) *Agnis*, whom they first chose for the *Hotriship*, passed away ², (but thou, the fourth *Agni*, wast then obtained,) so do thou make good for me whatever mistake may have been committed at my election !' and it is accordingly made good for him.

21. He now touches the *Adhvaryu* and the *Āgnidhra* ; for the *Adhvaryu* is the mind, and the *Hotri* is speech : thus he thereby brings mind and speech together.

22. At the same time he mutters ³, 'From anguish may the six spaces protect me, fire, earth, water, wind, day, and night ⁴ !' — 'may these deities protect

¹ *Narâṣamsa* ['the hope or desire (*âṣamsâ*) of man (*nara*)'] is a mystical form of *Agni*, invoked chiefly in the *Āpri*-hymns at animal sacrifices. 'Yathâ sarve'pi narâ â sarvataḥ samsanti tathâvidhâya.' *Sâyana*.

² See the legend I, 2, 3, 1 seq.

³ This and the succeeding formulas also are entirely different from those given in *Âsv. S.* I, 3, 27 seq. The *Sânkhây. S.* I, 6 (Hillebrandt, *Neu und Vollm.* p. 91) seems to coincide, to some extent, with those given by our author.

⁴ The six spaces or wide expanses (*urvî*) are several times referred to in Vedic texts, but the conception seems to have been very vague. They are generally supposed to include the space above, the space below, and the four quarters. In *Rig-veda* VI, 47, 3-5 it is stated that they have been measured out

me from disease!' thus he thereby says; for he whom these deities protect from disease, will not stumble (or fail).

23. He steps beside the Hotri's seat, takes one stalk of (reed) grass from the Hotri's seat and casts it outside (the sacrificial ground), with the formula, 'Ejected is the wealth-clutcher (parâvasu, lit. "off-wealth")!' Formerly, namely, the Hotri of the Asuras was one Parâvasu by name: him he thereby ejects from the Hotri's seat.

24. He then sits down on the Hotri's seat, with the formula, 'I here sit down on the seat of the wealth-bestower (arvâvasu, lit. "hither-wealth")!' for one Arvâvasu by name was the Hotri of the gods¹, and on his seat he accordingly sits down.

25. At the same time he mutters, 'O All-maker, thou art the protector of lives! do not ye two (fires) scorch me away (from this)², injure me not! this

by Indra, and that outside of them there is no being (bhuvanam); and they are then enumerated thus: the expanse of the earth, the height (varshman, ? highest point or sphere) of the sky (div), the sap (pîyûsha) in the three elevations [? i. e. flowing, animating moisture, as rain, rivers, sap, &c.], the atmosphere, the ocean (? arṇas, ? of light, air), and the sky (div). The enumeration of six objects in Atharva-veda II, 12, 1 seems to refer to the same conception: heaven and earth (dyâvâprithivî), the wide atmospheric region, the genius (fem.) of the field (kshetrasya patnî), the far-strider (Sun, Light), the wide atmospheric region (uru-antariksham as before; cf. the double enumeration of div in the *Rik* passage); and what has the Wind for its guardian (vâtagopa). Cf. Weber, Ind. Stud. XIII, p. 164. Sâṅkh. *Grihyasûtra* I, 6, 4 gives heaven and earth, day and night, water and plants (St. Petersburg Dictionary s.v.).

¹ According to the Kaushît. Br. VI, 10, Arvâvasu was the Brahman of the gods. Weber, Ind. Stud. II, 306.

² The Hotri's seat stands north of the north-west corner of the altar, the Âhavanîya and the Gârhapatya fires being about equidistant from it towards south-east and south-west respectively.

is your sphere ;' with this he moves slightly northwards : by this (mantra, he indicates that) he sits midway between the Âhavanīya and the Gârhapatya, and thus he propitiates these two ; and in accordance with what he says, 'do not scorch me away from this ! injure me not !' they do not injure him.

26. He then mutters whilst looking at the (Âhavanīya) fire, 'All ye gods, instruct me, how and what I am to mind while seated here as the chosen Hotri ! declare my share (of the sacrificial duties), how and by what road I am to convey the oblation to you !'—for as one says to those for whom food has been cooked, 'order me how I am to bring it you, how I am to serve it up for you !' in like manner he is desirous of directions regarding the gods, and for this reason he mutters thus, 'instruct me how I may utter the Vashaṭ-call for you in its proper order, how I may bring you the oblation in its proper order !'

SECOND BRÂHMANA.

THE FORE-OFFERINGS (PRAYÂGAS).

1. [The Hotri continues], 'May Agni, the priest (hotri), know (undertake) Agni's priestly duty (hau-tram),'—thereby he says 'may Agni, as Hotri, know this !' 'Agni's priestly duty' he says, because it is his duty that he must know ;—'that means of salvation¹,—the means of salvation, assuredly, is the sacrifice : 'may he know the sacrifice' is what he thereby says.—'Favourable to thee, O Sacrificer, is

¹ Prâvitram, literally 'that which promotes, protects' ('unser Hort'). Sâyana on Taitt. S. II, 5, 9, 5 explains it by 'prakrish-tam avitram phaladânarûpam asmadraksham yasmin homânush/hâne tad idam prâvitram.' For this and the succeeding formulas, see Âsv. I, 4, 10-11.

the deity!' by this he says 'favourable is the deity to thee, O Sacrificer, whose Hotri is Agni!¹'— 'Take up² the spoon, O Adhvaryu, full of butter!' thereby he urges on the Adhvaryu. The reason why he mentions one (spoon) only (is this).

2. The Sacrificer, doubtless, stands behind the *guhû*, and he, who means evil to him, stands behind the *upabhrît*; and if he were to speak of two (spoons), he would cause the spiteful enemy to countervail the Sacrificer. Behind the *guhû* stands the eater, and behind the *upabhrît* the one to be eaten; and if he were to speak of two (spoons), he would make the one to be eaten countervail the eater. For these reasons he speaks of one (spoon) only.

3. [He continues], '—(the spoon which is) devoted to the gods, possessed of all boons,' he praises, he magnifies it when he says 'devoted to the gods, possessed of all boons.'—'Let us praise the gods, the praiseworthy! let us adore the adorable! let us worship the worshipful!' that is, 'let us praise those gods who are praiseworthy! let us adore those who are adorable! let us worship those who are worthy of worship!' the praiseworthy, to wit, are the men, the adorable the fathers, and the worshipful the gods.

4. For, indeed, the creatures that are not allowed to take part in the sacrifice are forlorn; and therefore

¹ Āsv. I, 4, 10, and Sâṅkh. I, 6 give as belonging to the text of the mantra: *yo agnim hotâram avrîthâh*, 'thou who hast chosen Agni for thy Hotri'; the same reading is mentioned in Taitt. S. II, 5, 9, 5.

² Thus Sâyana (*âsyasva* = *haste dhâraya*); 'schöpfe ein (ladle in),' St. Petersburg Dictionary; 'pour into the fire,' Hillebrandt, p. 93.

he makes those creatures here on earth that are not forlorn, take part in the sacrifice: behind the men are the beasts, and behind the gods are the birds, the plants, and the trees; and thus all that here exists is made to take part in the sacrifice.

5. These same (preceding formulas) are nine utterances; for nine, in number, are those breaths (or vital airs) in man¹, and these he thereby puts into him (the sacrificer): for this reason there are nine utterances.

6. The sacrifice fled away from the gods. The gods called out after it, 'Listen (â-sru) to us²! come back to us!' It replied, 'So be it!' and returned to the gods; and with what had thus returned to them, the gods worshipped; and by worshipping with it they became the gods they now are.

7. Now when he (the Adhvaryu) calls (on the Âgnîdhra), he thereby calls after the sacrifice, 'Listen to us! come back to us!' and when he (the Âgnîdhra) responds, then the sacrifice comes back, saying 'so be it!' and with it, thus passing over to them, as with seed³, the priests carry on the tradition, imperceptibly to the sacrificer; for even as people hand on from one to the other a full vessel⁴, in

¹ See p. 20, note 1.

² The legend is intended to explain the origin and symbolical meaning of the call (âsrâvana) of the Adhvaryu (viz. O srâvaya! 'make listen!') and the response (pratyâsravana) of the Âgnîdhra (viz. astu srausha!).

³ The sacrifice is the seed (vîga) that produces heaven as its fruit. Sâyana.

⁴ I. e. 'even as they pass on from hand to hand a pail (ghaṭa) filled with water when a tub is to be filled inside the house.' Sâyana.

the same way they (the priests) hand down that (sacrifice) from one to the other. They hand it down by means of speech, for the sacrifice is speech (prayer), and speech is seed : therefore they keep up the tradition by means of it.

8. After he has said (to the *Hotri*), 'Recite!' the Adhvaryu must utter nothing improper (worldly); neither must the *Hotri* utter anything improper. The Adhvaryu¹ utters his call : thereby the sacrifice passes on to the *Âgnîdhra*.

9. The *Âgnîdhra* must utter nothing improper until his response. The *Âgnîdhra* responds : thereby the sacrifice passes back to the Adhvaryu.

10. The Adhvaryu must utter nothing improper until he pronounces (the word) 'yaga (recite the offering-prayer) : ' in saying 'yaga' the Adhvaryu hands the sacrifice on to the *Hotri*.

11. The *Hotri* must utter nothing improper until his *vashaṭ*-call. By the *vashaṭ*-call he pours it (the sacrifice) into the fire, as seed into the womb; for the fire is indeed the womb of the sacrifice, from thence it is brought forth. So now at the *havis*-sacrifice. And at the *Soma*-cult,—

12. When he has drawn (the *Soma*), the Adhvaryu must not utter anything improper until his summons

¹ As soon as the *Hotri* has pronounced the formula 'O Adhvaryu, take up the spoon full of butter!' (par. 2 above), the Adhvaryu takes the two offering-spoons (*guhû* and *upabhṛit*) and steps back (from the west side along the north side of the altar and the west side of the fire) to the south side of the altar and the fire (the *yagati-sthâna*), and (with his face to north-east) utters his call, and (having been responded to by the *Âgnîdhra*) calls on the *Hotri* : 'samidho yaga (pronounce the offering-prayer to the kindling-sticks)!' *Kâty.* III, 2, 16.

(for the chanting of the stotra¹): with the call 'draw near!' the Adhvaryu hands the sacrifice on to the Udgâtrîs (chanters).

13. The Udgâtrîs must not utter anything improper until the last (stotra-verse): 'this is the last one,' thus thinking, the Udgâtrîs hand on the sacrifice to the Hotri.

14. The Hotri must utter nothing improper until the vashat-call. With the vashat-call he pours it (the sacrifice) into the fire, as seed into the womb; for the fire is indeed the womb of the sacrifice, since from thence it is brought forth.

15. If he whom the sacrifice approaches were to utter anything improper, he would waste the sacrifice, even as he might waste (water by spilling from) a full vessel. And where the officiating priests thus practice sacrifice with a perfect mutual understanding between them, there everything works regularly and no hitch occurs: therefore it is in this way that the sacrifice must be nursed.

16. Now there are here five utterances, viz. (1) 'Bid (him, Agni, or them) hear!' (2) 'Yea, may he (or, one) hear!' (3) 'Pronounce the prayer to the kindling-sticks!' (4) 'We who pronounce the prayer . . .' (5) 'May he bear (the sacrifice to the gods)²!' fivefold is the sacrifice, fivefold the animal victim, five are the seasons of the year: this is the one measure of the sacrifice, this its consummation.

¹ See IV, 2, 5, 7-8.

² (1) O sṛāvaya (for â sṛāvaya), the Adhvaryu's call; (2) astu srausha, the Âgnîdhra's response; (3) (samidho) yaga, the Adhvaryu's summons to the Hotri; (4) ye yagâmahe, the beginning of the Hotri's yâgyâ, or offering-prayer (see p. 135 note); (5) vausha, concluding formula of the yâgyâ.

17. These (five formulas) consist of seventeen syllables;—seventeenfold, indeed, is Pragâpati, and Pragâpati is the sacrifice: this is the one measure of the sacrifice, this its consummation.

18. With 'O *srâvaya*!' the gods sent forth the east wind; with 'Astu *sraushat*!' they caused the clouds to flow together; with 'Yaga (pronounce the *yâgyâ*)!' (they sent forth) the lightning; with 'Ye *yagâmahe* (we who pray),' the thunder; with the *vashat*-call they caused it to rain².

19. Should he (the sacrificer) be desirous of rain, or should he perform a special offering³, or even at the new- and full-moon sacrifice itself, he may say, 'Verily, I am desirous of rain!'—and he may also say to the Adhvaryu, 'Ponder thou in thy mind the east wind and the lightning!'—to the Âgnîdhra, 'Ponder thou the clouds in thy mind!'—to the Hotri, 'Ponder thou in thy mind the thunder and rain!'—to the Brahman, 'Ponder thou all these in thy mind!'—for where the officiating priests thus practice sacrifice with a perfect mutual understanding between them, there it will indeed rain.

20. With 'O *srâvaya*!' the gods called the shining one (*virâg*, viz. cow); with 'Astu *sraushat*!' they untied the calf and let it go to her; with 'Yaga!' they raised (its head to the udder of the cow)⁴; with

¹ For â*srâvaya* (cf. p. 131, note 2), i. e. 'bid (him, Agni, or them) hear!' but the author here makes *srâvaya* the causative of *sru* (*sru*), 'to flow'; hence â *srâvaya*, 'make flow;' and *astu sraushat* [properly 'Yea, may he (or one) hear!'] he makes 'Yea, may it flow!'

² A fanciful etymology of *vashat* from root *vrîsh*, 'to rain;' for the true derivation of the word, see p. 88, note 2.

³ I. e. an offering made with a view to the obtainment of some special wish (*kâmyeshî*).

⁴ Thus (or 'they led it up to the udder of the cow') *Sâyana*

'Ye yagâmahe!' they sat down by her (for milking); with the vasha^t-call they milked her. The shining one, doubtless, is this (earth), and of her this is the milking: and for him who knows this to be the milking of the shining one, this shining (earth-cow) thus milks out all his desires.

THIRD BRÂHMANA.

1. The fore-offerings (prayâga), assuredly, are the seasons: hence there are five of them, for there are five seasons.

2. The gods and the Asuras, both of them sprang from Pragâpati, were once contending for this sacrifice, (which is) their father Pragâpati, the year: 'Ours it (he) shall be!' 'Ours it (he) shall be!' they said.

3. Then the gods went on praising and toiling. They saw these fore-offerings and worshipped with them. By means of them they gained (pra-gi) the seasons, the year; they deprived their rivals of the seasons, of the year: hence (the fore-offerings are) victories (pragaya), for, assuredly, pragaya is the very same term as prayâga (fore-offering)¹. And in the same way this one (the sacrificer) wins by means of them the seasons, the year; deprives his rivals of the seasons, of the year. This is the reason why he performs the fore-offerings.

4. The sacrificial food at these offerings consists of

explains udanayan. In his commentary on Taitt. S. I, 6, 11 he interprets the analogous udanaishât by 'he raises (or brings) the milk-pail;' where the St. Petersburg Dictionary apparently takes it in the sense of 'he led the calf away from the cow.'

¹ In reality prayâga (from yag, 'to sacrifice') has, of course, nothing to do with pragaya (from gi, 'to conquer').

clarified butter. Now the butter, indeed, is a thunderbolt, and with that thunderbolt, the butter, the gods gained the seasons, the year, and deprived their rivals of the seasons, of the year. And with that thunderbolt, the butter, he now, in the same way, gains the seasons, the year, and deprives his enemies of the seasons, of the year. For this reason clarified butter forms the sacrificial food at these (offerings).

5. Now this butter is the year's own liquor: hence the gods gained it (the year) by means of its own liquor; and in the same way he also now gains it by means of its own liquor. This is the reason why clarified butter forms the sacrificial food at these (fore-offerings).

6. Let him (the Adhvaryu) not move from that same spot where he may be standing when he calls for the fore-offerings. A battle, it is true, is witnessed whenever any one performs the fore-offerings, and whichever of the two combatants is worsted, that one, no doubt, retreats; and he who obtains the victory, advances still nearer: he (the Adhvaryu) might therefore (feel inclined to) step nearer and nearer (to the fire), and offer the oblations (while moving) nearer and nearer¹.

7. This, however, he should not do; he should not move from that same spot where he may be standing when he calls for the fore-offerings. Let

¹ Though the author does not state expressly that this change of position in performing the five fore-offerings is advocated by some other ritualists, he apparently argues in this passage against an actually adopted theory and practice, which the Sûtras also mention as optional. In the case of the Adhvaryu changing his position, he is at each successive fore-offering to pour the butter on a part of the fire east of the preceding one. Kâty. III, 2, 18-21.

him rather offer the (five) oblations in that part (of the fire) where he thinks there is the fiercest blaze ; for only by being offered in blazing (fire), oblations are successful.

8. He (the Adhvaryu), having called (on, and having been responded to by, the Âgnîdhra), says (to the Hotri), 'Pronounce the offering-prayer (yâgyâ) to the Samidhs (kindling-sticks)!' Thereby he kindles the spring; the spring, when kindled, kindles the other seasons; the seasons, when kindled, generate the creatures and ripen the plants. In the same (formula) he also implies the (four) remaining seasons, and in order to avoid sameness, he introduces the others by merely saying each time, 'Pronounce the offering-prayer!' For were he to say, 'Pronounce the offering-prayer to Tanûnapât!' 'Pronounce the offering-prayer to the *Id's*!' and so on, he would commit (the fault of) repetition: hence he introduces the remaining (seasons or fore-offerings) by merely saying each time, 'Pronounce the offering-prayer!'

9. He (the Hotri) now pronounces the offering-prayer (yâgyâ) to the Samidhs. The samidh (kindler), doubtless, is the spring. The gods, at that time, appropriated the spring, and deprived their rivals of the spring; and now this one (the

¹ On the necessity of avoiding sameness of ritualistic practices cf. note on I, 3, 2, 8. The five fore-offerings (prayâga, here identified with the five seasons) are addressed respectively to the kindling-sticks (samidh), to Tanûnapât (or Narâsamsa, both mystical forms of Agni), to the *Id's* (personifications of the forms of devotional feeling), to the sacrificial grass-covering of the altar (barhis), and to Agni and Soma (or other deities). Since, in introducing the first fore-offering, the Adhvaryu has mentioned its recipient, he is not to do so in the case of the remaining four.

sacrificer) also appropriates the spring, and deprives his rivals of the spring: this is the reason why he pronounces the offering-prayer to the Samidhs.

10. After that he pronounces the offering-prayer to Tanûnapât. Tanûnapât, doubtless, is the summer; for the summer burns the bodies (tanûn tapati) of these creatures. The gods, at that time, appropriated the summer, and deprived their rivals of the summer; and now this one also appropriates the summer, and deprives his rivals of the summer: this is the reason why he pronounces the offering-prayer to Tanûnapât.

11. He then pronounces the offering-prayer to the *Id's*. The *Id's* (praises), doubtless, are the rains; they are the rains, inasmuch as the vile, crawling (vermin)¹ which shrink during the summer and winter, then (in the rainy season) move about in quest of food, as it were, praising (*id'*) the rains: therefore the *Id's* are the rains. The gods, at that time, appropriated the rains, and deprived their rivals of the rains; and now this one also appropriates the rains, and deprives his rivals of the rains: this is the reason why he pronounces the offering-prayer to the *Id's*.

12. He then pronounces the offering-prayer to the Barhis (covering of sacrificial grass on the altar). The barhis, doubtless, is the autumn; the barhis is the autumn, inasmuch as these plants which shrink during the summer and winter grow by the rains, and in autumn lie spread open after the fashion of barhis: for this reason the barhis is the autumn. The gods, at that time, appropriated the autumn, and deprived their rivals of the autumn;

¹ Such as lizards, alligators. Sâyana.

and now this one also appropriates the autumn, and deprives his rivals of the autumn : this is why he pronounces the prayer to the barhis.

13. He then pronounces the offering-prayer with 'Svâhâ! Svâhâ!¹' The Svâhâ-call, namely, marks the end of the sacrifice, and the end of the year is the winter, since the winter is on the other (remoter) side of the spring. By the end (of the sacrifice) the gods, at that time, appropriated the end (of the year); by the end they deprived their rivals of the end; and by the end this one also now appropriates the end; by the end he deprives his rivals of the end: this is why he pronounces the offering-prayers with 'Svâhâ! Svâhâ!'

14. Now the spring, assuredly, comes into life again out of the winter, for out of the one the other is born again: therefore he who knows this, is indeed born again in this world.

15. In order to avoid sameness he prays (alternately) with 'may they accept!' and 'may he (or it) accept!²' for he would commit (the fault) of repe-

¹ See further on, par. 22. As to Svâhâ! marking the conclusion of the sacrifice, see the Samish/āyagus I, 9, 2, 25-28.

² The first offering-prayer (to the logs) is 'yê yagâmahe samidhañ, samidho agna âgyasya vyantû vâusha!'¹ i.e. 'we who pronounce the offering-prayer to the Samidhs,—the Samidhs, O Agni, may accept the butter! vâusha!'¹ Similarly at the other fore-offerings; but at the second and fourth, where the object of worship is a single one (viz. Tanûnapât and the Barhis respectively), 'may he (or it) accept (vetu)!'¹ has to be substituted for 'may they accept (vyantu)!'¹ The difference of number in these verbal forms is symbolically explained as implying a distinction of sex, for the reason that there may be more wives to one man, but only one husband to a woman. The elliptic expression ye yagâmahe is thus explained by Sâyana on Taitt. S. I, 6, 11: 'All we Hotri priests that are urged on by the Adhvaryu calling "Recite (thou)!" we do recite, we do pronounce

tition, if he were to pray with 'may they accept!' each time, or with 'may he accept!' each time. By 'may they accept!' doubtless, females (are implied); and by 'may he accept!' a male (is implied): thereby a productive union is effected, and for this reason he prays (alternately) with 'may they accept!' and 'may he (or it) accept!'

16. Now at the fourth fore-offering, to the barhis, he pours (butter) together (into the *guhû*¹). The barhis, namely, represents descendants, and the butter seed: hence seed is thereby infused into the descendants, and by that infused seed descendants are generated again and again. For this reason he pours together (butter) at the fourth fore-offering, that to the barhis.

17. Now, a battle, as it were, is going on here when any one performs the fore-offerings; and whichever of the two combatants a friend (an ally) joins, he obtains the victory: hence a friend thereby joins the *guhû* from out of the *upabhrî*t, and by him it (or he) obtains the victory. This is why he pours together (butter) at the fourth fore-offering, that to the barhis.

18. The sacrificer, doubtless, (stands) behind the *guhû*, and he who means evil to him, (stands)

the *yâgyâ*.' This introductory part of the offering-formula is called *âgur*, 'acclamation, assent' (*Âsv.* I, 5, 4); it is alluded to in *Mahâbhâr. Vanap.* 12480 (cf. Muir, O. S. T. I, p. 135), and apparently by *Pân.* VIII, 2, 88 (cf. Haug, Ait. Br. II, p. 133 n.).

¹ In making the oblation, the Adhvaryu holds the *guhû* over the *upabhrî*t and pours some of the butter from the *guhû* over the spout of the *upabhrî*t into the fire. At the third *prayâga* he empties all the butter remaining in the *guhû* into the fire, and thereupon, for the fourth oblation, replenishes the empty spoon with half the contents of the *upabhrî*t, after which he proceeds as before.

behind the upabhr̥it: hence he thereby makes the spiteful enemy pay tribute to the sacrificer. The consumer, doubtless, (stands) behind the guh̥û, and the one to be consumed behind the upabhr̥it: hence he thereby makes the one that is to be consumed pay tribute to the consumer. This is the reason why he pours (butter) together at the fourth fore-offering, that to the barhis.

19. He pours (the butter) together without (the two spoons) touching (each other). If he were to touch (the one spoon with the other) he would touch the sacrificer with his spiteful enemy, he would touch the consumer with the one to be consumed: for this reason he pours (the butter) together without touching.

20. He holds the guh̥û over (the upabhr̥it). Thereby he keeps the sacrificer above his spiteful enemy, he keeps the consumer above the one to be consumed: for this reason he holds the guh̥û over (the upabhr̥it).

21. The gods once said, 'Well then, now that the battle has been won, let us establish the entire sacrifice on a firm basis; and should the Asuras and Rakshas (again) trouble us, our sacrifice will then be firmly established!'

22. At the last fore-offering they established the entire sacrifice by means of the Svâhâ ('hail!'). With 'Svâhâ Agni!' they established the butter-portion for Agni; with 'Svâhâ Soma!' they established the butter-portion for Soma; and with (the second) 'Svâhâ Agni!' they established that indispensable sacrificial cake which there is on both occasions (i.e. at the new and full-moon sacrifices).

23. And so with the (other) deities respec-

tively¹. With 'Svâhâ the butter-drinking gods!' they established the fore-offerings and the after-offerings (a n u y â g a s), for the fore-offerings and after-offerings, doubtless, represent the butter-drinking gods. With the formula 'May Agni graciously accept of the butter!' they established Agni as *Svishtakrîṭ* ('maker of good offering'), for Agni is indeed the maker of good offering. And till this day that sacrifice stands as firm as the gods established it. This is the reason why at the last fore-offering he prays with 'Svâhâ! Svâhâ!' according to the number of oblations (there are at the chief sacrifice). After he (the sacrificer) has won his battle, he establishes the entire sacrifice on a firm basis, so that, if after this he should violate the proper order of the sacrifice, he need not heed it; for he will know that his sacrifice is firmly established. Now what with exclaiming 'Vashat,' with offering, and with calling out 'Svâhâ,' this same sacrifice was well-nigh exhausted.

24. The gods were anxious as to how they might replenish it, how they might again render it efficient and practise (worshipping) with it, when efficient.

25. Now what was left in the *guhû* of the butter wherewith they had established the sacrifice, with that they sprinkled the *havis* (dishes, or kinds, of sacrificial food) one after another, and thereby replenished them and again rendered them efficient, because the butter is indeed efficient. Hence after offering the last fore-offering, he sprinkles the *havis* one after another, and thereby replenishes them and again renders them efficient, because the butter is indeed efficient². Hence also from whatever sacrificial

¹ Cf. p. 118, note 3. The words 'Svâhâ Agnim' &c. are preceded by 'ye yagâmahe,' see before, p. 148, note 2.

² After the *Adhvaryu* has performed the last fore-offering, he

food he (afterwards at the principal oblations) cuts off (a portion for a deity), that he again sprinkles (with butter), that he replenishes and renders efficient for the (Svishṭakṛit) maker of good offering. But when he cuts off the portion for the maker of good offering, then he does not again sprinkle (the sacrificial food out of which the portion has been cut), since after that he will not make any other oblation in the fire from the sacrificial food¹.

FOURTH BRÂHMANA.

1. He (accordingly) pronounces the offering-prayer to the Samidhs (kindling-sticks). The Samidhs (kindlers), doubtless, are the breaths (vital airs), and he thereby kindles the breaths; for this man (the sacrificer) is kindled (animated) by his breaths: hence if he (the sacrificer) be burning (with fever, &c.), he (the Adhvaryu) will say, 'Stroke (thyself)!' If he be hot, then one may feel confident, for then he is kindled; and if he be cold, then one need hope no longer. Thus he thereby puts the breaths into him: this is the reason why he pronounces the prayer to the Samidhs.

2. He then pronounces the offering-prayer to Tanûnapât. Tanûnapât, doubtless, is seed; hence he thereby casts seed: this is why he pronounces the prayer to Tanûnapât.

steps back behind the altar and sitting down beside the dishes of sacrificial food, anoints, with the butter remaining in the guhî, first the (butter in the) dhruvâ, then the several sacrificial dishes, and finally the (butter in the) upabhrî. Kâty. III, 3, 9.

¹ What remains of the dish of sacrificial food, after the oblation to Agni Svishṭakṛit (I, 7, 3, 1 seq.) has been made, is eaten by the priests and the sacrificer, and in their case the several portions are basted with butter, as they are cut off, but not the dish of food from which the portions have been taken.

3. He then pronounces the offering-prayer to the *Id*s. The *Id*s, doubtless, are offspring; when the seed thus cast springs into life, then it moves about in quest of food, as it were, praising (*Id*). Hence he thereby makes him (the sacrificer) propagate offspring: this is the reason why he pronounces the prayer to the *Id*s.

4. He then pronounces the offering-prayer to the *Barhis*. The *barhis*, doubtless, means abundance, hence he thereby produces an abundance: this is why he pronounces the prayer to the *barhis*.

5. He then pronounces the offering-prayer with 'Svâhâ! Svâhâ!' The Svâhâ-call, indeed, is what the winter is among the seasons; for the winter subjects these creatures to its will: hence in winter the plants wither, and the leaves fall off the trees; the birds retire more and more, and fly lower and lower; and the wicked man has his hair, as it were, falling off¹; for the winter subjects these creatures to its will. And, verily, he who knows this, makes that locality wherein he lives, his own, for his own happiness and supply of food.

6. The gods and the Asuras, both of them sprung from Pragâpati, were once contending for superiority. With staves and bows neither party were able to overcome the other. Neither of them having gained the victory, they (the Asuras) said, 'Well then, let us try to overcome one another by speech, by sacred writ (brahman)! He who cannot follow up our uttered speech by (making up) a pair, shall be defeated and lose everything, and the other party

¹ The Kânva recension has, 'the beasts retire more and more, and the birds fly lower and lower; and the vile-caste man (*pâpa-varṇaḥ puruṣaḥ*) has his hair, as it were, falling off.'

shall win everything!' The gods replied, 'So be it!' The gods said to Indra, 'Speak thou!'

7. Indra said, 'One (eka, m., unus) for me!' The others then said, 'One (ekâ, f., una) for us!' and thus found that (desired) pair, for eka (unus) and ekâ (una) make a pair.

8. Indra said, 'Two (dvau, m., duo) for me!' The others then said, 'Two (dve, f., duae) for us!' and thus found that pair, for dvau (duo) and dve (duae) make a pair.

9. Indra said, 'Three (trayaḥ, m.) for me!' The others then said, 'Three (tisraḥ, f.) for us!' and thus found that pair, for trayaḥ and tisraḥ make a pair.

10. Indra said, 'Four (kātṡvâraḥ, m.) for me!' The others then said, 'Four (kâtasraḥ, f.) for us!' and thus found that pair, for kātṡvâraḥ and kâtasraḥ make a pair.

11. Indra said, 'Five (pañka, m. f., quinque) for me!' Then the others found no pair, for after that (numeral four) there is no pair, for then both (masculine and feminine) are pañka. Thereupon the Asuras were defeated and lost everything, and the gods won everything from the Asuras, and stripped their rivals, the Asuras, of everything.

12. For this reason let him (the sacrificer) say¹, when the first fore-offering has been performed, 'One (eka) for me!' and 'One (ekâ) for him whom

¹ Viz. as anumantṛaṇa, or after-call, supplementary prayer, pronounced immediately after the oblation has been poured into the fire. According to Kâty. III, 3, 5, a second anumantṛaṇa has to be added each time, consisting of a single word, viz. 'brilliant,' 'respectable,' 'famous,' 'holy,' 'an eater of food' [suppl. 'may I become'] respectively. Differently the Black Yagus; cf. Hillebrandt, p. 96, note 6.

we hate!' And if he should not hate any one, let him say, 'who hates us and whom we hate!'

13. With the second fore-offering, 'Two (dvau) for me!' and 'Two (dve) for him who hates us and whom we hate!'

14. With the third fore-offering, 'Three (trayaḥ) for me!' and 'Three (tisraḥ) for him who hates us and whom we hate!'

15. With the fourth fore-offering, 'Four (ĥatvâraḥ) for me!' and 'Four (ĥatasraḥ) for him who hates us and whom we hate!'

16. With the fifth fore-offering, 'Five (pañĥa) for me!' and 'Nothing for him who hates us and whom we hate!' For, there being 'five' to 'five,' he (the enemy) is defeated, and whoever knows this, appropriates to himself everything that belongs to that (enemy of his), strips his enemies of everything.

SIXTH ADHYÂYA. FIRST BRÂHMANA.

1. Now the Seasons were desirous to have a share in the sacrifice among the gods, and said, 'Let us share in the sacrifice! Do not exclude us from the sacrifice! Let us have a share in the sacrifice!'

2. The gods, however, did not approve of this. The gods not approving, the Seasons went to the Asuras, the malignant, spiteful enemies of the gods.

3. Those (Asuras) then throve in such a manner that they (the gods) heard of it; for even while the foremost (of the Asuras) were still ploughing and sowing, those behind them were already engaged in reaping and threshing: indeed even without tilling the plants ripened forthwith for them.

4. This now caused anxiety to the gods: 'That owing to that (desertion of the Seasons), enemy

(viz. the Asuras) seeks to injure enemy (viz. us) is of little consequence; but this indeed goes too far: try to find out how henceforth this may be different¹!

5. They then said, 'Let us invite the Seasons!'—'How?'—'Let us offer prayer to them first of all at the sacrifice!'

6. Agni then said, 'But whereas hitherto you used to offer prayer to me in the first place, what is now to become of me?' 'We will not remove you from your place!' said they. And since, in inviting the Seasons, they did not remove Agni from his place, for that reason Agni is immutable²; and verily, he who knows that Agni to be immutable, does not move from the place where he bides.

7. The gods said to Agni, 'Go and invite them hither!' Agni went to them and said, 'O Seasons, I have obtained for you a share in the sacrifice among the gods.' They said, 'In what form hast thou obtained it for us?' He replied, 'They will offer prayer to you first at the sacrifice.'

8. The Seasons said to Agni, 'We will let thee share along with us in the sacrifice who hast obtained for us a share in the sacrifice among the gods!' And because Agni has been allowed a share along with the Seasons (the offering-prayers are): 'The Samidhs, O Agni, (may accept the butter)³ . . . !'

¹ 'Kaniya in nu ato dvishan dvishate 'râtîyati kim v etâvan-mâtram upagânita yathedam ito 'nyathâsad iti.' The Kârva MS. has, 'tad u vai devânâm atathâsa kaniya in nu tato dvishan dvishate 'râtîyed atha kim tâvanmâtram. Te hoûk katham idam ito no 'nyathâ syâd iti.'

² Akyuta, literally 'not fallen,' hence invariable, indispensable is an epithet frequently applied to Agni's sacrificial cake; cf. I, 2, 16; I, 6, 2, 5.

³ See p. 148, note 2.

‘Tanûnapât, O Agni . . . !’ ‘The Iḍs, O Agni . . . !’ ‘The Barhis, O Agni . . . !’ ‘Svâhâ Agni !’ And verily, whosoever knows that Agni is thus allowed to share (in the sacrifice) along with the Seasons, he is allowed to participate in whatever auspicious rite is performed by one who professes to be equal (in that knowledge) to him ;—for him, being possessed of Agni, the Seasons, themselves possessed of Agni, ripen the plants and everything here.

9. Now, as to this point, some raise the objection, ‘But since they invite the fore-offerings last of all (at the two libations of butter)¹, why do they offer prayer to them first of all?’—Because they established them last of all in the sacrifice²; and because they said, ‘we will offer prayer to you first :’ for that reason they invite them last, and offer prayer to them first.

10. By the fourth fore-offering the gods, assuredly, obtained the sacrifice, and by the fifth they firmly established it; and by what part of the sacrifice after that remained unaccomplished they gained the world of heaven.

11. In going to heaven they were afraid of an attack from the Asuras and Rakshas. They placed Agni at their head, as the Rakshas-killer, the repeller of the Rakshas; they placed Agni in their midst, as the Rakshas-killer, the repeller of the Rakshas; they placed Agni in their rear, as the Rakshas-killer, the repeller of the Rakshas.

¹ In the devatânâm âvahanam or invitation of the deities, the last formula, addressed to the butter-drinking deities, is supposed to refer to the fore- and after-offerings. Cf. I, 4, 2, 16–17.

² See I, 5, 3, 23.

12. And if the Asuras and Rakshas wished to attack them in front, Agni repelled them, as the Rakshas-killer, the repeller of the Rakshas; if they wished to attack in the centre, Agni repelled them, as the Rakshas-killer, the repeller of the Rakshas; and if they wished to attack in the rear, Agni repelled them, as the Rakshas-killer, the repeller of the Rakshas: being thus guarded on all sides by Agnis, they reached the world of heaven.

13. And in the same way this one now obtains the sacrifice by means of the fourth fore-offering, and by means of the fifth he establishes it; and by what part of the sacrifice after that remains unaccomplished, he gains the world of heaven.

14. Now when he pronounces the offering-prayer over Agni's butter-portion, he thereby places Agni in front, as the Rakshas-killer, the repeller of the Rakshas; and when Agni's sacrificial cake is (offered), he thereby places Agni in the midst, as the Rakshas-killer, the repeller of the Rakshas; and when he pronounces the offering-prayer to Agni *Svishṭakṛit* (the maker of good offering), he thereby places Agni in the rear, as the Rakshas-killer, the repeller of the Rakshas.

15. And if the Asuras and Rakshas try to attack him (the sacrificer) in front, Agni repels them, as the Rakshas-killer, the repeller of the Rakshas; if they try to attack him in the centre, Agni repels them, as the Rakshas-killer, the repeller of the Rakshas; and if they try to attack him from behind, Agni repels them, as the Rakshas-killer, the repeller of the Rakshas: being thus guarded on every side by Agnis, he gains the world of heaven.

16. And if any one were to imprecate evil on him

previously to (or, in the fore-part of) the (chief) sacrifice, let him be thus spoken to, 'Thou shalt suffer some disease of the face! thou shalt become either blind or deaf!' for these, in truth, are diseases of the face: and thus it would indeed fare with him.

17. If any one were to imprecate evil on him in the middle of the sacrifice, let him be thus spoken to, 'Thou shalt be without offspring, without cattle!' for offspring and cattle, indeed, constitute the centre (i.e. the substantial possession of man): and thus it would indeed fare with him.

18. If any one were to imprecate evil on him after the completion of the (chief) sacrifice, let him be thus spoken to, 'Unstable and poor, thou shalt swiftly go to yonder world!' for thus it would indeed fare with him. One should not therefore utter imprecations: for whosoever thus understands this has the advantage.

19. He who gains by means of the fore-offerings, assuredly, gains the year¹. But he alone gains it who knows its doors; for what were he to do with a house who cannot find his way inside? Even as those (fore-offerings) are (the doors) of this (sacrifice), so is the spring a door, and so is the winter a door, of that (year). This same year he enters, as the world of heaven; for, assuredly, the year is all, and the All (universe) is imperishable: his thereby becomes imperishable merit, the imperishable world.

THE TWO BUTTER-PORIONS (ÂGYABHÂGA) TO AGNI AND SOMA.

20. Here now some say, 'To what deity belong the butter-portions?' Let him reply, 'To Pragâpati;'

¹ See I, 5, 3, 3.

for, assuredly, Pragâpati is undefined¹ (mysterious); and undefined are the butter-portions, because they have the sacrificer for their deity; for the sacrificer is Pragâpati at his own sacrifice, since it is by his order that the priests spread and produce it.

21. Having basted the havis with butter and made two cuttings from it, he pours some of the butter thereon: thus the oblation is offered combined with butter, and thereby indeed it is offered combined with the sacrificer; and for one who knows this,—whether he has a sacrifice performed for him while he is far away, or while he is near,—the sacrifice is performed in the same way as it would be performed if he were near; and he who knows this, even though he do much evil, is not shut out from the sacrifice.

SECOND BRÂHMANA.

1. Verily, by means of the sacrifice the gods made that conquest (of the world of heaven). When they had conquered, they said, 'How may this (celestial region) be made unattainable by men?' They then sipped the sap of the sacrifice, as bees would suck out honey; and having drained the sacrifice and effaced the traces of it with the (sacrificial) post², they

¹ Because he (? as lord of creatures) represents all the deities, and one cannot say 'he is such or such a one,' Sâyana. Cf. also I, 1, 1, 12.

² Yûpena yopâyitvâ, literally 'having made it level by means of the yûpa,' = yûpenâkkhâdya, 'having covered it over with the yûpa,' Sâyana (cf. also on Rig-veda I, 104, 4). For other versions of the same myth, cf. Ait. Br. II, 1 ['they debarred them (ayopayan, viz. the men and Rishis from the sacrificial knowledge) by means of the yûpa,' Haug]; Taitt. S. VI, 3, 4, 7;

concealed themselves: and because they effaced (ayopayan, viz. the sacrifice) with it, therefore it is called yûpa (sacrificial post). Now this was heard by the *Rîshis*:

2. 'Verily, by means of the sacrifice the gods gained this conquest. When they had conquered, they said, "How may this (celestial region) be made unattainable by men?" They then sipped the sap of the sacrifice, as bees would suck out honey; and having drained the sacrifice and effaced the traces of it with the (sacrificial) post, they concealed themselves.' They (the *Rîshis*) thereupon set about searching for it.

3. They went on praising and toiling; for by (religious) toil, the gods indeed gained what they wished to gain, and (so did) the *Rîshis*. Now whether it be that the gods caused it (the sacrifice) to attract (or, peep forth to) them, or whether they took to it of their own accord, they said, 'Come, let us go to the place whence the gods obtained possession of the world of heaven!' They went about saying (to one another), 'What attracts? What attracts¹?' and came upon the sacrificial cake which had become a tortoise and was creeping about. Then they all thought, 'This surely must be the sacrifice!'

4. They said, 'Stand still for the *Asvins*! stand still for *Sarasvatî*! stand still for *Indra*!' still it

5, 3, 1. The legend is intended to supply, by means of a fanciful etymology, a symbolical meaning for the yûpa or sacrificial post to which the victim is tied.

¹ Kim praroḷate='what thinkest thou?' *Sâyana*. The primary meaning of pra-ruḷ is 'to shine forth.' Here it has apparently to be taken in the double sense of 'to peep forth, to appear,' and 'to please.' The German 'einleuchten' (*St. Petersburg Dictionary*) approaches more nearly to the original.

crept on;—‘Stand still for Agni!’ at this it stopped. Having then enveloped it in fire (Agni), knowing, as they did, that it had stopped for Agni, they offered it up entirely, for it was an oblation to the gods. Then the sacrifice pleased them¹; they produced it, they spread it. And this same sacrifice is taught by the former to the later; the father (teaches it) to his son when he is a student (*brahma-kârin*).

5. Now that (cake), which caused the sacrifice to attract (or, appear to) them, first (*purâs*) bestowed (*dâs*) it upon them: hence it is (called) *purodâsa*, for *purodâsa*, doubtless, is the same as *purodâsa*². This same cake on eight potsherds for Agni is indispensable on both occasions (at the new and full-moon ceremonies).

6. That (cake for Agni) does not constitute the (special) sacrificial food (*havis*) either at the full-moon, or at the new-moon, sacrifice; since the one for Agni and Soma constitutes the *havis* at the full-moon, and the *Sânnâyya*³ at the new-moon sacrifice. That one (for Agni) constitutes rather the regular (or, corresponding) sacrifice on both occasions, and because of its fearing lest it should become detached from the sacrifice, it is offered up at the beginning of both the full-moon and the new-moon sacrifice: this is the reason why it is offered at this particular time.

¹ Or ‘appeared to them, shone forth to them,’ *prârokata*; see preceding note.

² In the compound *purodâsa* or *purodâs* the original dental *d* has been changed to the lingual *ḍ*, apparently through the influence of the preceding *r*.

³ See I, 6, 4, 9. One would expect the *Sânnâyya* (to Indra) or the cake to Indra-Agni. The full-moon offering is sacred to Agni-Soma; and the new-moon offering to Indra-Agni; see I, 8, 3, 1 seq.

7. And if any one (householder) were to resort to him (the Adhvaryu) and say, 'Perform an *ishṭi* for me!' let him perform it. Whatever desire the *Rishis* entertained when they performed that sacrifice, that desire of theirs was accomplished; and accordingly whatever desire he (the sacrificer) entertains in having this sacrifice performed, that desire of his is accomplished. For whatever deity sacrificial food is taken, to that deity they offer it up in the fire (Agni);—and if he is about to offer it up in the fire, why should he announce it to another deity? To Agni alone therefore (it is announced).

8. Agni (the fire), assuredly, represents all the deities, since it is in the fire that they make offering to all deities: to Agni alone therefore (he should announce it), since he thereby has recourse to all the deities.

9. Agni, assuredly, is the safest¹ among the gods: let him then have recourse to him whom he considers the safest among the gods, and therefore (announce the sacrifice) to Agni.

10. Agni, assuredly, is the most tender-hearted of gods: let him then have recourse to him whom he considers the most tender-hearted of gods, and therefore (announce the sacrifice) to Agni.

11. Agni, assuredly, is the nearest of the gods: let him then have recourse to him whom he considers as the nearest of those to be approached, and therefore (let him announce the sacrifice) to Agni.

12. If (beside the full-moon sacrifice) he perform an *ishṭi* (with a view to the accomplishment of some

¹ Addhâtamâm, adv., literally 'most surely;' according to Sâyana = *atisayena pratyakshaphaladam*, 'pre-eminently a giver of perceptible benefits.'

special desire)¹, let him recite seventeen kindling verses; (and in that case) he utters the offering-prayer (*yâgyâ*) in a low voice, for this is the characteristic form of an *ishî*; the *yâgyâ* and the *anuvâkyâ* should contain the word 'head²;' the two butter-portions should be offered to the *Vṛitra*-slayer (Indra); and the two *samyâgyâs*³ should be in the *virâg* metre.

THIRD BRÂHMANA.

1. *Tvashtṛi* had a three-headed, six-eyed son. He had three mouths; and because he was thus shaped, his name was *Visvarûpa* ('All-shape').

2. One of his mouths was Soma-drinking, one spirit-drinking, and one for other kinds of food. Indra hated him and cut off those heads of his.

3. Now from the one which was Soma-drinking, a hazel-cock (*francoline partridge*) sprang forth; whence the latter is of brownish colour, for king Soma is brown.

4. From the one which was spirit-drinking, further, a sparrow sprang; whence the latter talks as if stammering, for he who has drunk spirits, talks as if he stammered.

5. Then from the one which served for other kinds of food, a partridge sprang; whence the latter

¹ See I, 3, 5, 10.

² For these verses, the first of which begins 'Agni is the head of the sky,' see *Vâg. S. XIII*, 14 and 15.

³ That is, the *yâgyâ* (offering-prayer) and *puro'nuvâkyâ* (invitatory prayer) at the *Svishîakṛit*, or oblation to Agni, as the maker of good offering, at the end of the chief oblations. The two *virâg* formulas are *Rig-veda VII*, 1, 3 (*Vâg. XVII*, 76; *Taitt. S. IV*, 6, 5, 4) *preddho agne dîdihî*, and *Rig-veda VII*, 1, 18 (*Taitt. S. IV*, 3, 13, 6) *imo agne*. Cf. *Ait. Br. I*, 5.

is much variegated in colour : on its wings, namely, butter-drops, as it were, have dropped in one place and honey- (or mead-) drops in another, for such-like, as it were, was the food which he consumed with that (mouth).

6. *Tvashtri* was furious : 'Has he indeed slain my son?' he exclaimed. He brought Soma-juice from which Indra was excluded ; and just as the Soma-juice on being produced had Indra excluded from it (a pendra), so it remained (when it was offered up).

7. Indra thought with himself, 'They are now excluding me from Soma!' and though uninvited, he consumed what pure (Soma) there was in the tub, even as the stronger (consumes) that of a weaker. That (Soma), however, injured him ; it flowed in all directions from (the openings of) his vital airs ; from his mouth alone it did not flow, but from all the other (openings of the) vital airs it flowed ; hence (was instituted) at that time the *ishṭi*, called *Sautrāmanī* : on the occasion of that (ceremony) it is explained how the gods healed him¹.

8. *Tvashtri* was furious, and exclaimed, 'Has he indeed consumed my Soma uninvited?' However, he himself desecrated the sacrifice, for what pure (Soma) there was left in the tub he let flow (into the fire), saying, 'Grow thou, having Indra for thy foe²!' The moment it reached the fire, it

¹ See V, 5, 4, 2 seq., where the whole legend is repeated ; and *Taitt. S. II, 4, 12, 1*. One of the objects of the *Sautrāmanī* is the expiation of an immoderate consumption of Soma by a priest.

² According to *Taitt. S. II, 4, 12, 1*, also the fault committed by *Tvashtri* consisted in his faulty accentuation of the compound *indrasatru* in the formula. What he intended to say was that Agni, on drinking the Soma, should grow strong so as to be 'the foe (slayer) of Indra,' and the compound should therefore have been accented on the second member, viz. *indrasátru* (the foe of

developed (into human shape), or, as some say, it so developed whilst on its way (to the fire). It became possessed of¹ Agni and Soma, of all sciences, all glory, all nourishment, all prosperity.

9. And since it so developed whilst rolling onwards (*vrit*), it became *Vritra*; and since he sprang forth footless, therefore he was a serpent. Danu and Danâyû received him like mother and father², whence they call him *Dâna*va.

10. And because he (*Tvashtri*) said, 'Grow thou, having Indra for thy foe!' therefore Indra slew him (*Vritra*). Had he said, 'Grow thou, the foe (slayer) of Indra!' he (*Vritra*) would certainly have forthwith slain Indra.

11. And because he (*Tvashtri*) said, 'Grow thou!' therefore he (*Vritra*) grew an arrow's range sideways and an arrow's range forward: he forced back both the western ocean and the eastern one; and in proportion as he extended did he devour the food.

12. In the fore-noon the gods offered him food, at mid-day the men, and in the after-noon the Fathers.

13. Now while Indra was thus moving on (in pursuit of *Vritra*), he addressed Agni and Soma, 'Ye belong to me and I belong to you! That one is nothing to you: why then do ye support that *Dasyu* against me? Come over to me!'

Indra); but by accenting it on the first member, *Indrasatru*, he made it 'having Indra for his foe (slayer).' According to the version of the *Taitt. S.*, Agni, the fire, on the Soma being poured into it, rose up (spirted) as if to execute *Tvashtri*'s wish; but immediately relapsed into its former state of inertness on hearing the mis-pronounced word.

¹ *Abhisambabhûva*, 'he grew by consuming,' &c. *Sâyana*.

² The *Kânva* text has, 'Danu and *Dânavî* received him as mother and father.'

14. They replied, 'What is to be our reward in that case?' He offered them that Agni-Soma cake on eleven potsherds: this is the reason why there is a cake on eleven potsherds for Agni and Soma.

15. They went over to him, and after them went forth¹ all the gods, all the sciences, all glory, all nourishment, all prosperity: thus by offering that (cake to Agni and Soma) Indra became what Indra now is. Such then is the significance of the full-moon offering; and he who, knowing this, performs the full-moon offering in this wise, attains to the same state of prosperity, becomes thus endowed with glory, becomes such a consumer of food (as *Vṛitra*).

16. Now *Vṛitra*, on being struck, lay contracted like a leather bottle drained of its contents, like a skin bag with the barley-meal shaken out. Indra rushed at him, meaning to slay him.

17. He said, 'Do not hurl (thy thunderbolt) at me! thou art now what I (was before). Only cut me in twain; but do not let me be annihilated!' He (Indra) said, 'Thou shalt be my food!' He replied, 'So be it!' He accordingly cut him in twain; and from that (part) of his which was of the Soma nature², he made the moon, and that which was demoniacal (*asurya*) he made enter these creatures as their belly; hence people say³: '*Vṛitra* was then a consumer of food, and *Vṛitra* is so now.' For even now, whenever that one (the moon) waxes fuller, it fills itself out of this world⁴; and when-

¹ Preyuh, 'the gods &c. that were in *Vṛitra*'s mouth went out,' *Sâyana*; see preceding page, note 1.

² 'Yat saumyam nyaktam âsa' ['yat saumyo nyaṅga âsa,' *Kâṇva* rec.], 'what was imbued with Soma,' 'what had Soma inherent in it.' Cf. 'yat somasya nyaktam âsa,' I, 7, 1, 1.

³ 'People say so when anybody eats much food.' *Sâyana*.

⁴ See I, 6, 4, 15.

ever these creatures crave for food, they pay tribute to this *Vṛitra*, the belly. Whosoever knows that *Vṛitra* as a consumer of food, becomes himself a consumer of food.

18. Those deities then said, 'Ye, Agni and Soma, whom we have followed hither, take the best part (of the sacrificial food): do let us share along with you in what ye have!'

19. They both said, 'What (share) shall then be ours?' They replied, 'For whatever deity they shall take out sacrificial food, they shall in the first place offer to you some clarified butter!' Whenever, therefore, they take out sacrificial food for any deity, they in the first place offer two butter-portions to Agni and Soma. This does not take place at the Soma-sacrifice, nor at the animal offering; for they said, 'for whatever deity they take out...¹'

20. Agni then said, 'In me they shall sacrifice for all of you, and thus I give you a share in me!' For this reason they sacrifice in Agni (the fire) to all the gods; and for this reason they say that Agni is all the deities.

21. Soma then said, 'Me they shall offer up to all of you, and thus I give you a share in me!' For this reason they offer up Soma to all the gods; and hence they say that Soma is all the deities.

22. And further, since all the gods were abiding in Indra, for that reason they say that Indra is all the deities, that the gods have Indra for their chief (*śreshṭha*). Thus the gods came in a three-

¹ The *nirvāpanam*, or taking out (literally throwing out) of (handfuls of) *havis* from the receptacle and putting it into the winnowing basket (or other vessels), does not apply to these two kinds of sacrifices. Cf. I, 1, 2, 5 seq.

fold way to consist of one deity; and he who knows this becomes individually the chief of his own (people).

23. Twofold, verily, is this, there is no third: to wit, the moist and the dry; and what is dry, that relates to Agni; and what is moist, that relates to Soma. But (it may be objected) if this is twofold only, why then this manifold performance:—the two butter-portions for Agni and Soma, the low-voiced offering to Agni and Soma, and the rice-cake for Agni and Soma,—when by means of any one of these he obtains all, why then this manifold performance? [The answer to this objection is that] so manifold is the power, the generative force of Agni and Soma.

24. The sun, indeed, relates to Agni, and the moon to Soma; the day relates to Agni, and the night to Soma; the waxing half-moon relates to Agni, and the waning one to Soma.

25. 'By means of the two butter-portions he obtains the sun and the moon; by means of the low-voiced offering he obtains the day and the night; and by means of the rice-cake he obtains the two half-moons,' thus say some.

26. Āsuri, on the other hand, said: 'By means of the two butter-portions he gains any two (of those objects¹); by means of the low-voiced offering he obtains any (other) two; and by means of the rice-cake he obtains any (other) two: "all has been obtained, all has been conquered by me! with that All I will slay Vṛitra! with the All I will slay the

¹ 'Yatame vâ yatame vâ dve âpnoti.' Sâyaṇa supplies vastuni, 'objects.' The Kāṇva recension, on the other hand, reads, 'Yatame vâ yatame vâ dve devate âpnoti.'

spiteful enemy!" thus he thinks, and for that reason there is this manifold performance.'

27. On this point it has also been remarked: 'Why this sameness (of performance)? By what is introduced between the butter(-offering) to Agni and Soma and the rice-cake to Agni and Soma, a repetition of performance (is committed)¹.' Sameness (of performance), nevertheless, is avoided in this way: the one (viz. the low-voiced offering) consists of butter, and the other of a rice-cake, hence the one is different from the other. Moreover, after reciting a *Rik*-verse as anuvâkyâ, he pronounces the yâgyâ with the word 'pleased' (in the case of the butter-portions to Agni and Soma); and after reciting a *Rik*-verse as anuvâkyâ, he pronounces the yâgyâ in the form of a *Rik*-verse (in the case of the low-voiced offering to Agni and Soma), hence the one is (again) different from the other². Sameness of performance is also avoided in this way: in a low voice (he utters the formulas when) he offers of the butter, and with a loud voice of the cake; and what is (uttered) in a low voice, that is the manner of Pragâpati: hence he recites for that (low-

¹ See p. 80, note 2. The objection here raised is, that the low-voiced offering, which is intermediate between the two above-mentioned oblations to Agni-Soma, is made to the same two deities.

² When the two butter-portions to Agni and Soma are offered the *Hotri* recites the verses *Rig-veda* VI, 16, 34 (*Vâg. S.* 33, 9), and *Rig-veda* I, 95, 5 (*Vâg. S.* 19, 42) respectively, as anuvâkyâs, or invitatory prayers, each of which is followed by the yâgyâ (offering-formula): 'We who pronounce the offering-prayer to Agni (or Soma respectively),—may Agni (Soma) pleased (*gushânâh*) accept of the butter-oblation! *Vâusha!*' At the low-voiced offering (*upâmsuyâga*) to Agni-Soma, on the other hand, he first utters (in a low voice) as anuvâkyâ the verse *Rig-veda* I, 93, 2, and thereupon as yâgyâ *Rig-veda* I, 93, 6.

voiced offering) an *anushṭubh*-verse as the invitatory formula (*anuvâkyâ*), for the *anushṭubh* represents speech, and *Pragâpati* also is speech.

28. By means of that low-voiced offering the gods stealing near slew, with that thunderbolt, the *vasha*-call, whichever they wished of the *Asuras*; and so does this one, after stealing near by means of that low-voiced offering, slay with that thunderbolt, the *vasha*-call, the wicked, spiteful enemy¹. This is why he performs the low-voiced offering.

29. Having recited (at the butter-portions) a *Rîk*-verse as the *anuvâkyâ*, he recites the *yâgyâ* with the word 'pleased : ' in consequence of this, creatures are brought forth here with teeth on one side (in one jaw); for the *Rîk* means bone and the tooth also is bone, so that he thereby produces bone on one side.

30. Having recited (at the low-voiced offering) a *Rîk*-verse as the *anuvâkyâ*, he recites as the *yâgyâ* a (second) *Rîk*-verse: in consequence of this, creatures with teeth on both sides are brought forth here; for the *Rîk* means bone and the tooth also is bone, so that he thereby produces bone on both sides. These creatures, indeed, are of two kinds, viz. such as have teeth on one side only, and such as have teeth on both sides²; and verily he who sacrifices, knowing

¹ The two prayers of the low-voiced offering are muttered in a low voice; but the '*Vâusha*!' at the end of the offering-prayer (as the '*Om*!' at the end of the invitatory prayer) is uttered aloud. Hence the above symbolical explanation.

² The same distinction is made in *Rig-veda* X, 90, 10, where it is stated that from the *Purusha* sprang the horse and what other animals with two rows of teeth (viz. the ass and mule, according to *Sâyana*) on the one hand, and cows, goats, and sheep on the other. In *Taitt. II*, 2, 6, 3, also the horse is mentioned along with man as belonging to the former class of living beings. Cf. also *Taitt. V*, 1, 2, 6; *Ath.-veda V*, 19, 2; 31, 3; *Weber, Ind. Stud. X*, 58.

thus the generative power of Agni and Soma, becomes rich in offspring and cattle.

31. When he (the sacrificer) is about to enter upon the fast of the full-moon ceremony, he may not be entirely sated. He therefore now compresses (that part of) his belly which relates to the Aśuras; and next morning, by means of the oblations, that which relates to the gods. Now the practice regarding the full-moon ceremony is as follows :

32. One may (enter on the) fast at the very time (of full moon), thinking, 'Now I will slay *Vṛitra*, now I will slay the spiteful enemy!'

33. One may also fast only on the following day. Now he who (enters on the) fast at the very time (of full moon), gets, as it were, into collision¹ (with some one); and when two come into collision with one another, it is indeed doubtful which of the two will get the better of the other. He, on the other hand, who prefers to fast on the second day (only), is as one who crushes from behind a retreating (enemy) before he is able to resist the attack : striking in one direction², in fact, is he who thus keeps the fast on the second day only.

34. Let him therefore enter on the fast at the very time (of full moon). He who keeps the fast on the following day only is as one who finally crushes one struck down by some one else; he only does what has been done before by some one else, he only

¹ Sam-kramate, literally 'comes together with, meets (somebody).' This symbolical explanation was probably suggested by the circumstance that the full moon marks the junction (*sandhi*) of the two pakshas or half months; whereas the new moon (*amāvāsyā*, 'dwelling together') marks the point of least distance between sun and moon.

² Anyatoghâtin, ? thus St. Petersburg Dictionary.

follows another's lead; let him therefore enter on the fast at the very time (of full moon).

35. After Pragâpati had created the living beings, his joints (parvan) were relaxed. Now Pragâpati, doubtless, is the year, and his joints are the two junctions of day and night (i. e. the twilights), the full moon and new moon, and the beginnings of the seasons.

36. He was unable to rise with his relaxed joints; and the gods healed him by means of these havis-offerings: by means of the Agnihotra they healed that joint (which consists of) the two junctions of day and night, joined that together; by means of the full-moon and the new-moon sacrifice they healed that joint (which consists of) the full and new moon, joined that together; and by means of the (three) Kâturmâsyas (seasonal offerings) they healed that joint (which consists of) the beginnings of the seasons, joined that together.

37. With his joints thus repaired he betook himself to this food,—to the food which is here (offered) to Pragâpati; and he who, knowing this, enters upon the fast at the very time (of full moon), heals Pragâpati's joint at the proper time, and Pragâpati favours him. Thus he who, knowing this, enters upon the fast at the very time (of full moon) becomes a consumer of food: let him therefore enter on the fast at the very time (of full moon).

38. These two butter-portions (to Agni and Soma), truly, are the eyes of the sacrifice; he, therefore, offers them in front (of, or before, the havis), for these eyes are in the front (of the head). Hence he thereby places the eyes in the front; and for this reason these eyes are in the front (of the head).

39. Some people offer Agni's butter-portion in the north-eastern part (of the fire), and Soma's butter-portion in the south-eastern part, thinking, 'Thereby we place the eyes in the front (of the head).' This, however, is rather unintelligible; for the several dishes of sacrificial food (*havis*) represent the body of the sacrifice; when therefore he offers in front of (or before) the *havis*, he thereby places the eyes in the front. Let him rather make the offerings (in that part of the fire) where he thinks the fiercest blaze is; for only by being offered in blazing (fire) are oblations successful¹.

40. Having recited (at the butter-portions) a *Rik*-verse as a *anuvākya* (invitatory formula), he recites by way of *yāgyā* (offering-prayer) the (formula containing the word) 'pleased;' thereby these boneless eyes are set in what is bone. If, on the other hand, after reciting a *Rik*-verse as a *anuvākya*, he

¹ Kāty. III, 3, 20-22 admits either mode of offering the butter-portions. These oblations are effected in the following way:—The Adhvaryu, having called on the Hotṛi to recite the *anuvākya*, takes with the dipping-spoon (*sruva*) butter from the *dhruvā* and puts it into the *guhū*; he then draws some with the *sruva* from the butter-pot and replenishes the *dhruvā* with it [according to the Kāṇvas, with the text 'May the *dhruvā* fatten with the *havis*-butter, sacrifice after sacrifice, for those who go to the gods,—the udder of *Sūryā* in the lap of *Aditi* : may the earth flow abundantly at this sacrifice!']. The same process is then repeated three (additional) times (with a *Gamadagni* four times): hence the offering is said to consist of four (or five) cuttings. The Hotṛi then recites the *anuvākya* (see note on I, 6, 3, 27), which is followed by the Adhvaryu's call 'om *srāvaya*' and the *Āgnidhra*'s response '*astu srausha*.' Thereupon the Hotṛi, having been called upon by the Adhvaryu to give the offering-prayer to Agni (or Soma), recites the respective *yāgyā*, at the concluding *vausha* of which the oblation is poured into the fire, (whilst the sacrificer utters the usual dedicatory formula, 'This for Agni (Soma), not for me!')

were to use a *Rîk*-verse as the *yâgyâ*, he would make it bone instead of eye.

41. Those two (qualities), truly, are related to the natures of Agni and Soma: that which is white is related to Agni, and that which is black is related to Soma. If, however (it were asserted), on the contrary, that what is black is related to Agni, and what is white is related to Soma,—[the answer would be:—] what sees is of the nature of Agni, for dry, as it were, are the eyes of one who looks, and that which is dry relates to Agni;—and what sleeps is of the nature of Soma, for moist, as it were, are the eyes of one who is asleep, and moist also is Soma. And, verily, he who thus knows those two butter-
portions to be eyes, remains endowed with eye-sight till old age in this world, and starts in yonder world possessed of eye-sight.

FOURTH BRÂHMANA.

SPECIAL PRELIMINARY RITES OF THE NEW-MOON SACRIFICE.

1. When Indra had hurled the thunderbolt at *Vṛitra*, thinking himself to be the weaker, and fearing lest he had not brought him down, he concealed himself and went to the farthest distances¹. Now the gods knew that *Vṛitra* had been slain and that Indra had concealed himself.

2. Agni of the deities, *Hiranyastûpa*² of the *Rishis*, and the *Bṛihatî* of the metres, set about searching for him. Agni discovered him and stayed

¹ *Parâh parâvatah*, literally 'to the most distant distances,' 'zu den fernsten Fernen.'

² *Hiranyastûpa*, of the family of the *Ângiras*, is the reputed author (or seer) of the hymns *Rig-veda* I, 31-35; IX, 4; 69. Of these, I, 32 and 33, which celebrate the exploits of Indra, seem to have been especially prized.

with him (as a guest) that (day and) night. He (Indra), namely, is the Vasu¹ of the gods, for he is their hero.

3. The gods said, 'Our Vasu, who has gone to live away from us, is this day dwelling together (amâ vas, viz. with Agni²);' and as one would cook a dish of rice or a goat in common for two relatives or friends who have come to stay with him,—for such-like is human (fare), as the sacrificial food (havis) is that of the gods,—in like manner they offered to those two together that sacrificial food, the rice-cake on twelve potsherds for Indra and Agni. This is the reason why there is a rice-cake on twelve potsherds for Indra and Agni.

4. Indra said, 'When I had hurled the thunderbolt at Vṛitra, I was terrified, and (in consequence of this fright) I am much emaciated. This (cake) does not satiate me : prepare for me what will satiate me !' The gods replied, 'So be it !'

5. The gods said, 'Nothing but Soma will satiate him : let us prepare Soma for him !' They prepared Soma for him. Now this king Soma, the food of the gods, is no other than the moon³. When he

¹ That is, as would seem, the benefactor, or the treasure (dhanarûpa, Sâyana) of the gods. Indra is the chief of the Vasus. Indra being so beneficent and important a personage, it was, according to Sâyana, worth Agni's while to stay with him. Possibly also a play on the word Vasu, and vas, 'to dwell,' is intended here.

² Thus Sâyana ; but it probably means, 'he is staying at a home, or at home (amâ) to-day.'

³ The identification of the Soma (plant and juice) with the moon already occurs in some of the hymns of the Rîg-veda, all of which, however, probably belong to the later ones. According to the St. Petersburg Dictionary, the identification was probably suggested by the circumstance that indu, 'drop, spark,' applies both to the Soma and the moon. Rîg-veda X, 85, 3 says that 'of that Soma which the priests know, no one ever eats.'

(the moon, masc.) is not seen that night either in the east or in the west, then he visits this world; and here he enters into the waters (f.) and plants (f.). He is indeed a treasure for the gods, he is their food. And since during that night he here dwells together¹ (amâ vas), therefore that (night of new moon) is called amâvâsyâ (the dwelling together, or at home).

6. They prepared it² (Soma for Indra), after having it collected, part by part, by the cows: in eating plants (they collected it) from the plants, and in drinking water (they collected it) from the waters. Having prepared and coagulated it, and made it strong (pungent), they gave it to him³.

7. He said, 'This does indeed satiate me, but it does not agree with me⁴: devise some means by which it may agree with me!' They made it agree with him by means of boiled (milk).

8. Now although this (mixture of sweet and sour milk) is, indeed, one and the same substance—it being milk (payas) and belonging to Indra—they,

¹ Viz. with the waters and plants (or, he stays at home).

² It should be borne in mind that Soma is masculine in Sanskrit.

³ In Taitt. S. II, 5, 3, 2 seq. the corresponding story is applied directly to the Sânnâyya. In consequence of the struggle with *Vṛitra*, Indra lost his energy, which fell to the earth and produced plants and shrubs. He thereupon complained to *Pragâpati*, who bade the cattle collect (*sam-nî*) it again by browsing the plants and shrubs. It was then milked out from them, and as the milk did not agree with Indra, it was boiled, and as it still did not satisfy Indra, it was mixed with sour milk.

⁴ *Na mayi srayate*, literally 'it does not stay in me' = *na tish/hati, na sâtmyam bhagate, Sâyana*. The author here (as in I, 8, 1, 17) connects, or confounds, the verb *sri* with *srâ*, 'to cook, make done,'—hence, 'it does not boil in me;' the milk being warm, or, as it were, boiled, when it comes from the cow, see II, 2, 4, 15. Hence also boiled milk is mixed with the Soma.

nevertheless, declare it to be (two) different (substances). Since he said 'it satiates (dhi) me,' therefore it is sour milk (dadhi); and since they made it agree (sri) with him with boiled milk (or, by boiling), therefore it is (fresh) boiled milk (srīta)¹.

9. In the same way as the Soma stalk becomes strong² (by being touched or sprinkled with water), so he (Indra) became strong (by the Soma being mixed with boiled milk) and overcame that evil, the jaundice³. Such is likewise the significance of the new-moon ceremony (and the Sānnāyya, or libation of sweet and sour milk offered to Indra thereat); and verily he who, knowing this, mixes (sweet and sour milk at the new-moon sacrifice) in like manner increases in offspring and cattle, and overcomes evil: let him therefore mix together (sweet and sour milk)⁴.

¹ The author here endeavours to establish some connection between the Sānnāyya (or offering of sweet and sour milk to Indra, which may take the place of the second sacrificial cake offered, at the new-moon sacrifice, to Indra and Agni) and the Soma libations. Sāyana refers to the passage Taitt. Br. I, 4, 7, 6-7, where it is stated that for the morning libation the Soma is to be mixed with boiled milk, for the mid-day libation with sour milk, and for the third (or evening) libation with sour milk that is partly changed into butter (nītamisra).

² Āpyāyeta. On the strengthening or increasing (āpyāyanam) of the Soma-plant by sprinkling it with water before the juice is extracted, see III, 4, 3, 12 seq. Sāyana seems to take the passage thus: 'In the same way as the Soma would make strong (? or become strong), so also the sānnāyyam destroys that evil, the jaundice, in those who drink it.'

³ By the admixture of milk the Soma-juice loses its brownish colour, and is therefore apparently considered to produce the same effect in those who drink the mixture.

⁴ The preparation of the sānnāyya, as it is now practised by priests in Western India, is thus described by Haug (Ait. Br. II, p.

10. In reference to this point they say, 'One who has not performed the Soma-sacrifice¹, must not offer the Sânnâyya; for, indeed, the Sânnâyya is (of the same significance as) a Soma libation, and the latter is not permitted to one who is not a Soma-sacrificer: hence he who has not performed the Soma-sacrifice, must not offer the Sânnâyya.'

11. He may nevertheless offer the Sânnâyya; for have we not heard within this place² that he (Indra) said, 'Do ye now offer Soma to me, and then ye will prepare for me that invigorating draught (âpyâyana, viz. the Sânnâyya)!' 'This does not satiate me, prepare for me what will satiate me!' That invigorating draught they indeed prepared for

443): 'The Adhvaryu takes the milk from three cows called Gaṅgâ, Yamunâ, and Sarasvatî, on the morning and evening, and gives it to the Âgntdhra. Half the milk is first drawn from the udder of each of the three cows under the recital of mantras; then the same is done silently. The milk is taken from these cows on the evening of the new-moon day, and on the morning of the following day, the so-called Pratipad (the first day of the month). The milk drawn on the evening is made hot, and lime-juice poured over it to make it sour; whereupon it is hung up. The fresh milk of the following morning is then mixed with it, and both are sacrificed along with the Puroḍâsa. Only he who has already performed the Agnishôma is allowed to sacrifice the Sânnâyya at the Darsapûrnîmâ ishâ. (Oral information.)' In Vâg. S. I, 4 (Sat. Br. I, 7, 1, 17; Kâty. IV, 2, 25, 26) the names of the three cows are given as Visvâyû, Visvakarman, and Visvadhâyus, unless these are intended merely for epithets or mystic names. Cf. p. 188 note; Weber, Ind. Stud. IX, 232. Instead of the lime-juice, mentioned by Haug as used for rennet, Kâty. IV, 2, 33 prescribes that the milk remaining from the Agnihotra of the preceding evening, and since become sour, should be used.

¹ Thus Taitt. S. II, 5, 5, 1.

² Atrântareṇa; atra vishaye antareṇa madhye, Sâyana; ? within this our range of hearing; or, in the course of the present ceremony.

him, and therefore even one who has not performed the Soma-sacrifice, may offer the Sānnâyya.

12. The full-moon oblation, assuredly, belongs to the *Vritra*-slayer, for by means of it Indra slew *Vritra*; and this new-moon oblation also represents the slaying of *Vritra*, since they prepared that invigorating draught for him who had slain *Vritra*.

13. An offering in honour of the *Vritra*-slayer, then, is the full-moon sacrifice. *Vritra*, assuredly, is no other than the moon¹; and when during that night (of new moon) he is not seen either in the east or in the west, then he (Indra) completely destroys him by means of that (new-moon sacrifice), and leaves nothing remaining of him. And, verily, he who knows this, overcomes all evil and leaves nothing remaining of evil.

14. Here now some people enter upon the fast when they (still) see (the moon, on the fourteenth day of the half-month), thinking, 'To-morrow he will not rise: already, then, there is unfailing food for the gods in yonder heaven², and to this we will offer them more from hence (to-morrow)!' — He, indeed, is in a prosperous state with whom, while the old food is still unfailing, fresh food is accruing; for such a one has indeed abundant food. However, he is not now offering Soma, but he is offering milk (i.e. the Sānnâyya), and that (milk) becomes king Soma³ (in yonder world):

¹ See I, 6, 3, 17.

² Viz. in the form of Soma, i.e. the moon, still shining in the heavens during the night preceding the new moon.

³ Who, as we saw, resides in the plants and waters at the time of new moon and consequently in the milk used for the Sānnâyya. If, however, one were to enter upon the fast (and hence on the

15. But as they (the cows), previously (to the new moon), eat mere plants (not imbued with the moon or Soma), and drink mere water, and yield mere milk,—so that (milk which they offer on the day before new moon, is not imbued with Soma, is ordinary milk). For king Soma, the food of the gods, indeed, is no other than the moon. When he is not seen that night either in the east or in the west, then he visits this world, and here enters into the waters and plants. Having then collected him from the water and plants, he (the performer of the Sânnâyya) causes him to be reproduced from out of the libations; and he (Soma, the moon), being reproduced from the libations, becomes visible in the western sky.

16. Now it is only when that food of the gods is unfailing that it comes back (to men): for him, therefore, who knows this, there is unfailing food in this, and imperishable righteousness in yonder, world.

17. Thus during that night (of new moon) food moves away from the gods and comes to this world. Now the gods were desirous as to how that (food) might (be made to) come back to them; how it might not perish away from them. For this they put their trust in those who prepare the libation of sweet and sour milk (sânnâyya), thinking, 'when they have prepared it, they will offer it to us.' And, verily, in him, who knows this, both his own kin and strangers put their trust; for in him, who attains to the highest rank, people indeed put their trust.

18. Now the one that burns there (viz. the sun)

sacrifice) previously to the new moon, he would be offering mere milk, not imbued with, and not liable to change into, Soma, and therefore unfit for the gods.

is, assuredly, no other than Indra, and that moon is no other than *Vṛitra*. But the former is of a nature hostile to the latter, and for this reason, though this one (the moon, *Vṛitra*) had previously (to the night of new moon) risen at a great distance from him (the sun, Indra), he now swims towards him and enters into his open mouth.

19. Having swallowed him, he (the sun) rises; and that (other) one is not seen either in the east or in the west. And, verily, he who knows this, swallows his spiteful enemy, and of him they say, 'He alone exists, his enemies exist not¹.'

20. Having sucked him empty, he throws him out; and the latter, thus sucked out, is seen in the western sky, and again increases; he again increases to serve that (sun) as food: and verily if the spiteful enemy of one who knows this, thrives either by trade or in any other way, he thrives again and again in order to serve him as food.

21. Now some people offer (the *Sânnâyya*) to (Indra under the name of) 'Mahendra' (the great Indra), arguing, 'Before the slaying of *Vṛitra* he was Indra, it is true; but after slaying *Vṛitra* he became Mahendra, even as (a *râgan*, or king, becomes) a *Mahârâga* after obtaining the victory: hence (the *Sânnâyya* should be offered) to Mahendra.' Let him, nevertheless, offer it to 'Indra;' for Indra he was before the slaying of *Vṛitra*, and Indra he is after slaying *Vṛitra*: therefore let him offer it to 'Indra².'

¹ With this explanation of the disappearance of the moon may be compared the later notion of the sun and moon being swallowed by the demon *Râhu*, at the time of the eclipses.

² *Kâty.* IV, 2, 10 leaves it optional whether the libation of mixed

SEVENTH ADHYÂYA. FIRST BRÂHMANA.

1. He (the Adhvaryu) drives the calves away (from the cows) with a *parṇa* branch¹. The reason why he drives the calves away with a *parṇa* branch is this. When the Gâyatrî flew towards Soma (the moon), a footless archer aiming at her while she was carrying him off, severed one of the feathers (*parṇa*) either of the Gâyatrî or of king Soma²; and on falling down it became a *parṇa* (*palâsa*) tree; whence its name *parṇa*. 'May that

sweet and sour milk is to be offered to Indra or to Mahendra. According to IV, 5, 25, however, such option seems to be permitted only so far as the first performance is concerned, after which one is apparently bound to go on offering during the rest of one's life to whichever deity one has chosen at the beginning. Taitt. S. II, 5, 4, 4, lays it down as the rule that only a *gatasrî* (one who has reached the highest grade of prosperity), viz. a *brâhmana* versed in the three Vedas (*susruvân*=*vedatrayâ-bhigñā*, *Sâyana*), the head of a village (*grâmanî*), and a *râganya*, can make offering to Mahendra, since he is their special deity. Others, however, may do the same, after offering the *sânnâyam* to Indra for a whole year, and on the expiration of it a rice-cake on eight potsherds to Agni, as the Keeper of Vows.

¹ *Parṇa*=*palâsa*, *Butea Frondosa*.

² *Gâyatryai vâ somasya vâ*= 'both of G. and of S.,' *Sâyana*. *Apâd astâ*, 'a footless shooter,' is a doubtful reading and perhaps an old corruption; *Sâyana* reads *apâdhastâ* (? *adhastât*); cf. Weber, various readings, p. 133. The *Kâṇva* MS. reads, '*devabhyaḥ tasyâ âharantîyâ avâdastâbhyâyatyā parṇam prakîṭheda*.' According to *Rig-veda* IV, 27, 3, it was the archer *Kṛiṣṇu*, who hit the falcon when it was carrying off the Soma from heaven, and brought down one of its feathers. On the whole myth, see A. Kuhn, *Herabkunft des Feuers und des Göttertranks*, p. 137 seq. Cf. Taitt. S. III, 5, 7, 1; Taitt. Br. I, 1, 3, 10, 'Soma was in the third heaven from here; Gâyatrî fetched him away; one of his feathers was cut off, it became a *parṇa* (*palâsa*) tree.' Similarly Taitt. Br. I, 2, 1, 6; see also Sat. Br. I, 8, 2, 10.

which then was of the Soma nature¹ be here with us now!' so he thinks, and for this reason he drives away the calves with a *parṇa* branch.

2. That (branch) he cuts off², with the formula (*Vâg. S. I, 1 a, b*), 'For sap (I cut) thee! for pith thee!'—'for rain thee' he means to say, when he says 'for sap thee;' and when he says 'for pith thee' he means to say 'for that food-essence which springs from the rain.'

3. They then let the calves join their mothers. He thereupon touches (each) calf (in order to drive it away from the cow), with the formula (*Vâg. S. I, 1 c*), 'The winds are ye!'—for, indeed, it is this wind that here blows³, it is this (wind) that makes swell all the rain that falls here; it is it that makes those (cows) swell; and for this reason he says 'the winds are ye!' Some people add here the formula⁴, 'Going near are ye!' but let him not say this, because thereby another (an enemy) approaches (the sacrificer).

4. After separating one of the mothers from her calf, he touches her, with the text (*Vâg. S. I, 1 d*), 'May the divine Savitṛi animate you—' for Savitṛi, indeed, is the impeller (*prasavitṛi*) of the gods:

¹ 'Somasya nyaktam,' see p. 167, note 2.

² This act as well as that of letting the calves join the cows, of course, precedes the driving away of the calves. These proceedings take place on the day before the new moon, after the *agnyanvâdhâna*. According to Kâty., the sacrificer enters on the vow of abstinence, after the branch has been cut. Previously to these rites, however, the so-called *Pinda-pitriyagña*, or oblation of obsequial *pindās* (balls, dumplings) to the deceased ancestors, has to be performed; for which see II, 4, 2, 1 seq.

³ *Pavate*, 'blows, purifies.'

⁴ Thus Taitt. S. I, 1, 1, 1.

‘may they, impelled by Savitri, prepare the sacrifice!’ so he thinks, and for this reason he says, ‘May the divine Savitri animate you!’

5. ‘—To the most glorious work!’ for assuredly the sacrifice is the most glorious work: hence, when he says ‘to the most glorious work!’ he means to say ‘to the sacrifice.’

6. ‘Make swell, ye invincible (or inviolable) ones, the share for Indra!’ In like manner as then¹, in taking the sacrificial food (rice), he announces it to the deity, so now also he announces that (libation of milk) to the deity when he says ‘make swell, ye invincible ones, the share for Indra!’

7. ‘Over you that are rich in offspring, over you that are free from suffering and disease—;’ in this there is nothing that is obscure; ‘—no thief, no ill-wisher may lord it!’—he thereby means to say, ‘may the evil spirits, the Rakshas, not lord it over you!’—‘May ye be numerous and constant to this lord of cattle!’—thereby he means to say ‘may ye be numerous with this sacrificer, and not abandon him.’

8. He then hides the branch on the front (eastern) side either of the Âhavanīya or the Gârhapatya house, with the formula (Vâg. S. I, 1 e), ‘Protect the sacrificer’s cattle!’ he thus makes over the sacrificer’s cattle to it for protection by means of the Brahman (sacred writ).

9. On it he fastens a strainer (pavitram)², with

¹ Viz. on the occasion of his taking from the cart the rice for the oblations, see I, 1, 2, 17-19.

² See p. 19, note 1. According to Karka this takes place before the hiding of the branch, Scholl. on Kâty. IV, 2, 15. According to Kâty. IV, 2, 12, 13, the upavesha (see I, 2, 1, 3) is cut at this juncture—with the text, ‘Accomplishing (vesha) art thou’—from the bottom part of the palâsa branch on the remaining part

the formula (Vâg. S. I, 2 a), 'Vasu's means of purification (ventilator, strainer, pavitram) art thou!' Vasu, indeed, is the sacrifice: for this reason he says, 'Vasu's means of purification art thou!'

10. That night he performs the Agnihotra with rice-gruel (yavâgû). That milk, namely, (which he milks that night) has already been announced as sacrificial food to a (special) deity; hence, if he were to make the offering with milk, he would offer to one deity that which has been set apart as sacrificial food for another deity: this is the reason why on that night he performs the Agnihotra with rice-gruel. As soon as they have performed the Agnihotra, the pot is made ready. He (the Adhvaryu) thereupon says, 'Announce that she (the cow) has been let loose to (the calf)!' When he (or she, the milker¹) announces, 'She has been let loose!'—

11. He puts the pot on (the Gârhapatya hearth), with the text (Vâg. S. I, 2 b, c): 'Thou art the sky! thou art the earth!'—he praises and eulogises her by thus saying, 'thou art the sky! thou art the earth!'—'Mâtariśvan's cauldron (gharma) art thou²!' he thereby makes it (a means of) sacrifice, and puts it on just as if he were putting on the

of which he thereupon fixes the strainer. When the sânnâyya oblation is not made (and consequently no palâsa branch is used), the upavesha is made of varana wood.

¹ The milker may be anybody except a Sûdra, Taitt. Br. III, 2, 3, 9; Kâty. IV, 2, 22; Âpast. I, 12, 15.

² Mâtariśvan's cauldron is identified in Taitt. Br. III, 2, 3, 2 with the atmosphere. Mâtariśvan, though sometimes identified with the wind, is more generally either a name of Agni, or the name of a mythic personage who (Prometheus-like) is supposed to have fetched the fire from heaven and brought it to the Bhrigus, who communicated it to man. See Roth, Nir. p. 111; Kuhn, Herabkunft des Feuers und des Göttertranks, p. 5 seq.

(pravargya-) cauldron (gharma)¹.—‘All-holding art thou! stand firm by the highest law! do not waver!’—thereby he steadies it, renders it firm.—‘May thy Lord of Sacrifice not waver!’—the Lord of Sacrifice, doubtless, is the sacrificer, hence it is for the sacrificer that he thereby prays for steadiness.

12. He then puts the strainer (on the pot). He puts it down with the top turned eastwards, for the east is the region of the gods; or with the top turned northwards, for the north is the region of the men; means of purification (pavitram) assuredly is that (wind) which here blows, it sweeps across these worlds: let him therefore put it down with the front northwards².

13. Just as then (i. e. at the Soma-sacrifice) they clarify king Soma with a strainer, in like manner he now clarifies (the milk); and since the strainer wherewith on that occasion they clarify king Soma has its fringe directed towards the north, therefore let him now also put it down with the top northward.

14. He puts it down, with the text (Vâg. S. I, 3 a), ‘Vasu’s means of purification (pavitram) art thou!’—Vasu, indeed, is the sacrifice: for this reason he says, ‘Vasu’s means of purification art thou!’—‘flowing in a hundred streams, flowing in a thousand streams!’—he praises and eulogises it when he says, ‘flowing in a hundred streams, flowing in a thousand streams.’

¹ See I, 2, 2, 7, and note. Compare also the interesting introduction to Dr. Garbe’s edition and translation of Âpastamba’s aphorisms on the Pravargya ceremony, *Zeitsch. der D. Morg. Ges.* XXXIV, p. 319 seq.

² The direction from west to east is the chief one in all sacrificial arrangements: hence that from south to north is the one that lies across the former.

15. He now maintains silence as long as the milking of the three (cows) lasts, for the sacrifice, doubtless, is speech: 'May I perform the sacrifice undisturbed!' so he thinks.

16. When it (the milk of each of the three cows) is poured (by the milker from the wooden pail through the strainer into the pot), he (the Adhvaryu) consecrates it by (whispering each time) the formula (Vâg. S. I, 3 b), 'May the divine Savitri purify thee with Vasu's means of purification, well cleansing and flowing in a hundred streams!' for just as then (at the Soma-sacrifice) they clarify king Soma with a strainer, so he thereby clarifies (the milk).

17. He then says (Vâg. S. I, 3-4), 'Which didst thou milk?' 'Such and such a one,' (the milker replies.) 'This one is Visvâyu (containing all life),' he (the Adhvaryu) says. He then¹ asks regarding the second one, 'Which didst thou milk?' 'Such and such a one,' is the reply. 'This one is Visvakarman (all-doing),' he says. He then asks regarding the third, 'Which didst thou milk?' 'Such and such a one,' is the reply. 'This one is Visvadhâyas (all-sustaining),' he says. The reason why he thus asks is that he thereby bestows certain energies on them. Three (cows) he milks, for three are these worlds: he thereby renders them fit for these worlds. He is now at liberty to speak.

¹ That is, when the milk has been poured through the strainer as before. The Taittiriya school make the mystic names (or epithets) of the three cows Visvâyu, Visvavyâkas (all-embracing), and Visvakarman, cf. Taitt. S. I, 1, 3; Taitt. Br. III, 2, 3, 7. In the latter passage these names are, as here, identified with the earth, atmosphere, and heavens respectively. The milker, in replying to the Adhvaryu, apparently calls the cows by their ordinary names. Cf. p. 178, note 4.

18. After having the last (cow) milked, and having poured a drop of water into the pail which he has made the milker use, and stirred it, he pours it to (the milk)¹, thinking 'what milk was left there, let that also be here!'—(he does so) for the completeness of the sap; for when it rains here, then plants spring up, and on the plants being eaten and the water drunk, thence is this juice produced: and therefore (the water is poured to the milk) for the completeness of the sap. Having then taken it off (the fire), he coagulates it²: he thereby makes it sharp (pungent); for this reason he coagulates it, after taking it off (the fire).

19. He coagulates it, with the formula (*Vâg. S. I, 4 d*), 'With Soma I coagulate thee, the portion of Indra!' Just as on a former occasion³, when taking sacrificial food for a deity, he announces it (to that deity), in like manner he now announces it to the deity, saying, 'Thee, the portion of Indra!' By saying 'with Soma I coagulate thee,' he makes it palatable to the gods.

20. He then covers it over by a vessel⁴, with the hollow part upwards and containing water, 'lest the evil spirits, the Rakshas, should touch it from above;' for water, indeed, is a thunderbolt; hence

¹ According to *Taitt. S. I, 1, 3, Kâty. IV, 2, 32, &c.*, he, whilst doing so, pronounces the text, 'Unite, ye that follow the eternal law, ye waving ones (with the wave, *Kâty.*), ye sweetest,—[filling the milk with honey, *Kâty.*],—ye delightful ones, for the obtainment of wealth!'

² *Viz.* by adding to it the (sour) milk that is left from the performance of the *Agnihotra*.

³ See *I, 1, 2, 18*.

⁴ According to *Taitt. Br. III, 2, 3, 11*, it may be either a metal or wooden vessel, but not an earthen one (*Kâty. IV, 2, 34*).

he thus drives away from it the evil spirits, the Rakshas, with a thunderbolt: this is the reason why he covers it over by a vessel with the hollow part upwards and containing water.

21. He covers it over, with the formula (Vâg. S. I, 4 e), 'O Vishṇu, protect the oblation!' for Vishṇu, indeed, is the sacrifice; hence he thereby makes over this sacrificial food to the sacrifice for protection: for this reason he says, 'O Vishṇu, protect the oblation!'

SECOND BRĀHMANA.

THE CHIEF OFFERINGS.

1. Verily, whoever exists, he, in being born, is born as (owing) a debt to the gods, to the *Rishis*, to the fathers, and to men¹.

2. For, inasmuch as he is bound to sacrifice, for that reason he is born as (owing) a debt to the gods: hence when he sacrifices to them, when he makes

¹ The wording of this passage is very ambiguous; so much so indeed, that it could also be taken in the sense that 'whoever exists, is born as (one to whom) a debt (is owed) from the gods,' &c.; cf. I, 1, 2, 19: 'Whichever deities are chosen (for the oblations), they consider it as a debt (due from them), that they are bound to fulfil whatever wish he entertains while taking the oblation.' But see Taitt. Br. VI, 3, 10, 5: 'Verily, a Brāhmaṇa who is born, is born as owing a debt in respect to three things: in the shape of sacred study (*brahmaṇyā*) to the *Rishis*, in the shape of sacrifice to the gods, and in the shape of offspring to the fathers. Free from debt, verily, is he who has a son, who is a sacrificer, who lives (for a time with a guru) as a religious student.' Ath.-veda VI, 117, 3 (Taitt. Br. III, 7, 9, 8): 'May we be debtless in this, debtless in the other, debtless in the third, world! What worlds (paths, Taitt. Br.) there are trodden by the gods and trodden by the fathers,—may we abide debtless on all (those) paths!'

offerings to them, he does this (in discharge of his debt) to them.

3. And further, inasmuch as he is bound to study (the Veda), for that reason he is born as (owing) a debt to the *Rīshis*: hence it is to them that he does this; for one who has studied (the Veda) they call 'the *Rīshis*' treasure-warden.'

4. And further, inasmuch as he is bound to wish for offspring, for that reason he is born as (owing) a debt to the fathers: hence when there is (provided by him) a continued, uninterrupted lineage, it is for them that he does this.

5. And further, inasmuch as he is bound to practise hospitality, for that reason he is born as (owing) a debt to men: hence when he harbours them, when he offers food to them, it is (in discharge of his debt) to them that he does so. Whoever does all these things, has discharged his duties: by him all is obtained, all is conquered.

6. And, accordingly, in that he is born as (owing) a debt to the gods, in regard to that he satisfies (ava-day) them by sacrificing; and when he makes offerings in the fire, he thereby satisfies them in regard to that (debt): hence whatever they offer up in the fire, is called *avadānam* (sacrificial portion)¹.

7. Now this (oblation) consists of four cuttings; (the reason for this is, that) there is here first, the invitational prayer (*anuvākyā*), then the offering-prayer (*yāgyā*), then the *vashat*-call, and as the fourth, the deity for which the sacrificial food is

¹ The word is really derived from *ava-dā* (do), 'to cut off.' The *Taitt. Br.* gives the same fanciful etymological explanation of the term as here.

(destined): for in this way the deities are dependent on the sacrificial portions, or the portions are dependent on the deities: hence what fifth cutting there is (made by some), that is redundant, for—for whom is he to cut it? For this reason it consists of four cuttings.

8. But a fivefold cutting also takes place (with some people): fivefold is the sacrifice, fivefold the animal victim, and five seasons there are in the year,—such is the perfection of the fivefold cutting; and he, assuredly, will have abundant offspring and cattle for whom, knowing this, the fivefold cutting is made. The fourfold cutting, however, is the approved (practice) among the Kuru-Pañkâlas, and for this reason a fourfold cutting takes place (with us¹).

¹ The four 'cuttings' of which each oblation of rice-cake consists are made in the following way: first, some clarified butter, 'cut out' or drawn from the butter in the dhruvâ-spoon by means of the sruva (dipping-spoon) and poured into the guhû (this is called the upastarana or under-layer of butter); second and third, two pieces of the size of a thumb's joint, cut out from the centre and the fore-part of the rice-cake and laid on that butter; and fourth, some clarified butter poured on these pieces of cake (the technical name of this basting of butter being abhighârana). The family of the Gamadagnis, which is mentioned as always making five cuttings (Kâty. I, 9, 3-4), take three pieces of cake instead of two, viz. an additional one from the back (or west) part of the cake. Yâgñika Deva on Kâty. quotes a couplet from some Smṛiti, in which the Vatsas, the Vidas, and the Ârshîsheṇas are mentioned beside the Gamadagnis, as pañkâvattinaḥ or making five cuttings. At the Upâmsuyâga (low-voiced offering),—which is performed between the cake-oblation to Agni and that to Agni-Soma at the full moon, and between the cake-oblation to Agni and that to Indra-Agni (or the sânnâyya, or oblation of sweet and sour milk, to Indra) at the new moon, and which consists entirely of butter,—the four cuttings are effected in the same way as described

9. Let him cut off only a moderate quantity; for were he to cut off a large quantity, he would make it human; and what is human is inauspicious at the sacrifice. Let him therefore cut off only a moderate quantity, lest he should do what is inauspicious at the sacrifice.

10. Having made an under-layer of butter (in the *guhû*-spoon) and cut off twice from the havis, he then pours over it some butter. There are, indeed, two (kinds of) oblations; the oblation of Soma being one, and the oblation of (or rather, with) butter being the other. Now the one, viz. the Soma-oblation, is (an oblation) by itself; and the other, viz. the butter-oblation, is the same as the offering of havis (rice, milk, &c.) and the animal offering¹; hence he thereby makes it (the cake) butter, and therefore butter is on both sides of it. Butter, doubtless, is palatable to the gods; hence he thereby renders it palatable to the gods: for this reason butter is on both sides of it.

11. The invitatory prayer (*anuvâkyâ*, f.), doubtless, is yonder (sky), and the offering-prayer (*yâgyâ*, f.) is this (earth)—these two are females. With each of these two the *vasha*-call (*vasha*tkâra, m.) makes up a pair². Now the *vasha*tk, indeed,

page 174 note. At the *sânnâyya*, two (or three) *sruva*-fuls of both the sweet and the sour milk take the place of the two (or three) pieces of cake.

¹ See page 26, note 1. The parts of the cakes or the *sânnâyya*, from which cuttings have been made, he bastes, each once, with butter taken with the *sruva* from the butter-pot; and whenever butter is ladled with the *sruva* from the *dhruvâ* into the *guhû*, the former is replenished from the butter-pot.

² Taylor *mithunam asti vasha/kâra eva*, 'to these two the *vasha*-call is the complement in forming a pair.' On the *vasha*tk (*vausha*tk) and the other two formulas, see note on I, 5, 2, 16.

is no other than that scorching one (the sun). When he rises he approaches yonder (sky); and when he sets he approaches this (earth): hence whatever is brought forth here by these two, that they bring forth through that male.

12. Having recited the invitatory prayer and pronounced the offering-prayer¹, he afterwards (*paśkât*) utters the *vashaṭ* formula; for from behind (*paśkât*) the male approaches the female: hence, after placing those two in front, he causes them to be approached by that male, the *vashaṭ*. For the same reason let him make the offering either simultaneously with the *vashaṭ* or (immediately) after the *vashaṭ* has been pronounced.

13. A vessel of the gods, doubtless, is that *vashaṭ*. Even as, after ladling, one would mete out (food) into a vessel, so here. If, on the other hand, he were to make the offering before the *vashaṭ*, it would be lost, as would be that (food) falling to the ground: for this reason also let him make the offering either simultaneously with the *vashaṭ* or after it has been pronounced.

14. As seed is poured into the womb, so here. If, on the other hand, he were to make the offering before the *vashaṭ*, it would be lost, as would be the seed poured not into the womb: for this reason also let him make the offering either simultaneously with the *vashaṭ* or after it has been pronounced.

15. The invitatory formula, doubtless, is yonder (sky), and the offering-formula is this (earth). The *gâyatrî* metre also is this (earth), and the *trishṭubh*

¹ The usual formalities, which have been detailed before (see page 174 note), have, of course, to be gone through at each oblation.

is yonder (sky)¹. He recites the gāyatrī verse, thereby reciting yonder (sky), for the invitatory formula (anuvākyā) is yonder (sky). He recites this (earth), for the gāyatrī verse (viz. the offering-formula) is this (earth).

16. He then presents the offering with a trish/ubh verse², thereby presenting it by means of this

¹ In this passage the invitatory formula (anuvākyā or puro-'nuvākyā), which is in the gāyatrī metre, is identified with the sky, and the offering-formula (yāgyā), which is in the trish/ubh metre, with the earth. On the other hand, the gāyatrī also is the earth (cf. I, 4, 1, 34), and the trish/ubh the sky; so that, according to this mode of reasoning, there is not only an intimate connexion between the two metres, but actual identity. The gāyatrī verse, used as invitatory formula, on the occasion of the rice-cake offering to Agni, is Rig-veda VIII, 44, 16 [agnir mūrdhā divaś kakut, 'Agni, the head and summit of the sky,' &c.]; with that to Agni and Soma, at the full-moon sacrifice, Rig-veda I, 93, 3 [agnishomau savedasau, sahâtî vanatam giraś, 'O Agni and Soma, of self-same wealth and invocation, accept this song!' &c.]; and to Indra and Agni, at the new-moon, Rig-veda VII, 94, 7 [indrāgnî avasâ gatam, 'O Indra and Agni, come to us with favour!' &c.]; or with the (optional) milk-offering (sānnāyyam), at the new moon, Rig-veda I, 8, 1 [endra sânasim rayim, 'hither, O Indra, bring abundant treasure!' &c.], if to Indra; or Rig-veda VIII, 6, 1 [mahân indro ya ogasâ parganyo vrishîmân iva, 'the Great Indra, who in might is equal to the rainy thunder-cloud,' &c.], if to Mahendra.

² The trish/ubh verse, used as offering-formula with the oblation of cake to Agni, both at the new and full moon, is Rig-veda X, 8, 6 [bhuyo yagnîasya ragasar ka netâ... agne..., 'be thou the leader of the sacrifice and welkin, ... O Agni!' &c.]; with that to Agni and Soma, at the full moon, Rig-veda I, 93, 5 [yuvam etâni divi roṇanâni... agnîshomau..., 'you, O Agni and Soma, (fixed) those lights in the heaven,' &c.]; with that to Indra and Agni, at the new moon, Rig-veda VII, 93, 4 [gîrbhir viprah pramatim ikṣhamâna... indrâgnî..., 'the bard, seeking your grace by songs..., O Indra and Agni,' &c.]; and with the milk-offering, at the same sacrifice, if to Indra, Rig-veda X, 180, 1 [pra sasâhishe puruhûta sârûn... indrâ..., 'thou, O Indra, the much-invoked, hast vanquished the enemies!' &c.]; or, if to Mahendra, Rig-veda X, 50, 4 [bhuvau

(earth), for the offering-formula (yâgyâ) is this (earth). Over yonder (sky) he places the vashaṭ, for yonder (sky) also is the trishṭubh. Thereby he makes those two (sky and earth) yoke-fellows; and as such they feed together; and after their common meal all these creatures get food¹.

17. Let him pronounce the invitatory formula lingering, as it were: the invitatory formula, namely, is yonder (sky), and the *bṛihat*-(sâman) also is yonder (sky), since its form is that of the *bṛihat*. With the offering-formula let him, as it were, hurry on fast: the offering-formula, doubtless, is this (earth), and the *rathantara*-(sâman) also is this (earth), since its form is that of the *rathantara*². With the invitatory formula he calls (the gods), and with the

tvam indra brahmaṇâ mahân, 'mighty, O Indra, mayest thou be through (our) prayer!' &c.].

¹ For the notion that there is rain (and consequently food) when heaven and earth are on friendly terms with each other, see I, 8, 3, 12. The rain is the food of the earth; and the food, produced thereby, in its turn furnishes food for the sky (or the gods) in the form of oblations.

² The *bṛihat*-sâman (tvâm id dhi havâmahe, 'on thee, indeed, we call,' &c., Sâma-veda II, 159-160=Rig-veda VI, 46, 1-2) and the *rathantara*-sâman (abhi tvâ sūra nonumaḥ, 'to thee, O Hero, we call,' &c., Sâma-veda II, 30-31=Rig-veda VII, 32, 22-23) are two of the most highly prized Sâma-hymns, which are especially used in forming the so-called *prishṭhas*, or combinations of two hymns in such a way that one of them (being a mystic representation of the embryo) is enclosed in the other, which is supposed to represent the womb. In these symbolical combinations the *bṛihat* and *rathantara*, which must never be used together, are often employed as the enclosing chants, representative of the womb. They are already mentioned in Rig-veda X, 181. See also Sat. Br. IX, 1, 2, 36-37. Taitt. S. VII, 1, 1, 4, Pragâpati is said to have first created from his mouth Agni together with the Gâyatrî, the *Rathantara*-sâman, the *Brâhmaṇa*, and the goat; and then from his chest and arms Indra, the *Trishṭubh*, the *Bṛihat*-sâman, the *Râganya*, and the ram.

offering-formula he presents (food to them): hence the invitatory formula (anuvâkyâ) has some such form as 'I call,' 'We call,' 'Come hither!' 'Sit on the barhis!' for with it he calls. With the offering-formula (yâgyâ) he offers: hence the offering-formula has some such form as, 'Accept the sacrificial food!' 'Relish the sacrificial food!' 'Accept the potation (âvrishâyasva)!' 'Eat! Drink! There!'

18. Let the invitatory formula be one that has its distinctive indication (in the form of the name of the respective deity) at the beginning (in front): for the invitatory formula is yonder (sky); and that (sky) yonder has the moon, the stars, and the sun for its mark below².

19. The offering-formula then should be one that has its characteristic indication (further) back³; for the offering-formula is this (earth), and this same (earth) has plants, trees, waters, fire, and these creatures for its mark above.

20. Verily, that invitatory formula alone is auspicious, in the first word of which he utters the (name of the) deity; and that offering-formula alone is auspicious in the last word of which he pronounces the vashaṭ upon the deity⁴; for the (name

¹ Literally, 'forwards, thither (pra).'

² Avastâllakshma, 'the sign below or on this (the, to us, nearest or front) side.' See the formulas above, p. 195, note 1.

³ Or upwards, on the upper side, uparishâtllakshamam. See the offering-formulas above, p. 195, note 2.

⁴ Vashaṭ, or rather vâushaṭ ['may he (Agni) carry it (to the gods)!'], is pronounced after each yâgyâ or offering-formula, which contains the name of the deity towards the end, or at least not at the very beginning.

of the) deity constitutes the vigour of the *Rik* (verse): hence after thus enclosing it¹ on both sides with vigour, he offers the sacrificial food to that deity for which it is intended.

21. He pronounces (the syllable) *vauk*²; for, assuredly, the *vasha*†-call is speech; and speech means seed: hence he thereby casts seed. ‘*Sha*†’ (he pronounces), because there are six seasons: he thereby casts that seed into the seasons, and the seasons cause that seed so cast to spring up here as creatures. This is the reason why he pronounces the *vasha*†.

22. Now the gods and the Asuras, both of them sprung from *Pragâpati*, entered upon their father *Pragâpati*’s inheritance³, to wit, these two half-moons. The gods entered upon the one which waxes, and the Asuras on the one which wanes.

23. The gods were desirous as to how they might appropriate also the one that had fallen to the Asuras. They went on worshipping and toiling. They saw this *haviryagñā*, to wit, the new and full-moon sacrifices, and performed them; and by performing them they likewise appropriated the one—

24. Which belonged to the Asuras. Now when these two revolve, then the month is produced; and month (revolving) after month, the year (is produced). But the year, doubtless, means all; hence the gods thereby appropriated all that belonged to

¹ Viz. the invitory and offering-formulas.

² The sacrificial call *vausha*† (for *vasha*†, irregular aorist of *vah*, ‘to bear,’ cf. p. 88, note 2) is here fancifully explained as composed of *vauk*, for *vâk*, ‘speech,’ + *sha*†, ‘six.’

³ *Pragâpati*, or Lord of Creatures, is here, as often (cf. I, 2, 5, 13), taken as representing the year, or Time.

the Asuras, they deprived their enemies, the Asuras, of all. And in the same way he (the sacrificer) who knows this appropriates all that belongs to his enemies, deprives his enemies of all.

25. That (half-moon) which belonged to the gods is (called) *yavan*, for the gods possessed themselves (*yu*, 'to join') of it; and that which belonged to the Asuras is *ayavan*, because the Asuras did not possess themselves of it.

26. But they also say contrariwise:—That which belonged to the gods is (called) *ayavan*, because the Asuras did not get possession of it; and that which belonged to the Asuras is *yavan*, because the gods did get possession of it. The day is (called) *sabda*, the night *sagarâ*, the months *yavya*, the year *sumeka*¹: *sveka* ('eminently one'), doubtless, is the same as *sumeka*. And since the *Hotri* is concerned with these—to wit, the *yavan* and the *ayavan*, which (according to some) is *yavan*—they call (his office) *yâvihotram*².

THIRD BRÂHMANA.

OBLATION TO AGNI SVISHṬAKṚT, [AND THE BRAHMAN'S PORTIONS.]

I. Now by means of the sacrifice the gods ascended to heaven. But the god who rules over

¹ *Sumeka* is taken by the St. Petersburg Dictionary to mean 'firmly established'; by Grassmann, 'bountiful,' literally 'well-showering.' Our author identifies it with *su-eka*. The words *sabdam* (*sabdam*, *Kânva* rec., ? = the sounding one) and *sagarâ* are obscure; *yavya* here apparently means, 'consisting of the yavas or half-months.'

² The term *yâvihotram* is obscure, and does not seem to occur anywhere else. The *Kânva* MS. reads *yâmihotram* (? = *gâmihotram*). *Sâyana*'s comment is corrupt in several places and affords little help.

the cattle was left behind here : hence they call him Vâstavya, for he was then left behind on the (sacrificial) site¹ (vâstu).

2. The gods went on worshipping and toiling with the same (sacrifice) by which they had ascended to heaven. Now the god who rules over the cattle, and who was left behind here,—

3. He saw (what occurred, and said), 'I have been left behind : they are excluding me from the sacrifice !' He went up after them, and with his raised (weapon)² rose up on the north—the time (when this happened) was that of the (performance of the) Svishṭakṛit.

4. The gods said, 'Do not hurl !' He said, 'Do not ye exclude me from the sacrifice ! Set apart an oblation for me !' They replied, 'So be it !' He withdrew (his weapon), and did not hurl it ; nor did he injure any one.

5. The gods said (to one another), 'Whatever portions of sacrificial food have been taken out by us, they have all been offered up. Try to discover

¹ Or perhaps, 'he was left behind with, or in, the remains (of the sacrifice) ;' vâstu being evidently also taken in this sense by our author, in par. 7.

² The text has âyatayâ merely, which, to become intelligible, clearly requires some noun, which may have been lost here. Sâyana is silent on this point. In Dr. Muir's version of the legend, Original Sanskrit Texts, IV, p. 202, the word is left untranslated. I am inclined to supply some such noun as heti, 'weapon ;' cf. XII, 7, 3, 20, where this very word is used in connexion with Rudra : in later times it is also specially applied to Agni's weapon or flame (gihvâ, 'tongue'). It is not impossible, however, that we have to supply tanvâ ('with his raised body, or self'). To mâ vi srâkshîḥ (for which the Kânva recension reads mâ 'sthâḥ), 'do not hurl,' and to samvivarha ('he drew back'), Sâyana supplies yagñam, 'sacrifice : ' hence he apparently takes it thus,—'do not scatter (the sacrifice),'—'he kept (the sacrifice) together and did not injure it in any way.'

some means by which we may set apart an oblation for him !'

6. They said to the Adhvaryu priest, 'Sprinkle the sacrificial dishes (with butter) in proper succession ; and replenish them for the sake of one (additional) portion, and again render them fit for use ; and then cut off one portion for each !'

7. The Adhvaryu accordingly sprinkled the sacrificial dishes in proper succession, and replenished them for the sake of one (additional) portion, and again rendered them fit for use, and cut off one portion for each. This then is the reason why he (Rudra) is called *Vâsta vya*¹, for a remainder (*vâstu*) is that part of the sacrifice which (is left) after the oblations have been made : hence, if sacrificial food is offered to any deity, the *Svishṭakṛit* (Agni, 'the maker of good offering') is afterwards invariably offered a share of it ; because the gods invariably gave him a share after themselves.

8. That (offering) then is certainly made to 'Agni,' for, indeed, Agni is that god ;—his are these names : *Sarva*, as the eastern people call him ; *Bhava*, as the *Bâhikas* (call him) ; *Paśûnâmpati* ('lord of beasts,' *Paśupati*), *Rudra*, *Agni*². The name *Agni*, doubtless, is the most auspicious

¹ On the identification of *Agni* with *Rudra*, see also VI, I, 3, 7 ; and Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, IV, p. 339 seq.

² Passages such as this and VI, I, 3, 7 seq. are of considerable interest, as showing, on the one hand, the tendency towards identifying and blending originally distinct and apparently local Vedic gods, especially *Rudra*, with the person of *Agni*, the representative of the divine power on earth in the later Vedic triad ; and, on the other hand, the origin of the conception of *Śiva*, in the pantheistic system of the post-Vedic period. On our passage, see also Weber, *Ind. Stud.* II, p. 37 ; I, p. 189 ; Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, IV, p. 328.

(*sânta*), and the other names of his are inauspicious: hence it is offered to (him under the name of) 'Agni,' and to (him as) the *Svishṭakṛit*.

9. They (the gods) said, 'What we have offered unto thee who art in yonder place¹, do thou render that well-offered (*svishṭa*) for us!' He made it well-offered for them; and this is the reason why (it is offered) to (Agni as) the *Svishṭakṛit*.

10. Having recited the invitatory formula², he (the *Hotṛi*) enumerates (those deities) which (have received oblations at the fore-offerings, butter-portions, &c.), as well as Agni *Svishṭakṛit*:—'May Agni offer Agni's favourite dainties!' thereby he refers to Agni's butter-portion³.—'May he offer Soma's favourite dainties!' thereby he refers to Soma's butter-portion.—'May he offer Agni's favourite dainties!' thereby he refers to that indispensable cake for Agni which is (offered) on both occasions (at the new and full-moon sacrifices).

11. And so with the several deities. 'May he offer the favourite dainties of butter-drinking gods!' thereby he refers to the fore-offerings (*prayâga*) and after-offerings (*anuyâga*), for, assuredly, the butter-drinking gods (represent) the fore-offerings and after-offerings.—'May he offer Agni the *Hotṛi*'s

¹ That is, according to *Sâyana*, on the *Âhavanîya* fire-place.

² The *anuvâkyâ* for the *Svishṭakṛit* is *Rig-veda* X, 2, 1: *piprihi devâñ usato yavishṭha* ('gladden thou the longing gods, O youngest!') &c. *Âsv. S. I*, 6, 2.

³ See *I*, 4, 2, 16-17. These formulas (*nigada*) of enumeration (*ayâd agnir agneḥ priyâ dhâmâni*, &c.—*yakshad agner hotuḥ priyâ dhâmâni*, &c.) form part of the offering-formula. The *yâgyâ* proper, however, which they precede is *Rig-veda* VI, 15, 14, *agne yad adya viso adhvarasya hotaḥ* ['O Agni, *Hotṛi* of the cult! when this day (thou comest) to the men'], &c.

favourite dainties!' thereby he refers to Agni as Hotri; for after the gods had set apart this oblation for him, they still further propitiated him by this (formula), and invited him to his favourite dainty¹: this is the reason why he thus enumerates.

12. Here now some make (the name of) the deity precede the 'may he offer (ayât)!' thus—'Of Agni may he offer (the favourite dainties)!' 'Of Soma may he offer!' But let him not do this; for those who make the deity precede the 'may he offer!' violate the proper order at the sacrifice, since it is by pronouncing the 'may he offer,' that he pronounces what comes first here: let him therefore place the 'may he offer' first.

13. [The Hotri continues to recite]: 'May he sacrifice to his own greatness!' When, on that occasion², he asks him (Agni) to bring hither the deities, he also makes him bring hither his own greatness; but before this no worship of any kind has been offered to 'his (Agni's) own greatness:' and he therefore now gratifies him, and thus that (fire) has been established so as to prevent failure on his (the sacrificer's) part. This is the reason why he says 'may he sacrifice to his own greatness.'

14. 'By sacrifice may he obtain for himself food worthy of sacrifice³!' the food, doubtless, is these creatures: he thereby makes them eager to sacrifice, and these creatures go on sacrificing, worshipping and performing austerities.

¹ Or, resort, abode, dhâman.

² Viz. at the 'devatânâm âvahanam,' cf. I, 4, 2, 17; p. 118, n. 1.

³ 'Âyagâtâm egyâ ishaḥ.' Mahîdhara, on Vâg. S. XXI, 47, interprets it thus: 'May these (ishaḥ) desirous (creatures), fit for sacrifice, sacrifice properly!' Similarly perhaps Sâyana on our passage.

15. 'May he, the knower of beings, (perform)¹ the sacred cult; may he graciously accept the sacrificial food!' Thereby he prays for success to this sacrifice; for when the gods graciously accept the sacrificial food, then he (the sacrificer) gains great things²: for this reason he says 'may he graciously accept the sacrificial food!'

16. The reason why on this occasion the invitatory and offering-formulas are made closely to correspond to each other (*avakṛīptatama*), is that the *svishṭakṛit* (is equivalent to) the evening libation, and the evening libation, doubtless, belongs to the *Visve Devâḥ* (the 'All-gods')³. 'Gladden thou the longing gods, O youngest!' this much in the invitatory formula refers to the *Visve Devâḥ*⁴. 'O Agni, Hotṛi of the cult! when this day (thou comest) to the men⁵;' this much in the offering-formula refers to the *Visve Devâḥ*. And because such is the form of these two (formulas), therefore they are of

¹ Here *krinotu* is omitted in the text, but cf. Vâg. S. XXI, 47; Taitt. Br. III, 5, 7, 6; Âsv. S. I, 6, 5. Dr. Hillebrandt, Altind. Neu- und Vollmondsopfer, p. 118, construes it with the preceding formula: 'er mache darbringungswerth die Speisen; er, der Wesenkenner, nehme beim Opfer das havis an.' (?)

² Mahat, 'grosses.'

³ See Vâg. S. XIX, 26. Here the author, as usual (cf. p. 5 note), attempts to enhance the solemnity of the ceremony by identifying it with the *trītiya-savana*, or evening libation at the Soma-sacrifice, both offerings constituting the final ceremonies in the main performance of the respective sacrifices. We shall, however, see (cf. I, 8, 3, 25) that as at the evening libation the remains of the Soma are offered up, so also are the remains of havis offered to the *visve devâḥ* at the conclusion of the present sacrifice. At IV, 4, 5, 17 it is more especially the offering of rice-cake to Agni and Varuṇa, at the evening libation, which is identified with the *svishṭakṛit*.

⁴ See p. 202, note 2.

⁵ See p. 202, note 3.

the form of the evening libation ; and this is why the invitatory and offering-formulas on this occasion are made closely to correspond to each other.

17. They are both *trishṭubh* verses ; for the *svishṭakṛit* is, as it were, the residue (or site, *vâstu*) of the sacrifice, and the residue (or, a vacant site) is without energy¹. Now the *trishṭubh* means manly power², energy : hence he thereby imparts manly power, energy to that residue, the *svishṭakṛit*. This is why they are both *trishṭubh* verses.

18. Or they are both *anushṭubh* verses. The *anushṭubh* is residue (or site, *vâstu*), and the *svishṭakṛit* also is residue : hence he thereby puts a residue to a residue³. And, verily, one who knows this, and whose (invitatory and offering-formulas) are two *anushṭubh* verses, his homestead (*vâstu*) is prosperous, and he himself prospers in regard to progeny and cattle.

¹ *Avīryam* ; cf. II, 1, 2, 9, where the (*sarīra*) empty body (of *Pragâpati*) is called a *vâstu ayagñīyam avīryam*. See also above, I, 7, 3, 7, where we met with *vâstu* in the sense of 'remainder, that which remains,' as *Sâyana* also seems to take it here.

² *Indriyam*, literally 'Indra's power.' The *trishṭubh* often (e. g. *Rig-veda* X, 130, 5) appears specially related to Indra ; and the hymns addressed to him are almost entirely in this metre. *Taitt. S. VII*, 1, 1, 4 it is said to have been created by *Pragâpati* from his own chest and arms, immediately after Indra, and together with the *Bṛihat-sâman*, the *Râganya*, and the ram ; and that these are therefore *vīryâvant*, having been created out of *vīrya* (i. e. the seats of 'manly power').

³ For this symbolical explanation see *Taitt. S. VII*, 1, 1, 5, where the *anushṭubh* is said to have been created by *Pragâpati*, by his fourth and last creative act, from his feet, together with the *Vairâga-sâman*, the *Sûdra*, and the horse ; the two last named being, therefore, styled '*bhûta-saṅkrâmin* (? subservient to creatures).' I do not find it stated anywhere, what *anushṭubh* verses may optionally be taken for the *anuvâkyâ* and *yâgyâ* of the *svishṭakṛit*.

19. Now here Bhāllabeya¹ made the invitatory formula (consist of) an *anushṭubh* verse, and the offering-formula of a *trishṭubh* verse, thinking, 'I thus obtain (the benefits of) both.' He fell from the cart, and in falling, broke his arm. He reflected: 'This has befallen because of something or other I have done.' He then bethought himself of this: '(It has befallen) because of some violation, on my part, of the proper course of the sacrifice.' Hence one must not violate the proper course (of sacrificial performance); but let both (formulas) be verses of the same metre, either both *anushṭubh* verses, or both *trishṭubh* verses.

20. He cuts (the portions for *Agni Svishṭakṛit*) from the north part (of the sacrificial dishes)², and offers them up on the north part (of the fire): for this is the region of that god, and therefore he cuts from the north part and offers on the north part. From that side, indeed, he arose³, and there they (the gods) appeased him: for this reason he cuts from the north part, and offers on the north part.

21. He offers on this side (in front), as it were, of the other oblations. Following the other oblations cattle are produced, and the *Svishṭakṛit* represents Rudra's power: he would impose Rudra's power on

¹ That is, *Indradyumna Bhāllabeya*, as the *Kāṇva* recension reads here and II, 1, 4, 6. Cf. X, 6, 1, 1.

² He makes, as usual, an under-layer (*upastaraṇa*) of butter in the *guhū*; cuts a piece from the north part of each of the two cakes (or of the one cake and of both the sweet and the sour milk constituting the *sānnāyā*); and thereupon bastes the pieces twice (not once) with butter.

³ See above, par. 3. The same quarter is assigned to Rudra, IX, 1, 1, 10. See also Weber, *Ind. Stud.* I, p. 225.

the cattle if he were to bring it (the *Svishtakṛit*) into contact with the other oblations; and his (the sacrificer's) household and cattle would be destroyed. For this reason he offers on this side, as it were, of the other oblations.

22. That (fire)—to wit, the *Âhavanîya*—is, indeed, that sacrifice by which the gods then ascended to heaven; and that (other fire) which was left behind here, is the *Gârhapatya*: hence they take out the former from the *Gârhapatya*, (so as to be) before (east) of it.

23. He may lay it (the *Âhavanîya*) down at the distance of eight steps (from the *Gârhapatya*); for of eight syllables, doubtless, consists the *gâyatri*: hence he thereby ascends to heaven by means of the *gâyatri*.

24. Or he may lay it down at the distance of eleven steps¹; for of eleven syllables, indeed, consists the *trishṭubh*: hence he thereby ascends to heaven by means of the *trishṭubh*.

25. Or he may lay it down at the distance of twelve steps; for of twelve syllables, indeed, consists the *gagati*: hence he thereby ascends to heaven by means of the *gagati*. Here, however, there is no (fixed) measure: let him, therefore, lay it down where in his own mind he may think proper². If he takes it ever so little east (of the *Gârhapatya*), he ascends to heaven by it.

26. Here now they say, 'Let them cook the sacri-

¹ The Baudhâya. *Sulvas.* (66) lays it down as the rule that the Brâhmana has to construct his *Âhavanîya* fire at the distance of eight prakramas (step of two padas or feet each) to the east of the *Gârhapatya*, the *Râganya* at the distance of eleven, and the *Vaisya* at the distance of twelve, steps. Thibaut, *Pandit X*, p. 22.

² See I, 2, 5, 14.

ficial dishes on the Âhavanīya; for thence, assuredly, the gods ascended to heaven, and therewith they went on worshipping and toiling: therein we will cook the sacrificial dishes; therein we will perform the sacrifice! For, as it were, a displacement¹ of the sacrificial dishes would take place, if they were to cook them on the Gârhapatya. The Âhavanīya is the sacrifice: we will perform the sacrifice in the sacrifice!

27. However, they also do cook on the Gârhapatya, arguing, 'The former is indeed âhavanīya (i. e. "suitable for a burnt-offering"); but that one, surely, is not (intended) for this,—viz. that they should cook uncooked (food) on it; but it is (intended) for this,—viz. that they should offer up cooked (food) on it.' He may therefore do it on whichever (fire) he pleases.

28. That sacrifice spake, 'I dread nakedness.' 'What is unnakedness for thee?' 'Let them strew (sacrificial grass) all round me!' For this reason they strew (sacrificial grass) all round the fire. 'I dread thirst.' 'How art thou to be satiated?' 'May I satiate myself after the priest has been satisfied!' Let him therefore, on the completion of the sacrifice, order that the priest be satisfied; for then he satisfies the sacrifice.

FOURTH BRĀHMANA.

1. Pragâpati conceived a passion for his own

¹ Apaskhala. Sâyana takes skhala to mean winnowing- (or threshing-) floor (? khala): hence apaskhala would mean 'the leaping (of the husk, &c.) out of the winnowing-floor.' The Kâṇva MS. reads, 'apaskhala iva sa havishâm yad gârhapatyaḥ' (? 'the Gârhapatya is to the sacrificial food the outside of a winnowing-floor, as it were.')

daughter,—either the Sky or the Dawn¹. ‘May I pair with her!’ thus (thinking) he united with her.

2. This, assuredly, was a sin in the eyes of the gods. ‘He who acts thus towards his own daughter, our sister, [commits a sin],’ they thought.

3. The gods then said to this god who rules over the beasts (Rudra)², ‘This one, surely, commits a sin who acts thus towards his own daughter, our sister. Pierce him!’ Rudra, taking aim, pierced him. Half of his seed fell to the ground. And thus it came to pass.

4. Accordingly it has been said by the *Rishi*³ with reference to that (incident), ‘When the father embraced his daughter, uniting with her, he dropped his seed on the earth.’ This (became) the chant (uktha) called âgnimâruta⁴; in (connection with)

¹ For other versions of this legend about Pragâpati (Brahman)’s illicit passion for his daughter, which, as Dr. Muir suggests, probably refers to some atmospheric phenomenon, see Ait. Br. III, 33, and Tâṇḍya Br. VIII, 2, 10; cf. Muir, Original Sanskrit Texts, IV, p. 45; I, p. 107. See also Sat. Br. II, 1, 2, 9, with note.

² The construction here is irregular. Perhaps this is part of the speech of the gods, being a kind of indirect address to Rudra in order to avoid naming the terrible god. Dr. Muir translates: ‘The gods said, “This god, who rules over the beasts, commits a transgression in that he acts thus to his own daughter, our sister: pierce him through.”’ In the Kâṇva MS. some words seem to have been omitted at this particular place. According to the Ait. Br., the gods created a god Bhûtavat, composed of the most fearful forms of theirs. After piercing the incarnation of Pragâpati’s sin, he asked, and obtained, the boon that he should henceforth be the ruler of cattle.

³ Viz., Rig-veda X, 61, 7, where verses 5–7 contain the first allusion to this legend.

⁴ The âgnimâruta is one of the *sâstras* recited at the evening libation of the Soma-sacrifice; and made up chiefly of a hymn addressed to Agni Vaisvânara and one to the Maruts; and [following the stotriya and anurûpa pragâtha] a hymn to Gâtavedas; [and one to the Âpas, followed by various detailed

this it is set forth how the gods caused that seed to spring¹. When the anger of the gods subsided, they cured Pragâpati and cut out that dart of this (Rudra); for Pragâpati, doubtless, is this sacrifice.

5. They said (to one another), 'Think of some means by which that (part of the sacrifice torn out with the dart) may not be lost, and how it may be but a small portion of the offering itself!'

6. They said, 'Take it round to Bhaga (Savitri, the Patron), who sits on the south side (of the sacrificial ground): Bhaga will eat it by way of fore-portion², so that it may be as though it were offered. They accordingly took it round to Bhaga, who sat on the south side. Bhaga (Savitri) looked at it: it burnt out his eyes³. And thus it came to pass. Hence they say, 'Bhaga is blind.'

7. They said, 'It has not yet become appeased here: take it round to Pûshan!' They accordingly

verses or couplets]; viz., Rig-veda III, 3, 'vaisvânârâya prîthupâgase,' &c., and I, 87, 'pratvakshasa^h pratavaso,' &c.; [Rig-veda I, 168, 1-2, stotriya; VII, 16, 11-12, anurûpa]; and Rig-veda I, 143, 'pratavyasîm navyasîm,' &c. (and X, 9, 'âpo hi shîhâ mayobhuvas,' &c.) respectively, at the Agnishôma (and first day of the dvâdasâha). See Âsv. Sr. V, 20, 5; Ait. Br. III, 35; IV, 30.

¹ According to Ait. Br. III, 35, where this legend is also given in connection with the âgnimâruta sâstra, Agni Vaisvânara, aided by the Maruts, stirred (and heated) the seed; and out of it sprang successively Âditya (the sun), Bhrîgu, and the Âdityas; whilst the coals (aṅgâra) remaining behind became the Aṅgiras, and Brihaspati, and the coal dust, the burnt earth and ashes were changed into various kinds of animals. According to Harisvâmin it would seem that our passage has to be understood to the effect that the composition of the âgnimâruta sâstra shows the order of beings which the gods caused to spring forth from the seed. See also IV, 5, 1, 8.

² See note on I, 7, 4, 18.

³ 'Nirdadâha.' The Kaushît. Br. VI, 10 (Ind. Stud. II, 306) and Yâska Nir. 12, 14 have nirgaghâna, 'it knocked out his eyes.' The Kaushît. Br. also makes them first take the prâsitra to Savitri, and when it cut his hands, they gave him two golden ones.

took it round to Pûshan. Pûshan tasted it: it knocked out his teeth. And thus it came to pass. Hence they say, 'Pûshan is toothless;' and therefore, when they prepare a mess of boiled rice (*kāru*)¹ for Pûshan, they prepare it from ground rice, as is done for one toothless.

8. They said, 'It has not yet become appeased here: take it round to *Bṛihaspati*!²' They accordingly took it round to *Bṛihaspati*. *Bṛihaspati* hastened to *Savitri* for his impulsion (influence, *prasava* ³), for assuredly *Savitri* is the impeller (*prasavitri*) of the gods. 'Impel (influence) this for me!' he said. *Savitri*, as the impeller, accordingly impelled it for him, and being thus impelled by *Savitri*, it did not injure him: and thus it was henceforth appeased. This, then, is essentially the same as the fore-portion.

9. Now when he cuts off the fore-portion, he cuts out what is injured in the sacrifice,—what belongs to Rudra. Thereupon he touches water: water is (a means) of lustration, hence he lustrates by means of water ⁴. He now cuts off piece by piece the *idâ* ⁵, (which represents) cattle.

¹ *Kāru*, in the ordinary sense of the word, is a potful of rice (barley, &c.) grains boiled, or rather steamed (*antarûshmapakva*), so as to remain whole, as in Indian curry. Cf. Weber, Ind. Stud. IX, p. 216.

² According to Kaushît. Br. VI, 10, they took it from Pûshan to Indra, as the mightiest and strongest of the gods; and he appeased it with prayer (*brahman*); whence the Brahman (in taking the *prâsitra*) says, 'Indra is Brahman.' Weber, Ind. Stud. II, p. 307.

³ The consistent use of derivations from one and the same root (*pra-su*) in this and similar passages is, of course, quite as artificial in Sanskrit as must be any imitation of it in English.

⁴ He thereby averts the evil effects of the act which is connected with Rudra, 'the terrible god;' see p. 2, note 2. Besides, the *idâ* with which he now proceeds representing the cattle, he thereby guards the cattle from the *rudriya*, cf. above I, 7, 3, 21.

⁵ See I, 8, 1, 12, 13.

10. Let him cut off (for the fore-portion) ever so small a piece¹: thus the dart comes out; let him therefore cut off ever so small a piece. He should (according to some) put clarified butter on one side only, either below or above: thus that which is hard becomes soft and flows forth; and for this reason he should put butter on one side only, either below or above.

11. Having (nevertheless²) made an underlayer of butter³ and a double cutting from the oblation (havis), he pours butter on the upper side of it; for it is only in this way that this becomes part of the sacrifice.

12. Let him not carry it (to the Brahman) along the front (east) side (of the Āhavantya fire); (though) some, it is true, do carry it along the front side. For on the front side stand the cattle facing the sacrificer: hence he would impose the power of Rudra on the cattle, if he were to carry it along the front side, and his (the sacrificer's) household and cattle would be overwhelmed. Let him therefore cross over in this way (behind the paridhis); for thus he does not impose Rudra's power on the cattle and he removes that (dart) sideways⁴.

¹ According to Kāty. III, 4, 7, the prâsitra, or (Brahman's) fore-portion, is to be of the size of a barley-corn or a pippala (*Ficus Religiosa*) berry.

² There is no indication in the text of two different practices being here referred to. The Kânva recension, however, puts in here, 'but let him not do so,' which is evidently understood in our text also.

³ Viz. in the prâsitraharaṇa, or pan which is to receive the Brahman's portion. The hollow part of the vessel is to be either of the shape of a (hand-)mirror, i. e. with a round bowl, or of that of a kâmasa or jug, i. e. with a square bowl (p. 7, note 1). Kāty. I, 3, 40, 41. On the 'underlayer' of butter, see I, 7, 2, 8.

⁴ 'Tiryag evainam nirmimîte.' I am in doubt as to whether

13. He (the Brahman) receives¹ it, with the text (Vâg. S. II, 11 b, c), 'At the impulse (prasava) of the divine Savitri I receive thee with the arms of the Asvins, with the hands of Pûshan!'

14. And in like manner as Brîhaspati then hastened to Savitri for his impulsion,—for, assuredly, Savitri is the impeller of the gods,—and said, 'Impel this for me!' and Savitri, the impeller, impelled it for him; and, impelled by Savitri, it did not injure him; so now also this one (the Brahman) hastes to Savitri for his impulsion,—for, assuredly, Savitri is the impeller of the gods,—and says 'impel this for me!' and Savitri, the impeller, impels it for him; and, impelled by Savitri, it does not injure him.

15. He eats² the fore-portion, with the text (Vâg. S. II, 11 d), 'With Agni's mouth I eat thee!' for Agni, assuredly, it does not injure in any way; and so neither does it injure him (the Brahman).

16. He must not chew it with his teeth: 'lest this power of Rudra should injure my teeth!' so (he thinks), and therefore he must not chew it with his teeth.

17. He then rinses his mouth with water;—water is (a means of) purification: hence he purifies himself with water, (that is, a means of) purification. After he has rinsed the vessel³,—

enam (which is omitted in the Kâṇva text) really refers to Rudra's dart. Cf. par. 9.

¹ According to Kâty. II, 2, 15, he first looks at it, with the text (Vâg. S. p. 58): 'With Mitra's eye I look on thee!'

² According to Kâty. II, 2, 17, he previously puts it down on the shoulder of the altar, with the text (Vâg. S. p. 58), 'I put you down on the navel of the earth, in the lap of Aditi!' According to 19, however, this is optional (except when the Brahman does not eat the prâsitra immediately).

³ According to Kâty. II, 2, 20, the Brahman, having rinsed the

18. They bring him the Brahman's portion¹. The Brahman, in truth, sits south of the sacrifice, as its guardian. He sits facing that portion. As regards the fore-portion, that they have already brought to him and he has eaten it. In the Brahman's portion which they now bring to him, he obtains his own share; and henceforth he watches what remains incomplete of the sacrifice: for this reason they bring him the Brahman's portion.

19. He (the Brahman) must maintain silence (from the time he takes his seat on being elected)² up to that speech (of the Adhvaryu), 'Brahman, shall I step forward?' Those (priests) who, in the midst of the sacrifice, perform the *idā*, which represents the domestic offerings (*pākayagñā*)³, tear the sacrifice to pieces, injure it. Now the Brahman, assuredly, is the best physician: hence the Brahman thereby restores the sacrifice; but, if he were to sit there talking, he would not restore it: he must therefore maintain silence.

20. If he should utter any human sound before that time, let him there and then mutter some *Rik* or *Yagus*-text addressed to *Vishnu*; for *Vishnu* is

vessel [or, according to the comment, the two *prâsitraharana*, one of which is used as lid to the other], touches his navel, with the text (*Vâg. S. p. 58*), 'May the deities there are in the waters purify this! Enter the stomach of Indra, being offered with "Hail!" Mix not with my food! Settle down above my navel! In Indra's stomach I make thee settle!'

¹ The Brahman's regular portion (*brahmabhâga*) of the sacrificial food is cut, like the *prâsitra* or fore-portion (which apparently he receives as the representative of *Bṛihaspati*), from Agni's cake.

² See I, 1, 4, 9.

³ According to the scholiast, it represents the *pākayagñā* or domestic (cooked) offerings, because at the latter, as in the *idā*, the remains of the offerings are eaten.

the sacrifice, so that he thereby again obtains a hold on the sacrifice: and this is the expiation of that (breach of silence).

21. When he (the Adhvaryu) says, 'Brahman, shall I step forward?' the Brahman mutters thus (Vâg. S. II, 12), 'This thy sacrifice, O divine Savitri, they have announced . . .',—thereby he has recourse to Savitri for his impulsion (prasava), for he is the impeller (prasavitri) of the gods;—'to Brihaspati, the Brahman,'—for Brihaspati, assuredly, is the Brahman of the gods: hence he announces that (sacrifice) to him who is the Brahman of the gods; and accordingly he says, 'to Brihaspati, the Brahman.'—'Therefore prosper the sacrifice, prosper the lord of sacrifice, prosper me!' In this there is nothing that requires explanation.

22. [He continues, Vâg. S. II, 13]: 'May his mind delight in the gushing (of the) butter¹!' By the mind, assuredly, all this (universe) is obtained (or pervaded, âptam): hence he thereby obtains this All by the mind.—'May Brihaspati spread (carry through) this sacrifice! May he restore the sacrifice uninjured!'—he thereby restores what was torn asunder.—'May all the gods rejoice here!'—'all the gods,' doubtless, means the All: hence he thereby restores (the sacrifice) by means of the All. He may add, 'Step forward!' if he choose; or, if he choose, he may omit it.

¹ ? 'Mano gûtir [gyotir, Kāṇva rec.] gushatâm âgyasya.' I am inclined to read gûtir [cf. Ath.-veda XIX, 58, 1: ghrîtasya gûtiḥ samânâ]. Mahîdhara interprets: 'May the rushing (eager) mind devote itself to the butter!' Hillebrandt, Neu-und Vollmondsopfer, p. 135, apparently proposes to combine manogûtir 'des Geistes Schnelligkeit.' Perhaps gushatâm has to be taken in a transitive sense: 'May the gushing of the butter delight the mind.'

EIGHTH ADHYÂYA. FIRST BRÂHMANA.

THE IḌĀ.

1. In the morning they brought to Manu¹ water for washing, just as now also they (are wont to) bring (water) for washing the hands. When he was washing himself, a fish came into his hands.

2. It spake to him the word, 'Rear me, I will save thee!' 'Wherefrom wilt thou save me?' 'A flood will carry away all these creatures²: from that I will save thee!' 'How am I to rear thee?'

3. It said, 'As long as we are small, there is great destruction for us: fish devours fish. Thou wilt first keep me in a jar. When I outgrow that, thou wilt dig a pit and keep me in it. When I outgrow that, thou wilt take me down to the sea, for then I shall be beyond destruction.'

4. It soon became a *gḥasha* (a large fish); for that grows largest (of all fish)³. Thereupon it said, 'In such and such a year that flood will come. Thou

¹ For other translations of this important legend of the deluge, see A. Weber, *Ind. Streifen*, I, p. 9 (*Ind. Stud.* I, 161 seq.); Max Müller, *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 425; J. Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, I, p. 182. For the later versions of the same legend, especially the one from the *Mahābhārata* (*Vanaparvan* 12747-12802), see *Original Sanskrit Texts*, I, p. 196 seq.

² According to the scholiast, 'it will carry away all these creatures that live in Bharatavarsha to some other country.'

³ ? *Sasvad dha gḥasha āsa, sa hi gyesh/ham vardhate 'thetithīm samām tad augha āgantā.* 'Bald war er ein Grossfisch (*gḥasha*), denn er wuchs gewaltig,' Weber. 'He became soon a large fish. He said to Manu, "When I am full-grown, in the same year the flood will come,"' Max Müller. 'Straightway he became a large fish; for he waxes to the utmost,' Muir. Perhaps *gḥasha* is here intended for the name of some fabulous horned fish (cf. *srīngi*, *srīngī*). In the Black Yagur-veda (*Taitt. S.* I, 7, 1; II, 6, 7) the

shalt then attend to me (i.e. to my advice) by preparing a ship¹; and when the flood has risen thou shalt enter into the ship, and I will save thee from it.'

5. After he had reared it in this way, he took it down to the sea. And in the same year which the fish had indicated to him, he attended to (the advice of the fish) by preparing a ship; and when the flood had risen, he entered into the ship. The fish then swam up to him, and to its horn he tied the rope of the ship, and by that means he² passed swiftly up to yonder northern mountain.

6. It then said, 'I have saved thee. Fasten the ship to a tree; but let not the water cut thee off³, whilst thou art on the mountain. As the water

iḍā is represented as a cow, produced by Mitra and Varuṇa (see below, par. 24). Perhaps it was this version and the symbolical representation of the *iḍā* as meaning cattle, which suggested the notion of a horned fish, in adapting an older legend.

¹ I adopt here, though not without hesitation, the interpretation proposed in the St. Petersburg. Dict. (s.v. *upa-ās*), which the separation of *mām* from the verb favours. Professor Max Müller translates: 'Build a ship then, and worship me.' Dr. Muir: 'Thou shalt, therefore, construct a ship, and resort to me.' The *Mahābhārata* has: 'When standing on the ship, thou shalt look out for me: I shall be recognisable (by my being) furnished with a horn,' which, after all, may furnish the correct explanation of our passage.

² Or, 'it,' that is, either the ship, or the fish. That a *bhi-dudrāva*, the reading of the Kāṇva school, is the right one, seems to follow from the next paragraph. Professor Weber's edition has *ati-dudrāva*, as read by his best MS., 'it (or he) sailed across the mountain.' The reading of the other MSS. *adhi-dudrāva* must be a clerical error, most likely for *abhi-dudrāva*. Professor Müller translates: 'The fish carried him by it over the northern mountain.' Dr. Muir: 'By this means he passed over (or, he hastened to) this northern mountain.'

³ *Antaskāitsit*, ? 'cut thee asunder,' Max Müller; 'wash thee away;' 'fortspült,' Weber; 'abschneiden, intercludere,' St. Petersburg. Dict. I adopt this last meaning, = 'leave thee stranded.'

subsides, thou mayest gradually descend!’ Accordingly he gradually descended, and hence that (slope) of the northern mountain is called ‘Manu’s descent’¹. The flood then swept away all these creatures, and Manu alone remained here.

7. Being desirous of offspring, he engaged in worshipping and austerities. During this time he also performed a pāka-sacrifice: he offered up in the waters clarified butter, sour milk, whey, and curds. Thence a woman was produced in a year: becoming quite solid² she rose; clarified butter gathered in her footprint. Mitra and Varuṇa met her.

8. They said to her, ‘Who art thou?’ ‘Manu’s daughter,’ she replied. ‘Say (thou art) ours,’ they said. ‘No,’ she said, ‘I am (the daughter) of him who begat me.’ They desired to have a share in her. She either agreed or did not agree³, but passed by them. She came to Manu.

9. Manu said to her, ‘Who art thou?’ ‘Thy daughter,’ she replied. ‘How, illustrious one, (art thou) my daughter?’ he asked. She replied,

¹ According to the version of the Mahābhārata, ‘the peak of the Himālaya to which the ship was tied, was afterwards called nau-bandhana, ‘the tying of the ship.’ Professor Weber also draws attention to Ath.-veda XIX, 39, 8, where the term nāvaprabhram-sana or ‘gliding down of the ship’ is used in connection with the summit of the Himavat.

² Pibdamānā-iva, as taken by the St. Petersburg Dict. The meaning ‘dripping with fat, unctuous,’ offered by the commentator, was probably suggested to him by what follows in the text; and by the cow-version (p. 216, note 3), Taitt. Br. II, 6, 7, 1.

³ Or, as the commentator takes it, ‘she both promised and did not promise it;’ that is to say, she promised, inasmuch as she (Idā) is called maitrāvaruṇī (belonging to, or the daughter of, Mitra or Varuṇa; see XIV, 9, 4, 27), but refused, inasmuch as Mitra and Varuṇa have no share in the idā portions.

‘Those offerings (of) clarified butter, sour milk, whey, and curds, which thou madest in the waters, with them thou hast begotten me. I am the blessing (benediction): make use of me at the sacrifice! If thou wilt make use of me at the sacrifice, thou wilt become rich in offspring and cattle. Whatever blessing thou shalt invoke through me, all that shall be granted to thee!’ He accordingly made use of her (as the benediction) in the middle of the sacrifice; for what is intermediate between the fore-offerings and the after-offerings, is the middle of the sacrifice.

10. With her he went on worshipping and performing austerities, wishing for offspring. Through her he generated this race, which is this race of Manu; and whatever blessing he invoked through her, all that was granted to him.

11. Now this (daughter of Manu) is essentially the same as the *Idā*; and whosoever, knowing this, performs with (the) *Idā*¹, he propagates this race which Manu generated; and whatever blessing he invokes through it (or her), all that is granted to him.

12. It (the *idā*) consists of a fivefold cutting; for the *idā*, doubtless, means cattle, and cattle consist of five parts²: for this reason it (the *idā*) consists of a fivefold cutting.

13. When he (the Adhvaryu) has cut off the *idā* piece by piece³, and broken off the fore-part of the

¹ *Idāyā karati* has the double meaning ‘lives with *Idā* (the woman)’ and ‘practices sacrificial rites with the *idā*-ceremony.’

² See p. 16, note 1.

³ The technical expression used for this fivefold cutting of the *idā* is *sam-ava-do*, ‘to cut off completely (or together),’ or, according to the St. Petersburg Dict., ‘to divide and collect the

cake (for the sacrificer's portion), he puts it (the latter) down (on the barhis) before the dhruvâ-spoon. Having then handed over the former (the *idâ*) to the *Hotri*¹, he passes by him towards the south.

14. He anoints the *Hotri* here² (with clarified butter taken from the *idâ*); and with it the *Hotri* anoints his lips, with the text, 'Of thee, offered by the lord of the mind, I eat for sap, for out-breathing!'

15. He then anoints the *Hotri* here²; and with it the *Hotri* anoints his lips, with the text, 'Of thee, offered by the lord of speech, I eat for strength, for in-breathing!'

16. At that time, namely, Manu became apprehensive (thinking), 'This (part) of my sacrifice—that is, this *idâ* representing the domestic offering—is certainly the weakest: the Rakshas must not

pieces.' The five cuttings of the *idâ* consist of the *upastarava*, or underlayer of butter in the *idâpâtri*; of two cuttings of each of the *havis* (or dishes of sacrificial food) from their southern and central parts respectively; and of two drippings (or bastings, *abhigârava*) of butter, as in the case of the *svishâkrî* (see *Kâty.* III, 4, 6, and note on I, 7, 3, 20). According to some authorities, the *idâ* consists of four cuttings only (cf. Hillebrandt, *Neu- und Vollm.* p. 122).

¹ According to *Katy.* III, 4, 8, 9, he does so without quitting his hold of the *idâ*; and he withdraws the latter from the *Hotri*, when he anoints him.

² A gesture here indicated the two middle joints (or, according to *Harisvâmin*, the intermediate links) of the *Hotri*'s right fore-finger, viz. first the lower joint, and afterwards (par. 15) the upper joint; whereupon the *Hotri* applies the respective joints to his lips and smears the butter on them, cf. *Âsv. S.* I, 7, 1; *Kâty.* III, 4, 9; Hillebrandt, *op. cit.*, p. 124. In *Sat. Br.* XII, 2, 4, 5 the fore-finger is called *annâditamâ*, or the finger 'which eats most food;' cf. Weber, *Pratigñāsūtra*, p. 97.

injure my sacrifice at this place.' Accordingly by that (butter, taken from the *idā*, and smeared on his lips) he promoted it (the *idā* to a safe place, thinking), 'Before the Rakshas (come)! before the Rakshas (come)!' And in like manner this one also thereby promotes (the *idā* to a safe place, thinking), 'Before the Rakshas (come)! before the Rakshas (come)!' And though he does not (at present) eat (the *idā*) visibly, lest he should eat it before it is invoked, he nevertheless promotes it (to a safe place), when he smears the (butter) on his lips.

17. He now cuts off piece by piece (the *avântaredā*) in (or, into) the *Hotri*'s hand. That which is cut up piece by piece he thus makes visibly enter¹ the *Hotri*; and through that which has entered (or is cooked in) his own self, the *Hotri* invokes a blessing on the sacrificer: for this reason he cuts it off piece by piece in the *Hotri*'s hand².

18. He now calls³ (the *idā*) in a low voice. At that time, namely, Manu became apprehensive (thinking), 'This (part) of my sacrifice—that is, this *idā*

¹ *Enām hotari srayati*, literally 'he makes it enter into, remain in, the *Hotri*.' The author, however, here, as in I, 6, 4, 7, mixes up the verb *sri* with *srâ*, 'to cook.' The reason for this see p. 177, note 4.

² This, according to *Āsv. Sr. I, 7, 3*, and comm., is effected in the following way: the *Hotri* takes the *idā* with his joined hands (*añgali*) and makes it lie in his left hand; whereupon the *Adhvaryu* cuts the (fivefold cut) *avântaredā* from the *idā* into the *Hotri*'s right hand, the fingers of which point northwards; the five cuttings apparently consist of the 'underlayer' of butter, two pieces cut from the *idā*, and drippings of butter on them. Cf. Hillebrandt, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

³ During the invocation of the *idā* the *Hotri* holds the butter (as well as the *avântaredā*), and the other priests (except the *Brahman*) and the sacrificer touch the *idā* (or, according to *Karka*, the *Hotri*). *Kāty. III, 4, 11. 12.*

representing the domestic offerings—is certainly the weakest: the Rakshas must not injure my sacrifice at this place.’ He accordingly called it to him in a low voice (thinking), ‘Before the Rakshas (come)! before the Rakshas (come)!’ And in like manner this one (the Hotri) thereby calls it (thinking), ‘Before the Rakshas (come)! before the Rakshas (come)!’

19. He calls thus (in a low voice)¹, ‘Hither is called the Rathantara (chant), together with the earth: may the Rathantara, together with the earth, call me²! Hither is called the Vâmadevya (chant), together with the atmosphere: may the Vâmadevya, together with the atmosphere, call me! Hither is called the Brihat (chant), together with the sky: may the Brihat, together with the sky, call me!’ In thus calling her (the Idâ) to him, he calls to him both these (three) worlds and those chants³.

20. ‘Hither are called the cows⁴, together with the

¹ There are considerable differences between the text of the Hotri’s call to the idâ as here given and that given in Âsv. S. I, 7, 7. The text of the Black Yagur-veda (Taitt. Br. III, 5, 8; Taitt. S. II, 6, 7; I, 7, 1), on the other hand, only differs from ours in one or two points. According to Âsv. S. I, 5, 28, the calls are to be uttered in the highest pitch (cf. Hillebrandt, Neu- und Vollmondsopfer, p. 126, note).

² Viz. the Hotri, as the representative of the officiating priests. Schol.

³ On the rathantara and brihat sâmans, see p. 196, note 2. The vâmadevya sâman is Sâma-veda II, 32–34: kayâ nas âitra â bhuvaḍ ūti sadâvridhaḥ sakhâ, ‘with what favour will he assist us, the wonderful, ever-gladdening, friend,’ &c. Cf. Haug, Ait. Br. II, 246.

⁴ For upahûtâ gâvaḥ, the Taitt. reads upahûtâ dhenuḥ, ‘called hither is the cow.’ Ârval. Sr. has upahûtâ gâvaḥ sahâsiraḥ—upahûtâ dhenuḥ saharishabhâ. Here and after the succeeding calls we have apparently to supply the inverse formulas, ‘May

bull!—the *idā*, assuredly, means cattle : hence it is her he thereby calls in an indirect (mystic) way; (and in saying), 'together with the bull,' he calls her together with her mate.

21. 'Hither is called (*Idā*) by that (sacrifice) which is performed by the seven *Hotris*!'—he thereby calls her by the Soma-sacrifice performed by the seven *Hotris*¹.

22. 'Hither is called *Idā*, the conquering!'—he thereby calls her directly. 'Conquering' he says, because she overcomes evil, and for that reason he calls her 'the conquering.'

23. 'Hither is called the friend, the food²!'—the friend, the food, doubtless, means breath : hence he thereby calls hither the breath. 'Hither is called the *Hek*!'—he thereby calls hither the body (of *idā*), he thereby calls hither the entire (*idā*).

24. He now intones (in a loud voice): '*Idā* is called hither! Hither (thither) is called *Idā*! May *Idā* also call us to her!' In saying, '*Idā* is called

the cows together with the bull call us,' &c., as in *Taitt. Br.*, they being likewise omitted in *Taitt. S. II*, 6, 7.

¹ The seven *Hotris* comprise the *Hotri* with his assistants, the *Maitrāvaruṇa* (or *Prasāstri*), and *Akṣhāvāka*; and the chief assistants of the Brahman, viz. the *Brāhmanākkhamsin*, *Āgnīdhra*, *Potri*, and *Neshtri*. The *Grāvastut*, another assistant of the *Hotri*, is often added as eighth *Hotri*. Cf. *Haug, Ait. Br. II*, p. 147. Instead of *upahūtā saptahotrā* in our text, the *Kāṇva* text and the Black *Yagur-veda* read *upahūtāḥ saptahotrāḥ*, 'called hither are the seven *Hotri*ships;' *Āsval. Sr.* *upahūtā divyā sapta hotāraḥ*, 'called hither are the seven divine *Hotris*.'

² *Bhaksha*, 'the eating, enjoying;' perhaps the author here takes it in the sense of 'feeder,' in that of 'eater, quaffer;' *Sâyana*, on *Taitt. S. II*, 6, 7, 3, takes it as Soma-drink (*somapīṭha*).

³ Apparently, like *hikkā* (verb *hikk*), imitative of the internal sound of the hiccough. The *Kāṇva* MS. has *harik* instead; and the Black *Yagur* *ho*, which it identifies with the self (*âtman*).

hither,' he, in a direct way, calls her, who is thereby called hither, as being what she really was : a cow, assuredly, she was, and a cow is four-footed ; and therefore he calls her four times¹.

25. But in calling her four times, he calls her in different ways, in order to avoid repetition (of sacrificial performance) ; for, if he were to call, 'Idā is called hither ! Idā is called hither !' or 'Hither is called Idā ! hither is called Idā !' he would indeed commit the (fault of) repetition. By saying, 'Idā is called hither !' he calls her hitherwards ; and by 'Hither (or thither, lit. called to somebody) is called Idā !' he calls her thitherwards. By saying, 'May Idā also call us to her,' he does not omit himself, and, besides, it (the formula) is changed. By (the second), 'Idā is called hither !' he again calls her hitherwards ; so that he thereby (and by the second, 'Hither is called Idā,' again) calls her hitherwards and thitherwards.

26. 'Manu's daughter, the butter-pathed (ghṛīta-padī) ;'—Manu, indeed, begat her of old : for this reason he says, 'Manu's daughter.' 'The butter-pathed' he says, because butter gathered in her foot-print : therefore he calls her 'butter-pathed.'

27. And further, 'She who belongs to Mitra and Varuṇa ;'—this 'Maitrāvaruṇa nature' (is hers), because she met Mitra and Varuṇa².—'She, the god-fashioned one, is called hither as the Brahman³ ;'

¹ After 'May Idā also call us to her,' he repeats 'Idā is called hither ! Called hither (thither) is Idā !'

² See I, 8, 1, 7-8, with note 3.

³ Brahṁā devakṛitopahūtā ; the Black Yagur-veda and Âśval. Sr. read 'brahma devakṛitam upahūtam.' Cf. Taitt. S. I, 7, 1, 5, brahma vai devânâm brîhaspatiḥ.

for she, the god-fashioned one, is indeed called hither as their Brahman.—‘Hither are called the divine Adhvaryus, called hither the human!’—he thereby calls both the divine Adhvaryus and those that are human: the divine Adhvaryus indeed are the calves¹ (vatsâḥ), and what others there are, are the human ones.

28. ‘—They who are to prosper this sacrifice, they who are to prosper the lord of sacrifice.’ Those Brâhmanas, who have studied and teach the Veda, assuredly prosper the sacrifice, since they spread (perform) and produce it: these he thereby propitiates. And the calves also assuredly make the lord of sacrifice prosper; for the lord of sacrifice who possesses abundance of them, does indeed prosper; for this reason he says, ‘They who are to prosper the lord of sacrifice.’

29. ‘Hither are called the primeval, law-abiding, divine (fem.) heaven and earth, whose sons are gods.’ He thereby calls to him those two, heaven and earth, within which all this (universe) is embraced.—‘Hither is called this sacrificer:’ thereby he calls the sacrificer to him. Why he does not mention his name on this occasion, is that this is a mysterious benediction on the *idâ*. Were he, on the contrary, to mention the name, he would do what is human, and the human certainly is inauspicious at the sacrifice: hence he does not mention

¹ ? The commentator remarks: ‘He says, The divine Adhvaryus assuredly are the calves,’ because, in his opinion, the sânnâyya constitutes the sacrificial food which contains the Adhvaryus (havis—adhvaryuvat). In I, 1, 2, 17 we met with the Asvins as the two divine Adhvaryus.

the name, lest he should do what is inauspicious at the sacrifice¹.

30. 'Hither (he is) called for future worship of the gods;' he thereby in a mysterious manner invokes the blessing of life on this (sacrificer); for as he sacrificed heretofore, so, while living, he will sacrifice hereafter.

31. Moreover, he thereby in a mysterious manner invokes the blessing of offspring for him; for whosoever has offspring,—while he, on his part, goes to yonder world, his offspring sacrifice in this world: hence future worship of the gods means offspring.

32. Moreover, he thereby in a mysterious manner invokes the blessing of cattle for him; for whosoever has cattle, will sacrifice hereafter, as he has sacrificed heretofore.

33. 'Hither (he is) called for more abundant havis-offering;' he thereby in a mysterious manner invokes the blessing of life on him; for as he has sacrificed heretofore, so while living will he hereafter again and again make offerings.

34. Moreover, he thereby in a mysterious manner invokes the blessing of offspring for this (sacrificer); for whosoever possesses offspring,—though he, of his own self, be one only, yet that offering is made tenfold by his offspring: hence offspring means more abundant offering.

35. Moreover, he thereby in a mysterious manner invokes the blessing of cattle for him; for whosoever possesses cattle, will make offering again and again, as he has sacrificed heretofore.

36. This then is the benediction (implied in these formulas), 'May I live, may I have offspring, may

¹ With this and the following paragraphs cf. I, 9, 1, 12 seq.

I obtain prosperity!’ Now in praying for the blessing of cattle, he prays for prosperity; for cattle means prosperity: hence through these two benedictions everything is obtained; and therefore these two benedictions are here pronounced.

37. [He continues to call], ‘Hither (he is) called to this (sacrifice, for the prayer¹), “May the gods graciously accept this my offering (havis!)”’ he thereby invokes complete success on the sacrifice; for what offering the gods graciously accept, by that one gains great things: for this reason he says, ‘may they graciously accept².’

38. They (the priests and sacrificer) eat it (the *idâ*), and do not offer it up in the fire; for assuredly the *idâ* means cattle: hence they do not offer it in the fire, lest they should throw the cattle into the fire.

39. In the vital airs rather it is offered, partly in the *Hotri*, partly in the *Sacrificer*, partly in the *Adhvaryu*. Now, when he has broken off the fore-part of the (*Agni*) cake, he places it before the *dhruvâ*-spoon. But the *dhruvâ* represents the sacrificer: hence this will be eaten by the sacrificer. And if he does not now visibly eat it, lest he should eat before the sacrifice is completed, it nevertheless is now (symbolically) eaten by him. All of them

¹ See Sâyana's comm. on Taitt. S. II, 6, 7, 6.

² Before this formula the Black Yagur-veda inserts, ‘Called (he is) to the heavenly abode!’ and after it as the final formula, ‘All that is dear to him (the sacrificer) is called! Called (he is) of (?by) everything dear that is called!’ Taitt. Br. III, 5, 9, 3. For the modifications of the concluding mantras in the case of the *idâ* being invoked for the mistress of the house (*Sat. Br. I, 9, 2, 5*), see Taitt. Br. III, 5, 13.

eat (of the *idā*): 'May it be offered for me in all!' thus (he thinks). Five eat of it,—the *idā* indeed means cattle, and cattle are fivefold: hence five eat of it.

40. Now when he (the *Hotri*) intones (in a loud voice)¹, he (the *Adhvaryu*) divides the (*Agni*) cake into four parts, and lays it on the *barhis* (the sacrificial grass covering the altar). Here it lies in place of the fathers; for there are four intermediate quarters, and the intermediate quarters represent the fathers: for this reason he divides the cake into four parts, and lays it on the *barhis*².

¹ Viz. 'Idā is called hither!' see par. 24. According to Kāty. III, 4, 12, all (the other priests and the sacrificer, probably with the exception of the Brahman) touch the *idā* (or, according to Karka, they touch the *Hotri* who holds the *idā*) whilst the invocation of the *idā* takes place. The quartering of the cake, according to ib. 13, is done with the text, 'Make swell, O ruddy one! milk me life; milk me offspring; milk me cattle; milk me brahmahood; milk me kshatriyahood; milk me people! Fatten through the progeny, through the cattle of him who hates us, whom we hate!'

² According to Kāty. III, 4, 14, the *Adhvaryu* puts the four parts on the *barhis* and assigns one to each priest. But according to the commentary and to other Sūtras, it is the sacrificer who allocates the portions by laying them down so as to correspond with the four intermediate regions, commencing in the south-east (or *Agni's*) region, and saying, 'This for the Brahman,' 'This for the *Hotri*,' 'This for the *Adhvaryu*,' 'This for the *Agnīdh*.' The sacrificer then shifts his Brāhmanical cord from the right to the left shoulder, and while touching the four portions, and looking towards the south (the region of the fathers), murmurs (*Vāg. S. II, 31*), 'Here, O fathers, regale yourselves! Like bulls come hither (*āvriṣhāyadhvam*) each to his own share!' He then quits his hold of the portions, and murmurs, 'The fathers have regaled themselves: like bulls they came each to his own share!' See *Sat. Br. II, 4, 2, 20 seq.*; *Vāg. S. p. 57*. [The *Kāṇva* text of the *Brāhmana* does not mention the formulas here any more than does our author.] He then shifts the cord back on his left shoulder, touches water, and hands the portions to the priests for them to eat. Kāty. III, 4, 16-18.

41. And when he recites, 'Hither are called heaven and earth,' he hands it (the *śaḍavatta*¹) to the Âgnîdhra. The Âgnîdhra eats (the two pieces), with the respective texts (Vâg. S. II, 10-11), 'Hither is called mother Earth; may mother Earth call me to her! Agni (am I) by virtue of my Âgnîdhraship. Hail!' 'Hither is called father Heaven; may father Heaven call me to him! Agni (am I) by virtue of my Âgnîdhraship. Hail!' He, the Âgnîdhra, truly is the representative of heaven and earth, and therefore he eats (the *śaḍavatta*) in this manner.

42. And when (the *Hotri*) pronounces the benediction², then (the sacrificer) mutters (Vâg. S. II, 10 a), 'May Indra bestow on me that power of his! may abundant riches accrue to us! may there be blessings for us! may there be true blessings for us!' For indeed this is a receiving of blessings: hence what blessings the priests on this occasion invoke on him, those he thereby receives and makes his own.

43. [On the conclusion of the invocation and the eating³] they cleanse themselves (with water poured)

¹ Kâty. Sr. III, 4, 19. There is some uncertainty as to the particular time when the Adhvaryu cuts the *śaḍavatta*; cf. Hillebrandt, p. 123. Mahîdhara on Vâg. S. II, 10 remarks: When the *Hotri* pronounces the call to heaven and earth, then he (the Adhvaryu), having put one piece of each of the two cakes in (the two bowls of) the *Śaḍavatta* (vessel), gives it to the Agnîdh; and the latter eats it with the formulas 'Hither is called (the mother Earth),' &c. The 'six cuttings' of the *Śaḍavatta* consist of a piece of the Agni cake with an 'underlayer' and a dripping of butter for each of the two bowls of the *Śaḍavatta* dish.

² That is, the formula 'Hither is called the sacrificer,' see par. 29.

³ The priests eat first their quarter of the cake and then, with the sacrificer, their share of the *idâ*. The *Hotri* eats also the *avântaredâ*, with the text (Âsv. S. I, 7, 8), 'O *Idâ*, accept graciously our share!' &c.

through the two strainers (pavitra, 'purifier'). For they have now performed the *idâ*, which represents the domestic offerings; and thinking, 'Purified by the purifiers we will now perform what part of the sacrifice remains still unaccomplished,' they cleanse themselves with the strainers.

44. He (the Adhvaryu) then throws the two strainers on the *prastara*¹. The *prastara*, doubtless, represents the sacrificer, and the two strainers the out-breathing and in-breathing: hence he thereby invokes out-breathing and in-breathing on the sacrificer; and for this reason he throws the strainers on the *prastara*.

SECOND BRÂHMANA.

THE AFTER-OFFERINGS (ANUYÂGAS).

1. They now remove two burning *samidhs* (from the *Âhavantya* fire). That fire, indeed, is now worn out, (and therefore useless) for the after-offerings, since it has been carrying the sacrifice to the gods: 'Let us perform the after-offerings in such (fire) as is not out-worn!' thus they think, and for this reason they remove those two burning *samidhs* (from the fire).

2. Thereupon they again move them close (to the fire). Thereby they cause the fire to increase again and to be no longer out-worn: 'Let us perform what part of the sacrifice remains still unaccomplished in such (fire) as is not out-worn!' so think they, and for this reason they again move them close (to the fire).

3. He (the *Âgnîdhra*) then puts on the kindling-

¹ See I, 3, 2, 5 seq. The *Kânva* text omits this paragraph.

stick (which was reserved at the time of kindling)¹. He thereby kindles that (fire): 'Let us perform in the well-kindled (fire) what part of the sacrifice remains unaccomplished!' thus he thinks, and for this reason he puts on the samidh.

4. The Hotri consecrates it (the kindling-stick), with the formula (Vâg. S. II, 14 a), 'This, O Agni, is thy kindler; mayest thou grow and increase by it; and may we also grow and increase!' for even as before he recited over the fire when it was being kindled, so also now he recites. This is the Hotri's duty; but the sacrificer himself may pronounce the consecratory formula, if he think that the Hotri does not know it².

5. He (the Âgnîdhra) then sweeps (the fire) together. He thereby harnesses it: 'Thus harnessed, may it convey (to the gods) what part of the sacrifice still remains unaccomplished!' thus he thinks, and for this reason he sweeps it together. He sweeps

¹ See I, 4, 1, 38. The Adhvaryu takes the fresh stick (samidh), asks the permission of the Brahman to step forward for the after-offerings; and orders the Âgnîdhra to put the stick on, and trim, the fire. Whilst the Brahman mutters his formula (Vâg. S. II, 12-13), 'This thy sacrifice, O divine Savitri, they proclaimed to Brihaspati, the Brahman,' &c. (see I, 7, 4, 21), the Âgnîdhra executes the Adhvaryu's orders. Kâty. III, 5, 1; II, 2, 21.

² That is to say (as would appear), if the Hotri follows a school which does not recognise this particular ceremony as belonging to the Hotri's ritual. Thus the Âśval. Sr. makes no mention of it, and hence a Hotri belonging to the Sâkala or Bâshkala sâkhâs would not undertake the recitation of this consecratory formula. The Sâṅkhây. Sr., on the other hand, does prescribe it (cf. Hillebrandt, Neu- und Vollm. p. 135, note 4), and a Hotri of the Kaushîtaki-sâkhâ would accordingly claim it as his privilege or duty to consecrate the samidh. For a somewhat different view, cf. Weber, Ind. Stud. X, 155; V, 408.

once (with the band of the fire-wood along each of the three enclosing-sticks); for thrice each time they swept for the gods on the former occasion¹: 'Lest we should do it in the same way as for the gods;' thus he thinks, and accordingly he sweeps once each time in order to avoid repetition (of sacrificial performance). Repetition he would undoubtedly commit, if he were to sweep thrice the first time and thrice the second: for this reason he sweeps once (along each stick).

6. He sweeps (each time), with the formula (*Vâg.* S. II, 14 b), 'O Agni, food-gainer, I cleanse thee, the food-gainer, who hast hastened to the food!' On the former occasion he said, 'thee who art about to hasten (to the food),' for on that occasion he was indeed about to hasten thither; now, however, he says, 'who hast hastened (to the food),' for now he has indeed hastened thither: for this reason he says 'thee who hast hastened.'

7. He now makes the after-offerings. Whatever gods he invokes by means of this sacrifice, and for whichever of them this sacrifice is performed, to all offering has now been made; and to all those to whom offering has been made, he now, after that, offers once more: hence the name 'after-offerings.'

8. Now this is why he makes the after-offerings. The after-offerings assuredly are the metres², and the metres are the cattle of the gods: hence as cattle, when harnessed, here convey (burdens) for men, so in like manner the metres, being harnessed,

¹ See I, 4, 4, 14. While, on the former occasion, the Âgnîdhra in sweeping moved round the fire, on the present occasion he remains standing on the north side of it. *Kâty.* III, 5, 4.

² See I, 3, 2, 8, 9.

convey the sacrifice to the gods. Now the occasion on which the metres gratified the gods, and for which the gods, in their turn, then gratified the metres, was when before this the metres, on being harnessed, conveyed the sacrifice to the gods and thereby gratified them.

9. And this again is why he makes the after-offerings. The after-offerings are the metres: hence he thereby gratifies the metres, and for this reason also he makes the after-offerings. By whatever team, therefore, he has himself drawn, that (team) he would thereby unyoke, saying, 'Give it to drink, feed it well!' and thus his team is propitiated.

10. In the first place he makes offering to the Barhis (sacrificial-grass covering). Though the smallest metre, the gâyatṛī is yoked first of the metres¹; and this on account of its strength, since, having become a falcon, it carried off the Soma from heaven². They consider it unseemly, however, that the gâyatṛī, being the smallest metre, should be yoked first of the metres; and the gods accordingly arranged the metres here, at the after-offerings, so as it ought to be, 'lest there should be a confusion.'

11. In the first place, then, he offers to the Barhis. The Barhis indeed is this world; the Barhis is the plants: hence he thereby bestows plants on this world, and these plants are firmly rooted in this world. Now this entire universe (*gagat*) is contained in this (metre), and therefore the latter is (called) *gagatī*: this is why they have placed the *gagatī* metre first.

12. In the second place he offers to *Narâsamsa*.

¹ See, for instance, I, 3, 4, 6.

² For this myth, see I, 7, 1, 1.

Now, *Narāśamsa* is the air. *Man* (*nara*), namely, means (human) being; and these same beings move about in the air speaking aloud. And when he (man) speaks, they say 'he chants (*sams*)'; and therefore *Narāśamsa* is the air¹. But the *trishṭubh* also is the air², and for this reason they have placed the *trishṭubh* second.

13. Then *Agni* is the last (to whom offering is made). *Agni* assuredly is the *gāyatrī*; and therefore they placed the *gāyatrī* last. In this way they established the metres in complete and proper order; and hence no confusion here takes place.

14. The *Adhvaryu*³ says (to the *Hotri*), 'Pro-
nounce the offering-prayer (*yāgyā*) to the gods!' and the *Hotri* (begins his prayer) at all (the three offerings) with 'The divine . . .'. For the metres assuredly are the gods of the gods, since they are their cattle, and cattle means a home, and a home is a safe resting-place. The after-offerings, doubtless, are the metres: therefore the *Adhvaryu* says, 'Pro-
nounce the offering-prayer to the gods!' and at all of them the *Hotri* begins with 'The divine . . .'⁴.

¹ That is, because *man* (*nara*) speaks, chants (*samsati*) in it.

² Either because both are in the middle (viz. the *trishṭubh* of the three chief metres, and the air between heaven and earth), or because they consist of eleven parts (viz. the *trishṭubh* of eleven syllables, and the air having ten directions, *Sat. Br.* VI, 2, 2, 34; VIII, 4, 2, 13, with itself as the eleventh), or because they are both connected with *Rudra*. *Comm.*

³ As on previous occasions, the *Adhvaryu* first calls on the *Āgnīdhra*, 'Bid (*Agni*) hear (*o srāvaya*)!' and the latter responds by 'Yea, may (he) hear (*astu srausha*)!' This is repeated before each of the two other after-offerings. See I, 5, 2, 16.

⁴ The drift of the argument of this paragraph is not quite clear to me. The after-offerings have for their deities the metres, and hence the latter are apparently called the deities of the deities, that is, of the

15. ['The divine Barhis (or *Narāsaṃsa*) may accept (the offering)] for abundant obtainment of abundant gift! [*Vaushat!*'] For a deity only the *vashat*-call is pronounced, to a deity only offering is made; but here at the after-offerings there is no (proper) deity¹. When he says 'The divine Barhis,' in this there is neither Agni, nor Indra, nor Soma; when he says 'The divine *Narāsaṃsa*,' neither is there in this anything whatever (of the nature of a god); and what Agni there is (in the third offering-prayer), he indeed is virtually the *gāyatrī*.

16. The reason, then, why he offers with the formula 'for abundant obtainment of abundant gift²,'

recipients of the offerings. The difference between the fore-offerings and after-offerings in regard to the offering-formula lies in this, that at the first fore-offering the *Adhvaryu*, in calling on the *Hotri*, names the particular object of the offering, viz. 'Pronounce the offering-prayer to the *samidhs*!' while for the remaining *prayāgas* he merely calls 'Pronounce the offering-prayer!' and the *Hotri* begins all his prayers (after the introductory *āgur*-formula) with the name of the respective recipient of the oblation. At the after-offering, on the other hand, the *Adhvaryu* calls each time, 'Pronounce the offering-prayer to the gods' (or, according to *Kāty.* III, 5, 8, optionally without 'to the gods,' the second and third times), and the *Hotri*'s prayers begin with 'The divine (*Barhis*, or *Narāsaṃsa*, or *Agni Svishṭakṛt*). . . ' See I, 5, 3, 8 seq.

¹ *Agni Svishṭakṛt*, the recipient of the third after-offering, is, as we saw, regarded as representing the *gāyatrī* metre.

² *Vasuvane vasudheyasya* (*vetu*); perhaps better, as *Sâyana*, on *Taitt. S.* II, 6, 9, takes it, 'May he partake of the gift of wealth for the (sacrificer's) obtainment of wealth.' 'For the wealth-desirer of wealth-gift' = 'for the desirer of wealth-possession,' *St. Petersburg Dict.* Our author apparently takes it in the sense of 'for the obtainer of wealth and for the receiver of wealth;' and *Mahādhara* (*Vāg. S.* XXII, 48; XXVIII, 12) interprets it 'for the giving (or obtainment) of wealth and for the depositing of treasure (i. e. for burying a treasure in the sacrificer's house!)' *Harisvāmin* takes *vasuvane* as vocative; but the accent is against his view.

is that Agni is the obtainer of wealth, and Indra is the recipient of wealth; and Indra and Agni are indeed the (joint) divinity of the metres: and in this way it is for a deity that the *vasha* is pronounced, and to a deity that the offering is made.

17. After he has made the last after-offering, he pours together (the butter which remains in the *upabhṛit* with that which attaches to the *guhû*), and offers it (by pouring it from the *guhû* in a line from west to east into the fire). For doubtless these are the after-offerings to the fore-offerings: hence even as there, at the fore-offerings¹, he makes the spiteful enemy pay tribute to the sacrificer, and the one to be consumed pay tribute to the consumer; so now he makes him pay tribute at the after-offerings.

THIRD BRÂHMANA.

SŪKTAVÂKA, SAMYUVÂKA, AND OFFERING OF REMAINS².

1. He now separates the two spoons (*guhû* and *upabhṛit*), with the text (*Vâg. S. II, 15 a*), 'May I be victorious after the victory of Agni and Soma! with the impetus of the (sacrificial) food I urge myself on.' With his right hand he moves the *guhû* eastwards (from its usual place on the *prastara*-bunch upon the altar), with the text (*ib. b*), 'May Agni and Soma drive him away who hates us, and whom

¹ See I, 5, 3, 18.

² The whole of the third *Brâhmana* is taken up with the duties of the *Adhvaryu* and *Âgnîdhra* at the three ceremonies: paragraphs 1-19 with those at the *sûktavâka*; pars. 20-22 with those at the *samyuvâka*; and pars. 23-27 with those at the offering of the remains (*samsrava*) of butter. The duties of the *Hotri* are then detailed in the fourth *Brâhmana*.

we hate! with the impetus of the (sacrificial) food I drive him away.' With his left hand he moves the upabhrîṭ westwards (from its place on the barhis to outside the altar):—Thus, if the sacrificer himself (does it)¹.

2. And if the Adhvaryu (does it, he says), 'May this sacrificer be victorious after the victory of Agni and Soma! with the impetus of the food I urge him on;' and, 'May Agni and Soma drive him away whom this sacrificer hates, and who hates him! with the impetus of the food I drive him away.' Thus he does at the full-moon sacrifice, because the full-moon offering belongs to Agni and Soma.

3. At the new-moon sacrifice, on the other hand, he uses the texts (ib. c, d), 'May I be victorious after the victory of Indra and Agni²! with the impetus of the food I urge myself on;' and, 'May Indra and Agni drive him away who hates us, and whom we hate! with the impetus of the food I drive him away:—Thus, if the sacrificer himself does it.

4. And if the Adhvaryu (does it, he says), 'May this sacrificer be victorious after the victory of Indra and Agni! with the impetus of the food I urge him on;' and, 'May Indra and Agni drive him away whom this sacrificer hates, and who hates him! with the impetus of the food I drive him away.' Thus he says at the new-moon sacrifice, because the new-

¹ In Taitt. Br. III, 3, 9 a different symbolical explanation is given of the separation of the spoons: it is said there that by shifting the guhû eastwards, he drives away the enemies that have been born; and by shifting the upabhrîṭ towards the west, he drives away those that will be born hereafter; and the sacrificer then stands firmly established in this world.

² See p. 162, note 3.

moon offering belongs to Indra and Agni. And in this manner he separates (the spoons) according to the respective deities. This is why he thus separates them :

5. Behind the *guhû* stands the sacrificer, and behind the *upabhṛit* stands he who means evil to him : hereby, then, he brings the sacrificer forward to the front (or east), and the one who means evil him he drives back (or towards the west). Behind the *guhû* stands the eater (enjoyer), and behind the *upabhṛit* the one to be eaten (enjoyed) : thus he now brings the eater (enjoyer) to the front, and the one to be eaten (enjoyed) he drives back.

6. Thus the separation (of the eater and the eaten) is effected in one and the same act ; and hence from one and the same man spring both the enjoyer (the husband), and the one to be enjoyed (the wife) : for now kinsfolk (*gât yâh*) live sporting and rejoicing together, saying, 'In the fourth (or) third man (i. e. generation) we unite¹.' And this is so in accordance with that (separation of the spoons).

¹ This passage is of considerable importance, as showing that the prohibition of intermarriage between near blood-relations,—so rigidly enforced in later times, and already formulated in passages such as *Âpast. Dharm. II, 5, 15, 16*, 'One must not give one's daughter to a man belonging to the same gotra. Nor to one related (within six degrees) on the mother's (or father's) side.' *Gobh. III, 4, 3-5*, 'One must take for one's wife one who is not of the same gotra, or one who is not *sapinda* to one's mother,'—was not as yet firmly established in our author's time. *Harisvâmin* remarks on our text, that the *Kâṇvas* allow intermarriage in such cases from the third generation—(the *Kâṇva* text of the *Sat. Br.* reads, 'In the third man we unite, in the fourth man we unite')—and the *Saurâshtras* from the fourth generation ; and that the *Dâkshinâtyas* allow marriage with daughters of the mother's brother,

7. Thereupon (the Adhvaryu) anoints the enclosing-sticks (paridhi) with (the butter attaching to) the *guhû*. With that (spoon) with which he has made offering to the gods, with which he has concluded the sacrifice, he thus gratifies the enclosing-sticks: this is why he anoints them with the *guhû*.

8. He anoints them (successively)¹, with the texts (Vâg. S. II, 16 a-c), 'For the Vasus thee!' 'For the Rudras thee!' 'For the Âdityas thee!' For these—to wit, the Vasus, Rudras, and Âdityas—are three (classes of) gods: 'for them (I anoint) thee,' he thereby says.

9. Thereupon, taking hold of the (middle) enclosing-stick, he calls (on the Âgnîdhra) to bid (them) listen²: thus (i.e. by touching the paridhi) it is for the enclosing-sticks that he calls for the *sraushat*. The *sraushat*-call assuredly is the sacrifice: hence he thereby expressly gladdens the enclosing-sticks by means of the sacrifice: for this reason he calls for the *sraushat*, while taking hold of the enclosing-stick.

10. Having called for the *sraushat* (and been responded to by the Âgnîdhra), he thus addresses (the Hotri), 'The divine Hotris³ are summoned—,' the divine Hotris, namely, are (represented by) these

and with sons of the father's sister. See Weber, Ind. Stud. X, p. 75; Max Müller, History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 387; Bühler, Sacred Laws of the Âryas, I, p. 126.

¹ Viz. in the order in which they were laid around, i.e. first the middle one, then the southern, and lastly the northern one. Kâty. III, 5, 24.

² The Adhvaryu calls on the Âgnîdhra with 'Make listen (o *srâvaya*); and the latter responds with 'Yea, may (one) listen! (*astu sraushat*). See I, 5, 2, 18 seq.

³ Sâyaṇa on Taitt. S. I, 1, 13 explains this by 'Impelled are the divine Hotris by the highest Lord (*paramesvara*).'

enclosing-sticks, since these are Agnis (fires)¹. When he says, 'the divine Hotriś are summoned (ishita),' he means to say, 'the divine Hotriś are wished for (ishṭa).' [He continues], '—for the proclamation of success²,'—for on this the gods themselves are indeed intent, to wit, that they should speak what is favourable (conducive to success, sādhu), that they should do what is favourable: hence he says 'for the proclamation of success.'—'The human one is called upon for the song of praise (sūktavāka)³!' by these words he urges on this human Hotriś to singing praises.

11. He now takes the prastara-bunch⁴. The prastara assuredly is the sacrificer: hence whither-soever his sacrifice went, thither he thereby wishes him good-speed⁵! Now it is to the world of the gods that his sacrifice went; and to the world of the gods accordingly he thereby takes the sacrificer.

¹ On the Agnis officiating as Hotriś, see I, 2, 3, 1.

² Thus Sâyana explains bhadravākya on Taitt. S. I, 1, 13 (vol. i. p. 233). For the Hotriś's formula itself, see Sat. Br. I, 9, 1, 4.

³ According to Kâty. III, 6, 1, and the other Sûtras, the Adhvaryu adds here sūktâ brûhi, 'recite the praises (hymns)!' which Sâyana on Taitt. Br. III, 6, 15 combines with the preceding sūktavākya, and explains thus: 'hotâ tvam sūktasya vâko vātanam yasya so 'yam devaḥ sūktavākaḥ (i. e. Agni, cf. Sat. Br. I, 9, 1, 4) tasmai sūktavākya devāya sūktâ brûhi, idam dyāvaprithivīm anuvākoktāni sobhanāni vātanāni kathaya (!);' but differently on Taitt. S. I, 1, 13, 'idam dyāvaprithivī bhadram abhūd (Taitt. Br. III, 5, 10) ityādy-anuvākaḥ sūktam, tasya vâko vātanam, tadartham mānusho hotâ preshitaḥ; ato hetoḥ, he hotas tat sūktam brûhi.'

⁴ The two stalks, called vidhrīti (separation), separating the prastara-bunch from the barhis or grass-covering of the altar (cf. I, 3, 4, 10), he puts back in the place whence they were taken. Kâty. III, 6, 4.

⁵ Svagâ, ? literally 'self-go,' i. e. 'success to him!'

12. Should he desire rain, let him take up (the prastara), with this text (Vâg. S. II, 16 d), "Be ye in harmony with each other, O heaven and earth!" for when heaven and earth are in harmony with each other, then indeed it rains¹: for this reason he says, 'be ye in harmony with each other, O heaven and earth!'—'May Mitra and Varuṇa favour thee with rain!' whereby he says, 'may he who rules over the rain favour thee with rain!' Now he that rules over the rain is undoubtedly that blowing one (Vâyu, the wind); and he, it is true, blows as one only; but, on entering into man, he becomes a forward and a backward moving one; and they are these two, the out-breathing and the in-breathing. And Mitra and Varuṇa assuredly are the out-breathing and in-breathing; and hence he says by that (prayer), 'may he who rules over the rain favour thee with rain!' Let him then take it up, with this text, for then the rain will at all times be propitious. He anoints it (the prastara): thereby he makes him (the sacrificer) an oblation, thinking, 'May he, as an oblation, go to the world of the gods!'

13. He anoints the top (of the prastara with the butter) in the *guhû*, the middle part (with that) in the *upabhṛit*, and the lower end (with that) in the *dhruvâ*; for the *guhû* is, as it were, the top, the *upabhṛit* the middle, and the *dhruvâ* the root.

¹ Cf. Ait. Âr. III, 1, 2, 2-4 (Max Müller, Up. I, p. 249): 'The first half (of a *samhitâ* or combination of final and initial letters) is the earth, the second half heaven, their uniting the rain, the uniter Parganya. And so it is when he (Parganya) rains thus strongly, without ceasing, day and night; then they say also (in ordinary language), "Heaven and earth have come together." See also Sat. Br. I, 7, 2, 16.

14. He anoints (each time), with the text (Vâg. S. II, 16 e), 'May (the gods) eat, licking the anointed bird!' He thereby causes it (the prastara and hence symbolically the sacrificer) to be a bird and fly up from this world of men to the world of the gods. He then draws it twice (towards the Âhavanīya) aloof (near the ground). The reason why he must draw it aloof (is this): the prastara is the sacrificer; and in this way he does not remove him from this firm footing of his; and he, moreover, secures rain for this locality.

15. He draws it along, with the text (Vâg. S. II, 16 f), 'Go to the spotted (mares) of the Maruts!' He means to say, 'Go to the world of the gods,' when he says, 'Go to the spotted (mares) of the Maruts!'—'Having become a spotted cow, go to the sky and thence bring us rain hither!' The spotted cow, doubtless, is this (earth): whatever rooted and rootless food is here on this (earth), by that this (earth) is a spotted cow. 'Having become

¹ Vyantu vayo 'ktam rihânâh. Mahîdhara interprets it, 'May the birds (i. e. the metres) go (?to heaven,—taking and) licking the anointed (prastara).' The Kânvas read, 'vyantu vayo ripto rihânâh.' The Black Yagus (Taitt. S. I, 1, 13, 1) has 'aktam rihânâ viyantu vayah, pragâm yonim mâ nirmṛiksham, âpyâyantâm âpa oshadhayah,' which Sâyana explains by 'May the birds having licked the anointed (top) go their several ways,' &c.; and the Taitt. Br. III, 3, 9, 3 remarks to viyantu vayah, 'Having made him birds, he makes him go to the heavenly world.' According to Sâyana, the three above formulas are by Âpastamba referred to the three acts of anointing, whereas the others, he says, divide the first formula into two, and use the second one (pragâm, &c.) while the lower part of the prastara is anointed. See, however, Hillebrandt, Neu- und Vollm. p. 142, note 3.

² The Black Yagus (Taitt. S. I, 1, 13) has, 'The spotted (mares) of the Maruts are ye (O plants)!' .

this (earth), go thou to the sky!' this is what he thereby says. 'Thence bring us rain hither!' From rain certainly spring vigour, sap, well-being: for this reason he says, 'thence bring us rain hither!'

16. He then takes a single stalk from it. The prastara-bunch is the sacrificer; and therefore, if he were to throw the whole prastara (at once) into the fire, the sacrificer would speedily go to yonder world. In this way, however, the sacrificer will live long; and what the full measure of human life here on earth is, for that he takes this (single stalk) therefrom.

17. Having held (the prastara) for a moment, he throws it into the fire: whither his (the sacrificer's) one (part of) self (or, body)¹ went, thither he thereby causes it to go². But were he not to throw it into the fire, he would cut off the sacrificer from (yonder) world. In this way, however, he does not cut off the sacrificer from (yonder) world.

18. He throws it (with its top) to the east, for the east is the region of the gods; or to the north, for the north is the region of man. With the fingers only they should smooth it down, not with pieces of wood; since it is with sticks that they pierce any other corpse. Fearing, lest they should treat it in the same way as any other corpse, they should smooth it down with the fingers only, not with pieces of wood. When the Hotri recites the song of praise,—

19. The Âgñidhra says (to the Adhvaryu), 'Throw

¹ The itara âtmâ in pars. 17 and 19 have to be taken comparatively.

² That is to say, he makes sure that the sacrificer has really obtained the object for which the sacrifice was undertaken,—the right to go to the heavenly world after his death.

(the single stalk) after (the prastara)!—‘whither his (the sacrificer’s) other self went, thither make it now go,’ this is what he thereby says. [The Adhvaryu] having thrown it silently after, touches himself¹, with the text (Vâg. S. II, 16 f): ‘Guardian of the eye art thou, O Agni; guard mine eye!’ In this way also he does not throw himself into the fire after (the prastara or sacrificer).

20. He (the Âgntdhra) then says² (to the Adhvaryu), ‘Discourse together!’—he thereby says, ‘Make him (the sacrificer) discourse with the gods.’ [The Adhvaryu asks], ‘Has he gone (to the gods), Agntdh?’ whereby he says, ‘Has he really gone?’—‘He has gone!’ replies the other.—‘Bid (the gods) hear!’ by these words he (the Adhvaryu) means to say, ‘Make him (the sacrificer) be heard, make him be noticed by the gods!’—‘May (one or they) hear (sraushat)!’ thereby he (the Âgntdhra) means to say, ‘They know him, they have recognised him.’ Thus the Adhvaryu and the Âgntdhra lead the sacrificer to the world of the gods.

21. He (the Adhvaryu) then says, ‘Good-speed to the divine Hotri’s³!’ The divine Hotri’s assuredly are these enclosing-sticks, since these are Agnis (fires): it is to them that he thereby bids good-speed, and therefore he says, ‘good-speed to the

¹ He touches himself near the heart, or, according to Vaidyanâtha, he touches his eyes. After this he has, as usual, to touch the lustral water. See p. 2, note 2.

² Here begins the *śamyuvâka*; see p. 241, note 1.

³ ‘Svagā daivyâ hōtriḥyaḥ.’ The form *daivyâ* seems to have become fixed before *hotri*, in consequence of its frequent use, especially in the Âprî hymns, as nom. acc. dual *daivyâ hōtârâ*; and in the invocation of the *Idā*, as nom. plur. *daivyâ hōtârâḥ*.

divine Hotri's!'—'Success (svasti) to the human!' thereby he desires that this human Hotri may not fail.

22. He now throws the enclosing-sticks into the fire. The middle enclosing-stick he throws first, with the text (Vâg. S. II, 17 a), 'The stick which thou laidst around thee, O divine Agni, when thou wert concealed by the *Pañis*, I bring thee for thy pleasure; may it not prove faithless to thee!'—With (ib. b), 'Approach ye the place beloved of Agni!' he throws the two others after it.

23. He then¹ seizes the *guhû* and the *upabhrî*t at the same time. For on the former occasion², when he anoints (the *prastara*—sacrificer), he makes him an oblation, thinking, 'May he, as an oblation, go to the world of the gods!' for this reason he seizes the *guhû* and the *upabhrî*t at the same time.

24. He seizes them for the *Visve Devâh* (the All-gods). For, assuredly, when any sacrificial food is taken without being announced to any one deity, then all the gods think that they have a share in it. Now when he takes that sacrificial food, the (residue of) butter, he does not announce it to any one deity; and hence he takes up (the two spoons) for the *Visve Devâh*, and thus makes that (residue of butter) the *vaisvadeva*³ at the *haviryagña*.

25. He seizes them, with the text (Vâg. S. II, 18),

¹ Here begins the offering of the remains (*samsrava*) of butter; see p. 236, note 2.

² See par. 14 above.

³ The author again connects the *havis*-offering with the more solemn Soma-sacrifice; the third, or evening, libation of Soma being supposed to belong to the *Visve Devâh*; cf. Vâg. S. XIX, 26; Ait. Br. VI, 4.

'The residue (of the butter) ye have for your share, ye, mighty by (this) food!' the residue, of course, is that which remains;—'O ye gods, staying on the prastara, and representing the enclosing-sticks¹;' for both the prastara and the enclosing-sticks have been thrown into the fire;—'All of you, applauding this speech,' thereby he makes it the *vaisvadeva* (belonging to the *Visve Devâh*);—'Be seated on this couch of grass (*barhis*) and enjoy yourselves! Svâhâ! Vâ²!' as one offers what has been consecrated by '*vasha³*,' this (residue) thereby becomes such for him (the sacrificer).

26. For whomsoever they take the sacrificial food from a cart, for him they unyoke (the spoons, by placing them) on the yoke of that cart, thinking, 'Where we yoke, there we also unyoke³;' for from the same place where they yoke, they also unyoke. For him, on the other hand, for whom they take it from a jar, (they unyoke the spoons, by placing them) on the wooden sword, thinking, 'Where we yoke, there we also unyoke;' for from the same place where they yoke, they also unyoke.

27. Yoke-fellows, indeed, are these two spoons for the sacrifice: he yokes them when he starts⁴ (or,

¹ *Paridheyâh*, literally 'ye who are to be laid around;' according to *Mahâdhara*=*paridhibhavâh*. The *Kânva* text has *paridhaya^h*, 'enclosing-sticks.' The *Black Yagus* (*Taitt. S. I, 1, 13, 2*) has '*barhishada^h* (sitting on the *barhis*)' instead.

² The original meaning of this sacrificial call, as of the apparently allied *vasha³*, *vausha³*, appears to be, 'May he (*Agni*) carry it (the oblation to the deity)!' Cf. p. 88, note 2.

³ See I, 1, 2, 8.

⁴ This seems to refer to the time when he gets the spoons ready for their sacred use. He then wipes them with sacrificial grass; that is, he, as it were, rubs down the horses before starting on his journey to the world of the gods. See p. 68, note 1.

first uses them). Now, were he only to release (unyoke) either of them after putting it down, it would fall down just as a draught animal¹ (would, if made to lie down before being unyoked). At the *Svishtakrit* these two undergo an unyoking: he then lays them down, and so unyokes them. He then yokes them again, at the after-offerings. Having performed the after-offerings, he effects another unyoking: he lays them down, and so unyokes them. Thereupon he yokes them again when he seizes them both at the same time; and when he has travelled over the way for which he has yoked them, he unyokes them. After the sacrifice offspring (is produced). Hence this man yokes (unites), and then unyokes, and again yokes them; and when he has travelled over the way for which he yoked them, he finally unyokes them. He lays (the spoons) down, with the text (*Vâg. S. II, 19 a*), 'Fond of butter are ye; protect the two yoke-fellows! gracious are ye: lead me to grace!' whereby he says, 'good are ye: lead me to goodness!'

NINTH ADHYÂYA. FIRST BRÂHMANA.

1. Now² when (the Adhvaryu) says, 'The divine *Hotri's* are summoned for the proclamation of success,

¹ I adopt the interpretation of Harisvâmin, who translates *avârâkhet* by *adhañ patet*. The St. Petersburg Dict. apparently proposes 'he would unharness them, as he would unharness a horse (or team).' According to Harisvâmin, the author here controverts the view of the *Karakas* (*karakasrutî*), who apparently taught that the (symbolical) unharnessing of the spoons should succeed their being laid down on the yoke; while our author maintains that the unharnessing should precede the laying down.

² The author now proceeds to give in detail the formulas to be recited by the *Hotri's* during the ceremonies treated in the preceding *Brâhmana* (see p. 236, note 2); pars. 1-23 treating of the *sûktavâka*; pars. 24-29 of the *samyuvâka*.

the human one is called upon for the song of praise (sûkta-vâka);' and when the Hotri thereupon recites, he recites good words only¹: he thereby invokes a blessing on the sacrificer. It is indeed after the sacrifice that he thus invokes a blessing. A twofold reason there is for his invoking the blessing after the sacrifice.

2. He who sacrifices, assuredly, is the producer of the sacrifice, since it is by his order that the priests spread it, that they produce it. He (the Hotri) now invokes a blessing; and that blessing invoked by him, the sacrifice, on its part, realises for this (sacrificer), knowing as it does that he has produced it. For this reason he invokes a blessing after the sacrifice.

3. He who sacrifices, assuredly, pleases the gods. Having pleased the gods by that sacrifice,—that is, partly by R̥k-verses, partly by Yagus-formulas, and partly by oblations,—he obtains a share among them. When he has obtained a share among them, then (the Hotri) invokes a blessing (on him); and that blessing, invoked by him, the gods realise for this (sacrificer), knowing as they do that he has pleased them. For this reason also he invokes a blessing after the sacrifice.

4. He intones²,—'Successful this has turned out, O heaven and earth—,' for successful indeed it has turned out, when one has completed the sacrifice.—'We have completed the song of praise, and the

¹ Sûktaiva tad âha, which the commentator paraphrases by sûktâny âha. It is apparently intended as an explanation of the term sûktavâka. The word sûkta here has exceptionally the accent on the penultimate.

² See p. 240, note 2. The formulas are given Taitt. Br. III, 5, 10; Âsv. S. I, 9, 1.

utterance of worship¹, for indeed these two, the singing of praises and the utterance of worship, form the sacrifice : and accordingly he thereby says, 'We have accomplished the sacrifice, we have obtained possession of the sacrifice.—'Thou, O Agni, art the voice of praise at the listening² of heaven and earth,' he thereby says to Agni, 'Thou art the voice of praise, while heaven and earth listen.'—'May heaven and earth be propitious to thee, O sacrificer, at this sacrifice!' whereby he says, 'May heaven and earth abound in food for thee, O sacrificer, at this sacrifice.'

5. 'They, propitious to the cattle³, profuse in gifts,' he thereby says, 'May they both be propitious to the cattle, and profuse in gifts.'—'They, the fearless and inscrutable⁴;' he thereby says, 'Mayest thou not be afraid of anybody; may no one obtain before thee this thy wealth!'

¹ 'Sûktavâkam uta namovâkam.' Our author seems to refer these terms to the *Rîk*-verses and the *Yagus*-formulas used during the sacrifice. *Sâyana*, on *Taitt. S. II, 6, 9*, takes 'namovâka' in a more restricted sense; viz. as referring to the formula 'namo devabhyaḥ.' Both the *Black Yagur-veda* and *Âsv. S.* add '*ridhyâsma sūktoḥyam*,' which has probably to be taken in the sense of 'May we accomplish that which is expressed in the sûktas.' [*Sâyana*, 'May we succeed with the sûkta yet to be pronounced.']

² For *upasrutî* the *Black Yagur-veda* has *upasrito*, which *Sâyana* explains, 'Since thou art established in heaven and earth, thou art able to recite the sûkta.'

³ *Samgavi* seems to be a corruption of *Samgayî* (propitious to the household), which is the reading of the *Black Yagur-veda* and *Âsv. S.* (cf. *Rig-veda IX, 97, 17*).

⁴ ? *Apravede*, according to *Sâyana*, on *Taitt. S. I, 1, 13*, in an active sense, 'they who do not tell of, do not betray, our faults' (hence '*verschwiegen*,' reticent, discreet, *St. Petersburg Dict.*) 'Difficult to obtain,' *Harisvâmin*. Our author apparently takes it in the sense of 'not obtained before.'

6. 'They, of wide abode, the afforders of safety;' he thereby says, 'May they both be possessed of wide abodes and exempt from danger.'—'They, the rain-skied, the water-pouring,' he thereby says, 'May they both be possessed of rain.'

7. 'They, the genial and beneficent;' he thereby says, 'May they both be genial and beneficent.'—'They, the rich in sap and substance;' he thereby says, 'May they both abound in moisture and afford the means of subsistence.'

8. 'They, of easy access and good abode;' he thereby says, 'May yonder (sky), which thou approachest from below, afford thee easy access; may this (earth) on which thou abidest (or movest) afford thee good abode.'—'With their knowledge—,' thereby he says, 'Both of these approving—'

9. 'Agni has graciously accepted this oblation, he has grown in strength, he has acquired greater power,' he thereby refers to Agni's butter-portion.—'Soma has graciously accepted this oblation, he has grown in strength, he has acquired greater power,' he thereby refers to Soma's butter-portion.—'Agni has graciously accepted this oblation, he has grown in strength, he has acquired greater power,' he thereby refers to the indispensable cake which is (offered) on both occasions (the new and full-moon sacrifice).

10. And in the same way according to the respective deities. 'The butter-drinking gods have graciously accepted the butter, they have grown in strength, they have acquired greater power;' thereby he refers to the fore-offerings and after-offerings; for the butter-drinking gods truly are the fore-offerings and after-offerings.—'Agni, by virtue of his Hotri-ship, has graciously accepted this oblation, he has

grown in strength, he has acquired greater power ;' thereby he refers to Agni, in virtue of his Hotri¹ship. With 'has graciously accepted' he thus enumerates those deities to whom offering has been made : in saying 'Such a one has graciously accepted the oblation, such a one has graciously accepted the oblation,' he accordingly prays for the accomplishment of the sacrifice ; for whatever oblation the gods graciously accept, by that he gains great things : hence he says, '(he) has graciously accepted it.' And '(he) has grown in strength' he says, because what the gods delight in, they make mountain high : for this reason he says '(he) has increased.'

11. '(He) has acquired (lit. made for himself) greater power' he says ; for assuredly the power of the gods is the sacrifice : it is the latter therefore which they make still greater ; and for this reason he says '(he) has acquired greater power.'

12. 'May he prosper in this sacrifice which goes to the gods !' he thereby says, 'May he be successful in this sacrifice which goes to the gods.'—'Thus prays this sacrificer, N. N. ¹;' here he gives the name, and thereby makes him directly successful in his prayer.

13. 'He prays for long life,' what there (viz. at the invocation of the *idā*)² was (called implicitly) 'future worship of the gods,' that is here (called) expressly 'long life.'

¹ Āsv. S. reads twice asau 'N.N., N.N. ;' and the commentary remarks that the Hotri has here to pronounce both the ordinary name of the sacrificer, and his nākshatra name (i. e. the mystic name given him for the duration of the sacrifice, and derived from the respective lunar mansion, or its tutelary deity). This practice was probably not yet in vogue in the time of our author. Cf. Weber, *Nakshatra* II, p. 316 seq.

² See I, 8, 1, 30 seq.

14. 'He prays for abundant offspring,'—what then was 'more abundant offering,' that is here expressly 'abundant offspring.' He who proceeds in this way will ensure dominion. He may, however, say, 'He prays for future worship of the gods,' for thereby (he ensures) long life, offspring, cattle¹.

15. 'He prays for more abundant offering,' thereby (he prays for) that same object. 'He prays for dominion over his co-evals (or countrymen);'—his co-evals, doubtless, are his vital airs, for he is born along with his vital airs: hence he thereby prays for vital airs.

16. 'He prays for a heavenly abode;'—he who sacrifices assuredly sacrifices with the desire that there may be for him also (a place) in the world of the gods: he thereby confers on him a share in the world of the gods². 'May he obtain, may he accomplish what he prays for through this offering!' he thereby says, 'May all, that he prays for through this offering, be fulfilled to him!'

17. These five prayers for blessings he offers now, and three (he offered) at the *idâ*, these are eight. Of eight syllables, truly, consists the *gâyatri* metre, and the *gâyatri* means vigour: hence he thereby imparts vigour to the prayers.

18. Let him not offer more than these; for if he offered more, he would do what is in excess; and what is in excess at the sacrifice, that remains over

¹ The ritual of the Black Yagur-veda (Taitt. Br. III, 5, 10; Taitt. S. II, 6, 9, 7) and the Âsv. S. prescribe both these formulas. The order of formulas also, as there given, differs somewhat from that of our work.

² The Black Yagur-veda and Âsv. S. insert here, 'He prays for all that is dear to him.'

for the benefit of his spiteful enemy: hence he should not offer more (prayers) than these.

19. Even less,—seven (he may offer)¹.—‘May the gods vouchsafe him that!’ he thereby says, ‘May the gods grant him that.’—‘May the god Agni solicit that from the gods, we men from Agni—,’ he thereby says, ‘May the god Agni solicit that from the gods, and we will then solicit it for this (sacrificer) from Agni—’

20. ‘—What was searched for and found²;’ they indeed searched for the sacrifice, and found it: therefore he says, ‘what was searched for and found.’—And ‘may both heaven and earth guard this one (enam) from anxiety!’ he thereby says, ‘may both heaven and earth protect him from suffering.’

21. Here now some say, ‘And may both heaven and earth guard me (mâ³) . . .,’ arguing that in this way the Hotṛi does not exclude himself from the benediction. Let him not, however, say this; for, surely, the benediction at the sacrifice is for the sacrificer: what then have the officiating priests to do with it? Whatever blessing the officiating priests invoke at the sacrifice, that is for the sacrificer only. On the other hand, whoever says, ‘and may both heaven and earth guard me . . .,’ does not establish

¹ That is, if he chooses to omit the second formula mentioned in par. 14.

² ‘*Ishtam ka vittam ka.*’ This is also the reading of the Âsv. S. (? ‘What was wished for and obtained’). The Kânva text reads ‘*ishtam ka vittam kâbhût.*’ Our author seems here to refer to the legend in I, 5, 2, 6 seq., or to that in I, 6, 2, 1 seq. The reading of the Black Yagus, *ishtam ka vittam ka*, ‘what has been offered up and accepted (eaten by the gods),’ is probably the original and correct one.

³ The Kânva recension, the Black Yagur-veda, and Âsv. S. read no, ‘us.’

that blessing anywhere : let him therefore say, 'and may both heaven and earth guard this one. . . .'

22. 'Hither lies the course of any boon ;' he thereby makes over to this (sacrificer) whatever is excellent in the sacrifice : for this reason he says, 'hither lies the course of any boon.'

23. 'And this adoration (shall be offered) to the gods!' having attained the completion of the sacrifice, he thereby renders adoration to the gods : for this reason he says, 'and this adoration to the gods!'

24. Thereupon he pronounces the 'All-hail and blessing' (*śam-yos*)¹. Now it was Samyu Bârhaspatya who perceived, in its true nature, the consummation of the sacrifice. He went to share in the world of the gods. Thereupon that (knowledge) was entirely lost to men.

25. It then became known to the *Rîshis*, that Samyu Bârhaspatya had perceived, in its true nature, the consummation of the sacrifice, and had gone to share in the world of the gods. By pronouncing the *śam-yoḥ*, they attained to that same consummation of the sacrifice which Samyu Bârhaspatya had perceived ; and to that same consummation of the sacrifice, which Samyu Bârhaspatya had perceived, this (*Hotrî*)

¹ See p. 247, note 2. The original meaning of the terms *śam yos*, as they occur in the *Rig-veda*, is happily rendered by Professor Max Müller (Translation of the *Rig-veda*, I, p. 182) by 'health and wealth.' In the sacrificial ceremonial a deeper significance has come to be attached to this benedictory formula, for which it is difficult to find an exact equivalent. The entire *śamyu-vâka*, as here given, forms part of a *khila* to the last book of the *Rîk-Samhitâ* ; cf. Max Müller's edition, vol. vi. p. 32 ; A. Weber, *Ind. Stud.* IV, p. 431. The Black Yagus version of the legend regarding Samyu Bârhaspatya (*Taitt. S.* II, 6, 10) is quite different from ours ; they were both invented to explain *śam yos*.

attains by pronouncing the *sa-m-yoḥ*. For this reason he pronounces the 'All-hail and blessing.'

26. He intones, 'We long for that All-hail and blessing (*sa-m-yoḥ*);' whereby he says, 'We long for that consummation of the sacrifice which Samyu Bârhaspatya perceived.

27. 'Success to the sacrifice, success to the lord of sacrifice!' he who wishes for the consummation of the sacrifice, thereby wishes success to the sacrifice and success to the lord of sacrifice.—'Bliss (*svasti*) to us, bliss to men!' he thereby says, 'May we enjoy bliss among the gods, bliss among men!'—'May the means of salvation ascend on high!' he thereby says, 'May this sacrifice secure for us the world of the gods!'

28. 'All-hail, for us, to the two-footed, all-hail to the four-footed¹!' for so far as the two-footed and the four-footed (extend), so far does this universe (extend). Having now attained the consummation of the sacrifice, he bids All-hail to this (sacrificer), and for this reason he says, 'All-hail, for us, to the two-footed, all-hail to the four-footed!'

29. He then touches (the earth) thus with this (finger)². Non-human, verily, he becomes at the

¹ This formula occurs almost identically in Rig-veda VI, 74, 1; VII, 54, 1; (IX, 69, 7.) Cf. Max Müller, Translation of the Rig-veda, I, p. 180, where attention is drawn to a somewhat similar phrase in the Umbric prayers of the Eugubian tables.

² In Kâty. III, 6, 21 the touching of the altar is prescribed, with the text *Vâg*. S. II, 19 b; the commentators differ as to whether the sacrificer or the *Adhvaryu* is to do this. The *Kânva Samhitâ* omits that formula, and hence assigns this touching to the *Hotri*. *Harisvâmin* remarks that the *Hotri* touches the earth with the little finger of his right hand, as stated in the *Kânva* recension. The latter reads 'with the little finger.' No mention is made in the *Âsv. S.* of this touching of the earth on the part of the *Hotri*.

time when he is chosen for the office of sacrificial priest; and, this earth being a safe standing-place, he thereby (viz. by touching the earth) stands on this safe standing-place; and he thereby also again becomes human: for this reason he thus touches (the earth) with this (finger).

SECOND BRÂHMANA.

THE PATNĪSAMYÂGAS.

1. Being about to perform the *patnīsamyaḡas*¹, they betake themselves back to the Gârhapatya fire. The Adhvaryu takes the *guhû* and *sruva*, the Hotri the veda, and the Âgnîdhra the butter-(melting) pot.

2. Here now the Adhvaryu, according to some, passes the Âhavantya on the east side. Let him not, however, do this; for were he to walk on that side, he would be outside the sacrifice.

3. According to others, the Adhvaryu walks (so as to pass) behind the (sacrificer's) wife². Let him not, however, do this either; for verily the Adhvaryu is the fore-part, and the wife is the hind-part of the sacrifice: hence, if he were to pass so, it would be as if one were to put his head behind; and he (the Adhvaryu) would be outside the sacrifice.

¹ The meaning of the term seems to be 'offerings made (to some deities) along with the wives (of the gods);' the deities to whom the four offerings are made, being Soma, *Tvashtri*, the *Devapatnya* (wives of the gods), and *Agni Grîhapatî*.

² The lady of the house occupies a seat south-west of the Gârhapatya fire. See I, 3, 1, 12. The Adhvaryu now sits down with raised knees (south of her, with his face to the north-east). Kâty. III, 7, 5. The Âgnîdhra sits down in the same way north of the fire, with his face to the south, and the Hotri in the middle; cf. Hillebrandt, Neu- und Vollm. p. 151.

4. According to others, the Adhvaryu passes between the wife (and the Gârhapatya fire). Let him not, however, do this either; for were he to pass that way, he would cut off the wife from the sacrifice. Along the east side of the Gârhapatya and the inner side of the Âhavanîya (he passes); for thus he is not outside the sacrifice; and as before, in walking forward (to the Âhavanîya), he passed along the inner side, so he now also takes that path.

5. They now perform the *patñisamyâgas*. From the sacrifice offspring is assuredly produced; and (that offspring) produced from the sacrifice is produced from union; and (the offspring) produced from union is produced after (in consequence of) the completion¹ of the sacrifice: hence one thereby (i.e. by the *patñisamyâgas*) causes that (offspring) to be produced by means of a productive union after the completion of the sacrifice. And so now also offspring is produced by means of a productive union after the completion of the sacrifice. This is why they now perform the *patñisamyâgas*.

6. He makes offering to four deities. Four doubtless means a couple; for a couple means a pair (*dvandva*, lit. two and two), and two and two indeed they are: thus a productive union is thereby effected; and accordingly he makes offering to four deities.

7. He makes (the offerings) of butter for sacrificial food. Butter indeed means seed: hence he thereby scatters seed, and therefore makes them of butter for sacrificial food.

¹ Or, 'is produced from the hind-part of the sacrifice,' i. e. from the sacrificer's wife, seated behind the altar, see par. 3.

8. In a low voice they engage in this (performance)¹. Secretly, doubtless, union takes place; and secretly also (takes place) what (is spoken) in a low voice: this is why they perform in a low voice.

9. He first makes offering to Soma. Soma indeed means seed; hence he thereby scatters seed: this is why he makes offering to Soma.

10. He then makes offering to *Tvashtri*. Now, it is *Tvashtri* who transforms seed which is scattered. Accordingly it is he who transforms the seed now scattered²: this is why he makes offering to *Tvashtri*.

11. He then makes offering to the wives of the gods. In the wives, in the womb, the seed assuredly is planted, and thence it is produced; hence he thereby plants the seed in the wives, in the womb; and thence it is produced: for this reason he makes offering to the wives of the gods.

12. When he offers to the wives of the gods, he shuts (the fire) out from view on the eastern side; for, up to the time when they offer to the *samishṭa-yagus*, the deities continue waiting, thinking, 'This

¹ The Adhvaryu calls on the *Hotri*: 'For Soma (*Tvashtri*, &c. respectively)' (in a low voice)—'recite!' (aloud). The *Hotri* then recites the invitatory prayer (*anuvākyâ*, for which see *Âśv. Sr. I, 10, 5*) in a low voice, except the concluding 'om!' which he pronounces aloud. The Adhvaryu now calls on the *Āgnīdhra*, who responds with '*Astu śraushat*.' Thereupon the Adhvaryu calls on the *Hotri*, 'For Soma,' &c. (in a low voice),—'pronounce the offering prayer!' (aloud); and the *Hotri* recites the *yāgyâ*, in a low voice, except the concluding '*Vaushat*,' which is pronounced aloud, and simultaneously with which the Adhvaryu pours the oblation (consisting of four ladlings of butter from the butter-pot into the *guhū*, by means of the *sruva*) into the fire.

² He does so in his capacity of divine artificer and architect.

he must offer up to us!' He thereby conceals (this offering) from them; and accordingly Yâgñavalkya says, 'Whenever human women here eat¹ (they do so) apart from men.'

13. He then makes offering to Agni, the householder. Agni, indeed, is this world: hence it is for this world that he thereby produces offspring and that this offspring is produced: this is why he makes offering to Agni, the householder.

14. This (ceremony) concludes with the *idâ*²; for here are neither enclosing-sticks nor the prastara-bunch. For on that occasion when he wishes the sacrificer good-speed (*svagâ*)³ by (offering) the prastara, good-speed is at the same time wished to this consort also, since the wife comes (immediately) after the husband. But were he to use a substitute for the prastara-bunch, he would produce lassitude (in the wife): for this reason this (ceremony) should conclude with the *idâ*. Nevertheless a substitute for the prastara is (optionally) made.

15. If he choose to use a substitute for the prastara, he thereby wishes the wife good-speed just as

¹ *Gighatsanti*, 'eat greedily, swallow their food.' The Kânva text does not mention Yâgñavalkya, but merely says, 'hence women also here swallow their food apart from men.'

² The *idâ*-ceremony (I, 8, 1, 18) is repeated after the *patñisamyâgas*, together with the *Samyuvâka* and the offering of remains, but with special reference to the mistress of the house. Since the prastara-bunch and the enclosing-sticks have already been consumed by the fire, the *Sûktavâka* is omitted on the present occasion; the *Adhvaryu* merely throwing a stalk of the reed-grass of the veda into the fire, as a substitute for the stalk of the prastara (representing the sacrificer).

³ See I, 8, 3, 11 seq.

he wishes the sacrificer good-speed by means of the prastara.

16. If he choose to use a substitute for the prastara, he plucks out one stalk from the veda, and anoints its top in the *guhû*, its middle part in the *sruva*, and its lower end in the butter-pan.

17. The *Āgnīdhra* then says, 'Throw (it) after¹!' [The *Adhvaryu*] having thrown it silently after (the prastara into the fire), touches himself, with the text (*Vâg. S. II, 16 f*), 'Guardian of the eye art thou, O Agni, guard mine eye!' and in this way he avoids throwing himself after (the prastara into the fire).

18. He (the *Āgnīdhra*) then says (to the *Adhvaryu*), 'Discourse together!' (The *Adhvaryu* says), 'Has he gone (to the gods), *Āgnīdh*?' 'He has gone!' 'Bid (the gods) hear!' 'May (one or they) hear!' 'Good-speed to the divine *Hotrī*! Success to the human!' [Then the *Adhvaryu* to the *Hotrī*], 'Pronounce the "All-hail and blessing!"'

19. Thereupon² he (the *Adhvaryu*) seizes at the same time the *guhû* and *sruva*. On the former occasion³ indeed, by anointing (the prastara), he

¹ See I, 8, 3, 19 seq.

² That is, after the *Hotrī* has again recited the *Samyuvâka*, in the same way as above, I, 9, 1, 26-29.

³ Viz. at the offering of the remains of butter (I, 8, 3, 23), of which the present ceremony is the counterpart. Dr. Hillebrandt, *Neu- und Vollm.* p. 160, (after a scholiast) calls this modification *Pragraha-homa* (offered to Agni *adabdhâyu asītama*). According to *Kâty. III, 7, 18; 19*, this ceremony is followed by the performance, in the *Dakshina* fire, of two (*guhōti*) oblations of butter, to Agni *saṃvesapati* and *Sarasvatī* respectively (see the formulas *Vâg. S. II, 20 b, c*); and the *pishālepa-āhuti* to the *Virve Devâh*, being an offering of the remnants of dough, left from the preparation of the sacrificial cakes. These offerings would then be succeeded by the ceremonies treated in par. 21 seq.

made (the sacrificer) an oblation, thus thinking, 'May he go to the world of the gods as an oblation!' For this reason he now seizes the *guhû* and *sruva* at the same time.

20. He seizes them for Agni, with the text (*Vâg. S. II, 20 a*), 'O Agni, unimpaired in vigour, far-reacher!' because Agni is immortal, he says, 'unimpaired in vigour;' and because Agni is farthest-reaching, he says, 'far-reacher¹.'—'Guard me from the thunderbolt! guard me from bonds! guard me from defective sacrifice! guard me from noxious food!' he thereby says, 'Protect me from all kinds of injury!'—'Make our nourishment free from poison!'—nourishment means food: 'make our food wholesome, faultless!' this is what he thereby says.—'In the lap, pleasant to sit in;' he thereby says, 'in thyself.'—'Svâhâ! Vât!' since one offers what has been consecrated by 'vasha^t,' this (residue of butter) thereby becomes such for him.

21. The mistress then unties the veda-bunch. The altar (*vedi*) assuredly is female and the veda is male. For union the veda was made: and accordingly when he touches (the altar) with it during the sacrifice, a union productive of offspring is thereby effected.

22. And (the reason) why it is the mistress who unties the veda (is this): the mistress is female and the veda is male; consequently a union productive of offspring is thereby effected: this is why the mistress unties the veda.

23. She unties it. Should she wish to do so

¹ *Harisvâmin* derives *asîta* and *asish/ha* from *as*, 'to eat' (instead of from *as*, 'to reach, penetrate'), hence 'the greatest eater.' *Mahâdhara* gives both derivations.

with a Yagus-text, let her do so with this one (Vâg. S. II, 21 a), 'The Veda art thou: whereby thou, O divine Veda, hast become Veda for the gods, thereby mayest thou become Veda for me!'

24. (The Hotri) strews it (from the Gârhapatya) as far as (the east end of) the altar²; for the altar is female and the veda is male; and from behind the male approaches the female: from behind (i. e. west) he accordingly causes it (the altar) to be approached by that male, the veda. For this reason he strews (the grass of the veda) as far as (the east end of) the altar.

CONCLUDING CEREMONIES.

25. He (the Adhvaryu) now makes the samishṭa-yagus-oblation, thinking, 'In the east my sacrifice shall be completed!' Were he to perform the samishṭa-yagus-oblation first and then the patnī-samyâgas, that sacrifice of his would be completed in the west (behind the sacrificer)³: hence he makes

¹ According to Kâty. III, 8, 2, the lady thereupon unties the grass-cord with which she was girt (see I, 3, 1, 12), with the text, 'I free myself from Varuna's noose wherewith the gracious Savitri bound me; place me unscathed, together with my husband, in the lap of eternal law, in the world of righteousness!' Âsv. I, 11, 3, however, assigns this ceremony to the Hotri; and no doubt rightly, since it is not mentioned by our author, and the Vâg. S. does not give the formula. Thereby also the original form of the text (Rig-veda X, 85, 24), 'I free thee,' &c., is preserved. Mahîdhara on Vâg. S. here takes 'veda' either in the sense of 'the Veda (Rîk, &c.),' or as 'the knower.' Perhaps it should rather be taken as 'the obtainer.'

² Thus â vedeḥ is explained by Harisvâmin (according to comm. on Kâty. III, 8, 3). Others take it in the sense of 'up to where the barhis begins.'

³ The patnī-samyâgas were performed in the Gârhapatya fire, and therefore west of the altar; and on their completion, the priests betake themselves back to the Âhavantiya.

the samish/ayagus-oblation at this particular time, thinking, 'In the east my sacrifice shall be completed!'

26. Now as to why it is called samish/ayagus¹: whatever deities he invites through this (new or full-moon) sacrifice, and for whichever deities this sacrifice is performed, all those are thereby 'sacrificed to together' (sam-ish/ta); and because he now makes a (butter) oblation² to all those deities, who have been 'sacrificed to together,' therefore this (oblation) is called samish/ayagus.

27. And again as to why he performs the samish/ayagus: whatever deities he invites through this sacrifice, and for whichever deities this sacrifice is performed, they continue waiting until the samish/ayagus is performed, thinking, 'This he must offer to us!' These same (deities) he thereby dismisses in due form; and whatever be the practice in their case in accordance with that he has, in thus performing it, produced the sacrifice, and having thus produced it he now establishes it safely where there is a safe basis for it: this is why he performs the samish/ayagus.

28. He makes the offering, with the text (Vâg. S. II, 21 b), 'Ye path-finding gods,'—for the gods

¹ The real original meaning of the term would rather seem to have been 'the formula marking the completion of the sacrifice,' it having afterwards come to be applied to the oblation (to the wind-god) itself. Cf. par. 30 and Weber, Ind. Stud. IX, 232.

² Or rather, 'because to all those deities to whom an ish/i (or yagati-offering, made by the Adhvaryu standing south of the altar; and followed or accompanied by the vasha/-call) has been offered in common, he now makes an âhuti (or guhoti-offering, made by him whilst standing north of the altar, with the svâhâ-call).'

are indeed the finders of the path¹;—‘Having found the path—,’ thereby he says, ‘having found the sacrifice;’—‘Walk in the path!’ thereby he dismisses them in due form;—‘O divine Lord of mind, this sacrifice—Svâhâ!—give to the wind!’ for the sacrifice, indeed, is that blowing one (the wind). Having accordingly prepared this (special) sacrifice, he thereby establishes it safely in that (chief, full or new-moon) sacrifice, and thus unites sacrifice with sacrifice: for this reason he says, ‘Svâhâ! give (it) to the wind!’

29. He then offers up the barhis. The barhis, truly, is this world, and the barhis (consists of) plants: hence he thereby bestows plants on this world, and these plants are safely established in this world: for this reason he offers up the barhis.

30. This offering he makes as an additional one, since the samishāyagus is the end of the sacrifice, and consequently what comes after the samishāyagus is additional; and because, in performing the samishāyagus, he offers to those (deities²), and thence additional unlimited plants are here produced.

31. He offers it, with the text (Vâg. S. II, 22), ‘May the barhis combine with the sacrificial food, with the butter! May Indra combine with the Âdityas, the Vasus, the Maruts, and the Visve Devâh! May what (has been offered with) ‘Svâhâ’ go up to the heavenly ether³!’

32. Having thereupon walked round (from the

¹ Mahidhara refers gâtu-vidāḥ and vittvâ to vid, ‘to know.’

² According to Harisvâmin, he does so, since that offering is made for the sake of dismissing (satisfying) the deities.

³ Mahidhara interprets, ‘May Indra—together with the Âdityas, the Vasus, the Maruts, and the Visve Devâh—anoint the barhis thoroughly with the havis-like ghee,’ &c.

north side of the Âhavantya fire) to the south, he pours the *pranîta*-water¹ out (on the altar). Now, when he spreads the sacrifice, he yokes it. But were he not to pour out (the *pranîta*-water), the sacrifice, being unyoked, would, in moving backward, injure the sacrificer. In this way, however, the sacrifice does not injure the sacrificer; and for this reason he pours out the *pranîta*-water, after walking round to the south.

33. He pours it out, with the text (Vâg. S. II, 23 a), 'Who² unyokes thee? He unyokes thee! For whom does he unyoke thee? For him he unyokes thee! For plenty!' He thereby announces to the sacrificer the highest prosperity. He pours it out with the same (vessel) with which he brings it forward; for wherewith they yoke the team, therewith they also unyoke it: with the yoke-tie they yoke it, and with the yoke-tie they unyoke it. By means of a potsherd he now throws the refuse from the cleaning of the rice³ right under the black antelope skin; with the text (Vâg. S. II, 23 b), 'The Rakshas' share art thou!'

34. Now the gods and the Asuras, both of them sprung from Pragâpati, were contending about this sacrifice, (that is, their) father Pragâpati, the year. 'Ours it (he) shall be! ours it shall be,' they said.

35. Thereupon the gods obtained possession of the whole of the sacrifice, and dispossessed those

¹ See p. 9, note 1.

² Or, Pragâpati . . . , see I, 1, 1, 13, with note.

³ See I, 1, 4, 23-24. According to the Paddhati on Kâty. III, 8, the Adhvaryu holds the deer-skin with his left hand over the *utkara*, or heap of rubbish, and pours the refuse under the skin on the *utkara*.

(Asuras) of it by (giving them) what was the worst part of the sacrifice, to wit, with the blood of the victim (they dispossessed them) of the animal sacrifice, and with the refuse of the rice of the havir-yagñā. 'May they be duly dispossessed of the sacrifice,' they thought; for he indeed is duly dispossessed, who is dispossessed even while obtaining a (worthless) share. He, on the other hand, who is dispossessed without any share whatever, hopes for a while, and when it occurs to him, he says, 'What share hast thou given me?' Hence what share the gods set apart for those (Asuras), that same share he now makes over to them in pouring (the refuse of the rice) right under the black antelope skin. He thereby casts it into blind darkness, where there is no (sacrificial) fire. And in the same way he casts the blood of the victim into blind darkness, where there is no fire; thinking, 'Thou art the Rakshas' share!' For this reason they use not the gore of the victim (for sacrificial purposes), since it is the Rakshas' share.

THIRD BRĀHMAṆA.

1. The sacrifice being now complete, he (the Adhvaryu) walks round (the fire) to the south, and pours out a vessel (of water); for thus it is (poured out) towards north: therefore he pours it out after walking round to the south. He who sacrifices, doubtless, sacrifices with a desire that he also may obtain a place in the world of the gods. That sacrifice of his then goes forth towards the world of the gods: after it follows the fee which he gives (to the priests), and holding on to the priests' fee (follows) the sacrificer.

2. That same path leads either to the gods or to the fathers¹. On both sides two flames are ever burning: they scorch him who deserves to be scorched, and allow him to pass who deserves to pass². Now, water is (a means of) lustration: hence he thereby lustrates that path.

3. A full (vessel) he pours out, because full means all: hence he thereby lustrates that (path) by means of the All. He pours it out continuously, uninterrupted: hence he thereby lustrates that (path) in a continuous, uninterrupted manner.

4. And again why he pours out a vessel (of water) is: where anything is done wrongly at the sacrifice, there they tear or wound it; and—water being (a means of) lustration—he lustrates it by that (means of) lustration, water; he heals it with water.

5. A full (vessel) he pours out, because full means all: hence he thereby heals it by means of the All. Continuously, uninterrupted he pours it out: hence he thereby heals it in a continuous (lasting), uninterrupted manner.

6. He (the sacrificer) intercepts it with his open hands held together, while reciting the text (Vāg.

¹ Cf. Mahābh. XII, 525, 'Two paths are known, one leading to the gods, and one leading to the fathers;' and ib. XIII, 1082, 'That sun is said to be the gate of the paths leading to the gods; and that moon is said to be the gate of the paths leading to the fathers.' See also *Khand.* Up. V, 3. In *Sat. Br.* VI, 6, 2, 4 the gate of the heavenly world is said to be situated in the north-east; whilst that of the world of the fathers, according to XIII, 8, 1, 5, lies in the south-east. Cf. *Kaushit. Up.* I, 2 seq. (Max Müller, *Up.* I, p. 274), 'Verily, the moon is the door of the heavenly world,' &c.

² According to Harisvāmin, they scorch him who has not fulfilled his duties, and allow him to pass who has done so.

S. II, 24), 'We have united with lustre, with vigour, with the bodies¹, with the happy spirit. May Tvashtri, the dispenser of boons, grant us riches, and make even what was injured in our body!' What was torn, that he thereby heals.

7. He then touches his face (with the water in his hands). The reason why he thus touches his face is twofold : water means ambrosia, and with ambrosia he accordingly touches himself; also he thereby transfers to himself that sacred work (the sacrifice): for these reasons he touches his face.

8. He now strides the (three) Vishnu-strides. He who sacrifices assuredly gratifies the gods. In gratifying the gods by that sacrifice—partly by *riks*, partly by *yagus*, partly by oblations—he acquires a share among them; and having acquired a share among them, he goes to them.

9. And again why he strides the Vishnu-strides, is: Vishnu, truly, is the sacrifice, by striding (*vi-kram*) he obtained for the gods that all-pervading power (*vikrānti*) which now belongs to them. By his first step he gained this same (earth), by the second this ærial expanse, and by his last (step) the sky. And this same pervading power Vishnu, as the sacrifice, obtains by his strides for him (the sacrificer): for this reason he strides

¹ That is, with the departed persons, the fathers; or, more probably, with new bodies(?), cf. the funereal hymns, Rig-veda X, 14-18; especially X, 15, 14; 16, 5; 14, 8. Perhaps, however, it would be better to construe, 'by (our) bodies we have united with lustre and vigour; by (our) mind with bliss.' In IV, 6, 1, 1 it is said, that the sacrificer is born in the next world with his entire body; similarly XI, 1, 8, 6; XII, 8, 3, 31. For further quotations regarding the views on future existence, see A. Weber, Ind. Streifen, I, p. 20 seq.; J. Muir, Original Sanskrit Texts, V, p. 314 seq.

the Vishṇu-strides. Now it is indeed from this (earth) that most (beings) go (upwards).

10. Hence (he strides thrice) with the texts (*Vâg. S. II, 25 a-c*), 'On the earth Vishṇu strode by means of the gâyatrî metre: excluded therefrom is he who hates us, and whom we hate!' 'In the air Vishṇu strode by means of the trishṭubh metre: excluded therefrom is he who hates us, and whom we hate!' 'In the sky Vishṇu strode by means of the gagatî metre: excluded therefrom is he who hates us, and whom we hate!' When one has thus ascended these worlds, that is the goal, that the safe refuge: the rays of him (the sun) who burns there, are the righteous (departed)¹; and what highest light there is², that is Pragâpati or the heavenly world. Having then in this way ascended these worlds, he reaches that goal, that safe refuge. Now he who wishes to give instructions from hence, should come hitherwards from above. Twofold is the reason why he should come hitherwards from above:

11. By (or, from) the escape (of the enemies)³ indeed the conquering gods formerly gained first the sky, and then this aërial expanse; and there-

¹ In VI, 5, 4, 8 we shall meet with the statement, that 'the stars (nakshatra) are the lights of righteous men who go to the heavenly world.' In the same passage, however (as in others), the nakshatras (lunar mansions) are represented as divine female beings (with unclipped wings; cf. *Vâg. S. XI, 61*), with whom, in IX, 4, 1, 9, the moon is said to live together, as the Gandharvas with the Apsaras.

² See par. 16 with note. The Kânva text reads, 'yat param bhâti.'

³ *Apasaraṇataḥ*; i. e. by allowing the enemies to escape, viz. first from the sky to the air, and then from the air to the earth. It also, however, has the meaning of 'from escape'; that is, the gods drove the enemies to the earth, whence there was no escape for them.

upon they drove their enemies away from this (earth), whence there was no escape. And in like manner he (the priest) also by the escape (of the enemies) gains first the sky, and then this aërial expanse; and thereupon he drives his enemies away from this (earth), whence there is no escape. This earth indeed is a firm footing: hence he thereby stands firm on this firm footing.

12. And in this way also (he may stride)¹: 'In the sky Vishṇu strode by means of the *gagatt* metre: excluded therefrom is he who hates us, and whom we hate!' 'In the air Vishṇu strode by means of the *trishṭubh* metre: excluded therefrom is he who hates us, and whom we hate!' 'On the earth Vishṇu strode by means of the *gâyatrî* metre: excluded therefrom is he who hates us, and whom we hate!'—With the texts (*Vâg. S. II, 25 d, e*), '(Excluded) from this food! from this resort!' (*pratishṭhâ*, he looks down upon his portion and the altar respectively.) For on this (earth) all this food is safely established (*pratishṭhita*): for this reason he says, 'From this food! from this resort!'

13. He then looks towards the east. The east, indeed, is the region of the gods: for this reason he looks towards the east.

14. He looks, with the text (*Vâg. S. II, 25 f*), 'We have gone to the realm of light (*svar*).' The

¹ The sacrificer in making the strides of Vishṇu, may begin either with the stride on earth or with that in the sky (*Kâty. III, 8, 11, 12*). He begins from the southern hip (or south-west corner) of the altar, and makes three strides eastward with his right foot in front, reciting one formula with each stride, along the south side of the altar up to the *Âhavanîya* fire.

realm of light assuredly means the gods: hence he thereby says, 'We have gone to the gods.'—With (ib. g), 'We have united with splendour' (he looks on the Âhavanîya fire): he thereby says, 'We have united with the gods.'

15. He then looks up to the sun, for that is the final goal, that the safe resort. To that final goal, to that resort he thereby goes: for this reason he looks up to the sun.

16. He looks up, with the text (Vâg. S. II, 26 a), 'Self-existent art thou, the best ray of light!' The sun is indeed the best ray of light¹, and therefore he says, 'Self-existent art thou, the best ray of light.' "Light-bestowing art thou: give me light (varṇas)!" so say I,' said Yâgñavalkya, 'for at this indeed the Brâhmana should strive, that he be brahmavarṇasin (illumed by the brahma, or sacred writ).' Aupoditeya², on the other hand, said, 'He indeed will give me cows³: (therefore I say), "Cow-giving art thou, give me cows!"' Thus whatever wish he (the sacrificer) entertains (and expresses), that wish is granted to him.

17. He then turns (from left to right), with the text (Vâg. S. II, 26 b), 'I move along the course of

¹ Seven rays of the sun are mentioned, Rig-veda I, 105, 9; II, 5, 2; Âth.-veda VII, 107, 1. Mahidhara remarks that four of them lie in, or point to, the four quarters; one pointing upwards and another downwards; and the seventh, and best, being the disc of the sun itself, called Hiranyagarbha. This apparently is the param bhâs, or most excellent light, which in par. 10 is identified with Pragâpati, or the heavenly world.

² That is, Tumiṅga Aupoditeya Vaiyâghrapadya, as the Kâṇva text reads; cf. Taitt. S. I, 7, 2, 1.

³ The heavenly rays of light are regarded as the heavenly cows, Naigh. I, 5; Nir. II, 6.

the sun;’ having reached that final goal, that safe resort, he now moves along the course of that (sun)¹.

18. Thereupon he steps to (upa-sthâ) the Gârhapatya fire. Twofold is the reason why he steps to the Gârhapatya : the Gârhapatya is a house, and a house is a safe resort, hence he thereby stays in a house, that is, in a safe resort. And, besides, what full measure of human life there is for him here, that he thereby attains (upa-sthâ). This is why he steps to the Gârhapatya fire.

19. He steps to it, with the text (Vâg. S. II, 27 a), ‘O householder Agni, may I become a good householder through thee, O Agni, the householder! Mayest thou, O Agni, become a good householder through me, the householder!’ there is nothing in this requiring explanation.—‘May our household matters be unlike a cart with only one bullock,’ he thereby says, ‘may our household matters be free from calamities;’—‘for a hundred winters!’ he thereby says, ‘may I live a hundred years.’ He need not, however, say this; for man lives even longer than a hundred years : hence he need not say this.

20. He then turns (from left to right), with the text (Vâg. S. II, 27 b), ‘I move along the course of the sun:’ having reached that final goal, that safe resort, he now moves along the course of that (sun).

21. Now (in pronouncing the following text) he

¹ When he has executed the *pradakshinâ* movement, he has to repeat the movement in the opposite direction, in accordance with the general rule, Kâty. I, 8, 24. The same applies to par. 20. On the sun-wise circumambulation, with and without fire, see p. 37 note, p. 45 note; also Martin, *Western Isles*, pp. 16–20, 85, 97, 116–119, 241, 277; Forbes Leslie, *Early Races of Scotland*, index, s. v. *deisiol*.

inserts his son's name: 'May this son (N. N.) carry on this manly deed of mine¹!' Should he have no son, let him insert his own name.

22. He then steps up to the Âhavanīya fire. Silently he steps to it, thinking, 'In the east my sacrifice shall be completed!'

23. Thereupon he divests himself of the vow, with the text (Vâg. S. II, 28 b), 'Now am I he that I really am.' For, in entering upon the vow, he becomes, as it were, non-human; and as it would not be becoming for him to say, 'I enter from truth into untruth;' and as, in fact, he now again becomes man, let him therefore divest himself of the vow, with the text, 'Now am I he that I really am².'

¹ The Mâdhyandina text of the Vâg. S. does not give this formula. The Kâṇva text of the Samhitâ has the following (Weber's edition, p. 59), 'Woven art thou, a web art thou: weave me along (? extend my life) at this sacrifice, at this holy deed, in this food, in this world!' 'May my son weave on (continue) this work, this manly deed of mine!' Thus also Kâty. III, 8, 25. The Kâṇva text of the Brâhmana, however, mentions only the formula given above. According to Laugâkshi he names his favourite son; according to Sâṅkhâyaṇa, his eldest son, or as many sons as he has. See comm. on Kâty. IV, 12, 11.

² See I, 1, 1, 6. For another mode of divesting oneself of the vow, see I, 1, 1, 3.

SECOND KĀNDA.

THE AGNYĀDHĀNA, THE AGNIHOTRA, THE
PINDAPITRĪYAGŪA, THE ĀGRAYANESHṬI,
AND THE KĀTURMĀSYĀNI.

I. THE AGNYĀDHĀNA OR ESTABLISHMENT OF THE
SACRED FIRES.

FIRST ADHYĀYA. FIRST BRĀHMANA.

THE Agny-âdhâna (or Agny-âdheya), or ceremony of establishing a set of sacrificial fires, on the part of a young householder, is, as a rule, performed on the first day of the waxing moon. Some authorities also allow the performance to take place at full moon, probably in order to enable the newly-married couple to enter on their sacred duties with as little delay as possible. Moreover, special benefits are supposed to accrue to the performer of the ceremony from the conjunction of the new moon with certain lunar asterisms; though the author of our work, at any rate, does not seem greatly to encourage this practice, but rather to urge the pious householder to set up fires of his own, whenever he feels a longing for the sacrifice.

The normal performance of the Agnyâdhâna, as that of the full and new-moon offerings, requires two days; the first of which is taken up with preliminary rites, while the second—that is, the first day of the respective half-moon—is devoted to the chief ceremonies, beginning with the production of the sacred fire by friction. (See II, 1, 4, 8 seq.)

After the sacrificer has chosen his four officiating priests—viz. the Brahman, Hotri, Adhvaryu, and Āgnidhra (or Agnidh)—he proceeds, together with them, to erect the two sheds or ‘fire-houses.’ In order to determine their exact sites, the Adhvaryu first draws from west to east the so-called ‘easterly’ line (cf. I, 2, 5, 14), and on it marks, at 8, 11, or 12 prakramas or steps from each other, the centres of the Gârhapatya and Âhavanîya fire-places, the outlines of which he then traces, making each a square aratni or cubit in area, the former circular, the latter square. The Dakshi-

nâgni or *Anvâhârya-paṭana*, if it is required at all, is of the same area, but of semicircular form, and lies south of the space between the altar and the *Gârhapatya* fire. The *Gârhapatya* fire-house is constructed with its laths running either from west to east, or from south to north, and a door on the south side; and so as to enclose both the *Gârhapatya* and *Dakshina* fires. The *Âhavanīya* fire-house, on the other hand, with its laths necessarily running from west to east, and an entrance from the east, contains the *Âhavanīya* fire and the altar (*vedi*) adjoining it on the west, and partly enclosing it with its 'shoulders' on the north and south sides. The two houses are also open to each other on the inner side; and sufficient space is left on all sides for freely moving around the fires.

The *Adhvaryu* then procures a temporary fire,—either producing it by friction, or obtaining it from certain specified sources in the village,—and after the usual fivefold lustration of the *Gârhapatya* fire-place (cf. p. 2), he lays down the fire thereon. Towards sunset the sacrificer [while seated east of the *Âhavanīya* house] invokes the gods and manes with 'Gods, fathers! fathers, gods! I sacrifice, being who I am; neither will I exclude him whose I am: mine own shall be the offering, mine own the toiling, mine own the sacrifice!' He then enters the *Âhavanīya* house from the east, passes through it to the *Gârhapatya*, and sits down behind (west of) the fire; his wife at the same time entering the *Gârhapatya* house from the south and seating herself south of him,—both facing the east. Thereupon the *Adhvaryu* hands to the sacrificer two pieces of wood (*arani*),—if possible, of *asvattha*, grown out of a *samî* tree,—to be used next morning for the production (or 'churning') of the sacred fire by one of them (the upper *arani*) being rapidly drilled in a hole in the other (or lower *arani*). [The sacrificer and his wife then lay the upper and lower sticks respectively on their laps; whereupon certain propitiatory ceremonies are performed by them, and honours are paid to the priests and the sticks; and the latter are finally deposited on a seat.] In the house of the *Gârhapatya* a he-goat may then be tied up for the night, which, if it belong to the sacrificer, is to be presented by him to the *Âgnidhra* on the completion of the sacrifice.

After sunset the *Adhvaryu* measures out four vessels of husked rice grains—each containing three handfuls, which quantity is considered sufficient to furnish a meal for one man—on an ox-hide died red [and spread out with the hairy side upwards and the neck-part to the east]. With this rice the (*odana*) *kâtushprâsya*, or 'pap) to be eaten by the four (priests),' is prepared on the provisional *Gârhapatya* fire. When it is ready, the *Adhvaryu* makes a hollow in the pap and pours clarified butter into it. He then takes

three kindling-sticks (*samidh*), anoints them with some of that ghee, and puts them on the fire one after another, with texts (cf. note on II, 1, 4, 5). Thereupon the sacrificer [having paid due honours to the priests by washing their feet and giving them perfumes and wreaths, &c., and assigned to each his share] bids them eat.

During the night the sacrificer and his wife have to remain awake and keep up the fire. When the night clears up, the *Adhvaryu* extinguishes the fire, or, if there is to be a *Dakṣiṇāgni*, he takes it southwards and keeps it in a safe place till that fire is made up. He then draws with the wooden sword three lines across the fire-place and proceeds with the preparation of the hearth-mounds in the way set forth in the first *Brāhmaṇa* of this Book.

1. Now when he equips (*Agni*, the fire) from this and that quarter, that is the equipping (of the fire) with its equipments¹. In whatever (objects) some of (the nature of) *Agni* is inherent, therewith he equips (the fire); and in thus equipping it he supplies it partly with splendour, partly with cattle, partly with a mate.

2. In the first place he (the *Adhvaryu*) draws (three) lines (with the wooden sword on the *Gârha-patya* fire-place²). Whatever part of this earth

¹ The verb here translated by 'to equip,' is *sam-bhṛi*, 'to carry, or bring, together, to collect;' and then 'to make the necessary preparations, to prepare;' hence *sambhâra*, 'the preparation, outfit,' the technical term for the objects employed in the preparation of the fire-place, with the view of symbolically ensuring success to the fire. In paragraphs 3 seq. the primary meaning 'to bring (together)' has been used, except where it seemed desirable to preserve its technical sense.

² The three lines drawn across the fire-place form a necessary part of its lustration; see p. 2. According to the *Paddhati* on *Kâty.* IV, 8, the *Adhvaryu* first makes the fivefold lustration of the hearth, and thereupon again draws the mystic lines (? or draws the outline of the fire-place, cf. *Kâty.* IV, 8, 16) and proceeds with the *sambhâras*; viz. he sprinkles the lines with water, while the sacrificer takes hold of him from behind; then puts down a piece of gold, and on it throws salt soil and the mould of a mole-hill, with which he forms the hearth-mound (*khara*)—circular in

is either trodden or spit upon, that he thereby removes from it; and he thus establishes his fire on earth that is entirely proper for the sacrifice: this is why he draws lines (across the fire-place).

3. He then sprinkles (the lines) with water. When he thus sprinkles (the fire-place) with water, that is the equipment (of the fire) with water. The reason why he brings water is that water is food; for water is indeed food: hence when water comes to this world, food is produced here. Thus he thereby supplies it (the fire) with food.

4. Water (ap, fem.), moreover, is female, and fire (agni, masc.) is male; so that he thereby supplies the latter with a productive mate. And since all this (universe) is pervaded (or obtained, āpta) by water, he sets up the fire, after he has obtained it by means of water¹. This is why he brings water.

5. He then brings (a piece of) gold. Now Agni at one time cast his eyes on the waters²: 'May I pair with them,' he thought. He came together with them; and his seed became gold³. For this reason the latter shines like fire, it being Agni's

the case of the Gârhapatya, square the Âhavanîya, and semicircular the Dakshinâgni; but each equal in area to a square aratni or cubit. Along the edge of the mound he then lays pebbles close to each other [50 on the Gârhapatya, 73 on the Âhavanîya, and 22 on the Dakshinâgni, according to the Schol. on Kâty. IV, 8, 16]. According to some authorities, the piece of gold is laid on the top of the mound. He thus prepares successively the Gârhapatya, Âhavanîya, and Dakshina hearths; afterwards, if required, those of the Sabhya and Avasathya fires, which are, like the Gârhapatya, of circular form.

¹ An etymological play on the word ap, āpaḥ, 'water,' and the verb āp, 'to obtain, pervade.'

² In the version of this myth given Taitt. Br. I, 1, 3, 8, the waters courted by Agni are called Varuṇa's wives.

³ Tāḥ sambabhūva tāsu retāḥ prāsiñḥat tad hiranyam abhavat.

seed. Hence it (gold) is found in water, for he (Agni) poured it into the water. Hence also one does not cleanse oneself with it¹, nor does one do anything else with it. Now there is splendour (for the fire): for he thereby makes it to be possessed of divine seed, bestows splendour on it; and sets up a fire completely endowed with seed. That is why he brings gold.

6. He then brings salt. Yonder sky assuredly bestowed that (salt as) cattle on this earth: hence they say that salt soil is suitable for cattle. That (salt), therefore, means cattle; and thus he thereby visibly supplies it (the fire) with cattle; and the latter having come from yonder (sky) is securely established on this earth. Moreover, that (salt) is believed to be the savour (*rasa*) of those two, the sky and the earth²: so that he thereby supplies it (the fire) with the savour of those two, the sky and the earth. That is why he brings salt.

7. He then brings (the earth of) a mole-hill (*ākhu-kartsha*)³. The moles certainly know the

¹ *Sâyana* interprets *enena na dhāvayati* by 'he does not clean (his teeth) with it';—the *St. Petersburg Dict.* by 'he does not get himself conveyed (driven) by it.' The *Kāṇva* text has: *Tasmād enad apsv evānuvindanty apsu punanty apsu hy enat prāsiñkan nainena dhāvayanti na kim kṇa kurvanti*.

² Cf. *Taitt. Br. I, 1, 3, 2*: 'The sky and the earth were (originally) close together. On being separated they said to each other, "Let there be a common sacrificial essence (*yagnīyam*) for us!" What sacrificial essence there was belonging to yonder sky, that it bestowed on this earth, that became the salt (in the earth); and what sacrificial essence there was belonging to this earth, that it bestowed on yonder sky, that became the black (spots) in the moon. When he throws salt (on the fire-place), let him think it to be that (*viz.* the black in the moon): it is on the sacrificial essence of the sky and the earth that he sets up his fire.'

³ On the mythic connection of (the white, sharp teeth of) the

savour of this earth : hence, by entering deeper and deeper into this earth, they (grow) very fat, knowing, as they do, its savour ; and wherever they know the savour of this earth to be, there they cast it up. Hence he thereby supplies it (the fire) with the savour of this earth : that is why he brings a mole-hill. Moreover, they say of one who has attained prosperity (or splendour, *sri*) that he is *purīshya* ; and *purīsha* and *karīsha*¹ doubtless mean one and the same thing : it is, therefore, for his (Agni's or the sacrificer's) attainment of splendour (*sri*) that he brings a mole-hill.

8. He then brings pebbles. Now the gods and the Asuras, both of them sprung from Pragâpati, once contended for superiority. This earth was then trembling like a lotus-leaf ; for the wind was tossing it hither and thither : now it came near the gods, now it came near the Asuras. When it came near the gods,—

9. They said, 'Come, let us steady this resting-place ; and when firm and steady, let us set up

ākhu (mole, mouse, rat), as of that of the boar, with the thunder-bolt, see Dr. A. Kuhn's ingenious remarks, 'Herabkunft des Feuers und des Göttertranks,' p. 202. According to Taitt. Br. I, 1, 3, 3, Agni at one time concealed himself from the gods, and having become a mole, dug himself into the earth ; so that the mole-hills thrown up by him, have some of Agni's nature attaching to them. The Taittirīyas also put on the hearth the earth of an ant-hill, which the Brāhmaṇa (in the same way as our author does of the mole-hill) represents as the savour (or marrow, essence) of the earth.

¹ The primary meaning of *karīsha* is 'that which is scattered, or strewn about,' hence 'refuse, rubbish' (and *ākhu-karīsha*, 'mole-cast'). Its secondary meaning, as is that of *purīsha*, is 'manure' (or perhaps also 'soft, rich mould'), an article naturally valued by an agricultural population. See I, 2, 5, 17, where *purīsha* is taken symbolically to represent cattle.

the two fires on it; whereupon we will exclude our enemies from any share in it.'

10. Accordingly, in like manner as one would stretch a skin by means of wooden pins, they fastened down this resting-place; and it formed a firm and steady resting-place. And when it was firm and steady, they set up the two fires on it; and thereupon they excluded their enemies from any share in it¹.

11. And in like manner that one (the Adhvaryu) now fastens down that resting-place by means of pebbles; and on it, when firm and steady, he sets up the two fires; whereupon he excludes the (sacrificer's) enemies from any share in it. This is the reason why he brings pebbles.

12. These then are the five equipments²: for fivefold is the sacrifice, fivefold the animal victim; and five seasons there are in the year.

¹ The corresponding myth of Taitt. Br. I, 1, 3, 5, though very different from ours, yet presents one or two points of resemblance. According to it, nothing was to be seen in the beginning except water and a lotus-leaf standing out above it. Pragâpati (being bent on creating the firm ground) bethought himself that the lotus-stalk must rest on something; and having assumed the form of a boar, he dived and brought up some of the earth. This he spread out (prath) on the lotus-leaf, whence originated the earth (prithivî), which he then fastened down by means of pebbles. Hence the latter are put on the hearth in order to afford a firm foundation for the fire.

² According to the authorities of the Black Yagur-veda there are not five, but fourteen sambhâras, seven of which are taken from the earth, viz. sand, salt, a mole-hill, an ant-hill, mire from a dried-up pool, pebbles, and gold; while the remaining seven consist of pieces of wood from the arvattha, udumbara, palâsa (? two pieces), samf, and vikankata trees, and from some tree that has been struck by lightning. The sprinkling of water about the fire-place is not counted by them as a sambhâra, but as one of the usual acts of lustration. Taitt. Br. I, 1, 3 seq.

13. Now, as to this, they say, 'Six seasons there are in the year.' And in that case the very deficiency (nyûna) itself is rendered a productive union¹, since it is from the lower part (nyûna, i. e. of the body) that offspring is here brought forth. Thus also a progressive improvement² (is assured to the sacrificer): for this reason there are five equipments. And when (it is nevertheless insisted on that) there are six seasons in the year, then Agni is the sixth of them, and thus there is no deficiency.

14. Here also they say, 'He should not equip it even with a single equipment!' For (they argue) all those (objects) are on this earth, and hence, when he establishes the fire on this earth, the latter of itself obtains all those equipments: he need not, therefore, equip it with a single equipment. But let him nevertheless bring (those objects) together; for when he establishes the fire on this (earth), then it obtains all the equipments; and what (benefit) accrues from the equipments being brought together, that also accrues to it³. Let him for that reason bring (the objects) together.

¹ Or, a deficient pairing is effected (on account of the uneven number). I do not quite understand Sâyana's interpretation of the passage, the published text of the commentary being apparently corrupt in one or two places. The Kâṇva text reads: *Tad âhuḥ shad' vâ ritavaḥ samvatsarasasyeti yadi vai sha' ritavaḥ samvatsarasya nyûnam u vai pragananam nyûnâd vâ imâḥ pragâḥ pragâyante, &c.*

² Literally, 'a prevailing (or advancing) better-to-morrow,' *svaḥ-sreyasam uttarâvat*.

³ The drift of the author's reasoning evidently is that it is safer, by putting those objects on the fire-place, to make sure of the magic benefits of those symbols being really secured to the fire, and thereby to the sacrificer. The Kâṇva text of this paragraph, though differently worded, yields the same sense; except that it refers to

SECOND BRĀHMANA.

1. He may set up the two fires¹ under the *Kṛittikās*; for they, the *Kṛittikās*, are doubtless Agni's asterism, so that if he sets up his fires under Agni's asterism, (he will bring about) a correspondence (between his fires and the asterism): for this reason he may set up his fires under the *Kṛittikās*.

2. Moreover, the other lunar asterisms (consist of) one, two, three or four (stars), so that the *Kṛittikās* are the most numerous (of asterisms)²: hence he thereby obtains an abundance. For this reason he may set up his fires under the *Kṛittikās*.

3. And again, they do not move away from the eastern quarter, whilst the other asterisms do move from the eastern quarter. Thus his (two fires) are established in the eastern quarter: for this reason he may set up his fires under the *Kṛittikās*.

4. On the other hand (it is argued) why he should not set up the fires under the *Kṛittikās*. Originally, namely, the latter were the wives of the Bears (*riksha*); for the seven *Rishis*³ were in former times

the sacrificer himself and to the wishes he entertains in collecting the objects.

¹ That is, the *Gārhapatya* and *Āhavanīya*, the two principal fires.

² Whilst the *Kṛittikās*, or *Pleiades*, are supposed to consist of seven (or, according to others, of six) stars, the remaining twenty-six *nakshatras* or lunar mansions, according to our author, vary between one and four stars. Hence the *Kṛittikās* are also called *Bahulās*, 'the numerous.' In the later accounts, however, a larger number of stars is attributed to several *nakshatras*. Cf. Weber, *Nakshatra*, II, pp. 368, 381. The *Kāṇva* text has: 'Other *nakshatras* are (i. e. consist of) four; and there is here an abundance, so that he thereby obtains abundance.'

³ *Saptarshī*, or the seven *Rishis*, is the designation of the

called the *Rīkshas* (bears). They were, however, precluded from intercourse (with their husbands), for the latter, the seven *Rīshis*, rise in the north, and they (the *Kṛittikās*) in the east. Now it is a misfortune for one to be precluded from intercourse (with his wife): he should therefore not set up his fires under the *Kṛittikās*, lest he should thereby be precluded from intercourse.

5. But he may nevertheless set up (his fire under the *Kṛittikās*); for Agni doubtless is their mate, and it is with Agni that they have intercourse: for this reason he may set up (the fire under the *Kṛittikās*).

6. He may also set up his fires under (the asterism of) *Rohinī*. For under *Rohinī* it was that *Pragāpati*, when desirous of progeny (or creatures), set up his fires. He created beings, and the creatures produced by him remained invariable and constant¹, like (red) cows (*rohinī*): hence the cow-like nature of *Rohinī*. Rich in cattle and offspring therefore he becomes whosoever, knowing this, sets up his fires under *Rohinī*.

7. Under *Rohinī*, indeed, the cattle set up their fires, thinking that they might attain to (*ruh*) the desire (or love) of men. They did attain to the

constellation of Ursa Major, or the Wain. In the *Rig-veda*, *rīkshāḥ* (bears) occurs once (I, 24, 10), either in the same restricted sense, or in that of stars generally.

¹ 'Tā asya *pragāḥ sriṣṭā* *ekarūpā upastabdhās tasthū rohinya iva.*' The *Kāṇva* text reads: *Tam imāḥ pragāḥ sriṣṭā rohinya ivopastabdhās tasthur ekarūpā iva.* *Sāyana* interprets *upastabdhāḥ* ('propped up, erect,' established) by '*pratibaddhagātayaḥ* (of continuous lineage),' and *ekarūpāḥ* ('uniform') by '*avikkhin-napravāhāḥ* (of uninterrupted flow or succession).' In *Taitt. Br.* I, 1, 2, 2, it is stated that *Pragāpati* created Agni under (the asterism) *Rohinī*, and that the gods then set up that fire under the same asterism.

desire of men; and whatever desire the cattle then obtained in regard to men, that same desire he obtains, in regard to cattle, whosoever, knowing this, sets up his fire under Rohiṇī.

8. He may also set up his fires under (the asterism of) *Mrigaśrsha*. For *Mrigaśrsha*, indeed, is the head of *Pragâpati*¹; and the head (*siras*) means excellence (*sri*), for the head does indeed mean excellence: hence they say of him who is the most excellent (*śreshṭha*) of a community, that he is the head of that community. Excellence therefore he attains whosoever, knowing this, sets up his fire under *Mrigaśrsha*.

9. On the other hand (it is argued) why one should not set up his fire under *Mrigaśrsha*². The latter, indeed, is *Pragâpati*'s body. Now, when they (the gods) on that occasion pierced him³ with what is called 'the three-knotted arrow,' he abandoned that

¹ For the mythical allusions in this and the succeeding paragraphs, we have to compare Sat. Br. I, 7, 4, 1; Ait. Br. III, 33. According to the version of the myth given in the latter work, *Pragâpati* transformed himself into a roe-buck (*ṛiṣya*) and approached his own daughter (either the sky, or the dawn), who had assumed the shape of a doe (*rohit*). Out of their most fearful forms the gods then fashioned a divine being called *Bhûtavat* (i. e. *Rudra*), in order to punish *Pragâpati* for his incestuous deed. The latter was accordingly pierced by *Bhûtavat*'s arrow and bounded up to the sky, where he became the constellation called *Mriga* (i. e. *Mrigaśrsha*), while his daughter became the asterism *Rohiṇī*. The arrow on the other hand, with which *Pragâpati* was pierced, became the constellation called 'the three-knotted arrow (perhaps the girdle of Orion).'

² The Black Yagur does not recommend this asterism for the performance of agnyâdheya.

³ The *Kânva* text reads, 'When, on that occasion, that god (viz. *Rudra*) pierced him with the three-knotted arrow.'

body, for the body is a mere relic (or dwelling, *vâstu*), unholy and sapless. He should therefore not set up his fires under *Mrigaśrsha*.

10. But he may, nevertheless, set them up (under *Mrigaśrsha*). For, assuredly, the body of that god, *Pragâpati*, is neither a relic nor unholy¹: he may therefore set up (his fires under *Mrigaśrsha*). 'Under the *Punarvasû* he should perform the *Punarâdheya*²,' thus (it is prescribed).

11. He may also set up his fires under the *Phalgunis*. They, the *Phalgunis*, are *Indra's* asterism³, and even correspond to him in name; for indeed *Indra* is also called *Arguna*, this being his mystic name; and they (the *Phalgunis*) are also called *Argunîs*. Hence he overtly calls them *Phalgunis*, for who dares to use his (the god's) mystic name? Moreover, the sacrificer himself is *Indra*, so that he in that case sets up his fires under his own asterism. *Indra* is the deity of the sacrifice; and accordingly his *Agnîâdheya* is thereby brought

¹ *Na vâ etasya devasya vâstu nâyagñiyam na sarîram asti.—Na vai tasya vâstu na nivîryam nâyagñiyam asti*, 'for the relic of that (god) is neither sapless nor impure.' *Kârva* recension.

² I.e. the repetition of the *âdheya*, or setting up of his fires, a ceremony which has to be performed in the event of the *âdheya* having proved unsuccessful; that is, in case he should not have prospered or even sustained losses. The direction has been inserted in this place on account of the position of *Punarvasû*, as the fifth mansion, between *Mrigaśrsha*, the third, and (*Pûrva* and *Uttara*) *Phalgunîs*, the ninth and tenth mansions, in the original order of the *nakshatras*.

³ In *Taitt. Br. I, 1, 2, 4*, the *Pûrve Phalgunî* are assigned to *Aryaman*, and the *Uttare Phalgunî* to *Bhaga*. While, however, both these asterisms are there recommended for the *agnîâdheya*, the *Pûrve Phalgunî* are rejected as unsuitable further on, in par. 8 (? a later addition).

into relation with Indra. He may set up the fires under the first (Pûrva-phalgunis)—whereby an advancing (successful) sacrifice accrues to him; or he may set them up under the second (Uttara-phalgunis)—whereby a progressive (uttarâvat) improvement accrues to him.

12. Let him set up his fires under the asterism Hasta¹, whosoever should wish that (presents) should be offered him: then indeed (that will take place) forthwith; for whatever is offered with the hand (hasta), that indeed is given to him.

13. He may also set up his fires under Kitrâ. Now the gods and the Asuras, both of them sprung from Pragâpati, were contending for superiority. Both parties were desirous of rising to yonder world, the sky. The Asuras then constructed the fire (altar) called *rauhina* (fit to ascend by), thinking, 'Thereby we shall ascend (â-ruh) to the sky².'

¹ In the Taitt. Br. this asterism is not mentioned as suitable for the agnyâdheya. The Âsv. S. II, 1, 10 omits both Hasta and Kitrâ; but permits the asterisms Visâkhe and Uttare Prosh/hapade.

² In Taitt. Br. I, 1, 2, 4-6 this myth is related as follows: 'There were Asuras, named Kâlakañgas. They constructed a fire (altar) with a view to (gaining) the world of heaven. They put, every man of them, a brick to it. Indra, passing himself off for a Brâhman, put a brick on for himself, saying, "This one, Kitrâ (the wonderful or bright one) by name, is for me!" They climbed up to heaven; Indra, however, pulled out his brick, and they tumbled down. And they who tumbled down, became spiders: two of them flew up, and they became the two heavenly dogs.'" On this myth, Dr. A. Kuhn, 'Über entwicklungsstufen der mythenbildung,' p. 129, remarks: 'The myth given in Homer's Od. xi, 305-325, of Otos and Ephialtes, who, in order to fight the immortal gods, piled Ossa on Olympos, and Pelion on Ossa, ὅτι οὐρανὸς ἄμφοτεροσφύγγοντες, and who are destroyed by Apollon, shows an obvious resemblance to these Indian myths; the more so, if we divest the latter of their Brâhmanical form, by which altar-bricks are sub-

14. Indra then considered¹, 'If they construct that (fire-altar), they will certainly prevail over us.' He secured a brick and proceeded thither, passing himself off for a Brâhman.

15. 'Hark ye!' he said, 'I, too, will put on this (brick) for myself!' 'Very well,' they replied. He put it on. That fire (altar) of theirs wanted but very little to be completely built up,—

16. When he said, 'I shall take back this (brick) which belongs to me.' He took hold of it and pulled it out; and on its being pulled out, the fire-altar fell down; and along with the falling fire-altar the Asuras fell down. He then converted those bricks into thunderbolts and clove the (Asuras') necks.

17. Thereupon the gods assembled and said, 'Wonderfully (*ĕitram*) indeed it has fared with us who have slain so many enemies!' Hence the wonderful nature (*ĕitrâtva*)² of the asterism

stituted for mountains; and if we bear in mind that the later versions of the myth, e. g. in the well-known passage of Ovid, put the Gigantes in the place of the Aloades.' See also Weber, *Nakshatra*, II, p. 372.

¹ The *Kânva* text here proceeds thus: The gods then were afraid and said, 'If those (Asuras) complete (*samâsyanti*) that (fire-altar), they will prevail over us.' Then Indra having fastened a brick with the lightning-band (*ârkenâ dâmnâ*) went thither passing himself off for a Brâhman. He said, 'I, too, will put on this (brick) for myself.' They said, 'On then (*upa hi*)!' He put it on. That (fire-altar) wanted but very little to be built up, when he said, 'I shall take this (brick) which is mine.' 'Take it then (*â hi*)!' they said. Then seizing it (*tâm abhihâya*) he pulled it out. On its being pulled out the fire-altar tumbled down. On the fire-altar having tumbled down he made thunderbolts with those bricks and smote those (Asuras). Then the gods prevailed and the Asuras were worsted, &c.

² Or, perhaps, its identity with (Indra's brick) *Kitrâ*; cf. preceding note.

Kitrâ ; and verily wonderfully it fares with him, and he slays his rivals, his spiteful enemy, whosoever, knowing this, sets up his fires under *Kitrâ*. A Kshatriya, therefore, should especially desire to take advantage of this asterism; since such a one is anxious to strike, to vanquish his enemies.

18. Originally these (nakshatras) were so many different powers (kshatra), just as that sun yonder. But as soon as he rose, he took from them (â-dâ) their energy, their power; therefore he (the sun) is called *Âditya*, because he took from them their energy, their power¹.

19. The gods then said, 'They who have been powers, shall no longer (na) be powers (kshatra)²!' Hence the powerlessness (na-kshatratvam) of the nakshatras. For this reason also one need only take the sun for one's nakshatra (star), since he took away from them their energy, their power. But if he (the sacrificer) should nevertheless be desirous of having a nakshatra (under which to set up his fires), then assuredly that sun is a faultless nakshatra for him; and through that auspicious day (marked by the rising and setting of the sun) he should endeavour to obtain the benefits of whichever of those asterisms he might desire. Let him therefore take the sun alone for his nakshatra³.

¹ The *Kânva* text reads: *Tâni ha vâ etâni kshatrâni nânaiva tepur yathâsau vâ sûryas khandramâ vâ; teshâm hodyann evâdityaâ kshatram vîryam tegaâ pralulopa, tad vaishâm âdade.*

² This etymology of nakshatra is of course quite fanciful. For Aufrecht's probably correct derivation of the word from *nak ta-tra*, 'night-protector,' cf. *Zeitschrift für vergl. Sprachf.*, VIII, pp. 71, 72. See also Weber, *Nakshatra*, II, p. 268.

³ The *Kânva* text reads: *Tasmân na nakshatram âdriyeta yadaivaisha kadâ kôdiyâd apy âdadhitaisha hi sarvâni kshatrâni;*

THIRD BRĀHMAṆA.

1. The spring, the summer, and the rains, these seasons (represent) the gods; and the autumn, the winter, and the dewy season represent the fathers. That half-moon which increases represents the gods, and that which decreases represents the fathers. The day represents the gods, and the night represents the fathers. And, further, the forenoon represents the gods, and the afternoon the fathers.

2. Those seasons, then, are the gods and the fathers; and whosoever, knowing this, invokes them as the gods and fathers, with his invocation of the gods the gods comply, and with his invocation of the fathers the fathers comply. Him the gods favour at his invocation of the gods, and him the fathers favour at his invocation of the fathers, whosoever, knowing this, invokes (the seasons) as the gods and fathers.

3. Now when he (the sun) moves northwards, then he is among the gods, then he guards the gods; and when he moves southwards, then he is among the fathers, then he guards the fathers¹.

4. When he (the sun) moves northwards, then one may set up his fires;—the gods have the evil dis-

yadyu nakshatrakāmaḥ syād upo āsita nakshatram ahāsyā bhavati no etasyānudayo 'sti tasmād v apy upaina(m ā)sita, 'he need therefore not attend to any nakshatra; but may set up his fires at any time when that (sun) rises, for he (the sun) is all the kshatras. Should he nevertheless be desirous of a nakshatra, let him approach (the sun) with veneration; for then there is a nakshatra for him, and that (sun) does not fail to rise: for this reason let him approach (the sun) with veneration.'

¹ According to the Kāṇva text, it is the rising sun, that guards the god-seasons and father-seasons respectively.

pelled from them (by the sun): he (the sacrificer) therefore dispels the evil from himself;—the gods are immortal: he therefore, though there is for him no prospect of immortality, attains the (full measure of) life, whosoever sets up his fires during that time. Whosoever, on the other hand, sets up his fires when (the sun) moves southwards, he does not dispel the evil from him,—since the fathers have not the evil dispelled from them (by the sun). The fathers are mortal: hence he dies before (he has attained the full measure of) life, whosoever sets up his fires during that time.

5. The spring is the priesthood, the summer the nobility, and the rainy season the common people (*vis*): a Brāhman therefore should set up his fires in spring, since the spring is the priesthood; and a Kshatriya should set them up in summer, since the summer is the nobility; and a Vaisya should set them up in the rainy season, since the rainy season is the common people.

6. And whosoever¹ desires to become endowed with holy lustre (*brahmavarṇasin*), let him set up his fires in spring,—for the spring is the priesthood,—and he will certainly become endowed with holy lustre.

7. And whosoever desires to become a power (*kshatra*)² in prosperity and renown, let him set up his fires in summer,—for the summer is the nobility (*kshatra*),—and he will certainly become a power in prosperity and renown.

8. And whosoever may desire to be rich in pro-

¹ I. e. whatsoever Brāhman, as the Kāṇva text reads.

² *Kshatram sriyā yasāḥ syām iti*. The Kāṇva text reads: *Kshatrasya pratimā syām sriyā yasaseti*, 'whosoever should wish to be an image of the kshatra in wealth and glory.'

geny and cattle, let him set up his fires in the rainy season¹,—for the rainy season is the common people, and the people means food,—and he certainly becomes rich in progeny and cattle, whosoever, knowing this, sets up his fires in the rainy season.

9. [In the opinion of others] both these (classes of) seasons have the evil dispelled from them, for the sun is the dispeller of their evil, and as soon as he rises he dispels the evil from both these (classes of seasons). He should therefore set up his fires at any time, when he feels called upon to sacrifice; and should not put it off from one day to the morrow: for who knows the morrow of man²?

FOURTH BRÂHMANA.

1. On the day preceding his Agnyâdheya, he (the sacrificer with his wife) should take his food in the day-time. For the gods know the minds of man: they are, therefore, aware that his Agnyâdheya is to take place on the morrow; and all the gods betake themselves to his house and stay (upa-vas) in his house; whence this day is called upavasa tha (fast-day)³.

2. Now, as it would be unbecoming for him to take food before men (who are staying with him as his guests) have eaten; how much more would it be so, if he were to take food before the gods have eaten: let him therefore take his food in the day-time. However, he may also, if he choose, take food at night,

¹ The Black Yagur recommends sarad, autumn, for the Agnyâdheya in the case of a Vaisya.

² Ko hi manushyasya svo veda. The Kâṇva text has: Na vai manushyaḥ svastanam veda (veda) ko hi (!) tasmai manushyo yaḥ svastanam vidyât, 'in truth no man knows the morrow, for what man, that knows the morrow, is there for him?'

³ See I, 1, 1, 7 seq.

since the observance of the vow is not necessary for him who has not performed Agnyâdheya. For so long as he has not set up a (sacrificial) fire of his own, he is merely a man, and may therefore, if he choose, take food at night.

3. Here now some tie up a he-goat¹, arguing that the goat is sacred to Agni and that (this is done) for the completeness of the fire. But he need not do this. Should he possess a he-goat, let him present it to the Âgnîdhra on the next morning; for it is thereby that he obtains the object he desires. He need, therefore, take no notice of that (practice).

4. They² then cook a rice-pap sufficient for (the) four (priests) to eat. 'Hereby we gratify the metres,' so they say, arguing that this is done in the same way as if one were to order a team, which he is going to use for driving, to be well fed. He need not, however, do this: for indeed that same wish (which he entertains in so doing) he obtains by the very fact that Brâhmins, be they sacrificial priests or not, are residing in his family (kula)³: he need, therefore, take no notice of that (practice).

5. Having then made a hollow in it (the pap) for

¹ This practice is perhaps the remnant of a former animal offering. See I, 2, 3, 6, where the goat is mentioned as the last of the animals meet for sacrifice.

² That is, as would seem, those ritualists who maintain that a goat should be tied up for that night. The Kâṇva text reads, 'Here some cook that night that kâtu/prârya rice-pap, saying (vadantaḥ), "Hereby we gratify the metres."' According to the Paddhati on Kâty. IV, 8, the quotation 'Hereby we gratify the metres' seems to form the last of the formulas pronounced by the sacrificer, while washing the feet of the priests and offering them food.

³ 'The fulfilment of that wish he obtains through Brahmins, whether officiating priests or not, staying in his house (kula) and taking food there.' Kâṇva text.

clarified butter to be poured in, and having poured clarified butter into it, they anoint three sticks of asvattha wood with this butter and put them on the fire with the (three) *Rik*-verses containing the words 'kindling-stick (*samidh*)' and 'butter (*ghṛīta*)¹;' arguing that thereby they obtain what has grown out of a *samī*². It is, however, only by (daily) putting (three kindling-sticks) on the fire for a whole year previous (to the *Ādhāna*) that one obtains that object : let him therefore take no notice of that (practice).

6. And on this point Bhāllabeya remarked, 'If he were to cook that rice-pap, this would assuredly

¹ The three verses containing the words *samidh* and *ghṛīta* are *Vāg.* S. III, 1, 3, 4. *Taitt. Br.* I, 2, 1, 9-10 has them in the order 1, 4, 3; and does not give the verse *Vāg.* S. III, 2 (*Rig-veda* V, 5, 1). As neither version of our *Brāhmaṇa* makes any mention of this verse, it may be doubted whether originally it formed part of the *Samhitā*. According to *Kāty.* IV, 8, 5-6 he (? the *Adhvaryu*) is to put on (the three kindling-sticks) with *Vāg.* S. III, 1, &c., one verse with each stick; whereupon he, (the sacrificer, according to the commentary,) is to mutter III, 4; and according to *ib.* 7 'the *Adhvaryu* optionally mutters the second.' The *Paddhati* reconciles the different statements thus: he takes the sticks, rises and puts the first on the fire with III, 1; then sitting down he mutters III, 2; thereupon he again rises and puts on the second with III, 3, and the third with III, 4. The commentator, however, alludes to differences of practice in different schools as to this point.

² The sacrificial fire, to be set up at the *Ādheya*, should properly be produced by means of two pieces of *arvattha* wood which has grown out of a *samī* tree. *Sāyana* remarks that the ritualists referred to in our passage consider that the cooking of the rice-pap takes place, not with the view of the latter being eaten by the priests, but merely to afford an opportunity for putting the kindling-sticks on the fire, and thereby securing to the sacrificer the benefits that would have accrued to him from the above mode of ignition. This view, however, is not countenanced by our author, who, on the contrary, favours the daily cooking of a mess of rice-pap for the four priests for a twelve-month preceding the *Agnýādheya*, as a substitute for the production of the fire by friction. See *Kāty.* IV, 8, 11 (and *Paddhati*).

be a mistake, just as if one were to do one thing, while intending to do another; or if one were to say one thing, while intending to say another; or if one were to go one way, while intending to go another.' And, indeed, it is not proper that they should either carry to the south, or extinguish, that fire on which a kindling-stick is put, or an oblation made, with a *rik* or a *sâman* or a *yagus*. Now they do indeed either take it to the south with the view of its becoming the *Anvâhâryapaṭana* (or *Dakshinâgni*), or (if there is to be no *Dakshinâgni*) they extinguish it¹.

7. Thereupon they² remain awake (during that night). The gods are awake: so that he thereby draws nigh to the gods, and sets up his fires as one more godly, more subdued, more endowed with holy fervour (*tapas*). He may, however, sleep, if he choose, since the observance of the vow is not necessary for him who has not performed *Agnyâdhya*. For so long as he has not set up a (sacrificial) fire of his own, he is a mere man; and he may, therefore, sleep, if he choose.

8. Now some churn (the fire)³ before sunrise and

¹ His argument seems to be that, since the cooking of the rice-pap involves the putting on of consecrated sticks with sacrificial formulas, one is not to cook the pap because that same fire will afterwards have to be extinguished or to be taken to the *Dakshinâgni* hearth. The passage is, however, far from clear to me.

² Viz. the ritualists referred to; that is to say, they make the sacrificer and his wife remain awake all night. *Sâyana* takes *gâgrati* to stand for *gâgarti*, 'he, the sacrificer, remains awake.' The *Kârva* text, however, has, 'Here now they say, he should remain awake that night.'

³ The production of the sacred fire by means of two sticks (*arani*) of the *asvattha* (*Ficus Religiosa*) is thus described by Stevenson, 'Translation of the *Sâma Veda*,' pref. p. vii: 'The process by which fire is obtained from wood is called churning, as it resembles

take it eastwards (from the Gârhapatya to the Âhavanīya) after sunrise, arguing that thereby they secure both the day and the night for the obtainment of out-breathing and in-breathing, of mind and speech. But let him not do so; for when they thus churn (the fire) before sunrise, and take it eastwards after sunrise, both his (fires) are in reality set up before sunrise. By churning the Âhavanīya after sunrise he will obtain that (combination of blessings).

9. The gods, assuredly, are the day. The fathers have not the evil dispelled from them (by the sun); (and accordingly) he (the sacrificer) does not dispel the evil (if he churns the fire before sunrise). The fathers are mortal; and verily he who churns the fire before the rising of the sun, dies before (he has attained his full measure of) life. The gods have the evil dispelled from them (by the sun): hence he (the sacrificer) dispels the evil (from himself, if he churn after sunrise). The gods are immortal; and—though there is for him no prospect of immortality—he attains (the full measure of) life. The gods are bliss, and bliss he obtains; the gods are glorious, and glorious he will be, whosoever, knowing this, churns (the fire) after the rising of the sun.

that by which butter in India is separated from milk. The New-Hollanders obtain fire from a similar process. It consists in drilling one piece of araxi wood into another by pulling a string tied to it with a jerk with the one hand, while the other is slackened, and so alternately till the wood takes fire. The fire is received on cotton or flax held in the hand of an assistant Brahman.' On the mythological associations of the agni-manthana, especially with the Teutonic need-fire and the myth of Prometheus; and those of the arvattha tree, grown out of a sami, with the mountain-ash (roun-tree, rowan-tree, witch-elm, witchen, witch-hazel, witch-wood; eber-esche), see A. Kuhn's epoch-making essay, 'Ueber die Herabkunft des Feuers und des Göttertranks.'

10. Here now they say, 'If the fire is not set up with either a *rik*-verse, or a *sâman*, or a *yagus*, wherewith then is it set up?' Verily, that (fire) is of the brahman: with the brahman it is set up. The brahman is speech: of that speech it is. The brahman is the truth, and the truth consists in those same (three) mystic utterances: hence his (fire) is established by means of the truth.

11. Verily, with '*bhûh* (earth)!' *Pragâpati* generated this (earth)¹; with '*bhuvaḥ* (ether)!' the ether; with '*svaḥ* (heaven)!' the sky. As far as these (three) worlds extend, so far extends this universe: with the universe it (the fire) is accordingly established.

12. With '*bhûh*!' *Pragâpati* generated the Brahman (priesthood); with '*bhuvaḥ*!' the Kshatra (nobility); with '*svaḥ*!' the Vis (the common people). As much as are the Brahman, the Kshatra, and the Vis, so much is this universe: with the universe it (the fire) is accordingly established.

13. With '*bhûh*!' *Pragâpati* generated the Self; with '*bhuvaḥ*!' the (human) race; with '*svaḥ*!' the animals (*pasu*). As much as are the Self, the (human) race, and the animals, so much is this universe: with the universe it (the fire) is accordingly established.

14. '*Bhûr bhuvaḥ*!' this much he utters while laying down the *Gârhapatya* fire; for if he were to lay it down with all (three words), wherewith should he lay down the *Âhavanîya*? Two syllables²

¹ Compare XI, 1, 6, 3.

² Viz. *svaḥ*, pronounced *su-vaḥ*. In laying down the *Gârhapatya* he utters the first two words, consisting of three syllables; and in laying down the *Âhavanîya* he pronounces all three words, consisting of five syllables.

he leaves over, and thereby those (five syllables) become of renewed efficacy; and with all the five syllables—‘Bhûr bhuvaḥ svaḥ’—he lays down the Âhavanīya. Thus result eight syllables; for of eight syllables consists the gāyatrī, and the gāyatrī is Agni’s metre: he thus establishes that (fire) by means of its own metre.

15. Now when the gods were about to set up their fires, the Asuras and Rakshas forbade them, saying, ‘The fire shall not be produced; ye shall not set up your fires!’ and because they thus forbade (raksh) them, they are called Rakshas.

16. The gods then perceived this thunderbolt, to wit, the horse. They made it stand before them, and in its safe and foeless shelter the fire was produced. For this reason let him (the Adhvaryu) direct (the Âgnīdhra) to lead the horse to where he is about to churn the fire. It stands in front of him¹: he thus raises the thunderbolt, and in its safe and foeless shelter the fire is produced.

17. Let it be one used as a leader²; for such a one possesses unlimited strength. Should he be unable to obtain a leader, it may be any kind of horse. Should he be unable to obtain a horse, it may also be an ox, since that (fire) is related (bandhu) to the ox³.

18. And when they carry that (fire) eastward⁴,

¹ The horse is to stand east of the Gârhapatya fire-place, with its head to the west, where, behind the khara, the Adhvaryu is about to produce the fire.

² Pûrvavah, ‘drawing in front,’ i.e. a young (newly-harnessed) horse. The term may also mean ‘conveying eastwards,’ whence it is probably used here; cf. Taitt. Br. I, 1, 5, 6.

³ See XIII, 8, 4, 6, where the ox is said to be sacred to Agni (âgneya). See also p. 292, note 1; and I, 2, 3, 6.

⁴ The following particulars, not alluded to by our author, have

they lead the horse in front of it; so that, in proceeding in front of it, it wards off from it the evil spirits, the Rakshas; and they carry it (to the Âhavanīya) safely and unmolested by evil spirits.

19. Let them carry it (the fire) in such wise that it turns back towards him (the sacrificer); for, assuredly, that fire is the (means of) sacrifice, and it is in the direction of him (the sacrificer) that the sacrifice enters him, that the sacrifice readily inclines to him. And, verily, from whomsoever it (the fire) turns away, from him the sacrifice also turns away; and if any one were to curse him, saying, 'May the sacrifice turn away from him!' then he would indeed be liable to fare thus.

20. Moreover, that (fire) is the (sacrificer's) breath: let them therefore carry it in such wise that it turns

to be supplied here from Kāty. IV, 8, 29 seq., and the commentaries: As soon as fire has been obtained from the two pieces of wood, [it is placed in a pan and covered with dry, powdered gomaya; and] the sacrificer blows it with 'Breath I bestow on the immortal;' and the well-kindled flame he inhales with 'The immortal I bestow on the breath' (see II, 2, 2, 15). The fire is then set ablaze with fire-wood and laid down on the newly-made Gârhapatya hearth-mound with '[Om!] Bhûr bhuvaḥ svaḥ!' (Vâg. S. III, 5); and with 'I lay thee down, O Lord of Vows (vratapati), with the law (vrata) of N.N.?'—the gotra-name being inserted in the case of the Bhrigus and Âṅgiras; and those of different Rishis or gods and divine beings in that of others. At the sacrificer's bidding the Brahman or Adhvaryu then chants the Rathantara-sâman (cf. p. 196, note 2). Then follows the uddharana or taking out fire from the Gârhapatya for the Âhavanīya. A bundle of wood is lighted at the lower ends on the Gârhapatya and placed in a pan on an underlayer of clay. It is then carried eastwards in such a way that the smoke is directed towards the sacrificer following it; the horse being led in front of the fire. At the starting of the procession the Brahman, at the Adhvaryu's call, chants the Vâmadevya-sâman.

back towards him; for it is in the direction of him that the breath enters into him. And, verily, from whomsoever it (the fire) turns away, from him the breath also turns away; and if in that case any one were to curse him, saying, 'May the breath turn away from him!' then he would indeed be liable to fare thus.

21. And, verily, the sacrifice is yonder blowing (wind). Let them, therefore, carry it in such wise that it¹ turns towards him; for it is in the direction of him that the sacrifice enters him, that the sacrifice readily inclines to him. And from whomsoever it turns away, from him the sacrifice also turns away; and if any one were to curse him, saying, 'May the sacrifice turn away from him!' then he would indeed be liable to fare thus.

22. And, verily, that (fire) is the (sacrificer's) breath. Let them, therefore, carry it in such wise that it turns towards him; for it is in the direction of him that the breath enters into him. And from whomsoever it (the fire) turns away; from him the breath also turns away; and if any one were to curse him, saying, 'May the breath turn away from him!' he would indeed be liable to fare thus.

23. He (the Adhvaryu) then makes the horse step on (the Âhavanîya fire-place)². When he has made it step on it, he leads it out towards the east, makes it turn round again (from left to right) and lets it

¹ Viz. the wind indicated by the backward-turned flame of the fire, as it is carried eastwards to the Âhavanîya.

² The Adhvaryu sits down and makes the horse put its right fore-foot on the recently prepared hearth-mound. Having then led it eastwards and turned it round, he calls on the Brahman to chant the *Brîhat-sâman* (see p. 196, note 2).

stand there facing the west. The horse doubtless represents strength : hence he makes it turn round again in order that this strength shall not turn away from him (the sacrificer).

24. He lays that (fire) down on the horse's foot-print¹; for the horse represents strength, so that he thereby lays it down on strength : for this reason he lays it down on the horse's foot-print.

25. In the first place he silently touches (the foot-print with the burning fire-wood). He then lifts it up and touches once more with it; and at the third time he lays it down with (Vāg. S. III, 5) 'Earth! ether! heaven!' For there are three worlds indeed; so that he thereby obtains these (three) worlds. This now is one (mode of laying down the fire).

26. Then there is this other. Silently he touches (the foot-print with it) in the first place; he then lifts it up, and at the second time lays it down with 'Earth! ether! heaven!' For he who wants to lift a load without having a firm footing on this (earth), cannot lift it; nay, it crushes him.

27. Now, when he touches it silently he thereby takes a firm footing on this resting-place; and having obtained a firm footing on it, he lays down (the fire): and thus he wavers not. Here now Âsuri, Pân̄kī, and Mâdhuki held it (the fire) slightly to the back (or west of the fire-place)². 'For,' they argued, 'everything else (that is on the hearth)

¹ Taitt. Br. I, 1, 5, 9, on the contrary, forbids the fire to be laid down on the horse's foot-print, as the sacrificer's cattle is thereby surrendered to Rudra. Moreover, the horse is there made to step beside, not upon, the hearth-mound.

² The Kânva text reads: Tad v Âsuri Pân̄kīr Mâdhukir iti dadhrire, 'here now they held it thus.'

becomes, as it were, relaxed (on being touched by the fire): he should therefore, after holding it up, lay it down at the first (touching) with "Earth! ether! heaven!" for thus no relaxation takes place.' Let him then do this in whichever way he may deem proper.

28. He (the sacrificer) then goes round to the east side (of the fire), and taking hold of the top part of the burning sticks he mutters (Vâg. S. III, 5): 'Like unto the sky in plenty, like unto the earth in greatness!' When he says, 'Like unto the sky in plenty,' he means to say, 'Like as yonder sky is plenteous with stars, so may I become plenteous!' and when he says, 'Like unto the earth in greatness,' he means to say, 'As great as this earth is so great may I become!'—'On that back of thine, O Earth, that art meet for the worship of the gods'—for on her back he lays down that (fire)—'I lay down Agni, the eater of food, for the obtainment of food.' Agni is an eater of food: 'May I become an eater of food,' this is what he thereby says. This is a prayer for blessing,—he may mutter it, if he choose; or, if he choose, he may omit it.

29. He stands worshipping by (the fire) while muttering the (three) *Rîk*-verses of the queen of serpents (Vâg. S. III, 6–8)¹,—'Hither has come that spotted bull and has settled down before the mother; and before the father on going up to heaven.—She moves along through the luminous spheres, breathing forth from his breath: the mighty (bull) has illumined

¹ These verses form the hymn Rig-veda X, 189, the authorship of which is ascribed to the queen of serpents (either Kadrû, or the earth, according to Mahidhara).

the sky.—He rules over the thirty domains; and song is bestowed on the winged one, yea, with the light at the break of day!’ Thus he recites; and whatever (benefit) has not been obtained by him either through the equipments, or through the asterisms, or through the seasons, or through the laying down of the fire, all that is thereby obtained by him; and for this reason he stands worshipping by (the fire), while muttering the verses of the queen of serpents.

30. They say, however, that one need not stand by (the fire) worshipping with the verses of the queen of serpents. For the queen of serpents, they argue, is this earth; and accordingly when he lays down the fire on her, he thereby obtains all his desires: hence he need not stand by (the fire) worshipping with the verses of the queen of serpents.

SECOND ADHYÂYA. FIRST BRÂHMANA.

THE OBLATIONS.

1. When he has taken out the Âhavantya fire¹, he performs the Full-offering². The reason why

¹ Previously to the performance of the full-offering, the other fires (if there are any more) are laid down. An integral part of the laying down of the Sabhya, or hall-fire, which seems to have been kept up only by Kshatriyas, is a game of dice, played by the priests, with a cow, offered by the sacrificer, for the stake. On an ox-hide, spread north of the sacrificial ground, they place a brass vessel upside down, and on it throw four times five cowries (or, if such are not to be had, five sticks) with ‘Even I win, uneven thou art won (or defeated)!’

² The pûrnâhuti, or ‘full-offering,’ is an oblation of a spoonful of clarified butter. Kâty. IV, 10, 5, and comm., supply the following particulars, applying to all ordinary guhoti-offerings: He puts butter into the butter-pot and places it on the Gârhapatya to

he performs the full-offering is that he thereby causes that Agni to become an eater of food for his own self; that he thereby offers food to him. Even as (a mother or cow) would offer the breast to a new-born child or calf, so does he thereby offer food to him.

2. And having been appeased by that food, he (Agni) waits patiently for the other oblations to be cooked. If, on the other hand, that oblation were not to be offered up in him, he would ere long burn either the Adhvaryu or the sacrificer, for these two pass nearest by him. This is the reason why he makes this offering.

3. He offers it (with a) full (spoon); for the full doubtless means the All (universe), so that he thereby appeases him with the All. He offers it with 'Svâhâ!' for the Svâhâ is undefined, and undefined also is the All, so that he thereby appeases him by means of the All.

4. The first offering which Pragâpati made, he made with 'Svâhâ!' Now that (offering) indeed is virtually the same as this one; and hence he (the sacrificer) also makes it with 'Svâhâ!' At this (offering) he grants a boon (to the priests)¹; but

melt. Having then wiped the dipping-spoon (*sruva*) and offering-spoon (*guhû*) with sacrificial grass in the manner described at I, 3, 1, 6 seq., and taken the butter-pot off the fire, and strained the butter with the two stalks of *darbha* serving as strainers, he fills the *guhû* with the *sruva*. He now takes one stick, steps over to the north side of the *Âhavanîya* fire, strews grass around it, and puts the stick on the fire. He then sits down with bent right knee, and, while the sacrificer takes hold of him from behind, he pours the spoonful of butter into the fire with 'Svâhâ!' the sacrificer pronouncing the dedicatory formula (*tyâga*), 'This to Agni!'

¹ After the full-offering the sacrificer breaks the silence, imposed on him, by the words, 'I give a boon,' *Kâty. IV, 10, 6*; presents,

a boon (may mean) everything, so that he thereby appeases him (Agni) with everything.

5. Here now they say, 'When he has made this offering, he need not attend to the subsequent oblations; for by this offering he obtains that wish for which he takes out the subsequent oblations.'

6. He takes out (material for an oblation)¹ to Agni Pavamâna (the Blowing)². Now the blowing one is the breath, so that he thereby puts breath into him (the sacrificer). And this he puts into him by means of this (offering); for breath means food, and this offering also is food.

according to the commentary, being then made to the Adhvaryu and the Brahman. This ceremony is succeeded by the silent performance of the Agnihotra.

¹ The *pûrnâhuti*, which marks the close of the *Agnyâdheya* proper, is followed by the *Agnihotra*, performed with the texts pronounced in a low voice. Not less than twelve days after the *Agnyâdheya* (if at all)—the three fires being kept up during the interval—the young householder has to get performed for him (on the model of the new and full-moon offering, *mutatis mutandis*, there being neither the *uddharana*, or taking out of fire from the *Gârhapatya*, nor the choosing of a Brahman, &c.) the three *ish/îs* mentioned above. At the first *ish/î*, the special *havis* (sacrificial dish) consists of a rice-cake on eight potsherds for Agni Pavamâna;—at the second of two such cakes for Agni Pāvaka and Agni Sûti respectively;—at the third of a potful of boiled rice for Aditi. The three *havis* of the first two *ish/îs* being (according to *Taitt. Br. I, 1, 6, 3*) considered as representing the three bodies (*tanu*) of Agni; these offerings are called *tanûhavir-ish/îs*. They are, however, also called *Pavamânesh/îs*. At these the name of the recipient (Agni Pavamâna, &c.) has to be pronounced in a low voice in the formulas used at the chief offering. The *Taitt. Br.* mentions, besides, the usual *Indrâgni* cake (of the new-moon sacrifice) which is to be offered before the offering to Aditi.

² *Sâyana*, on *Taitt. Br. I, 1, 5, 10*, takes *pavamâna* as 'pure' or 'purified by himself' (*svayam sridha*); *pāvaka* as 'purifying (others);' and *sûti* as 'shining.'

7. He then makes offering to Agni Pāvaka (the Purifying). Now the purifying one means food, so that he thereby puts food into him (Agni, or the sacrificer). And this he puts into him by means of this (offering), for this offering is indeed food.

8. He then makes offering to Agni Suśi (the Bright). Now brightness means vigour, so that he thereby puts vigour into him. And this he puts into him by means of this (offering); for when he offers up that oblation in him (Agni), then that vigour, that brightness of his blazes up.

9. For this reason they say, 'When he has made that (full) offering, he need not attend to any further oblations; for by this offering he obtains that wish for which he takes out the subsequent oblations.' But let him nevertheless take out the subsequent oblations; for what invisible (blessing, or meaning) there was in that (full-offering) that now becomes thus (visible).

10. Now the reason why he makes offering to Agni Pavamāna, is that the blowing one is the breath. When (the child) is born, then there is breath. And as long as it is not born, it breathes in accord with the mother's breath; but when it is born, then he thereby puts breath into it.

11. And the reason why he makes offering to Agni Pāvaka, is that the purifying one means food: hence he thereby puts food into (the child) when it is born.

12. And the reason why he makes offering to Agni Suśi, is that brightness means vigour. Now when it (the child) grows by means of food, then there is vigour; and hence, when he has made it grow by means of food, he thereby puts into it that vigour, that brightness. This is why (he offers) to Agni Suśi.

13. That other (practice) then is altogether erroneous¹. For when Agni passed over from the gods to men, he bethought him, 'I must not pass over to men with my whole body!'

14. He then laid down in these (three) worlds those three bodies of his. That 'blowing (pavamāna)' form of his he laid down on this earth, that 'purifying (pāvaka)' one in the ether, and that 'bright (suśī)' one in the sky. Now the *Rishis* then existing became aware of this: 'Agni has not come to us with his whole body,' they said. They then prepared those oblations for him.

15. Now when he makes offering to Agni Pavamāna, he thereby obtains that form of his (Agni's) which he laid down on this earth; and when he makes offering to Agni Pāvaka, he thereby obtains that form of his which he laid down in the ether; and when he makes offering to Agni Suśī, he thereby obtains that form of his which he laid down in the sky: and thus he lays down the entire Agni un mutilated. For this reason also he should take out the oblations subsequent (to the full-offering).

16. The first oblation has a barhis (altar-covering of sacrificial grass) to itself; the two following ones have one barhis in common. Now the first oblation represents this world, the second one that ether, and the third one the sky. But this earth is compact; and the ether and yonder sky are, as it were, trembling: and in order that these two may counter-balance that (earth), the (last) two (oblations) have one barhis in common.

¹ Viz. the practice of performing the full-offering only, see par. 5. The *Kāṇva* text reads: Tad vā etat samānam eva sad viparyastam iva.

17. All these sacrificial cakes (for Agni) are on eight potsherds; for of eight syllables consists the (pāda of the) gāyatrī, and the gāyatrī is Agni's metre¹; with its own metre he accordingly establishes that fire. In all, these potsherds amount to twenty-four; for of twenty-four syllables consists the gāyatrī (stanza), and the gāyatrī is Agni's metre: with its own metre he accordingly establishes that fire.

18. He then offers a potful of boiled rice to Aditi. For he who performs those (preceding) oblations moves away, as it were, from this world, since he moves in the ascent of these worlds².

19. Now when he offers a potful of boiled rice to Aditi,—Aditi being this earth, and this earth being a firm resting-place,—he thereby again takes his stand on this firm resting-place. This is why he offers a potful of boiled rice to Aditi.

20. For her, they say, the two saṃyāgyās³ should be virāḡ verses; for the virāḡ is this (earth); or

¹ The Kāṇva text remarks that the anuvākyās (invitatory prayers) and yāgyās (offering prayers) at the three offerings of cake are in the gāyatrī metre; and such indeed is the case. The anuvākyās of the oblations to Agni Pavamāna, Agni Pāvaka, and Agni Suṭi are Rig-veda IX, 66, 19; I, 12, 10; and VIII, 44, 21 respectively: and the yāgyās are IX, 66, 21; V, 26, 1; and VIII, 44, 17 respectively; all of which are gāyatrī stanzas. See Âsv. Sr. II, 1, 20–25. Cf. also I, 7, 2, 15, with note. At the Svishṭakṛit of these two ishās also both formulas are in the gāyatrī metre: the puro'nuvākyās being Rig-veda III, 11, 2, and III, 11, 6; and the yāgyās III, 11, 1, and I, 1, 1 respectively.

² Praṇyavata iva vā esho 'smāl lokāt . . . imān hi lokān samārohann eti. The Kāṇva text has: 'For he who takes out these oblations makes his self, as it were, depart from this world of men for the world of the gods, since he, as it were, moves rising upwards (ūrdhva iva hi samārohann eti).' Cf. paragraphs 14–16.

³ For these (virāḡ) saṃyāgye, or invitatory and offering prayers at the Svishṭakṛit, see p. 164, note 2.—Âsv. Sr. II, 1, 29.

trishṭubh verses, for the trishṭubh is this (earth); or *gagati* verses, for the *gagati* is this (earth). Still, however, they should be *virâg* verses.

21. The priests' fee for (offering to) her consists of a cow; for this (earth) is, as it were, a cow: she milks out for men all their desires. The cow is a mother, and this (earth) also is a mother, for she bears the men: for this reason the priests' fee is a cow. This is one mode (of performing those offerings).

22. Then there is this other. He simply offers a cake on eight potsherds to Agni, and thereby, implicitly, to Agni Pavamâna, Agni Pāvaka, and Agni *Suñi*; and immediately after he visibly sets him up (as Agni). For this reason he offers (a cake) to Agni¹, and then a potful of boiled rice to Aditi. The treatment of the potful of rice (in that case) is the same (as before).

SECOND BRÂHMANA.

1. Now, in performing that sacrifice, they slay it; and in pressing out the king (Soma), they slay him; and in quieting and immolating the victim, they slay it. The *haviryagñā* they slay with the mortar and pestle, and with the two mill-stones.

2. When slain, that sacrifice was no longer vigorous. By means of *dakshinâs* (gifts to the priests) the gods again invigorated it: hence the name *dakshinâ*, because thereby they invigorated (*dakshay*) that

¹ According to the *Kânva* recension, the *anuvâkyâ* and *yâgyâ*, in that case, should consist of the verses containing the word *mûrdhan* ('head'), viz. *Vâg. S. XIII, 14, 15*; cf. *Sat. Br. I, 6, 2, 12*.

(sacrifice). Whatever, therefore, fails in this sacrifice when slain, that he now again invigorates by means of gifts to the priests; whereupon the sacrifice becomes successful: for this reason he makes gifts to the priests.

3. He may give six (cows)¹; for six seasons, indeed, there are in the year, and the sacrifice, Pragâpati, is the year: thus as great as the sacrifice is, as large as its extent is, by so many (gifts, dakshinâs) does he thereby invigorate it.

4. He may give twelve; for twelve months there are in the year, and the sacrifice, Pragâpati, is the year: thus as great as the sacrifice is, as large as its extent is, by so many (gifts) does he thereby invigorate it.

5. He may give twenty-four; for twenty-four half-moons there are in the year, and the sacrifice, Pragâpati, is the year: thus as great as the sacrifice is, as large as its extent is, by so many (gifts) does he thereby invigorate it. Such is the measure of the priests' fees; but he may give more, according to (the depth of) his faith. The reason why he gives fees to the priests is this.

6. Verily, there are two kinds of gods; for, indeed, the gods are the gods; and the Brâhmanas who have studied and teach sacred lore are the human gods. The sacrifice of these is divided into two kinds: oblations constitute the sacrifice to the gods; and gifts to the priests that to the human gods,

¹ Viz. at the tanûhavar-ish/s together, or at least three cows at each ish/s if there are two ish/s. The greater the gift, the greater the merit. According to the Paddhati on Kâty. IV, 10, he is also to entertain a hundred Brâhmanas at the end of the performance. See also Taitt. Br. I, 1, 7, 9-11.

the Brāhmans who have studied and teach sacred lore. With oblations one gratifies the gods, and with gifts to the priests the human gods, the Brāhmans who have studied and teach sacred lore. Both these kinds of gods, when gratified, place him in a state of bliss (*sudhâ*)¹.

7. Even as seed is poured into the womb, so the officiating priests place the sacrificer in the (heavenly) world², when he now makes gifts to those who, he hopes, will make him go thither. Such, then, (is the manner) of gifts to priests.

8. Now the gods and the Asuras, both of them sprung from *Pragâpati*, were contending with each other. They were both soulless, for they were mortal, and he who is mortal is soulless. Among these two (classes of beings) who were mortal, *Agni* alone was immortal; and it was through him, the immortal, that they both lived. Now whichever (of the gods) they (the Asuras) slew, he, indeed, was so (slain).

9. Thereupon the gods were left inferior. They went on praising and practising austerities, hoping that they might be able to overcome their enemies, the mortal Asuras. They beheld this immortal *Agnîyâdheya* (consecrated fire).

10. They said, 'Come, let us place that immortal element in our innermost soul! When we have placed that immortal element in our innermost soul, and become immortal and unconquerable, we shall overcome our conquerable, mortal enemies.'

¹ That is, 'they convey him to the celestial world,' as reads the otherwise identical passage in IV, 3, 4, 4.

² The *Kâṇva* text has 'svarge loke.'

11. They said, 'With both of us is this fire (Agni): let us then treat openly with the Asuras¹.'

12. They said, 'We shall set up (or, establish within ourselves, â-dhâ) the two fires,—what will ye do then?'

13. They replied, 'Then we shall lay it down (ni-dhâ), saying, Eat grass here! eat wood here! cook pap here! cook meat here!' Now that fire, which the Asuras thus laid down, is this same (fire) wherewith men prepare their food.

14. The gods then established that (fire) in their innermost soul; and having established that immortal element in their innermost soul, and become immortal and unconquerable, they overcame their mortal, conquerable enemies. And so this one now establishes that immortal element in his innermost soul; and—though there is for him no hope of immortality—he obtains the full measure of life; for, indeed, he becomes unconquerable, and his enemy, though striving to conquer, conquers him not. And, accordingly, when one who has established his fires and one who has not established his fires, vie with each other, he who has established his fires overcomes the other, for, verily, he thereby becomes unconquerable, he thereby becomes immortal.

15. Now, when, on that occasion, they produce that (fire) by churning, then he (the sacrificer) breathes (blows) upon it, when produced; for fire indeed is breath: he thereby produces the one thus produced. He again draws in his breath: thereby he establishes that (fire) in his innermost soul; and that fire thus becomes established in his innermost soul².

¹ 'Pra tv evâsurebhyo bravâmeti.'—'Hantâsurebhyaḥ pratiprabravâmeti,' Kânva text. ? 'Let us talk them out of it!'

² See p. 297, note 4.

16. Having kindled it, he makes it blaze, thinking, 'Herein I will worship, herein I will perform the sacred work!' Thereby he makes blaze that fire which has been established in his innermost soul.

17. 'It (or some one) might come between,—it might go away!' so (fear some)¹; but, surely, as long as he lives no one comes between him and that fire which has been established in his innermost soul: let him, therefore, not heed this. And as to its becoming extinguished:—surely, as long as he lives, that fire which has been established in his innermost soul, does not become extinct in him.

18. The (sacrificial) fires, assuredly, are those breaths: the Âhavanīya and Gârhapatya are the out-breathing and the in-breathing; and the Anvâhārya-pāṭana is the through-breathing.

19. Now, attendance on (or, the worship of) that consecrated fire (agnyâdheya) means (speaking) the truth. Whosoever speaks the truth, acts as if he sprinkled that lighted fire with ghee; for even so does he enkindle it: and ever the more increases his own vital energy, and day by day does he become better. And whosoever speaks the untruth, acts as

¹ This paragraph is somewhat obscure. The Kâṇva recension has the following more explicit paragraphs instead:—As to this, there is a source of anxiety (âgas) to some, fearing that 'it (that fire) might go out (anvagan).' But let him not heed this, for, assuredly, that fire of his, which has been established in his innermost soul, does not go out. 'The carriage might pass through (vyayâsīt), the cart might pass through;—it (or some one) may come between (me and the fire)!' such is another source of anxiety to some; but let him not heed this either; for, assuredly, the carriage does not pass through, the cart does not pass through that fire of his which has been established in his innermost soul. Cf. XII, 4, 1, 2-3.

if he sprinkled that lighted fire with water ; for even so does he enfeeble it : and ever the less becomes his own vital energy, and day by day does he become more wicked. Let him, therefore, speak nothing but the truth.

20. Now the kinsmen spake unto Aruṇa Apavesi, 'Thou art advanced in years : establish thou the two fires !' He replied, 'Speak ye not thus ! be thou a restrainer of speech¹ ; for he who has established the fires must not speak an untruth : let him rather not speak at all, but let him not speak an untruth. Worship, above all, is truthfulness.'

THIRD BRÂHMANA.

THE PUNARÂDHEYA OR RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SACRED FIRES².

1. Now Varuṇa established this (fire), being desirous of sovereignty. He obtained sovereignty ; and, accordingly, whether one (who has established the fires) knows (this) or not, they call him 'king Varuṇa.' Soma (established the fire), being desirous of glory. He became glorious, and, accordingly, whether one obtains a hold on Soma, or whether

¹ The Kâṇva text has : He said, 'Speak ye not thus ; be thou a restrainer of speech !'—'Speak ye not,' so (he said) ; for, having established the two fires, one should not speak untruthfully (*mṛishâ*), nor should he who utters speech speak untruthfully. He should, therefore, strive to speak nothing but the truth.

² If the householder who has set up his fires, finds, after a year or more, that he does not prosper in his undertakings, or if he has otherwise met with misfortunes, and thus his âdheya has not proved successful, he should set up his fires a second time. The old fires have to be put out, either early in the day on which the performance is to take place, or from three nights to a whole year previous to the ceremony. With the exceptions noticed in the sequel, the performance is the same as that of the âdhâna.

one does not, they both obtain (glory),—for it is glory that people thereby get to see. Glorious therefore he becomes, and sovereignty he obtains, whosoever, knowing this, establishes a sacrificial fire of his own.

2. Now once upon a time the gods deposited with Agni all forms (*rûpa*)¹, both domestic and wild; either because they were about to engage in battle, or from a desire of free scope, or because they thought that he (Agni) would protect them as the best protector.

3. But Agni coveted them, and seizing them he entered the seasons with them. 'Let us go back thither,' said the gods, and betook themselves to (the place where) Agni (was) concealed. They were disheartened and said, 'What is here to be done? what counsel is there?'

4. Then *Tvashtri* beheld that re-consecrated fire (*Punar-âdheya*). He established it and thereby gained an entrance to Agni's beloved abode. He (Agni) gave up to him both kinds of forms, domestic and wild: hence they call them *Tvashtri*'s forms; since it is from *Tvashtri* that all form proceeds²; but all other creatures of whatever kind undergo it.

5. It is for him (*Tvashtri*), then, that one must re-establish the fire: for thus he enters Agni's

¹ Compare the corresponding legend *Taitt. S. I, 5, 1*; according to which the gods deposited their precious goods (*vâmam vasu*) with Agni; and *Pûshan* and *Tvashtri*, on performing sacrifice to Agni exclusively (the *punarâdhyeya*), became possessed of the cattle, whence the latter are said to belong to *Pûshan* (*paushna*) and to *Tvashtri* (*tvâshtra*). Afterwards *Manu* and *Dhâtri* (here identified with the year) also performed the ceremony. See also *Sat. Br. II, 3, 4, 1 seq.*

² Or, since it is to *Tvashtri* that all form belongs.

beloved abode, and the latter gives up to him both kinds of forms, domestic and wild. In that (fire) those two kinds of forms are seen: such is the ascendancy (which one obtains by the punarâdhyeya),—people, indeed, envy him; thus he thrives, and a conspicuous position (is obtained by him).

6. To Agni belongs this sacrifice. Agni is the light, the burner of evil: he burns away the evil of this (sacrificer); and the latter becomes a light of prosperity and glory in this, and a light of bliss¹ in yonder, world. This, then, is the reason why he should establish the fires (a second time).

7. Let him establish the fires (the second time) in the rainy season. The rains are all the seasons, for the rains are indeed all the seasons: hence, in counting over years, people say, 'In such and such a year (or rain, varsha) we did it; in such and such a year (or rain) we did it.' The rains, then, are one of the forms of manifestation (rûpa) of all seasons²; and when people say, 'To-day it is as if in summer,' then that is in the rainy season; and when they say, 'To-day it is as if in spring,' then that, too, is in the rainy season. From the year (or rain, varsha), indeed, (is named) the rainy season (varshâh).

8. There is, moreover, an occult form (through which the rains manifest themselves in the seasons)³. When it blows from the east, then that is the characteristic sign of spring;—when it thunders, it is that of

¹ Gyotir amutra punyalokatvâ, lit. 'a light by (way of) blissful state.' The Kâṇva text has the same reading.

² This speculation is based on the identity of the words for year (varsha; also 'rain') and the rains, or rainy season (varshâh).

³ The characteristics of the seasons here selected are supposed to have a special connection with the rain and rainy season.

summer ;—when it rains, it is that of the rainy season ; when it lightens, it is that of autumn¹ ;—when it ceases to rain, it is that of winter. The rains are all the seasons. The seasons he (Agni) entered : from out of the seasons, therefore, he now produces him.

9. But the sun also is all the seasons : when he rises, then it is spring ;—when the cows are driven together (for milking), then it is summer ;—when it is mid-day, then is the rainy season ;—when it is afternoon, then it is autumn ;—when he sets, then it is winter. At mid-day (*madhyandina*), therefore, he should establish his fires, for then that (sun) is nearest to this world, and hence he produces that (fire) from the nearest centre (*madhya*).

10. Verily, this man is affected with evil, as with a shadow. But then (at mid-day) that (evil) of his (like his shadow) is smallest, and shrinks, as it were, beneath his foot : hence he thereby crushes that evil, when it is smallest. For this reason also he should establish his fires (the second time) at mid-day.

11. He takes it out (from the *Gârhapatya*) by means of sacrificial grass. By means of fire-wood, indeed, he takes it out the first time ; and (were he to take it out) with fire-wood the first time, and with fire-wood the second time, he would commit a repetition, and raise a conflict. Now sacrificial grass means water, and the rainy season also means water. He (Agni) entered the seasons : with water he accordingly produces him from out of the waters ; this is why he takes it (the fire) out by means of sacrificial grass.

12. Having prepared an (ordinary) rice cake on

¹ During the autumn, or sultry season succeeding the rains, there are frequent displays of sheet-lightning along the horizon at night.

two arka¹ leaves, he puts it in the place where he is about to establish the Gârhapatya fire, and thereon lays down the Gârhapatya.

13. Having prepared a (second) barley cake on two arka leaves, he puts it in the place where he is about to establish the Âhavanîya fire, and thereon lays down the Âhavanîya. [Some do so] arguing, 'Thereby we cover them with the first two fires;' but let him not do so, for it is by the nights that they come to be covered.

14. He then offers to Agni a sacrificial cake (puroḍāsa) on five potsherds². Its offering prayers and invitatory prayers consist of pañkti strophes of five pâdas each³; for there are five seasons, and the seasons he (Agni) entered: from the seasons he accordingly produces him.

15. The whole (sacrifice) belongs to Agni; for it was thereby that Tvashtri entered Agni's beloved abode, and therefore the whole (sacrifice) belongs to Agni⁴.

¹ Calotropis Gigantea. These cakes (apûpa, not puroḍāsa) have first to be cooked either on the Avasathya, or on a secular fire. Before the cakes are then put on the Gârhapatya and Âhavanîya fire-places, the latter have to be consecrated in the usual way (cf. p. 2); and, after the putting on of the cakes, the fire-places are sprinkled by the Adhvaryu, while the sacrificer holds on to him from behind. Kâty. IV, 11, 8, Schol.

² Viz. he performs an ishî with such a rice-cake for the havis, as a substitute for the tanûhavar-ishîs, offered after the full-offering, at the âdhâna. See II, 2, 1, 6, and note.

³ The pañkti consists of five octosyllabic pâdas. The anuvâkyâ and yâgyâ at the chief offering are Rig-veda IV, 10, 2 and 4; those of the svishṭakṛit, ib., verses 4 and 1.—Âsv. II, 8, 14.

⁴ The offering prayers of all libations and offerings at this ishî must therefore contain Agni's name. At each of the fore-offerings and after-offerings a different case-form of agni is added after the respective objects of those offerings,—thus, '... samidho agne

16. They perform it (with the formulas pronounced) in a low voice; for if one wishes to prepare anything specially for a relative or friend, one must take care to keep it secret. Now the other sacrifice belongs to all the deities, but this belongs specially to Agni; and what is (kept) secret, that is (spoken of) in a low voice: this is why they perform it in a low voice.

17. The last after-offering he performs aloud; for then he has completed his work, and every one becomes aware of what has been done.

18. Having uttered his call (and having been responded to by the *Āgnīdhra*)¹, he says (to the *Hotri*), 'Pronounce the offering-prayer to the *Samidhs* (kindling-sticks)!—the latter being one of Agni's mystic forms of manifestation (*rūpa*); but he may also say, 'Pronounce the offering-prayer to the fires!'—that being Agni's real (exoteric) form².

'gna āgyasya vyantu,' 'tanūnapād agnim agna . . .,' 'īdo agnīnāgne . . .,' &c. See par. 19; also p. 148, n. 2; I, 5, 4, 1 seq.; I, 8, 2, 1 seq. The two butter-portions otherwise offered to Agni or Soma respectively (cf. I, 6, 1, 20 seq.) are in this case offered to Agni; the *anuvākyās*, according to *Āsv.* II, 8, 7, being *Rig-veda* VIII, 44, 1, and VI, 16, 16 respectively. See, however, paragraphs 21 seq.

¹ Viz. the *Adhvaryu* calls, *Ō srāvaya*, 'cause (him or one) to hear!' and the *Āgnīdhra* responds by *Astu srausha*!, 'yea, may he (or one) hear!'

² Here, at the first fore-offering, an option is apparently left between the former, regular summons (see I, 5, 3, 8), and the latter, modified so as to make it apply directly to Agni. *Kāty.* IV, 11, 11 allows the same option for the first *prayāga* and *anuvāga*. For the latter, however, see further on, par. 24. The *Kāṇva* recension has as follows:—Now when the *Adhvaryu*, on stepping over (to the south side) and uttering his call (for the *Āgnīdhra*) to bid attention, says, 'Pronounce the offering-prayer to the *Samidhs*!' then that, indeed, is one of Agni's forms of manifestation (*āgneyam eva tad rūpam*); but here let him say, as it were,

19. He (the Hotri) recites¹, '... They (the Samidhs), O Agni, may accept of the butter! *Vaughak*²!' '... He (Tanûnapât) may accept the fire of the butter! *Vaughak*!' '... They (the Ids) may, through Agni, accept of the butter! *Vaughak*!' '... It (the barhis), the fire, may accept of the butter! *Vaughak*!'

20. He then says³, 'Svâhâ Agnim!' with reference to Agni's butter-portion;—'Svâhâ Agnim Pavamânam!' if they determine upon (offering to) Agni, the blowing⁴; or 'Svâhâ Agnim Indumantam!' if they determine upon Agni, the drop-abounding⁵;—'Svâhâ Agnim!'—'Svâhâ, the butter-drinking Agnis! May Agni graciously accept of the butter!'—this is the offering-prayer he (the Hotri) pronounces.

21. He (the Adhvaryu) then says, with regard to Agni's (first) butter-portion, 'Pronounce the invitatory prayer to Agni!' He (the Hotri) recites⁶, 'Awake Agni with praise, enkindling the immortal, that he may take our offerings to the gods!' For, indeed, when Agni is removed (from the hearth)⁷, he, as it were, sleeps: he (the priest) now awakens, rouses

in a mystic way, 'Pronounce the offering-prayer to the Agnis!' (paroksham iva tv agnîm yageti haiva tatra brûyât.)

¹ See p. 317, note 4.

² A modification of the ordinary *vausha*. The Kâṇva text has here and in par. 25, as usual, *vausha*.

³ At the fifth fore-offering; see I, 5, 3, 22 seq.

⁴ See II, 2, 1, 6, and note; also II, 2, 1, 22.

⁵ This points forward to the second butter-portion, which is offered to Agni Pavamâna or Agni Indumat, instead of Soma; the first being offered to Agni simply. Kâty. IV, 11, 12.

⁶ Rîg-veda V, 14, 1. See, however, the formulas prescribed by Âśvalâyana, p. 317, note 4.

⁷ The fire laid down at the âdheya is removed when the punarâdheya is to be performed.

him. For the offering-prayer he recites, 'May Agni graciously accept of the butter!'

22. And, if they determine upon (offering the second butter-portion to) Agni Pavamâna, let him then say, 'Pronounce the invitatory prayer to Agni Pavamâna; and he (the Hotri) recites (Rig-veda IX, 16, 19), 'O Agni, thou breathest forth life; produce thou food and sap for us! drive far away misfortune!' For thus, indeed, it becomes of the nature of Agni. Pavamâna (the one that becomes purified) means the Soma; but this (Soma-element) they eliminate from the butter-portion of Soma¹. For the offering-prayer he recites, 'May Agni Pavamâna graciously accept of the butter!'

23. If, on the other hand, they determine upon (offering to) Agni Indumat, let him say, 'Pronounce the invitatory prayer to Agni Indumat!' He (the Hotri) recites (Rig-veda VI, 16, 16), 'Come hither, I will gladly sing to thee yet other songs, O Agni! mayest thou grow strong by these draughts (indu, drop).' Thus, indeed, it becomes of the nature of Agni: the draught doubtless means Soma, but this (Soma-element) they eliminate from the butter-portion of Soma. For the offering-prayer he recites, 'May Agni, the drop-abounding, graciously accept of the butter!' And thus he makes it all of the nature of Agni.

24. He then says, as to the chief offering (havis), 'Pronounce the invitatory prayer to Agni!' 'Pronounce the offering-prayer to Agni!' 'Pronounce the invitatory prayer to Agni Svishṭakṛit (the maker of good offerings)!' 'Pronounce the offering-

¹ Viz. that second butter-portion which by right belongs to Soma (see I, 6, 1, 20 seq.), but is here offered to Agni.

prayer to Agni Svishṭakṛit¹! Then where (otherwise) he would say, 'Pronounce the offering-prayer to the gods²!' he now says, 'Pronounce the offering-prayer to the Agnis!'

25. He recites³, '[The divine Barhis] may accept (the offering) for Agni's abundant obtainment of abundant gift! *Vaughak!*'—'[The divine Narâsamsa] may accept (the offering) for abundant obtainment, in Agni, of abundant gift! *Vaughak!*'—'The divine Agni Svishṭakṛit . . . ' this third (after-offering) is already in itself of the nature of Agni; and thus he makes the after-offerings relate to Agni.

26. Those same case-forms (of agni)⁴, which he recites in the offering-prayers, are six; namely, four at the fore-offerings, and two at the after-offerings. Now there are six seasons; and the seasons he (Agni) entered: out of the seasons he accordingly thereby produces him.

27. There are either twelve or thirteen syllables (in these six case-forms)⁵. Now there are either twelve or thirteen months in a year⁶; and the

¹ For the formulas of the chief offering and Svishṭakṛit, see p. 317, note 3.

² That is, at the after-offerings; see I, 8, 2, 14. Cf. also p. 318, note 2.

³ See I, 8, 2, 15. Here a different case-form of the word agni (viz. agneḥ and agnau) is inserted in the offering-formulas of the first two anuyâgas, immediately after the word indicating the object of the offering; the formula of the third and last anuyâga already containing the nominative agniḥ in the same place.

⁴ See p. 317, note 4.

⁵ The locative case agnau, inserted in the offering-prayer of the second after-offering, is optionally made trisyllabic by being written and pronounced agnâ-u.

⁶ For other allusions to intercalary months in the Vedic texts, see Weber, Naxatra, II, p. 336.

year, the seasons, he (Agni) entered: out of the seasons he accordingly thereby produces him. In order to avoid sameness, no two (of these forms) are alike; but (the fault of) sameness he would undoubtedly commit, were any two of them alike. The characteristic form of the fore-offerings is (alternately), 'May they accept,' 'May it (or he) accept¹;' and that of the after-offerings is, 'For the abundant obtainment of abundant gift.'

28. The priests' fee for this (sacrifice) consists of gold². This sacrifice belongs to Agni, and gold is Agni's seed³: this is why the priests' fee consists of gold. Or it may be an ox; for the latter is of the nature of Agni as far as its shoulder is concerned, since its shoulder (by carrying the yoke) is as if burnt by fire. Moreover, Agni is oblation-bearer to the gods, and that (ox) bears (or draws, loads) for men: this is why an ox may be given as the priests' fee.

FOURTH BRÂHMANA.

II. THE AGNIHOTRA OR MORNING AND EVENING LIBATIONS; AND THE AGNY-UPASTHÂNA OR HOMAGE TO THE FIRES.

1. Pragâpati alone, indeed, existed here in the beginning. He considered, 'How may I be repro-

¹ See I, 5, 3, 15.

² See also II, 2, 4, 15. In Taitt. S. I, 5, 12 (referred to Kâty. XI, 2, 37) 'white gold' (*ragatam hiranyam*), i.e. silver, is expressly mentioned as unsuitable for the *dakshinâ*. The reason adduced is that, when the gods claimed back the goods deposited with Agni, he wept, and the tears he shed became silver; and hence, if one were to give silver as a *dakshinâ*, there would be weeping in his house before a year had passed.

³ See II, 1, 1, 5.

duced?' He toiled and performed acts of penance. He generated Agni from his mouth; and because he generated him from his mouth, therefore Agni is a consumer of food: and, verily, he who thus knows Agni to be a consumer of food, becomes himself a consumer of food.

2. He thus generated him first (agre) of the gods; and therefore (he is called) Agni, for agni (they say) is the same as agri. He, being generated, went forth as the first (pûrva); for of him who goes first, they say that he goes at the head (agre). Such, then, is the origin and nature of that Agni.

3. Pragâpati then considered, 'In that Agni I have generated a food-eater for myself; but, indeed, there is no other food here but myself, whom, surely, he would not eat.' At that time this earth had, indeed, been rendered quite bald; there were neither plants nor trees. This, then, weighed on his mind.

4. Thereupon Agni turned towards him with open mouth; and he (Pragâpati) being terrified, his own greatness departed from him. Now his own greatness is his speech: that speech of his departed from him. He desired an offering in his own self, and rubbed (his hands); and because he rubbed (his hands), therefore both this and this (palm) are hairless. He then obtained either a butter-offering or a milk-offering;—but, indeed, they are both milk.

5. This (offering), however, did not satisfy him, because it had hairs mixed with it. He poured it away (into the fire); saying, 'Drink, while burning (osham dhaya)!' From it plants sprang: hence their name 'plants (oshadhayaḥ).' He rubbed (his hands) a second time, and thereby obtained another

offering, either a butter-offering or a milk-offering ;— but, indeed, they are both milk.

6. This (offering) then satisfied him. He hesitated : ‘ Shall I offer it up ? shall I not offer it up ? ’ he thought. His own greatness said to him, ‘ Offer it up ! ’ Pragâpati was aware that it was his own (sva) greatness that had spoken (âha) to him ; and offered it up with ‘ Svâhâ ! ’ This is why offerings are made with ‘ Svâhâ ! ’ Thereupon that burning one (viz. the sun) rose ; and then that blowing one (viz. the wind) sprang up ; whereupon, indeed, Agni turned away.

7. And Pragâpati, having performed offering, reproduced himself, and saved himself from Agni, Death, as he was about to devour him. And, verily, whosoever, knowing this, offers the Agni-hotra, reproduces himself by offspring even as Pragâpati reproduced himself ; and saves himself from Agni, Death, when he is about to devour him.

8. And when he dies, and when they place him on the fire, then he is born (again) out of the fire, and the fire only consumes his body. Even as he is born from his father and mother, so is he born from the fire. But he who offers not the Agnihotra, verily, he does not come into life at all : therefore the Agni-hotra should by all means be offered.

9. And as to that same birth from out of doubt,— when Pragâpati doubted, he, while doubting, remained steadfast on the better (side), insomuch that he reproduced himself and saved himself from Agni, Death, when he was about to devour him : so he also who knows that birth from out of doubt, when he doubts about anything, still remains on the better (side).

10. Having offered, he rubbed (his hands). Thence

a Vikaṅkata¹ tree sprung forth; and therefore that tree is suitable for the sacrifice, and proper for sacrificial vessels. Thereupon those (three) heroes among the gods were born, viz. Agni, that blower (Vāyu), and Sūrya: and, verily, whosoever thus knows those heroes among the gods, to him a hero is born.

11. They then said, 'We come after our father Pragâpati: let us then create what shall come after us!' Having enclosed (a piece of ground), they sang praises with the gâyatrī stanza without the 'Hiñ²:' and that (with) which they enclosed was the ocean; and this earth was the praising-ground (âstâva).

12. When they had sung praises, they went out towards the east, saying, 'We (will) go back thither!' The gods came upon a cow which had sprung into existence. Looking up at them, she uttered the sound 'hiñ.' The gods perceived that this was the 'Hiñ' of the Sâman (melodious sacrificial chant); for heretofore (their song was) without the 'Hiñ.' but after that it was the (real) Sâman. And as this same sound 'Hiñ' of the Sâman was in the cow, therefore the latter affords the means of subsistence; and so does he afford the means of subsistence whosoever thus knows that 'Hiñ' of the Sâman in the cow.

13. They said, 'Auspicious, indeed, is what we have produced here, who have produced the cow: for, truly, she is the sacrifice, and without her no sacrifice is performed; she is also the food, for the cow, indeed, is all food.'

14. This (word 'go'), then, is a name of those

¹ The sruva, or dipping-spoon, and the Agnihotra ladle, for instance, are made of this wood; see p. 331, note 2.

² On 'hiñ' as an essential element in the recitation of Sâma-chants, see I, 4, 1, 1 seq.

(cows), and so it is of the sacrifice: let him, therefore, repeat¹ it, (as it were) saying, 'Good, excellent!' and, verily, whosoever, knowing this, repeats it, (as it were) saying, 'Good, excellent!' with him those (cows) multiply, and the sacrifice will incline to him.

15. Now, Agni coveted her: 'May I pair with her,' he thought. He united with her, and his seed became that milk of hers: hence, while the cow is raw, that milk in her is cooked (warm); for it is Agni's seed; and therefore also, whether it be in a black or in a red (cow), it is ever white, and shining like fire, it being Agni's seed.' Hence it is warm when first milked; for it is Agni's seed.

16. They (the men) said, 'Come, let us offer this up!'—'To whom of us shall they first offer this?' (said those gods).—'To me!' said Agni.—'To me!' said that blower (Vāyu).—'To me!' said Sūrya. They did not come to an agreement; and not being agreed, they said, 'Let us go to our father Pragâpati; and to whichever of us he says it shall be offered first, to him they shall first offer this.' They went to their father Pragâpati, and said, 'To whom of us shall they offer this first?'

17. He replied, 'To Agni: Agni will forthwith cause his own seed to be reproduced, and so you will be reproduced.' 'Then to thee,' he said to Sūrya; 'and what of the offered (milk) he then is still possessed of, that shall belong to that blower

¹ Pariharet [?'let him avoid it (the term go in the sense of sacrifice), thinking that it is too holy']. Sâyana merely remarks, that both the cow and the sacrifice are here represented as extremely auspicious (*utkrishṭam puṇyam*). Perhaps we have here a play on the words *upanâma*, 'a by-name,' and *upanâmuka*, 'inclining to (him).' 'Go' (for *go-shṭoma*) is the designation of one of the days of the *Abhiplava* at the *Gavâmayana*.

(Vâyu)!' And, accordingly, they in the same way offer this (milk) to them till this day: in the evening to Agni, and in the morning to Sûrya; and what of the offered (milk) he then is still possessed of, that, indeed, belongs to that blower.

18. By offering, those gods were produced in the way in which they were produced, by it they gained that victory which they did gain: Agni conquered this world, Vâyu the air, and Sûrya the sky. And whosoever, knowing this, offers the Agnihotra, he, indeed, is produced in the same way in which they were then produced, he gains that same victory which they then gained;—indeed, he shares the same world with them, whosoever, knowing this, offers the Agnihotra. Therefore the Agnihotra should certainly be performed.

THIRD ADHYÂYA. FIRST BRÂHMANA.

1. The Agnihotra, doubtless, is the Sun. It is because he rose in front (agre) of that offering¹, that the Agnihotra is the Sun.

2. When he offers in the evening after sunset, he does so thinking, 'I will offer, while he is here, who is this (offering);' and when he offers in the morning before sunrise, he does so thinking, 'I will offer, while he is here, who is this (offering):' and for this reason, they say, the Agnihotra is the Sun.

3. And when he sets, then he, as an embryo, enters that womb, the fire; and along with him thus becoming an embryo, all these creatures become embryos; for, being coaxed, they lie down contented².

¹ Apparently an etymological play on the word *agnihotra* = *agre hotrasya*, cf. II, 2, 4, 2.

² *Îtâ hi sere* (serate, Kânva rec.) *samgânânâh*.

The reason, then, why the night envelops that (sun), is that embryos also are, as it were, enveloped.

4. Now when he offers in the evening after sunset, he offers for the good of that (sun) in the embryo state, he benefits that embryo; and since he offers for the good of that (sun) in the embryo state, therefore embryos here live without taking food.

5. And when he offers in the morning before sunrise, then he produces that (sun-child) and, having become a light, it rises shining. But, assuredly, it would not rise, were he not to make that offering: this is why he performs that offering.

6. Even as a snake frees itself from its skin, so does it (the sun-child) free itself from the night, from evil: and, verily, whosoever, knowing this, offers the Agnihotra, he frees himself from all evil, even as a snake frees itself from its skin; and after his birth all these creatures are born; for they are set free according to their inclination.

7. Then, as to his taking out the Âhavantya (from the Gârhapatya) before the setting of the sun; —the rays, doubtless, are all those gods; and what highest light there is, that, indeed, is either Pragâpati or Indra. Now all the gods approach the house of him who performs the Agnihotra: but whosoever (offering) they approach before the fire has been taken out, from that the gods turn away, and he fails in it; and after the failure of that (offering) from which the gods turn away, people say, that, whether one knows it or not, the sun went down on account of that (fire) not having been taken out.

8. And another reason why he takes out the Âhavantya before the setting of the sun, is this. In like manner as, when one's better comes to visit

one, he would honour him by trimming his house, so here: for whosoever (offering) they approach, after the fire has been taken out, his Âhavanīya (house) they enter, in his Âhavanīya they repose.

9. Now when he offers in the evening after the sun has set, he thereby offers to them after they have entered his fire-house; and when he offers in the morning before sunrise, he offers to them before they go away. Therefore Âsuri said, 'The Agnihotra of those who offer after sunrise we regard as useless¹: it is as if one were to take food to an empty dwelling.'

10. That which affords (the means of) subsistence is of two kinds; namely, either rooted or rootless. On both of these, which belong to the gods, men subsist. Now cattle are rootless and plants are rooted. From the rootless cattle eating the rooted plants and drinking water, that juice is produced.

11. Now when he offers in the evening after sunset, he does so thinking, 'I will offer to the gods of this life-giving juice: we subsist on this which belongs to them.' And when he afterwards takes his evening meal, he eats what remains of the offering, and whereof oblation portions (bali) have been distributed all round²; for he who performs the Agnihotra eats only what remains of the offering.

12. And when he offers in the morning before sunrise, he does so thinking, 'I will offer to the gods of this life-giving juice: we subsist on this which belongs to them.' And when he afterwards takes his meal in the day-time, he eats what remains of the

¹ *Vikkhinna*, ? lit. 'cut off (from its recipient).'

² Bali is the technical term of the portions of the daily food that have to be assigned to all creatures.

offering, and whereof oblation portions have been distributed all round; for he who performs the Agnihotra eats only what remains of the offering.

13. Here now they say,—All other sacrifices come to an end, but the Agnihotra does not come to an end. Although that which lasts for twelve years is indeed limited, this (Agnihotra) is nevertheless unlimited, since, when one has offered in the evening, he knows that he will offer in the morning; and when one has offered in the morning, he knows that he will again offer in the evening. Hence that Agnihotra is unlimited, and in consequence of this its unlimitedness, creatures are here born unlimited. And, verily, he who thus knows the unlimitedness of the Agnihotra, is himself born unlimited in prosperity and offspring.

14. Having milked¹ he puts that (milk) on (the Gârhapatya fire), because it has to be cooked. Here now they say, 'When it rises to the brim, then we shall offer it!' He must not however let it rise to the brim, since he would burn it, if he were to let it rise to the brim; and unproductive indeed is burnt seed: he must not, therefore, let it rise to the brim.

15. He should not offer it without having put it on the fire; for since this is Agni's seed, therefore it is hot (*srīta*, 'cooked'); and by putting it on the

¹ For other ceremonies preceding those above, see I, 3, 3, 13 seq. According to Kâty. IV, 14, 1 he has the Agnihotra cow—standing south of the sacrificial ground and facing the east or north—milked by anybody except a Sûdra. The vessel to be used is of earthenware, and must have been made by an Ârya. The Adhvaryu then takes the vessel, and having entered the Âhavanīya house by the east door and passed over to the Gârhapatya, puts it there on coals previously shifted northwards from the fire.

fire, it is indeed heated : let him, therefore, offer (of the milk) only after he has put it on the fire.

16. He illumines it (with a burning straw)¹ in order that he may know when it is done. He then pours some water to it (with the sruva), both for the sake of appeasement, and in order to supplement the juice. For when it rains here, then plants spring up ; and in consequence of the plants being eaten and the water drunk, this juice is produced : hence it is in order to supplement the juice (that he pours water to it) ; and therefore, if it should happen to him to have to drink pure milk, let him have one drop of water poured into it, both for the sake of appeasement, and in order to supplement the juice.

17. Thereupon he ladles four times (milk with the sruva into the Agnihotra ladle²), for in a four-fold way was that milk supplied³. He then takes a kindling-stick (samidh), and hastes up (to the Âhavanîya, with the ladle) to make the libation on the burning (stick)⁴. He offers the first libation

¹ According to Kâty. IV, 14, 5 the Adhvaryu illumines the milk with a burning straw ; pours some water to it with the sruva or dipping-spoon ; then illumines it once more ; and lifts up the pot three several times, putting it down each time further north of the fire. Thereupon he warms the two spoons ; and wipes them with his hand ; and having warmed them once more, he says to the sacrificer, 'I ladle !' The latter, while standing, replies, 'Ôm, ladle !'

² For the Agnihotra-havanî, or offering-spoon (sruk), used at the morning and evening libation, and made of Vikaṅkata wood (Flacourtia Sapida), see p. 67, note 2. In the case of those who make five cuttings from the havis (pañcâvattin, cf. p. 192 note) he takes five sruva-fuls. Kâty. IV, 14, 10, Comm.

³ Viz. by the four teats of the udder. Comm.

⁴ While holding a billet or kindling-stick (samidh) over the (handle of) the milk-ladle, he [first holds the latter close over the Gârhapatya fire, and thereupon] takes it to the Âhavanîya, keeping

(pûrvâhuti) without putting down (the spoon) beside (the fire, on the grass-bunch). For, were he to put it down beside (the fire), it would be as if, in taking food to somebody, one were to put it down on one's way thither. But when (he makes the libation) without previously putting it down, it is as if, in taking food to somebody, one puts it down only after taking it to him. The second (libation he then makes) after putting it down: he thereby makes these two (libations) of various vigour. Now these two libations are mind and speech: hence he thereby separates mind and speech from each other; and thus mind and speech, even while one and the same (samâna), are still distinct (nânâ).

18. Twice he offers in the fire, twice he wipes (the spout of the spoon), twice he eats (of the milk), and four times he ladles¹;—these are ten (acts), for

it on a level with his mouth, except in the middle between the two fires, where he lowers it for a moment to the level of his navel. He then crouches down [bending his right knee, and looking eastwards, by the north-west corner of the Âhavanîya], puts the billet on [the centre of] the fire, and makes the first libation (pûrvâhuti) on the burning stick (see the formula, par. 30. The sacrificer, as usual, pronounces the dedicatory formula, viz. 'This to Agni!' and, 'This to Sûrya!' respectively). Thereupon he lays down the ladle on the kûrka [a grass-bunch, placed behind the Âhavanîya fire-place, to serve as a seat, and to wipe the hands on; according to others, a flat piece of Varaha wood], then takes it up again and silently makes the second libation (uttarâhuti) on the north part of the fire. Kâty. IV, 14, 12-17 with Schol.

¹ He ladles four sruva-fuls of milk into the Agnihotra ladle, and makes in the Âhavanîya fire two libations from this milk (so as to leave the larger quantity in the ladle to be eaten). He then wipes twice the spout of the ladle. [In each of the two other fires he thereupon makes likewise two libations with the sruva, of one spoonful each.] The milk left in the ladle he eats, on the completion of the six libations, by twice taking it out with his ring-finger.

of ten syllables consists the virâḡ stanza, and the sacrifice is virâḡ (shining): he thereby converts the sacrifice into the virâḡ.

19. Now what he offers up in the fire, that he offers to the gods; and thereby the gods are (admitted to the sacrifice)¹. And what he wipes off (the spoons), that he offers to the fathers and plants; and thereby the fathers and plants are (admitted). And what he eats after offering, that he offers to men; and thereby men are (admitted).

20. Verily, the creatures that are not allowed to take part in the sacrifice are forlorn: to those creatures that are not forlorn he thus offers a share at the opening of the sacrifice; and thus beasts (cattle) are made to share in it along with (men), since beasts are behind men².

21. On this point Yâgñavalkya said, 'It (the Agnihotra) must not be looked upon as a (havis-) sacrifice, but as a domestic sacrifice (pākayagñā); for while in any other (havis-)sacrifice he pours into the fire all that he cuts off (from the sacrificial dish and puts) into the offering spoon,—here, after offering and stepping outside³, he sips water and licks out (the milk); and this indeed (is a characteristic) of the domestic offering.' This then is the animal

¹ Tasmâd devâḥ santi; anvābhaktâḥ ('allowed to share in the sacrifice') has probably to be supplied here from the next paragraph.

² Instead of this paragraph, the Kāṇva text reads: 'Behind men are beasts; behind the gods are birds, plants, trees, and whatever else exists here. Thus he makes these creatures share in the sacrifice, those that are not forlorn here.' Compare I, 5, 2, 4.

³ Utsrīpya is variously explained by the commentators here and on Kāty. IV, 14, 27, as 'having gone out,' or 'having slowly moved forward,' or 'having risen,' or 'having poured out (the milk).'

characteristic¹ of that (Agnihotra), for the domestic offering pertains to beasts (or cattle).

22. Now the first of these libations, doubtless, is the same as that which Pragâpati offered in the beginning²; and as those (gods) thereupon continued (to sacrifice)³,—namely, Agni, that blower (Vâyu), and Sûrya,—so this second libation is offered.

23. What first libation (pûrvâhuti) is made, that is the deity of the Agnihotra⁴, and to that (deity) it is accordingly offered; and what second one (uttarâhuti) is made, that indeed is equivalent to the Svishṭakṛit (Agni, the maker of good offering); whence he offers it on the north part (of the fire), since that is the region of the Svishṭakṛit⁵. Moreover, this second libation is made in order to effect a pairing, for a couple forms a productive pair.

24. These two libations, then, form a duad: the past and the future, the born and the to-be-born, the actual⁶ and the hope, the to-day and the morrow,—(these are) after the manner of that duad.

25. The past is the self, for certain is that which is past, and certain also is that which is a self. The future, on the other hand, is progeny; for uncertain is that which is to be, and uncertain also is progeny.

26. The born is the self, for certain is that which is born, and certain also is the self. The to-be-born,

¹ *Paravyam rūpam*,—that is to say, its relation to the *pasu* or animal sacrifice; and hence also to the *iḍâ* at the *haviryagñā*; cf. I, 7, 4, 19.

² See II, 2, 4, 4 seq.

³ See II, 2, 4, 18.

⁴ That is to say, it represents the chief offering at the *haviryagñā*, which is followed by the (oblation to Agni) *Svishṭakṛit*. See I, 7, 2, 1 seq.

⁵ See I, 7, 3, 20.

⁶ *Āgatam*, 'what has arrived or come to pass,' 'the accomplished.'

on the other hand, is progeny ; for uncertain is what is to be born, and uncertain also is progeny.

27. The actual is the self, for certain is what is actual, and certain also is the self. And hope is progeny, for uncertain is hope, and uncertain also is progeny.

28. The to-day is the self, for certain is what is to-day, and certain also is the self. The morrow is progeny, for uncertain is the morrow, and uncertain also is progeny.

29. Now that first libation is offered on account of the self : he offers it with a sacred text, for certain is the sacred text, and certain also is the self. And that second one is offered on account of progeny : he offers it silently, for uncertain is what (is done) silently, and uncertain also is progeny.

30. [In the evening] he offers (the first libation), with the text (Vâg. S. III, 9, 10), 'Agni is the light, the light is Agni, Svâhâ !' and in the morning with, 'Sûrya (the sun) is the light, the light is Sûrya, Svâhâ !' Thus offering is made with the truth ; for, truly, when the sun goes down, then Agni (fire) is the light, and when the sun rises, then Sûrya is the light ; and whatever is offered with the truth, that, indeed, goes to the gods.

31. Here now Takshan recited for Âruni¹, who wished to obtain holy lustre (brahmavarṇasa, inspired nature), 'Agni is lustre, light is lustre ;'— 'Sûrya is lustre, light is lustre.' Holy lustre, therefore, he obtains whosoever, knowing this, thus offers the Agnihotra.

¹ The Kâṇva text has,—Here now Daksha said to Âruni, 'For one wishing to obtain brahmavarṇasa one should offer with this text, "Agni is lustre, light is lustre ;"—"Sûrya is lustre, light is lustre :"' a brahmavarṇasin, then, he becomes for whomsoever they so sacrifice.'

32. That (other text), however, has the characteristic form of generation. In saying, 'Agni is the light, the light is Agni, Svâhâ!' he encloses that seed, the light, on both sides with the deity; and the seed, thus enclosed on both sides, is brought forth: thus enclosing it on both sides he causes it to be brought forth.

33. And when, in the morning, he says, 'Sûrya is the light, the light is Sûrya, Svâhâ!' he encloses that seed, the light, on both sides with the deity, and the seed, thus enclosed on both sides, is brought forth: thus enclosing it on both sides he causes it to be brought forth; and this, indeed, is the characteristic form of generation.

34. But *Givala Kailaki* said¹, 'Âruni merely causes conception to take place, not birth: let him therefore offer with that (text, in par. 32) in the evening.

35. 'Then, in the morning, by the text, "The light is Sûrya, Sûrya is the light," he places that seed, the light, outside by means of the deity; and the seed thus brought outside he causes to be born.'

36. They also say, 'In the evening he offers Sûrya in Agni, and in the morning he offers Agni in Sûrya².' Such, indeed, is the case with those who offer after sunrise; for when the sun sets then Agni is the light, and when the sun rises then Sûrya is the light. Here no offence is committed on his (the sacrificer's) part; but an offence is indeed committed where offering is not made distinctly to that deity (viz. Agni or Sûrya resp.), which is the deity of the Agnihotra.

¹ I have made *Givala's* speech extend to the end of par. 35, as is done, no doubt correctly, in the *Kânva* text.

² The *Kânva* has,—Now they say, 'In the evening they offer Agni in Sûrya, and in the morning they offer Sûrya in Agni.' But see the formulas (par. 30), where 'light' is to be taken as Sûrya and Agni respectively.

He says¹, 'Agni is the light, the light is Agni, Svâhâ!' and not, 'To Agni Svâhâ!' and in the morning, 'Sûrya is the light, the light is Sûrya, Svâhâ!' and not, 'To Sûrya Svâhâ!'

37. He may also offer (in the evening) with this text (Vâg. S. III, 10), 'Along with the divine Savitri—,' whereby it (the sacrifice) becomes possessed of Savitri for his impulsion; '—along with the Night, wedded to Indra—,' whereby he effects a union with the night, and makes it (the sacrifice) possessed of Indra, for Indra is the deity of the sacrifice; '—may Agni graciously accept! Svâhâ!' whereby he offers to Agni in a direct manner.

38. And in the morning with, 'Along with the divine Savitri—,' whereby it becomes possessed of Savitri for his impulsion; '—along with the Dawn, wedded to Indra,' or 'along with the Day—,' whereby he effects a union either with the day or the dawn², and makes it (the sacrifice) possessed of Indra; for Indra is the deity of sacrifice; '—may Sûrya graciously accept! Svâhâ!' whereby he offers to Sûrya directly: hence he may offer in this way.

39. They then spake, 'Who shall offer this unto us?'—'The priest (brâhmaṇa)!—' Priest, offer this unto us!'—'What is to be my share then?'—'The residue of the Agnihotra!' Now what he leaves in

¹ Here the Kâṇva text begins a new paragraph. The author's object seems to be to show that those who offer the Agnihotra after sunrise, commit a mistake in not offering to Sûrya unmistakably; for while before sunrise, Sûrya is still reposing in Agni, and the oblation, in being poured into the fire, is consequently made to Sûrya directly, those offering after sunrise should rather use the formula 'To Sûrya Svâhâ!' Cf. paragraph 9.

² Instead of 'ahnâm voshasâm vâ,' I adopt 'ahnâ voshasâ vâ,' from the Kâṇva reading 'ushasâ vâhnâ vâ.'

the ladle, that is the residue of the Agnihotra; and what remains in the pot, is as (the rice for oblations which) one takes out from the enclosed part (of the cart)¹. And if any one is to drink it, at least none but a Brāhman must drink it²: for it is put on the fire (and thereby consecrated), and hence none but a Brāhman must drink it.

SECOND BRĀHMANA.

1. Verily, in him that exists³, these deities reside, to wit, Indra, king Yama, *Nada* the Naishadha⁴ (king), Anasnat Sāṅgamana, and Asat Pāmsava.

2. Now Indra, in truth, is the same as the Āhavanīya; and king Yama is the same as the Gārhapatya; and *Nada* Naishadha is the same as the Anvāhāryapaṭana (Dakṣiṇa fire); and because day by day they take that (fire) to the south, therefore indeed they say that day by day *Nada* Naishadha carries king Yama⁵ (further) south.

3. And again what fire there is in the hall (sabhā), that is the same as Anasnat Sāṅgamana: Anasvat (not eating) it is for the reason that people

¹ Yathā parīṇaho nirvaped evam tat. The Kāṇva text has: Yathā (yayā MS.) koshṭhā parīṇaho vā nirmimīṭaivam tat.

² Or, 'anybody may drink it, but none but a Brāhman may drink it.' According to the Schol. on Kāty. IV, 14, 11, the milk which is left in the pot may be drunk by a Brāhman, but by no one else; not even in his own house is a Kshatriya or Vaisya allowed to drink it.

³ The commentator takes it, 'in whatever (sacrificer) exists.' The (Oxf. MS. of the) Kāṇva text has nothing corresponding to the second and third Brāhmaṇas.

⁴ The printed text has Naishidha. See Weber, Ind. Stud. I, p. 225 seq.

⁵ Here Yama is apparently taken as (the god of) death and destruction, caused, as Professor Weber suggests, by the warlike expeditions of *Nada*, king of Nishadha, in the south.

approach it before they eat. And that (place) where they throw the ashes they remove (from the fire-places) is the same as Asat Pâmsava. And whosoever knows this, thus gains all those worlds, traverses all those worlds, thinking, 'In me those gods reside.'

4. Now as to rendering homage to (upasthâna, lit. standing near) these (fires). When in the evening and morning (after the Agnihotra) he stands by the Âhavantya, and sits down by it, that is the homage rendered to that (fire). And when, on stepping back to the Gârhapatya, he either sits or lies down, that is the homage rendered to that (fire). And when, in walking (out of the sacrificial ground), he remembers the Anvâhâryapaṭana, and thus, in his mind, tarries near it, that is the homage rendered to that (fire).

5. And again, before taking food in the morning, having sat down for a moment in the hall, he may also, if he like, walk round (the Sabhya or hall-fire),—and this is the homage rendered to that (fire). And when he steps near where lie the ashes removed (from the fire-places) that is the homage rendered to that (fire). And thus homage has been rendered to those deities of his.

6. Now the Gârhapatya (householder's fire) has the sacrificer for its deity; and the Anvâhâryapaṭana (southern fire) has his foe for its deity: hence they should not take over that (southern fire) every day (from the Gârhapatya); and he indeed has no enemies, for whomsoever, knowing this, they do not take it over every day. Indeed, it is the Anvâhâryapaṭana¹.

¹ That is, the fire on which the Anvâhârya mess of rice, the priests' Dakshinâ at the new and full-moon sacrifice, is cooked. See I, 2, 3, 5; p. 49, note 1.

7. Let them only take it over on the fast-day (of the new and full-moon sacrifice), when they are about to sacrifice on this (the Âhavanīya fire): thus that (southern) one is taken over in order to prevent failure on his (the sacrificer's) part.

8. Or they may also take it over to a new dwelling; and let them then cook on it food (other than meat) for the priests to eat. And should he not be able to procure anything to cook, let him order the milk of a cow to be put thereon and let the priests be asked to drink it. And his enemies will indeed fare ill, for whomsoever, knowing this, they do so: let him, therefore, endeavour by all means to do so.

9. Now when it is first kindled, and there is as yet nothing but smoke, then indeed that (fire) is Rudra. And if anyone (Kshatriya) desires to consume food (belonging to others),—even as Rudra seeks after these creatures, now with distrust, now with violence, now in striking them down,—let him offer then: and, assuredly, he who, knowing this, offers then (when the fire has just been lighted), obtains that food.

10. And when it burns rather brightly, then indeed that (fire) is Varuṇa. And if any one desires to consume food,—even as Varuṇa seeks after these creatures, now, as it were, seizing on them, now with violence, now in striking them down,—let him offer then: and, assuredly, he who, knowing this, offers then, obtains that food.

11. And when it is in full blaze, and the smoke whirls upwards with the utmost speed, then indeed that (fire) is Indra. And if any one wishes to be like Indra in splendour and glory, let him offer then: and, assuredly, he who, knowing this, offers then, obtains that food (object).

12. And when the flame of the waning (fire) gets lower and lower, and (burns) as it were sideways, then, indeed, that (fire) is Mitra. And if any one desires to consume food here through the kindness (maitra, of others),—as one of whom they say, ‘Truly, this Brâhman is everybody’s friend, he harms not any one,’—let him offer (the Agnihotra) then: and, assuredly, he who, knowing this, offers then (when the fire gets low), obtains that food.

13. And when the coals are glowing intensely, then, indeed, that (fire) is the Brahman. And if anybody wishes to become endowed with holy lustre (brahmavarêasin), let him offer then: and, assuredly, he who, knowing this, offers then, obtains that food (object).

14. Let him endeavour to adhere to some one of these (gods or fires) for a year, whether he (the householder) himself offer (the Agnihotra) or some one else offer for him. If, on the other hand, he offers now in this way, now in another, it is just as if, in digging for water or some other food, one were to leave off in the midst of it. But if he offers uniformly, it is just as if, in digging for water or some other food, one lays it open forthwith.

15. Indeed, these offerings are, as it were, the spades for (the digging up of) food; and, assuredly, whosoever, knowing this, offers the Agnihotra, procures food.

16. Now the first libation (pûrvâhuti) represents the gods, and the second (uttarâhuti) represents the men, and what remains in the ladle represents cattle.

17. Only a little he offers for the first libation, somewhat more for the second, and still more he leaves in the ladle.

18. The reason why he offers only a little for the first libation, is that the gods are fewer than men ; and why he offers somewhat more for the second libation, is that men are more numerous than the gods ; and why he leaves still more in the ladle, is that cattle are more numerous than men. And, verily, whosoever, knowing this, offers the Agnihotra, his cattle will be more numerous than those (human beings) that have to be supported by him : for he, indeed, is in a prosperous condition whose cattle are more numerous than those (human beings) dependent on his support.

THIRD BRÂHMANA.

1. Now when Pragâpati, in creating living beings, created Agni, the latter, as soon as born, sought to burn everything here : and so everybody tried to get out of his way¹. The creatures then existing sought to crush him. Being unable to endure this, he went to man.

2. He said, 'I cannot endure this : come, let me enter into thee ! Having reproduced me, maintain me ; and as thou wilt reproduce and maintain me in this world, even so will I reproduce and maintain thee in yonder world !' He (man) replied, 'So be it.' And having reproduced him, he maintained him.

3. Now when he establishes the two fires, he reproduces that (Agni) ; and having reproduced him, he maintains him ; and as he reproduces and maintains him in this world, even so does he (Agni) reproduce and maintain him in yonder world.

4. One must not, therefore, remove it (the sacrificial fire from the hearth) prematurely, for too

¹ Ity âbîlam âsa, i. e. 'there was a (general rush) to a hole,' (or perhaps 'to the outlet.')

soon it languishes for him; and as it languishes for him too soon in this world, even so does it languish for him too soon in yonder world: one must not, therefore, remove it prematurely.

5. And when he dies, and they place him on the (funeral) fire, then he is reproduced from out of the fire; and he (Agni) who heretofore was his son¹, now becomes his father.

6. Hence it has been said by the *Rishis* (Rig-veda I, 89, 9), 'A hundred autumns (may there be) before us, O gods, during which ye complete the life-time of our bodies, during which sons become fathers! do not cut us off, midway, from reaching the full term of life!' for he (Agni) who is the son, now in his turn becomes the father: this, then, is why one must establish the fires.

7. Now yonder burning (sun) doubtless is no other than Death; and because he is Death, therefore the creatures that are on this side of him die. But those that are on the other side of him are the gods, and they are therefore immortal. It is by the rays (or reins, thongs, *rasmi*) of that (sun) that all these creatures are attached to the vital airs (breaths or life), and therefore the rays extend down to the vital airs.

8. And the breath of whomsoever he (the sun) wishes he takes and rises, and that one dies. And whosoever goes to yonder world not having escaped that Death, him he causes to die again and again in yonder world, even as, in this world, one regards not him that is fettered, but puts him to death whenever one wishes.

¹ Viz. inasmuch as the householder, by the *Âdhâna*, produces, generates Agni.

9. Now when, in the evening after sunset, he offers two libations, then he firmly plants himself on that Death with those fore-feet of his; and when, in the morning before sunrise, he offers two libations, then he plants himself on that Death with those hind-feet of his. And when he (the sun) rises, then, in rising, he takes him up and thus he (the sacrificer) escapes that Death. This, then, is the release from death in the Agnihotra: and, verily, he who knows that release from death in the Agnihotra, is freed from death again and again.

10. What the arrow-head is to the arrow, that the Agnihotra is to sacrifices. For whither the head of the arrow flies, thither the whole arrow flies: and so are all his works of sacrifice freed by this (Agnihotra) from that Death.

11. Now day and night, revolving, destroy (the fruit of) man's righteousness in yonder world. But day and night are on this side (of the sun) from him (after he has gone up to heaven); and so day and night do not destroy (the fruit of) his righteousness.

12. And as, while standing inside a chariot, one would look down from above on the revolving chariot-wheels, even so does he look down from on high upon day and night: and, verily, day and night destroy not the reward of him who thus knows that release from day and night.

13. [The sacrificer] having gone round the Âhavanîya, (after entering) from the east¹, passes

¹ According to Kâty. IV, 13, 12 [and Schol.], the householder [after taking out the fires and performing his regular twilight adoration (sandhyâ), that is, muttering the Sâvitri, Rig-veda III, 62, 10 (see Sat. Br. II, 3, 4, 39), when the sun has half disappeared or until it becomes visible; cf. Âsval. Grîhyas. XX, 3, 7] passes between the Gârhapatya and Dakshîna fires, or south of them,

between (it and) the Gârhapatya (to his seat). For the gods do not know (this) man¹; but when he now passes by them between (the fires), they know him, and think, 'This is he that now offers to us.' Moreover, Agni (the fire) is the repeller of evil; and these two, the Âhavantiya and Gârhapatya, repel the evil from him who passes between them; and the evil being repelled from him, he becomes a very light in splendour and glory.

14. On the north side is the door of the Agnihotra²: thus (he approaches it) as he would enter (a house) by a door. If, on the other hand, he were to sit down after approaching from the south, it would be as if he walked outside.

15. The Agnihotra, truly, is the ship (that sails) heavenwards. The Âhavantiya and Gârhapatya are the two sides³ of that same heavenward-bound ship; and that milk-offerer is its steersman.

16. Now when he walks up towards the east, then he steers that (ship) eastwards towards the

[enters the Âhavantiya house by the east door], circumambulates the fire from right to left (apadakshinam), and sits down in his place (south of the Âhavantiya fire and altar). The same circumambulation is performed by the wife, who thereupon sits down in her place, south-west of the Gârhapatya.

¹ Or, 'the gods are not aware of (this) man' (na vai devâ manushyam viduḥ). The gods are supposed to be assembled around the altar; see I, 3, 3, 8.

² I do not understand this, there being no door on the north side of the Âhavantiya fire-house. According to the commentator this passage is directed against those who make the sacrificer betake himself to the Âhavantiya from (or along) the south; and he quotes the words 'dakshinena vâ' from Kâtyâyana, apparently IV, 13, 12, where it is said that the sacrificer, in going to the Âhavantiya, has to pass between the two western fires, 'or south of them.'

³ 'Naumande' ? according to the commentator = bhittî (the two walls or sides). The Petersb. Dict. proposes 'the two rudders (or oars).'

heavenly world, and he gains the heavenly world by it. When ascended from the north it makes him reach the heavenly world; but if one were to sit down in it after entering from the south, it would be as if he tried to enter it after it has put off and he were left behind and remained outside.

17. And again, the stick which he puts on the fire (corresponds to) a brick, and the formula wherewith he offers is the Yagus-text wherewith he puts on that brick¹; and when the brick is put on, then a libation is made: hence those same libations of the Agnihotra are offered on his pile of bricks².

18. The fire, assuredly, is Pragâpati, and Pragâpati is the year. Year after year, therefore, is his Agnihotra consummated with the piled-up fire-altar; and year after year does he obtain the piled-up fire-altar, whosoever, knowing this, offers the Agnihotra.

19. Seven hundred and twenty eighties of *Rik*-verses (he should recite at the Agnihotra in the course of a year). When he offers the Agnihotra in the morning and evening, then there are two libations: hence those libations of his, in the course of a year, amount to—

20. Seven hundred and twenty. Thus, indeed, his Agnihotra is accomplished, year after year, with the great chant³; and year after year does he obtain

¹ Viz. at the Agniṣṭayana, or piling up of the brick-altars at the Soma-sacrifice. As to the putting on of the stick, see II, 3, 1, 17. The Kāṇva text of the Vâg. S. (but not that of the Brâhm.) gives the formula 'Agnigyotisham (Sūryagyotisham, in the morning) tvâ vâyumatīm,' &c. See Kâty. IV, 14, 13; 15, 9.

² After the completion of the fifth, and last, layer of the brick-altar, oblations of various materials are made thereon; especially the Satarudriyahoma, consisting of 425 single oblations; Sat. Br IX, 1, 1, 1 seq., 2, 1, 1 seq.

³ The mahad (or, brîhad) uktha or great chant, which marks

the great chant, whosoever, knowing this, offers the Agnihotra.

FOURTH BRÂHMANA.

1. Once on a time the gods deposited with Agni all their beasts, both domestic and wild ; either because they were about to engage in battle or from a desire of free scope, or because they thought that he (Agni) would protect them as the best protector.

2. Now Agni coveted them, and seizing them he entered the night with them. 'Let us go back thither,' said the gods, and betook themselves to where Agni was concealed. Now they knew that he had entered there, that he had entered the night ; and when the night returned in the evening, they approached him and said, 'Give us our beasts ! give us back our beasts !' Agni then gave them back their beasts.

3. For this then let him respectfully approach the two fires : the fires are givers, and thereby he supplicates them. Let him approach them in the evening, for in the evening the gods approached (Agni). And whosoever, knowing this, approaches (the two fires), to him, indeed, they grant cattle.

4. Then as to why he should not approach them. Now in the beginning both the gods and men were together here. And whatever did not belong to the men, for that they importuned the gods, saying, 'This is not ours : let it be ours !' Being indignant

the conclusion of the Agnikayana, consists of 3×80 *trikas* (strophes of three verses each), or together 720 verses. On the frequent use of number 80 in the fire-ritual, see Weber, Ind. Stud. XIII, p. 167.

at this importunity, the gods then disappeared. Hence (it may be argued) one should not approach (the fires), fearing lest he should offend them, lest he should become hateful to them.

5. Then as to why he should nevertheless approach (the fires). The sacrifice, assuredly, belongs to the gods, and the prayer for blessing to the sacrificer. Now the (Agnihotra) libation, doubtless, is the same as the sacrifice; and what he does¹ in now approaching (the fires), that indeed is the sacrificer's prayer for blessing.

6. And again, why he should not approach (the fires). Whosoever follows either a Brâhman or Kshatriya, praising him, thinking, 'He will give me gifts, he will build me a house,' to him, if he strives to please him both in speech and deed, that (master of his) will think himself bound to give gifts. Whosoever, on the other hand, says, 'What art thou to me, that givest me nothing?' him that (master) is likely to hate, to become disgusted with. Hence one should not approach (the fire); for by kindling and offering in it, he already supplicates it, and he should not therefore approach (and importune it again).

7. And again, why he should nevertheless approach (the fires). He alone that asks finds a giver; and the master, moreover, knows nothing of his dependent. But when the latter says, 'I am thy dependent: support me!' then he does know him, and feels himself bound to support him. Let him therefore approach (the fires). This then is the

¹ The Kânva text has: 'And when he approaches (the fires), that (represents) the sacrificer's wish for blessing: what there is here for him, that indeed he thereby makes his own (âtmani kurute).'

whole (argument) as to why one should approach (the fires).

8. Now that (fire) being Pragâpati,—when the Agnihotra is offered, he casts the seed of all that he rules over, of all that is after his manner: and by approaching (the fire) one imitates (him in) all this, one reproduces all this¹.

9. He begins to pray² with the verse (Vâg. S. III, 11) containing the word 'upon (upa).' Now the word 'upon' means this (earth), and that in a twofold way: for whatever is produced here, that is produced upon (upa-gan) this (earth); and whatever decays, that is buried (upa-vap³) in this (earth): hence there is here imperishable, ever-increasing abundance, and with that imperishable abundance he begins.

10. He prays, 'Entering upon the worship—,' worship (adhvara) doubtless means sacrifice: 'entering upon the sacrifice' is what he means to say. '—Let us offer prayer to Agni—,' for he is indeed about to offer prayer to him; '—to him who hears us even from afar!' thereby he means to say, 'Although thou art afar from us, yet do thou hear this our (prayer), do thou so far think well of it!'

11. [He continues, Vâg. S. III, 12], 'Agni, the head,

¹ Or, 'this All' (idam sarvam). The Kânva text has bhûmânâ, 'abundance,' instead.

² The mode of approaching and worshipping the fires (agny-upasthâna) detailed in pars. 9-41 is ascribed to Vatsapri (author of Rig-veda IX, 68; X, 45 and 46), and therefore termed vâtsapra-upasthâna. It is, however, also called mahopasthâna (or dirghopasthâna), or great (long) worship, as distinguished from the so-called kshullakopasthâna (or laghûpasthâna), or little (short) worship, described in II, 4, 1, and ascribed to Âsuri.

³ Or 'upa-kiryate,' according to the Kânva text.

the summit of the sky; he, the lord of the earth, animates the seeds of the waters.' He thereby follows (and praises) him :—even as a supplicant would speak politely, 'Surely thou art the descendant of so and so! surely thou art able to do this!' so (he does) by this (verse).

12. Thereupon the verse to Indra and Agni (Vâg. S. III, 13), 'You two, O Indra and Agni, I will invoke; you two I will delight together with kindly office; you two, the givers of strength and wealth, —you two I invoke for the obtainment of strength!' Indra, doubtless, is the same as that burning (sun); when he sets, then he enters the Âhavanīya;—hence he now approaches these two that are thus united, thinking, 'May the two, united, grant me favours:' this is why the Indra-Agni (verse is muttered).

13. [He continues, ib. 14 seq.], 'This is thy natural womb, whence born thou shonest forth: knowing this, arise, O Agni, and increase our substance!'—substance, doubtless, means affluence: 'grant to us ever-increasing affluence!' is what he thereby says.

14. 'First was he founded by the founders here, the best offering priest, worthy of praise at the sacrifices; he whom Apnavâna and the Bhr̥igus kindled¹, shining brightly in the wood, and spreading from house to house:'—even as a supplicant would speak politely, 'Surely thou art the descendant of so and so! surely thou art able to do this!' so in this (verse). And what he (Agni) really is, as such he speaks of him when he says 'spreading from house to house,' for he does indeed spread from house to house.

¹ Or, as Grassmann, in his translation of the *R̥iksamhitâ*, takes it, 'he whom the active Bhr̥igus kindled.'

15. 'In accordance with his old (pratna) splendour, the dauntless have milked the shining juice from the wise one that giveth a hundredfold.' The richest of gifts, indeed, is the hundredfold gift; and in order to obtain that (giver) he says, 'the wise one that giveth a hundredfold.'

16. This is a hymn of six verses collected (from the *Rîk*); the first of them containing (the word) 'upon,' and the last containing (the word) 'old' (pratna). And this we recited, because she (the earth) is the one that contains the (word) 'upon;' and that which is 'old' doubtless is yonder (sky), for as many gods as there were 'of old,' in the beginning, so many gods there are now, and hence the 'old' means yonder (sky). Now within these two (worlds) all desires are contained; and these two are in accord with each other for his (the sacrificer's) benefit, and concede all his wishes.

17. Thrice he mutters the first (verse) and thrice the last; for of threefold beginning are sacrifices, and of threefold termination: therefore he mutters thrice the first and the last (verses).

18. Now, in offering the Agnihotra, whatever mistake one commits, either in word or deed, thereby he injures either his own body, or his life, or his vigour, or his offspring.

19. Accordingly (he mutters the texts, Vâg. S. III, 17), 'Thou, O Agni, art the protector of bodies: protect my body! Thou, O Agni, art the giver of life: give me life! Thou, O Agni, art the giver of vigour: give me vigour! O Agni, what defect there is in my body, supply that for me!'

20. And whatever mistake he commits, in offering the Agnihotra, either in word or deed, thereby he

injures either his own body, or his life, or his vigour, or his offspring: 'make that up for me!' he thereby says; and accordingly that (defect) is again made up for him.

21. [He continues, Vâg. S. III, 18], 'Kindled, we enkindle thee, the brilliant one, a hundred winters—;' he thereby says, 'may we live a hundred years;' and 'so long we enkindle thee, the great one,' he says, when he says 'we enkindle thee, the brilliant one.' '—We, the vigorous—thee, the invigorating; we, the strong—thee, the giver of strength—;' whereby he says, 'may we be vigorous, mayest thou be invigorating! may we be strong, mayest thou be a giver of strength!' '—We, the uninjured—thee, the uninjurably injurer of enemies!' whereby he says, 'by thine aid may we render our enemies utterly miserable!'

22. 'O thou, rich in lights, may I safely reach thine end!' this he mutters thrice. She that is rich in lights (*ĥitrâvasu*) doubtless is the night, since the latter, as it were, rests (*vas*) after gathering together the lights (*ĥitra*): hence (at night) one does not see clearly (*ĥitram*) from afar.

23. Now it was by means of this same (text) that the *Rishis* reached safely the end of the night; and because of it the evil spirits, the *Rakshas*, did not find them: by it, therefore, he also now reaches safely the end of the night; and because of it the evil spirits, the *Rakshas*, find him not.—This much he mutters while standing.

24. Thereupon, while seated, (he mutters, Vâg. S. III, 19 seq.), 'Thou, O Agni, hast attained to *Sûrya's* lustre—;' this he says, because, in setting, the sun enters the *Âhavanîya*; '—to the praise

of the *Rishis*—;’ this he says, because he himself now approaches (and worships, praises, the fire); ‘—to the favourite abode (or dainty);’ his (Agni’s) favourite abode doubtless are the offerings: ‘to offerings’ he thereby says. ‘—May I attain to long life, to lustre, to offspring, to increase of wealth!’ whereby he says, ‘Even as thou didst attain to those (qualities), so may I attain to long life, lustre, offspring, affluence,—that is to say, to prosperity.’

25. He then approaches the cow¹, with the text (Vâg. S. III, 20), ‘Food ye are: may I enjoy your food! wealth ye are: may I enjoy your wealth!’—whereby he means to say, ‘whatever energies are yours, whatever riches are yours, may I enjoy them.’—‘Strength ye are: may I enjoy your strength!’ whereby he says, ‘sap ye are: may I enjoy your sap!’—‘Affluence ye are: may I enjoy your affluence!’ whereby he says, ‘abundance ye are: may I enjoy your abundance!’

26. ‘Ye prosperous ones, disport yourselves—;’ cattle are prosperous: therefore he says, ‘ye prosperous ones, disport yourselves—;’ ‘—in this seat, in this fold, in this place, in this homestead: remain here, go not from hence!’ this he says with reference to himself,—‘go not away from me!’

27. He then touches the cow, with the text (Vâg. S. III, 22 a), ‘Motley thou art, of all shapes;’—for cattle are indeed of all shapes: therefore he calls her all-shaped; ‘—come to me with sap and possession of cattle!’ when he says ‘with sap,’ he means

¹ Viz. the Agnihotra cow, which has supplied the milk for the morning and evening libation; or any cow, if other material than milk be used.

to say 'with juice;' and when he says 'with possession of cattle,' he means to say 'with abundance.'

28. He then steps up to the Gârhapatya, and renders homage to it, with the text (ib. 22 b), 'Thee, O Agni, illuminer of the night¹, we approach day by day with prayer, paying homage unto thee.' He thus renders homage to it in order that it may not injure him.

29. [He continues, ib. 23 seq.], 'Thee that rulest over the sacrifices, the brilliant guardian of the sacred rite, thriving in thine own house;'—whereby he means to say, 'thine own house is this (house) of mine: make it ever more flourishing for us!'

30. 'O Agni, be thou accessible unto us, even as a father is to his son! lead us unto well-being!'—whereby he says, 'As a father is easy of access to his son, and the latter in no wise injures him, so be thou easy of access to us, and may we in no wise injure thee!'

31. Then the dvipadâ verses (Vâg. S. III, 25, 26), 'O Agni, be ever nigh unto us, a kindly guardian and protector! as wealthy Agni, famed for wealth, come hither and bestow on us glorious riches! Thee, the most bright and resplendent, we now approach for happiness to our friends: be with us, hear our call, and keep us safe from every evil-doer!'

32. Now when he approaches the Âhavantya, he prays for cattle: he therefore approaches it with metres great and small, since cattle are of great and small size. And when he approaches the Gârha-

¹ Doshâvatar, 'the illuminer of the dusk;' or perhaps, as Professor Ludwig proposes, 'We approach thee, day by day, at dusk and dawn (in the evening and morning), with prayer.'

patya, he prays for men : hence the first tristich is in the gâyatrî metre, since the gâyatrî is Agni's metre, and he thus approaches him with his own metre.

33. Thereupon (he mutters) the dvipadâ (two-footed) verses. The dvipadâ, doubtless, is man's metre, since man is two-footed, and men are there-with prayed for : and as he now prays for men, therefore (he uses) dvipadâ verses. And whosoever, knowing this, approaches (the two fires), becomes possessed both of cattle and men.

34. He then goes (again) to the cow, with the text (Vâg. S. III, 27), 'O Iḍâ, come hither ! O Aditi, come hither !' for both Iḍâ and Aditi are cows. He touches her with, 'Come hither, ye much-desired !'—for men's wishes are fixed on them, and hence he says, 'come hither, ye much-desired ;'—'Let there be for me the fulfilment of wishes from you !' whereby he says, 'may I be dear to you !'

35. Thereupon, while standing between the Âhavanîya and Gârhapatya and looking eastward at the (former) fire, he mutters (Vâg. S. III, 28-30), 'O Lord of prayer, make him sweet-voiced, the offerer of Soma, Kakshîvat, Usig's son !—Be he with us, he the opulent, the killer of woe, the bestower of wealth, the increaser of prosperity, he the nimble !—Let not the curse of the evil-doer reach us, nor the guile of the mortal : preserve us, O Lord of prayer !'

36. Now when he approaches the Âhavanîya, he approaches the sky ; and when (he approaches) the Gârhapatya, (he approaches) the earth. Hereby now (he approaches) the ether, that being Brîhaspati's region ; and that region he thereby approaches : this is why he mutters the prayer to Brîhaspati.

37. [He continues, Vâg. S. III, 31-33], 'May the

mighty, the heavenly, the unassailable favour of the three, Mitra, Aryaman, and Varuṇa, be (with us)! For the wicked enemy lords it not over them (that are protected by these gods), neither at home nor on dangerous paths: for those sons of Aditi bestow undying light on the mortal that he may live!'—In this (prayer) he says, 'nor on dangerous paths;' for dangerous indeed are the paths that lie between heaven and earth: those he now walks, and therefore he says, 'nor on dangerous paths.'

38. Then follows a verse to Indra (Vâg. S. III, 34); for Indra is the deity of the sacrifice, and with Indra therefore he now connects the fire-worship: 'At no time, O Indra, art thou barren; and never dost thou fail the worshipper—;' the worshipper, doubtless, is the sacrificer: 'never dost thou harm the sacrificer,' this is what he thereby says: '—but more and evermore is thy gift increased, O mighty god!' thereby he says, 'do thou make us ever more prosperous here!'

39. Then follows a verse to Savitri¹ (Vâg. S. III, 35),—for Savitri is the impeller (*prasavitri*) of the gods; and thus all his (the sacrificer's) wishes are fulfilled, impelled as they are by Savitri.—(He mutters), 'May we obtain the glorious light of the divine Savitri, who, we trust, may inspire our prayers!'

40. Thereupon a verse to Agni (Vâg. S. III, 36),—whereby he finally makes himself over to Agni for protection: 'May thine unapproachable chariot, wherewith thou protectest the worshippers, encircle us on every side!' The worshippers, doubtless, are

¹ Or, the Sâvitri, that is, the sacred prayer to Savitri, the sun, also called Gâyatri, Rîg-veda III, 62, 10. Cf. p. 344, note 1.

the sacrificers; and what unassailable chariot he (Agni) possesses, therewith he protects the sacrificers. Hence he thereby means to say, 'what unassailable chariot thou possessest, wherewith thou protectest the sacrificers, therewith do thou guard us on every side.' This (verse) he mutters thrice.

41. He then pronounces his son's name¹: 'May this son (N. N.) carry on this manly deed of mine!' Should he have no son, let him insert his own name.

FOURTH ADHYÂYA. FIRST BRÂHMANA.

1. Now after the performance of the Agnihotra he (optionally²) approaches the fires with (Vâg. S. III, 37), 'Earth! ether! sky!' In saying 'Earth! ether! sky!' he renders his speech auspicious by means of the truth, and with that (speech) thus rendered propitious he invokes a blessing:—'May I be well supplied with offspring!' whereby he prays for offspring; '—well supplied with men!' whereby he prays for men (heroes); '—well supplied with viands!' whereby he prays for prosperity.

2. That long (form of) fire-worship is a prayer for blessing, and so is this (short) one a prayer for blessing: hence even with this much he obtains all, and he may therefore worship the fires with it. 'Therewith, indeed, we perform,' so spake Âsuri.

3. Now, when he is about to set out on a journey³, he approaches first the Gârhapatya, and thereupon the Âhavanīya.

¹ See I, 9, 3, 21.

² For this shorter form of worshipping the fires, see p. 349, note 2.

³ That is, a journey which will compel him to pass the night beyond the village boundary.

4. The Gârhapatya he approaches with the text (Vâg. S. III, 37 b seq.), 'Thou, that art friendly to man, protect my offspring!' He (Agni Gârhapatya), truly, is the guardian of offspring; and therefore he now makes over to him his offspring for protection.

5. He then approaches the Âhavanîya, with 'Thou, that art worthy of praise, protect my cattle!' He (Agni), truly, is the guardian of cattle, and therefore he now makes over to him his cattle for protection¹.

6. Thereupon he walks or drives off; and having got as far as what he considers to be the boundary², he breaks silence. And when he returns from his journey he maintains silence from the moment he sees what he considers to be the boundary. And even though there be a king inside (one's house), one must not go to him (or any other person before one has rendered homage to the fires).

7. He first approaches the Âhavanîya fire, and thereupon the Gârhapatya. The Gârhapatya doubtless is a house (*grîhâ*), and a house is a safe resting-place: so that he thereby (finally³) establishes himself in a house, that is, in a safe resting-place.

8. He approaches the Âhavanîya fire, with the text (Vâg. S. III, 38 seq.), 'We have approached (thee), the all-knowing, the most liberal dispenser of

¹ The Vâg. S. gives also the formulas with which the Dakshinâgni should be approached, after the other two fires, by the householder, both in starting on, and returning from, his journey. See Kâty. IV, 12, 13; 18. The Kânva text does not allude to the Dakshinâ fire any more than ours.

² According to the Paddhati on Kâty. IV, 12, he has to maintain silence as long as he can see the roof of one of his fire-houses; but according to the Sâṅkhâyana śākhâ he has to do so only as long as he can see one of the fires.

³ The Kânva text reads 'antatah.'

goods : O Agni, sovereign lord, bestow on us lustre and strength !' Having then sat down he sweeps the blades of grass¹ (into the fire).

9. Thereupon he approaches the Gârhapatya, with the text, 'He, Agni Gârhapatya, is the lord of the house, the most liberal dispenser of goods to our offspring : O Agni, lord of the house, bestow on us lustre and strength !' Having then sat down, he sweeps off the blades of grass. In this way (householders) mostly approach the fires with muttered prayer.

10. However, one may also approach the fires silently,—and that for this reason :—If in the place (where one lives), a Brâhman or noble—in short, a better man—resides, one dares not say to him, 'I am going on a journey, take care of this (property) of mine² !' Now in this (sacrificial ground) one's betters indeed reside, viz. the divine Agnis : who, then, would dare to say to them, 'I am going on a journey, take ye care of this (property) of mine !'

11. The gods assuredly see through the mind of man : that (Agni) Gârhapatya therefore knows that he (the householder) now approaches in order to give

¹ According to Kâty. IV, 12, 18–19 he [after performing ablutions, and lustrating the Âhavanîya and Dakshîna fire-places, and taking out these fires from the Gârhapatya] approaches the Âhavanîya, while holding pieces of fire-wood in his hand, and mutters the formula given above. He then sits down and silently puts on the fire a piece of wood and the grass that has fallen around the fire. According to the Kâṇva text he mutters the second half of the formula ('O Agni,' &c.) while sweeping the grass (into the fire).

² In Taitt. Br. I, 1, 10, 6, a householder who is about to start on a journey is apparently recommended to entrust his house to a Brâhman, who may be staying in it.

himself up to him. Silently he approaches the Âhavantya fire: that (Agni) Âhavantya knows that he now approaches in order to give himself up to him.

12. Thereupon he walks or drives off; and having got as far as what he considers the boundary line, he releases his speech. And when he returns from the journey, he maintains silence from the moment he sees what he considers to be the boundary. And even though there be a king inside (one's house), one must not go to him.

13. He first approaches the Âhavantya, and thereupon the Gârhapatya. Silently he approaches the Âhavantya; and silently he sits down and sweeps away the grass-blades. Silently he approaches the Gârhapatya; and silently he sits down and sweeps away the grass-blades.

14. Then as to the observances in regard to (the entering of) his house. Now when a householder comes home from a journey, his house trembles greatly for fear of him, thinking, 'What will he say here? what will he do here?' It is therefore for fear of him that speaks or does anything on this occasion that the house trembles and is liable to crush his family; but him who neither speaks nor does anything, his house receives with confidence, thinking, 'He has not spoken here, he has not done anything here!' And should he be ever so angry at anything on this occasion, let him rather do on the next day whatever he might wish to say or do. This then is the observance in regard to the house¹.

¹ The Kâṇva text here adds the formulas Vâg. S. III, 41-43, lines 1 and 2, wherewith he approaches (upatish/hate) the house. See Kâty. IV, 12, 22. According to Kâty. ib. 23, he then enters

SECOND BRĀHMANA.

III. THE PINDAPITR/YAGÑĀ OR OBLATION OF OBSE-
QUIAL CAKES TO THE FATHERS.

1. Now the living beings once approached Pragā-pati—beings doubtless mean creatures—and said, ‘Ordain unto us in what manner we are to live!’ Thereupon the gods, being properly invested with the sacrificial cord¹ and bending the right knee, approached him. To them he said, ‘The sacrifice (shall be) your food; immortality your sap; and the sun your light!’

2. Then the fathers approached, wearing the cord on the right shoulder, and bending the left knee. To them he said, ‘Your eating (shall be) monthly; your cordial (svadhâ) your swiftness of thought; and the moon your light!’

3. Then the men approached him, clothed and bending their bodies. To them he said, ‘Your eating (shall be) in the evening and in the morning; your offspring your death; and the fire (Agni) your light!’

4. Then the beasts approached him. To them he granted their own choice, saying, ‘Whensoever ye shall find anything, whether in season or out of season,

the house with the formula Vâg. S. III, 43, line 3, ‘For safety, for peace I resort to thee: be there kindness, happiness, all-hail, and blessing!’ Thereupon, according to the Schol., he is to proceed in accordance with the rules laid down in the *Grihya-sûtras*; cf. *Pârask. G. I*, 18; *Âsv. G. I*, 15, 9.

¹ *Yagñopavitin*, ‘sacrificially invested,’ i. e. wearing the sacrificial cord in the ordinary way, on the left shoulder and under the right arm. In any performance connected with the deceased ancestors, the cord has to be shifted from the left to the right shoulder and under the left arm (*prâṇinopavitin*, lit. ‘eastward invested’).

ye shall eat it!' Hence whenever they find anything, whether in season or out of season, they eat it.

5. Thereupon—so they say—the Asuras also straightway¹ approached him. To them he gave darkness (tamas) and illusion (mâyâ): for there is indeed what is called the illusion of the Asuras. Those creatures, it is true, have perished; but creatures still subsist here in the very manner which Pragâpati ordained unto them.

6. Neither the gods, nor the fathers, nor beasts transgress (this ordinance); some of the men alone transgress it. Hence whatever man grows fat, he grows fat in unrighteousness, since he totters and is unable to walk because of his having grown fat by doing wrong. One should therefore eat only in the evening and morning; and whosoever, knowing this, eats only in the evening and morning, reaches the full measure of life; and whatever he speaks, that is (true); because he observes that divine truth. For, verily, that is Brâhmanic lustre (tegas), when one knows to keep His (Pragâpati's) law.

7. Now that (lustre) indeed belongs to him who presents (food) to the fathers once a month. When that (moon) is not seen either in the east or in the west, then he presents (food) to them; for that moon doubtless is king Soma, the food of the gods. Now during that night (of new moon) it fails them, and when it fails, he presents (food to them), and thereby establishes concord (between the gods and fathers). But were he to present (food) to them when it is not failing, he would indeed cause a quarrel between the gods and fathers: hence he presents

¹ Sarvat='repeatedly,' Comm.; sarvad api, 'endlich auch (at last also),' St. Petersburg. Dict.

(food) to them when that (moon) is not seen either in the east or in the west.

8. He presents it in the afternoon. The forenoon, doubtless, belongs to the gods; the mid-day to men; and the afternoon to the fathers: therefore he presents (food to the fathers) in the afternoon.

9. While seated behind the Gârhapatya, with his face turned toward the south¹, and the sacrificial cord on his right shoulder, he takes that (material for the offering from the cart)². Thereupon he rises from thence and threshes (the rice) while standing north of the Dakshina fire and facing the south. Only once he cleans (the rice)³; for it is once for all that the fathers have passed away, and therefore he cleans it only once.

10. He then boils it. While it stands on the (Dakshina) fire, he pours some clarified butter on it;—for the gods they pour the offering into the fire; for men they take (the food) off the fire; and for the fathers they do in this very manner: hence, they pour the ghee on it while it stands on the fire.

11. After removing it (from the fire) he offers to the gods two libations in the fire. For, in establishing his sacrificial fires, and in performing the new and full-moon sacrifice, that (householder) resorts to the gods. Here, however, he is engaged in a

¹ Dakshinâsîna; the Commentator interprets it by 'sitting south of the cart.'

² The Kârva text has,—*etam karum grîhñâti*, 'he takes that pot, or potful, (of rice).' Doubtless, he is to take from the cart the quantity of rice sufficient for the offerings and put it in the pot (*karu*). According to Kâty. IV, 1, 5-7 he is to take the but-partly-filled pot, or a spoonful (or, according to the Schol., rather less than a spoonful).

³ Compare the detailed account in I, 1, 4, 1 seq.

sacrifice to the fathers : hence he thereby propitiates the gods, and being permitted by the gods, he presents that (food) to the fathers. This is why, on removing (the rice), he offers to the gods two libations in the fire.

12. He offers both to Agni and Soma¹. To Agni he offers, because Agni is allowed a share in every (offering); and to Soma he offers, because Soma is sacred to the fathers. This is why he offers both to Agni and Soma.

13. He offers² with the formulas (Vâg. S. II, 29 a, b), 'To Agni, the bearer of what is meet for the wise, svâhâ!' 'To Soma, accompanied by the fathers, svâhâ'³! He then puts the pot-ladle on the fire,—that being in lieu of the *Svishtakṛit*⁴. Thereupon he draws (with the wooden sword) one line (furrow) south of the *Dakshina* fire⁵,—that

¹ According to Taitt. Br. I, 3, 10, 3, some make a third oblation, viz. as *Sâyana* states, to Yama (the chief of the fathers), with the formula, 'To Yama, accompanied by the *Aṅgiras* and fathers, svadhâ! namaḥ!' see note 3.

² The commentary on *Kâty.* IV, 1, 7 supplies the following particulars :—Having removed the pot off the *Dakshina* fire on the south side, the *Adhvaryu* takes it, along the east, to the north side of the fire. He then shifts the sacrificial cord to his left shoulder (as he is about to offer to gods), puts three sticks on the fire, and sitting down with his face towards the east offers some boiled rice with the pot-ladle (*mekshana*).

³ The *Taittiriyas* use svadhâ! namaḥ! instead of svâhâ! They also offer first to Soma, with 'To Soma, drank by the fathers' (but cf. Taitt. Br. I, 6, 9, 5), and then to (Yama, and finally to) Agni. Taitt. Br. I, 3, 10, 2-3.

⁴ See I, 7, 3, 1 seq.

⁵ Or west (*gaghanena*) of the fire [from north to south], according to the *Kâṇva* text; optionally, according to *Kâty.* IV, 1, 8. *Kâty.* also gives the text 'Expelled are the *Asuras*, the *Rakshas*, seated on the altar' (Vâg. S. II, 29 c) to be muttered during the act.

being in lieu of the altar : only one line he draws, because the fathers have passed away once for all.

14. He then lays down a firebrand at the farther (south) end (of the line). For were he to present that (food) to the fathers, without having laid down a firebrand, the Asuras and Rakshas would certainly tamper with it. And thus the Asuras and Rakshas do not tamper with that (food) of the fathers : this is why he lays down the firebrand at the farther end (of the line).

15. He lays it down, with the text (Vâg. S. II, 30), 'Whatsoever Asuras roam about at will¹, assuming various shapes²,—be they large-bodied or small-bodied³,—may Agni expel them from this world!' Agni is the repeller of the Rakshas, and therefore he lays (the firebrand) down in this way.

16. He then takes the water-pitcher and makes (the fathers) wash (their hands)⁴, merely⁵ saying, 'N. N., wash thyself!' (naming) the sacrificer's father; 'N. N., wash thyself!' (naming) his grandfather; 'N. N., wash thyself!' (naming) his great-grandfather. As one would pour out water (for a guest) when he is about to take food, so in this case.

¹ Or, as the Commentator takes *svadhayâ*, '(attracted) by the *svadhâ* (offering to the fathers).'

² That is, according to the Schol., assuming the shapes of deceased ancestors.

³ This explanation of the words *parâpuraḥ* and *nipuraḥ*, proposed by the Scholiast, is doubtful.

⁴ The Adhvaryu (having again shifted the sacrificial cord to his right shoulder) pours water through the "fathers' space" (*pitritîrtha*, i.e. the space between the thumb and fore-finger), from right to left, into the line, at its beginning, centre, and end. Kâty. IV, 1, 10, and Schol.

⁵ See paragraph 19.

17. Now those (stalks of sacrificial grass) are severed with one stroke, and cut off near the root;—the top belongs to the gods, the middle part to men, and the root-part to the fathers: therefore they are cut off near the root. And with one stroke they are severed, because the fathers have passed away once for all.

18. He spreads them (along the line) with their tops towards the south. Thereon he presents [to the fathers the three (round) cakes of rice]¹. He presents them thus²;—for to the gods they offer thus; for men they ladle out (the food in any way they please)³; and in the case of the fathers they do in this very way: therefore he presents (the cakes to them) thus.

19. With, 'N. N., this for thee!' he presents (one cake) to the sacrificer's father. Some add, 'and for those who come after thee!' but let him not say this, since he himself is one of those to whom (it would be offered) in common⁴: let him

¹ According to the Paddhati on Kâty. the first ball is to be of the size of a fresh âmalaka, or fruit of the Emblic Myrobalan, and each of the two others is to be larger than the preceding one.

² Here the teacher indicated by gesture the part of the hand sacred to the fathers (see p. 365, note 4); and then in the same way that dedicated to the gods, viz. the tip of the fingers.

³ The Kânva recension reads here also 'thus they take out (the food) for men;' the part of the hand dedicated to man being, according to the commentary on Kâty. IV, 1, 10, the part about the little finger (kanish/hikâpradera).

⁴ *Svayam vai teshâm saha yeshâm saha*. According to the commentary, the author apparently means to say, that if he were to add, 'and those who come after thee (i. e. after his father),' he would include the sacrificer himself, and the latter would consequently offer the *pinda* to himself. The form of the presentation-formula rejected by our author is the one adopted in Âsval. Sr. II, 6, 15, except that 'atra' is added there ('who here come after thee').

therefore merely say, 'N. N., this for thee!' as to the sacrificer's father; 'N. N., this for thee!' as to his grandfather; and 'N. N., this for thee!' as to his great-grandfather. He presents (the food) in an order (directed) away from the present time, because it is away from hence that the fathers have once for all departed.

20. He then mutters (Vâg. S. II, 31 a), 'Here, O fathers, regale yourselves: like bulls come hither, each to his own share!' whereby he says, 'Eat ye each his own share!'

21. He then turns round (to the left), so as to face the opposite (north) side: for the fathers are far away from men; and thereby he also is far away (from the fathers). 'Let him remain (standing with bated breath) until his breath fail,' say some, 'for thus far extends the vital energy.' However¹, having remained so for a moment—

22. He again turns round (to the right) and mutters (Vâg. S. II, 31 b), 'The fathers have regaled themselves: like bulls they have come each to his own share;' whereby he means to say, 'They have eaten each his own share².'

23. Thereupon he takes the water-pitcher and makes them wash themselves³, merely saying,

The Kânva text mentions and rejects the two alternative readings, 'ye ka tvâm anvâñkaḥ' and 'yâms ka tvam anvāñ asi' ('and those whom thou followest'). In Taitt. Br. I, 3, 10, no presentation-formula is mentioned at all.

¹ The Kânva recension has tad u instead of sa vai.

² 'Formerly the gods and men and fathers (deva-manushyâñ pitarañ) drank visibly together, but now they do so invisibly.' Sat. Br. III, 6, 2, 26.

³ Viz. by pouring water on the obsequial cakes. According to Âsval. Sr. II, 7, 5, and other treatises, he also puts down some

'N. N., wash thyself¹!' (naming) the sacrificer's father; 'N. N., wash thyself!' (naming) his grandfather; 'N. N., wash thyself!' (naming) his great-grandfather. Even as one would pour out (water for a guest) when he has taken his meal, so here.

24. He then pulls down the tuck² (of the sacrificer's garment) and performs obeisance. The tuck is sacred to the fathers (*pitṛidevatyâ*): therefore he performs obeisance to them after pulling down the tuck. Now obeisance means worship (or sacrifice): hence he thereby renders them worthy of worship. Six times he performs obeisance; for there are six seasons, and the fathers are the seasons: for this reason he performs obeisance six times. He mutters (*Vâg. S. II, 32 g*), 'Give us houses, O fathers!' for the fathers are the guardians (*trāte*) of houses; and this is the prayer for blessing at this sacrificial performance. After the cakes have been put back (in the dish containing the remains of boiled rice) he (the sacrificer) smells at (the rice); this (smelling) being the sacrificer's share. The

ointment, oil, or butter on the *pindās*, saying, '(Father), N. N., anoint thyself!' &c.; see Donner, *Pindap.*, p. 25.

¹ See paragraph 19.

² *Nîvim udvrihya* = *paridhânyasya vāsaso dasâ tâm udvrihya visramsya, Sâyana*. According to Mahâdeva, he (who presents the *pindās*, viz. either the *Adhvaryu* or the sacrificer) has previously to put on a garment with a tuck (*nîvimat paridhânam*), i. e. with the *dasâ*, or unwoven edge of the upper garment, tucked up under the waistband. This he is to pull out. *Kâtyâyana* has the following rules: IV, 1, 15, Having made (them) wash themselves as before, and having loosened (*visramsya*) the tuck, he makes obeisance with 'adoration to your vigour, O fathers!' &c. (*Vâg. S. II, 32 a-f*). [According to the Comm., he adds the formula, 'Give us houses, O fathers! we will give to you of what is (ours).' *Vâg. S. II, 32, 9.*] 16, With 'Put on this your garment, O fathers!' (*Vâg. S. II, 32 h*), he throws three threads (pieces of

(stalks of sacrificial grass) cut with one stroke he puts on the fire ; and he also again throws away the fire-brand¹.

THIRD BRĀHMANA.

IV. THE ÂGRAYANESHṬI OR OFFERING OF FIRST-FRUITS.

This sacrifice is performed in spring and autumn—generally at new or full moon—at the commencement of the harvest. The oblations, which, as a rule, are prepared from new grain (viz. barley in spring, and rice in autumn), consist of—1. a sacrificial cake contained on twelve potsherds for Indra and Agni; 2. a *karu* (mess of boiled grains) for the *Virve Devâh*, prepared with water or milk; and 3. a cake on one potsherd for heaven and earth. *Kâty.* IV, 6 and comm. According to the *Paddhati*, the offering of first-fruits takes place after the new-moon offering, and before the full-moon offering. At the beginning of the harvest of *Panicum Frumentaceum* (*syâmâka*), in the rainy season or in autumn; and at that of bamboo

yarn), one on each cake. 17, Or, woollen fringe [or, wool or fringe (*dasâ*), according to others]. 18, Or, hairs of the sacrificer (pulled out from the chest near the heart), if he is advanced in years. 19, He pours [the water, left in the pitcher, on the cakes] with 'Ye (O waters) are a refreshing draught, ye, that bring sap, immortal ghee and milk and foaming mead: gladden my fathers!' (*Vâg. S. II*, 34.) 20, [The *Adhvaryu*] having laid (the cakes on the dish) the sacrificer smells at them. 21, The firebrand and the once-cut stalks of grass (he throws) into the fire. 22, The wife, if desirous of a son, eats the middle cake with, 'Bestow offspring on me, O fathers, a boy crowned with lotuses; that there may be a man here!' (*Vâg. S. II*, 33.) [According to the comment, the other two cakes are thrown into the water or fire; or eaten by a priest.] For other variations, see Donner, *Pindapitriyagñia*. The *Kânva* recension, on the whole, agrees with our text.

¹ The *Kânva* text has as follows: 'Therefore he says, Give us houses, O fathers!' He then smells at the pot (*ukhâ*): that is the sacrificer's share. They again put down the cakes together (with the rice in the pot! *samavadadhati*). The once-severed (stalks of grass) they put on the fire. The firebrand he again shifts to (the fire; *apy-argati*).

in summer, offerings of first-fruits are also made to Soma in the form of a potful of boiled *syâmāka* or bamboo grains respectively.

1. Now *Kahodā Kaushîtaki* spake, 'This sap (of the plants) truly belongs to those two, heaven and earth: having offered of this sap to the gods, we will eat it.' 'That is why the offering of first-fruits is performed.'

2. And *Yâgñavalkya* also spake:—The gods and the Asuras, both of them sprung from *Pragâpati*, once contended for superiority. The Asuras then defiled, partly by magic, partly with poison, both kinds of plants—those on which men and beasts subsist—hoping that in this way they might overcome the gods. In consequence of this neither did men eat food, nor did beasts graze; and from want of food these creatures well-nigh perished¹.

3. Now the gods heard as to how these creatures were perishing from want of food. They spake unto one another, 'Come, let us rid them² of this!'—'By what means?'—'By means of the sacrifice.' By means of the sacrifice the gods then accomplished all that they wanted to accomplish³; and so did the *Rîshis*.

4. They then said, 'To which of us shall this belong?' They did not agree (each of them exclaiming), 'Mine (it shall be)!' Not having come to an agreement, they said, 'Let us run a race for this (sacrifice): whichever of us beats (the others), his it shall be!' 'So be it!' they said, and they ran a race.

¹ The *Kânva* text has: *Tâ etâ ubhayyâḥ pragâ anasānena not parābabhûvuh*.

² Viz. the plants, according to the reading of the *Kânva* text: *Hantâsâm oshadhînâm krîtyâm tvad visham tvad apahanâmeti*.

³ The *Kânva* text reads *kalpyam* instead of *kalpam*.

5. Indra and Agni won, and hence that Indra-Agni cake on twelve potsherds¹; Indra and Agni having won a share in it. And where Indra and Agni were standing when they had won, thither all the gods followed them.

6. Now, Indra and Agni are the Kshatra (nobility), and all the gods (or, the All-gods) are the Vis (common Âryan people); and wherever the Kshatra conquers, there the Vis is allowed to share. Thus they (Indra and Agni) allowed the Visve Devâḥ (the All-gods) a share (in the offering); and hence that pap of boiled (rice or barley) grain (offered) to the All-gods.

7. 'Let him prepare it from old (grain)²,' say some; 'for Indra and Agni are the Kshatra (and he should therefore use old grain for the Vaisvadeva pap) lest he (the sacrificer) should exalt (the Vis) to the level of the Kshatra.' Nevertheless let both (the cake and *karu*) consist of new (grain); for (by the very fact that) the one is a cake and the other a pap, the nobility is not equalled (by the people): hence they should both consist of new (grain).

8. The All-gods spake, 'This sap (of the rice and barley plants) truly belongs to those two, heaven and earth: let us, then, allow those two a share in it!' They accordingly assigned that share to them, to wit, the cake on one potsherd offered to heaven

¹ The MS. of the Kâṇva recension has: Tasmâd esha aindrâgno darakapâlaḥ purolâso bhavati. The commentary on Kâty. IV, 6, 1, on the other hand, makes it a cake on eleven potsherds.

² Or, he may do so. Kâty. IV, 6, 7 leaves the option between new and old grain.

and earth¹. This is why there is a cake on one potsherd (kapâla) for heaven and earth. Now this (earth) is, doubtless, the cup (depository, kapâla) of that (sap)²; and she indeed is one only: hence (the cake) consists of one potsherd.

9. An offence (is thereby committed) by him³; since, for whatever deity sacrificial food may be taken out, the Svishṭakṛit (Agni, the maker of good offering) is invariably allowed a share in it after (the respective deity). But that (cake) he offers entire, and he does not cut off a portion for the Svishṭakṛit: this is an offence, and consequently (that cake), when offered, turns upside down.

10. Hence they say, 'That (cake) contained on one potsherd has turned upside down: it will throw the kingdom into disorder.' No offence (is; however, committed) by him, for the Âhavantya is the support of oblations; and if, after reaching the Âhavantya, (the cake) were to turn upside down ten times, he need not heed it. And if others ask as to who would care to incur (the result of) such a combination (of errors), let him offer nothing but butter; for clarified butter is manifestly the sap of

¹ This is a 'low-voiced' oblation, the invitatory and offering prayers thereat (with the exception of the concluding 'Vaushat' and 'Om') being pronounced in a low tone. See p. 171, note 1; p. 192, note 1.

² The Kânva text has: 'The reason why it consists of one kapâla is that this earth is a kapâla, and that she is one only.'

³ The Kânva recension has as follows:—As to this they say, 'It should not be a one-cup cake, (because) therein a neglect is (involved).' Even so (idam nu): for whatever deity they take out sacrificial food, the Svishṭakṛit is invariably made to share in it after (the respective deity). That (cake) they offer whole: this is consequently a neglect. Moreover, it turns round (paryâbhavati). As to this they say, 'That (cake) has turned upside down,' &c.

those two, heaven and earth, so that he thereby manifestly gladdens those two with their own sap or essence : hence he need offer nothing but butter.

11. By performing that same sacrifice, the gods removed the magic spell as well as the poison from both kinds of plants,—those on which men and beasts subsist ; and henceforward the men ate food and the cattle grazed.

12. Now when he performs that sacrifice, he does so either for the reason that no one will then defile (the plants) either by magic or poison ; or because the gods did so. And whatever share the gods assigned (to themselves), that share he thereby makes over to them. Moreover, he thereby renders wholesome and faultless both kinds of plants,—those on which men and beasts subsist ; and these creatures subsist on those wholesome and faultless (plants) of his : this is why he performs that sacrifice.

13. The priests' fee for this (sacrifice) consists of the first-born calf (of the season) ; for that is, as it were, the first-fruits (of the cattle). If he has already performed the new and full-moon offerings, let him first perform those offerings¹, and thereupon the present (offering of first-fruits). If, on the other hand, he has not yet performed (the new and full-moon offerings), let them cook a *kâtushprâsya*² pap on the southern fire, and let the priests eat it.

¹ I do not know how to account for the *vâ*. *Sâyana* seems to take the passage thus :—'If he be a Soma-sacrificer, or if he be performing the *Darsapûrnamâsa*, [let him first perform that sacrifice, and] let him then perform the present one.' The Oxford MS. of the *Kânva* text has :—*Etat tasya karma ya igâno vâ syâd darsapûrnamâsâbhyâm vâ yagetâtha yo 'nigâno 'nvâhâryapaçana evaudanam kâtushprâsyam paçet tam brâhmaṇebhya upanidadhyât*.

² See II, 1, 4, 4 seq.

14. Verily, there are two kinds of gods: for the gods themselves, assuredly, are gods; and those priests who have studied, and teach Vedic lore, are the human gods. And in like manner as that is offered whereon the Vashat has been pronounced, so is that (offering of first-fruits consecrated by the feeding of the priests). Let him also, at this (sacrifice), give as much as is in his power, for no offering, they say, should be without a dakshinā. At the Agnihotra (performed at the time of the Âgrayaneshṭi) let him not offer (milk obtained from the eating of new corn)¹; for were he to offer such at the Agnihotra, he would cause a conflict (between the deities of the two offerings). The Âgrayana is one thing, and the Agnihotra is another: let him, therefore, not offer (new material) at the Agnihotra.

FOURTH BRĀHMANA.

THE DĀKSHĀYANA SACRIFICE.

This peculiar modification of the new and full-moon sacrifice seems to have been originated and generally to have been practised among the Dākshāyanas, a royal family which was evidently still flourishing at the time of our author².

Here also two days were, as a rule, required for the performance, both at full and new moon; but while, at the ordinary sacrifice,

¹ Kāty. has the rules IV, 6, 11: 'In the case of one, who only performs the Agnihotra (and no longer the Darsapûrnamâsa), the evening and morning Agnihotra-oblation (at the time of the Âgrayana) is performed with new (corn).' 12, 'Or with the milk of (a cow) which has been fed with such (new corn).' The Kârva text has: 'Now at the Agnihotra also some offer (milk obtained from new corn), but let him not do so; for he would raise a quarrel were he to offer (such milk).'

² See Weber, Ind. Stud. I, p. 223; IV, p. 358; Ludwig, Rig-veda III, p. 195.

the first day was completely taken up with the preliminary ceremonies, the Dākshâyanas spread the special offerings over both days, making each time two separate *ishâs* of them. The special *havis*, or sacrificial dishes, were, at the ordinary full-moon sacrifice, a rice-cake (to Agni, and another) to Agni and Soma; and at the new-moon sacrifice, a cake (to Agni, and another) to Indra and Agni, or, as an alternative, a dish of curds (*sânnâyya*) prepared of sweet and sour milk, offered to Indra (or Mahendra). The Dākshâyanas, on the other hand, offered the Agni-Soma and Indra-Agni cakes in the fore-noon of the first day, that of full and new moon respectively. The afternoons of the same days were then taken up with preliminary rites, such as the eating of fast-day food, the cutting of a *palâsa* branch, driving away of the calves from the cows, &c. The second day's performance commences (after the Agnihotra) with the election of the Brahman. The chief oblations of the day are (a cake to Agni, and) sour and sweet milk, offered separately to Indra at full moon; and mixed (as *sânnâyya* or *payasyâ*) to Mitra and Varuṇa at new moon.

At full moon some authorities add a special *ishâ* to Indra *Vimrîdh* ('the Averter of evil'). The new-moon performance concludes with libations of whey to the divine coursers (the horses of the gods); and, optionally, with an *ishâ* to Âditya.

The performance of the Dākshâyana sacrifice was held to be obligatory only for a period of fifteen years (see XI, 1, 2, 13), whereas the ordinary new and full-moon offerings had to be performed for double that period from the setting up of the sacred fires. Nay, even the daily performance of it with certain modifications, for a whole year, was supposed to acquit the householder of any further obligation in this respect; his sacrificial duties being henceforth limited to the performance of the Agnihotra, or morning and evening libations. The daily performance of the Dākshâyana is so regulated that an afternoon and following forenoon are alternately assigned to the two days' ceremonies of the ordinary fortnightly Dākshâyana sacrifice.

1. In the beginning Pragâpati, being desirous of offspring, sacrificed with this sacrifice: 'May I abound in offspring and cattle; may I obtain prosperity; may I become glorious; may I become an eater of food!' so he thought.

2. Now he was indeed Daksha; and because

he sacrificed in the beginning with this sacrifice, it is called Dākshâyana-sacrifice. Some, however, call it the Vasishtha-sacrifice; for he (Pragâpati) is indeed vasishtha (the best)¹, and after him they call it. He sacrificed with that sacrifice; and what race, what prosperity of Pragâpati was then produced through his performing that sacrifice, that same race he procreates, that same prosperity he obtains, whosoever, knowing this, performs that sacrifice: let him therefore perform that sacrifice.

3. Now that same sacrifice was afterwards performed by Prâttdarsa Svaikna; and he indeed was an authority² to those who emulated him. An authority, therefore, he will become, whosoever, knowing this, performs that sacrifice: let him, therefore, perform that sacrifice.

4. Him Suplan Sârñgaya approached for the sake of sanctity; and accordingly he was taught that sacrifice and another³; and having learnt it he went back to the Sriñgayas. Now they knew that he was coming to them after studying the sacrifice for their sake. They said, 'Verily, with the gods (saha devaiḥ) he has come to us who has come after studying the sacrifice:' thus he (was called) Sahadeva Sârñgaya; and even now the saying is, 'Lo, Suplan has taken another name!' He performed that sacrifice; and what race and prosperity of the Sriñgayas was then produced through his performing that sacrifice, that same race he procreates, that same prosperity he obtains, whoso-

¹ The Kânva text has :—Sa u vâ ekena nâmnâ vasishtha, 'and with one of his names he (Pragâpati) is indeed (called) Vasishtha.'

² Vivâtanam; vivâtanam, Kânva recension.

³ Viz. the Sautrâmanî-sacrifice, according to XII, 8, 2, 3.

ever, knowing this, performs that sacrifice: let him, therefore, perform that sacrifice.

5. That same sacrifice was afterwards performed by Devabhâga Srautarsha. He was Purohita both to the Kurus and the *Sriṅgayas*. Now a very high position (is held by him) who is the Purohita of one kingdom: how much higher, then, is the position (of one) who (is the Purohita) of two (kingdoms). A very high position accordingly he obtains, whosoever, knowing this, performs that sacrifice: let him, therefore, perform that sacrifice.

6. That same sacrifice was afterwards performed by Daksha Pârvasi; and even to this day these (descendants of his) the Dâkshâyanas are possessed of the royal dignity: royal dignity he, therefore, here obtains, whosoever, knowing this, performs that sacrifice: let him, therefore, perform that sacrifice.—Day by day there is one cake¹: thereby Fortune (*srî*) is (wedded) to him without a rival wife and undisturbed. He offers on two days of the full moon and on two of the new moon: for two means a pair, so that a productive pair is thereby obtained.

7. Now when², at full moon, he offers a (cake) to Agni and Soma on the first day,—these are two deities, and two means a pair: hence a productive pair is thereby obtained.

8. And on the morrow there are Agni's cake and Indra's Sânnâyya³,—these are two deities, and two means a pair, so that a productive pair is thereby obtained.

¹ Viz. on the first day of the full moon a cake to Agni-Soma; on that of new moon a cake to Indra-Agni; and on the second day of either ceremony the (ordinary) cake to Agni.

² Or, 'Now, as to the reason why' (*yad*) here and in the sequel.

³ See I, 6, 4, 9 seq.

9. Again when, at new moon, he offers a (cake) to Indra and Agni on the first day,—these are two deities, and two means a pair, so that a productive pair is thereby obtained.

10. Then on the morrow there are Agni's cake and Mitra and Varuṇa's curds. Now Agni's cake (is offered), for the sole purpose that it may not forsake the sacrifice¹. Then those two, Mitra and Varuṇa, are two deities, and two means a pair: hence a productive pair is thereby obtained; and thus is (produced) that form (of the sacrifice) whereby he becomes many, whereby he is reproduced.

11. And when, at full moon, he offers the Agni-Soma (cake) on the first day, then this is for him that victim which they slaughter for Agni and Soma on the fast-day (of the Soma-sacrifice)².

12. And on the morrow there are Agni's cake and Indra's Sānnāyya. Now Agni's cake is for him what the morning libation is (at the Soma-sacrifice), for the morning libation is indeed sacred to Agni; and the Sānnāyya is for him the mid-day libation, for the mid-day libation is indeed sacred to Indra.

13. And again when, at new moon, he offers the Indra-Agni (cake) on the first day, that is for him the same as the third (or evening) libation; for the third libation is sacred to the All-gods, and Indra and Agni truly are all the gods³.

14. And on the morrow there are Agni's cake and Mitra and Varuṇa's curds. Now Agni's cake is (offered) for the sole purpose that it should not

¹ See I, 6, 2, 6, with note.

² On the upavasatha (fast-day, or day of preparation) preceding the Soma-sacrifice a he-goat is sacrificed to Agni and Soma.

³ Compare II, 4, 3, 5 seq.

forsake the sacrifice; and that dish of curds (payasyâ) is to him the same as that barren cow, the anûbandhyâ, which has to be slaughtered for Mitra and Varuṇa (at the Soma-sacrifice)¹: thus by performing the full and new-moon offering one gains as much as is gained by performing a Soma-sacrifice; and that (offering) is indeed a great sacrifice.

15. And again when, at full moon, he offers the Agni-Soma (cake) on the first day,—it was by that (offering) that Indra slew Vṛitra²; it was thereby he gained that supreme authority which he now wields³: and so does he (the sacrificer) thereby slay his wicked spiteful enemy and gain the superiority. And as to his mixing (sweet and sour milk),—the Sânnâyya is (the oblation) of the new moon (amâ-vâsyâ)⁴, and the new moon⁵ means being far away: to him who had slain Vṛitra this was forthwith (offered), and him they regaled with that draught. He therefore who, knowing this, prepares the Sânnâyya at full moon, forthwith

¹ In connection with the so-called udayanîyâ ish/i, or concluding offering, of the Soma-sacrifice, a barren cow, called anû-bandhyâ (literally, 'to be bound afterwards'), is offered to Mitra and Varuṇa. In default of such a cow, an ox, or even a dish of curds (payasyâ) serves the same purpose. See Kâty. Sr. X, 9, 12-15; Sat. Br. IV, 5, 2, 1 seq.

² See I, 6, 4, 12.

³ Thus the frequently-occurring phrase 'vyagayata yâsyeyam vigitis tâm' (literally, 'he conquered that conquest which is now theirs') has been translated throughout.

⁴ On the derivation of amâ-vâsyâ ('dwelling at home, or together'), see I, 6, 4, 3 seq.

⁵ Or, 'the dwelling at home,' or '(Indra's) dwelling together (with Agni) means (Indra, the Vṛitra-slayer) being far away.'

drives away evil. Now that moon doubtless is king Soma, the food of the gods: they extract it on the first day, intending to consume it on the next day; consequently when that (moon) wanes, it is being consumed by them.

16. And when, at full moon, he offers the Agni-Soma (cake) on the first day, he thereby (as it were) extracts that (Soma); and, when extracted, he adds that juice to it, and makes it strong by means of that juice¹. Whosoever, then, knowing this, prepares the Sānnāyya at full moon, renders his offering palatable to the gods, and his offering is palatable to the gods.

17. And again as to why, at new moon, he offers the Indra-Agni (cake) on the first day. Indra and Agni doubtless are the deities of the new and full moon: it is to these, therefore, that he offers directly and expressly; and directly to the new and full moon is offering made by him who thus knows this.

18. And on the morrow there is Agni's cake and Mitra and Varuṇa's curds. Now Agni's cake is (offered) for the sole purpose that it may not forsake the sacrifice. Mitra and Varuṇa, on the other hand, are the two half-moons: the waxing one is Varuṇa, and the waning one is Mitra. During that night (of new moon) these two meet, and when they are thus together he pleases them with that (cake-offering): and, verily, all is pleased with him, all is obtained by him who thus knows this.

19. In that same night Mitra implants seed in Varuṇa, and when it (the moon) wanes, then it is

¹ See I, 6, 4, 6 seq.

produced from that seed. Now as to why that oblation of curds (*payasyâ*) to Mitra and Varuṇa is here exactly analogous (to the Sânnâyya offered at new moon)¹.

20. The new moon doubtless is entitled to the Sânnâyya: it is prepared both then and at full moon. Now were he also here (at the full-moon offering) to mix together (the sweet and sour milk), he would commit a repetition and cause a quarrel (between the respective gods)². Having collected that (Soma or moon) from the waters and plants, he causes him to be born from out of the oblations; and on being born from the oblations, he is visible in the western (sky).

21. It is through union that he produces him: the curds (*payasyâ*, fem.) are female, and the whey is seed. Now what is produced by union is (produced) properly: hence he thereby produces him by a productive union; and therefore there is an offering of curds.

¹ Or, to the offering of sour and sweet milk at full moon; see next note. The Kâṇva text has: 'Now as to why the oblation of curds is here made exactly analogous (at the full and new-moon ceremonies).' Perhaps it may also refer to the exact correspondence of the offering of curds to Mitra and Varuṇa at new moon and at the Soma-sacrifice.

² At the new-moon offering of the Dâkshâyana, the sânnâyya or *payasyâ* offered to Mitra and Varuṇa is prepared in the ordinary way (as at the new-moon ceremony), by fresh (boiled or un-boiled) milk being added to the sour milk of the preceding night's milking. At the full-moon offering, on the other hand, the sour and sweet milk remain separate, and constitute two different havis, or sacrificial dishes, dedicated to Indra. The terms *san-nî* ('to bring together') and *sânnâyya* are here likewise applied to the offering of the separate substances.

22. He then offers the whey¹ to the (divine) Coursers. Now the Coursers are the seasons, and the whey is seed: and thus the seed is cast properly, and the seasons bring forth the seed so cast in the form of these creatures. This is why he offers the whey to the Coursers.

23. He offers, as it were, behind the sacrifice: for it is from behind that the male approaches and impregnates the female. He first offers in the east. With 'O Agni, accept . . . !' he repeats the Vashaṭ, —this is in lieu of the Svishṭakṛit; and (the latter)² he offers in the east.

24. He then sprinkles (the whey) in the several quarters, with the texts (Vâg. S. VI, 19 b-g), 'The quarters!—The fore-quarters (pra-dis)!—The by-quarters (â-dis)!—The intermediate quarters (vi-dis)! The upper quarters (ud-dis)!—To the quarters,—Svâhâ³! Five are the quarters, and five the

¹ Before the oblations of curds are made, the whey is poured off into a vessel (then optionally sprinkled with butter), and placed on the utkara, or heap of rubbish. After the stalk of grass has been thrown into the fire (see I, 8, 3, 19), or after the dismissal of the spoons (I, 8, 3, 27), the Adhvaryu takes the whey and sprinkles the barhis (the grass covering on the altar) with it. He then pours the remaining whey into the guhû spoon and calls on the Hotṛi to recite the invitatory prayer to the Coursers. Thereupon he betakes himself with the spoon to the north of the fire, calls on the Hotṛi for the offering-formula, and at the two concluding Vashaṭs pours some of the whey into the east part of the fire. He then sits down and sprinkles the whey on the fire according to the several quarters, beginning in the east, and moving around from left to right (pradakṣiṇam), with the respective texts, Vâg. S. VI, 19 b-e; after which he makes two more libations in the centre and east part of the fire, with VI, 19 f and g.

² The Kâṇva text has tadu instead of sa vai. On the oblation to Agni as 'the maker of good offering,' see I, 7, 3, 1 seq.

³ Svâhâ is uttered after each formula,—'The quarters, Svâhâ !' &c.

seasons: he thus effects a union between the quarters and the seasons¹.

25. Five partake of that (whey remaining in the spoon),—viz. the Hotri, the Adhvaryu, the Brahman, the Âgnîdhra, and the Sacrificer; for five are the seasons, so that the characteristic nature of the seasons is thereby obtained; and the seed that is cast is firmly implanted in the seasons. The sacrificer partakes of it first, thinking, 'May I first obtain seed!' But also last (he partakes of it)², thinking, 'May seed remain in me last of all!' By saying, 'Invited,—invite thou³!' they make it (the whey to resemble) the Soma.

FIFTH ADHYÂYA. FIRST BRÂHMANA.

V. THE KÂTURMÂSYÂNI OR SEASONAL SACRIFICES.

A. THE VALSVADEVA.

The three seasonal or four-monthly sacrifices are performed at the parvans, or commencement of the three seasons (spring, rainy

¹ *Ritûn evaitad digbhir mithunân karoti, Kârva recension.*

² The author does not express himself quite clearly. The sacrificer is to partake of the whey before the priests and also (or, as an alternative) after them. According to Kâty. IV, 4, 26-27, the sacrificer is to eat either last of all, or first and last. The Kârva text has: Prathamô yagamâno bhakshayati prathamô retah parigrîhnamîty athottamo mayy uttamam retah pratish/hâd iti,—accordingly he is to eat first and last.

³ Each of them, in his respective order, takes the spoon, calls on the others in the same order with 'O sacrificer (Hotri, Adhvaryu, &c.) invite!' Their permission having been given by 'Invited (thou art)!' he then takes some of the whey, with one of the texts: 'I eat thee, the courser (or whey, vâginam) of the seasons, the coursers!' 'I, the courser (or, mighty one) eat, invited, of the invited, to the whey.' 'May I be a racer in the race!' Kâty. IV, 4, 13-15.

season, and autumn), viz. the Vaisvadeva generally on the full moon of Phālguna; the Varunapraghâsâh on that of Âshâdha; and the Sâkamedhâh on that of Kârttika. As a fourth Kâtur-mâsya, ritual authorities add the Sunâsîrîya, though they are at variance as to the exact time of its performance; and neither is its true significance clearly indicated. It apparently marks merely the conclusion of the seasonal offerings (which, as a rule, are only performed once, cf. II, 6, 3, 12 seq.); but while the author of the Satapatha allows it to be performed at any time (within four months) after the Sâkamedhâh, other ritualists hold that its performance should take place on the fifth full moon after the Sâkamedhâh, or, in other words, exactly a year after the Vaisvadeva. See Weber, Nakshatra, II, p. 334 seq.

1. Verily, in the beginning, Pragâpati alone existed here¹. He thought within himself, 'How can I be propagated?' He toiled and practised austerities. He created living beings². The living beings created by him passed away: they are those birds. Now man is the nearest to Pragâpati; and man is two-footed: hence birds are two-footed.

2. Pragâpati thought within himself, 'Even as formerly I was alone, so also am I now alone.' He created a second (race of beings); they also passed away: they are those small crawling reptiles other than snakes. He created a third (race), they say; they also passed away: they are those snakes. Yâgñavalkya, on his part, declared them to be of two kinds only; but of three kinds they are according to the Rîk.

3. While praising and practising austerities, Pragâ-

¹ Or, Pragâpati alone was this (universe). Cf. Muir, Original Sanskrit Texts, p. 70.

² By pragâh, or (living) beings, mammalia—especially man and domestic animals—seem to be understood.

pati thought within himself, 'How comes it that the living beings created by me pass away?' He then became aware that his creatures passed away from want of food. He made the breasts in the fore-part of (their) body¹ teem with milk. He then created living beings; and by resorting to the breasts, the beings created by him thenceforward continued to exist: they are these (creatures) which have not passed away.

4. Hence it has been said by the *Rishi*²,—'Three generations have passed beyond,'—this is said regarding those that passed away;—'Others settled down around the light (arka, the sun)'—the light doubtless is the fire: those creatures which did not pass away, settled down around the fire; it is with regard to them that this is said.

5. 'The great one (neut.)³ remained within the worlds'—it is with regard to Pragâpati that this is said.—'The blower (or, purifier) entered the regions'—the regions doubtless are the quarters, and these were indeed entered by that blowing wind: it is with regard to them that this verse was uttered. And in like manner as Pragâpati created these living beings, so they are propagated: for whenever the breasts of woman and the udder of cattle swell, then whatever is born is born; and by resorting to the breasts these (beings) continue to exist.

6. Now that milk is indeed food; for in the beginning Pragâpati produced it for food. But that

¹ Âtmana evâgre; the Kâṇva text has âtmany evâgre.

² Rig-veda VIII, 90, 14.

³ Or perhaps better, as Ludwig takes it, 'On high he took his place within the worlds.'

food also means living beings (progeny), since it is by food that they exist : by resorting to the breasts of those who have milk, they continue to exist. And those who have no milk are nursed by the former as soon as they are born ; and thus they exist by means of food, and hence food means progeny.

7. He who is desirous of offspring, sacrifices with that oblation, and thereby makes himself the sacrifice, which is Pragâpati¹.

8. In the first place² there is a cake for Agni on eight potsherds. Agni indeed is the root, the progenitor of the deities ; he is Pragâpati ('lord of creatures') : hence there is a cake for Agni.

9. Then follows a potful of boiled rice (*karu*) for Soma. Soma doubtless is seed, and that in Agni, the progenitor ; he (Agni) casts the seed Soma : thus there is at the outset a productive union.

10. Then follows a cake on twelve or eight potsherds³ for Savitri. Savitri indeed is the impeller (*pra-savitri*) of the gods ; he is Pragâpati, the intermediate⁴ progenitor : hence the cake to Savitri.

11. Then follows a potful of boiled rice for Sarasvatî ; and another for Pûshan. Sarasvatî doubtless is a woman, and Pûshan is a man : thus there is again a productive union. Through that twofold productive union Pragâpati created the living beings,—

¹ ? Or, Pragâpati, the real, the existent, 'Pragâpatim bhûtam.'

² Instead of the preliminary Anvârambhanîyâ-ishî (see p. 7), a special ishî may be performed on this occasion, with a cake on twelve potsherds to Agni Vaisvânara, and a potful of boiled rice (*karu*) to Parganya, for oblations. Kâty. V, 1, 2-4.

³ According to Taitt. S. I, 8, 2, it is one on twelve potsherds.

⁴ Madhyatañ, lit. 'from the middle.'

through the one (he created) the upright, and through the other those looking to the ground. This is why there are these five oblations¹.

12. After that (follows), as a foundation for the curds, a cake on seven potsherds for the Maruts. The Maruts indeed are the people (*visaḥ*), the people of the gods. They roamed about here entirely unimpeded. Having approached Pragâpati, when he was sacrificing, they said, 'We shall destroy those creatures of thine which thou art about to create by means of this offering².'

13. Pragâpati reflected, 'My former creatures have passed away; and if those (Maruts) destroy these (creatures), then nothing will be left.' He accordingly set aside for them that share, the Maruts' cake on seven potsherds; and that is this same cake on seven potsherds for the Maruts. The reason why it is one of seven potsherds, is that the host of the Maruts is (distributed in troops) of seven each³. This is why there is a cake on seven potsherds for the Maruts.

14. Let him offer it to the 'self-strong' (Maruts); since they gained that share for themselves. [If], however, they (the priests) do not find an invitatory and an offering prayer (addressed) to the 'self-strong' (Maruts)⁴, let it be (offered) simply to the

¹ While the five preceding oblations are common to all the seasonal offerings (Kâty. V, 1, 15), the succeeding ones are peculiar to the Vairavadeva.

² The Kânva text adds, 'if thou wilt not assign a share to us.'

³ In Rig-veda VIII, 96, 8, the Maruts are said to be sixty-three in number, divided into nine troops of seven each.

⁴ The Kânva text has: Tad uta yâgyânuvâkye svatavatyaau na vindanti; yadi yâgyânuvâkye svatavatyaau na vinded api mârutyaû eva syâtâm.

Maruts. It is offered for the safety of creatures: hence it is offered to the Maruts.

15. Thereupon follows the oblation of curds (payasyâ). Now it is on milk that the creatures subsist, it was by means of milk that they were preserved: hence he now offers to them that by which they were preserved, and whereon they subsist; and the beings whom he creates by means of the foregoing offerings, subsist on that milk, on that oblation of curds.

16. Therein a union takes place: the curdled milk (payasyâ, fem.) is female, and the whey is seed. From that union the infinite All was gradually generated; and since the infinite All was gradually generated from that union, therefore it (the offering of curds) belongs to the All-gods.

17. Then follows a cake on one potsherd for Heaven and Earth. Now when Pragâpati had created the living beings by those offerings, he enclosed them within heaven and earth; and so they are now enclosed within heaven and earth. And in like manner he, who by means of those oblations creates living beings, thereby encloses them within heaven and earth: this is why there is a cake on one potsherd for Heaven and Earth.

18. Now as to the course of proceeding. They do not raise an *uttara-vedi*¹ in order that it (the sacred work) may be unobstructed, that it may be entire, that it may be (worthy) of the All-gods.—The *barhis* is tied up in three (bunches), and then

¹ The *uttara-vedi*, or northern (or upper) altar, is not required at the performance of the *Vaisvadeva*, but at that of the *Varuna-praghâsâh*; see II, 5, 2, 5 seq.

again in one¹; for such is the characteristic form of generation, since father and mother are a productive (pair), and what is born forms a third element: hence that which is threefold is again (made) one. Thereto flowering shoots (of sacrificial grass) are tied: these he uses for the *prastara*²; for this is a productive union, and productive indeed are flowering shoots: this is why he takes flowering shoots for the *prastara*.

19. On putting the sacrificial dishes in their place, they churn the fire³. For it was after Agni was born that *Pragâpati*'s offspring was born; and so for this (sacrificer) also offspring is born after Agni (the fire) has been produced: this is why they churn the fire, after they have deposited the sacrificial dishes in their place.

¹ Three bunches of sacrificial grass are tied together with one band. *Kâty.* V, 1, 25.

² For the *prastara*, or bunch of grass representing the sacrificer, see I, 3, 3, 5 seq.; I, 8, 3, 11 seq.

³ *Kâty.* V, 1, 27 seq. supplies the following details:—With the text (*Vâg.* V, 2 a, &c.), 'Agni's birth-place art thou,' the *Adhvaryu* takes up a piece of wood and puts it on the altar. With 'the two testicles are ye' he lays on it two stalks of sacrificial grass. With 'Urvasî thou art' he places the lower *arazi* (see p. 294, note 3) thereon. With 'Âyus (old age, or the son of *Purûravas* and *Urvasî*) thou art' he touches the butter in the pot with the upper *arazi*; and with 'Purûravas thou art' he puts it down on the lower *arazi*. He then calls on the *Hotri* to recite 'to the fire being churned out.' With the three formulas 'with the *gâyatri* (*trishubh, gagatî*) metre I churn thee!' he churns thrice from left to right, and then alternately both ways until fire is produced. He then calls on the *Hotri* to recite 'to the born fire' (*Sâṅkh.* III, 13, 21); and in carrying the fire towards the *Âhavanîya* he makes him recite 'to (the fire) being carried forward.' With the text V, 3, he throws it down on the *Âhavanîya* hearth; and (having put a kindling-stick on it) he makes two libations of butter thereon with V, 4.

20. [At the Vaisvadeva-offering] there are nine fore-offerings and nine after-offerings¹. Now the *virâḡ* metre consists of ten syllables: hence he obtains both times an inferior (incomplete) *virâḡ* for the sake of production, because it was from that inferior (lower) source of production² that *Pragâpati* twice produced creatures—both the upright and those looking to the ground. This is why (the Vaisvadeva) has nine fore-offerings and nine after-offerings.

21. There are three *Samishṭayagus*³; for this (offering) is decidedly greater than an (ordinary) *havir-yagñā*⁴, since it has nine fore-offerings and nine after-offerings. However, there may also be only a single *Samishṭayagus*, since this is a *havir-yagñā*. The priest's fee for it (consists of) the first-born calf (of the season).

22. And what race, what prosperity accrued to *Pragâpati* from his offering this sacrifice, that same race he produces, that same prosperity he attains

¹ The same number of *prayâgas* and *anuyâgas* are prescribed for the *Varuṇapraghâsâḥ* (see II, 5, 2, 30 and 41, with notes) and for the *Mahâhavis* of the *Sâkamedhâḥ*. *Kâty.* V, 2, 8.

² Or rather, from that productive *nyûna* (womb, lit. defective, lower); see II, 1, 1, 13.

³ See I, 9, 2, 25 seq. The formula used, if there be only one *Samishṭayagus*, is the same as at the *Darsapûrnamâsa*, viz. II, 21 b (VIII, 21). If there are three, they are offered to the wind (*vâta*), the sacrifice, and the lord of sacrifice respectively; the formulas *Vâg. S.* VIII, 22 a b being used with the second and third. *Kâty.* V, 2, 9. For the *Varuṇapraghâsâḥ* and *Sâkamedhâḥ* three *Samishṭayagus* are prescribed, and for the *Sunâsirîya* only one.

⁴ Viz. such as the new and full-moon sacrifice, which serves as the model sacrifice, and at which there are only five fore-offerings and three after-offerings. See I, 5, 3, 1 seq.; I, 8, 2, 7 seq.

whosoever, knowing this, offers this sacrifice: let him therefore perform this sacrifice.

SECOND BRÂHMANA.

B. THE VARUNAPRAGHÂSA OFFERINGS.

1. Now it was by means of the Vaisvadeva that Pragâpati produced living beings. The beings produced by him ate (ghas) Varuṇa's barley corn; for originally the barley belonged to Varuṇa. And from their eating Varuṇa's barley corn the name Varuṇa-praghâsâh (is derived).

2. Varuṇa seized them; and on being seized by Varuṇa, they became rent all over¹; and they lay and sat them down breathing in and breathing out. The out-breathing and in-breathing forsook them not, but all the other deities² forsook them; and owing to these two, the creatures did not perish.

3. Pragâpati healed them by means of that oblation: both the creatures that were born and those that were unborn he delivered from Varuṇa's noose; and his creatures were born without disease and blemish.

4. Now when this (sacrificer) performs these offerings in the fourth month (after the Vaisvadeva), he does so either because thus Varuṇa does not seize his offspring, or because the gods performed (the same offering); and both the children that have been born to him and those that are yet unborn he thereby delivers from Varuṇa's noose, and his children are born without disease and blemish. This is why he performs these offerings in the fourth month.

¹ Paridîrṇa, i. e. swollen, dropsical.

² In the St. Petersb. Dict. devatâ is here taken as 'organ of sense.'

5. At this (sacrifice) there are two altars and two fires¹. The reason why there are two altars and two

¹ For the performance of the Varuṇapraghâśâḥ the Adhvaryu and his assistant, the Pratiprasthâtṛi, have to prepare,—to the east of the Âhavanîya, and at the distance of at least three steps (prakrama) from it,—two altars, separate from each other by about a span (of thumb and fore-finger), one south of the other. The northern one, belonging to the Adhvaryu, is to measure between four and five cubits along the west side, and between three and four cubits along the east side; the two sides being between six and eight cubits distant from each other. The southern altar, reserved for the Pratiprasthâtṛi, is to be of the usual size of the altar at the haviryagñâ. The ceremonies, detailed in I, 2, Brâhmanas 4 and 5, have to be performed also on the present occasion. In the middle of the east side of the northern altar a stake is fixed in the ground. On the north side of the northern altar, and contiguous with it, a pit (kâtvâla), $1\frac{1}{3}$ cubits (the length of the wedge) square, is dug, so as to be separated on the west from the utkara (heap of rubbish) by a narrow passage. With the mould dug up from the pit, the so-called uttara-vedi (upper or north altar) is raised on the northern altar, either of the same dimensions as the pit ($1\frac{1}{3}$ cubits square) or one third of the area of the northern altar, and so that the stake marks the middle of its east side. In the centre of this mound he makes a hollow (or 'navel'), a span square; and the whole mound is then bestrewed with fine gravel. The texts used while tracing the sides of the pit, thrice throwing the wooden sword within the marked-off space, and raising the uttara-vedi, are given Vâg. S. V, 9-10. During the night the uttara-vedi remains covered with udumbara or plaksha branches or with sacrificial grass. Next morning the two fires for the newly-constructed fire-places are taken from the Âhavanîya, either by dividing the latter into two equal parts, or by means of two bundles of firewood (threefold bound, see p. 389, note 1), lighted at it, and carried eastwards in a pan covered with sand or mould. While the fires, together with the lustral water and a spoonful of ghee, taken from the pot by five ladlings with the sruva, are taken eastward, the Hotṛi thrice recites the verse 'Pra devyam deva,' &c.; and the Pratiprasthâtṛi draws, with the wooden sword, a line from the Âhavanîya to the south-west corner (or 'right hip') of the northern altar, or to the uttara-vedi. The Adhvaryu, standing between the two altars, then besprinkles the uttara-vedi with water, while muttering the

fires, is that thereby one frees the creatures from Varuṇa's noose both ways,—on the one side (he frees) the upright, and on the other those looking to the ground: this is why there are two altars and two fires.

6. On the northern (uttara) altar he raises the *uttara-vedi* (upper or north altar), not on the southern one. Varuṇa, doubtless, is the nobility, and the Maruts are the people: he thus makes the nobility superior (*uttara*) to the people; and hence people here serve the Kshatriya, placed above them. This is why he raises the *uttara-vedi* on the northern, not on the southern altar.

7. In the first place there are those five oblations¹. For by means of those five oblations Pragâpati produced the creatures, with them he freed the creatures both ways from Varuṇa's noose,—on the one side (he freed) the upright, and on the other those that tend to the ground: this is why there are those five oblations.

8. Then follows a cake on twelve potsherds for Indra and Agni. Indra and Agni indeed are the out-breathing and in-breathing: thus this is like

texts Vâg. S. V, 11; whereupon he pours out on it crosswise the spoonful of clarified butter, with the texts V, 12; and lays, with the mantras V, 13, three enclosing-sticks (*paridhi*) of *pîtadâru* wood round the 'navel' (see I, 3, 4, 2 seq.), and puts bdellium, fragrant reed-grass, and the front-hair of a ram on the 'navel' as a foundation (*sambhâra*, see II, 1, 1, 1 seq.) for the fire, which is then laid down thereon. On a hearth-mound (*khara*), a cubit square, formed on the southern altar, the *Pratiprasthâtri* also lays down his fire, after performing the usual fivefold lustration (see p. 2). Thereupon the *pranîta*-water is brought forward in the way set forth at I, 1, 1, 12 seq. Kâty. V, 3, 9-4, 21. For a different mode of transferring the fire to the special fire-places, see p. 396, note 1.

¹ See II, 5, 1, 11, with note.

doing a good turn to one who has done him a good turn; for it is owing to these two that his creatures¹ did not perish. Hence he now restores his creatures by means of the out-breathing and in-breathing, bestows out-breathing and in-breathing on them: this is why there is a cake on twelve potsherds for Indra and Agni.

9. On both (fires) there is an oblation of curds. It is on milk that the creatures subsist and by means of milk that they were preserved; hence it is with that by which they were preserved and whereon they subsist, that he delivers them both ways from Varuna's noose,—on the one side (he delivers) the upright and on the other those looking to the ground. This is why there is an oblation of curds on both (fires).

10. The northern one is offered to Varuna, since it was Varuna who seized his (Pragâpati's) creatures: hence he thereby directly delivers them from Varuna's noose. The southern one is offered to the Maruts. It is for the sake of diversity that it is offered to the Maruts; for a repetition he would undoubtedly commit, were he to offer both to Varuna. Moreover, it was from the south that the Maruts intended to slay his (Pragâpati's) creatures, and with that share he propitiated them: for this reason the southern (oblation of curds) belongs to the Maruts.

11. Upon both (dishes of curds) he scatters karîra-fruits²; for with karîra-fruits Pragâpati

¹ That is, his offspring and cattle.

² The fruit of Capparis Aphylla. According to Sâyana, on Taitt. I, 8, 3, it is karîra-shoots—which he says resemble the Soma-creeper (somavallî)—that are so used; but he also mentions that some authorities take karîra to mean the fruit. According to a sūtra he

bestowed happiness (ka) on the creatures, and so does he (the sacrificer) thereby bestow happiness on the creatures.

12. Upon both of them he also scatters samî-leaves; for with samî-leaves Pragâpati bestowed bliss (sam) on the creatures, and so does he now thereby bestow bliss on the creatures.

13. Then follows a cake on one potsherd for Ka (Pragâpati); for by that cake on one potsherd to Ka Pragâpati indeed bestowed happiness (ka) on the creatures, and so does he (the sacrificer) now bestow happiness on the creatures by that one-cup cake: this is why there is a cake on one potsherd for Ka.

14. And on the first day, after husking and slightly roasting barley on the Dakshinâgni, they prepare therewith as many dishes of karambha¹ as there are members of the (sacrificer's) family, exceeded by one.

15. At the same time they also prepare a ram and a ewe; and if he be able to procure wool other than from eḍaka sheep, let him wash it and stick it on both the ram and the ewe; but should he not be able to procure wool other than from eḍaka sheep, tufts of kusa grass may also be (used).

16. The reason why there are a ram and a ewe is that the ram manifestly is Varuṇa's victim, so that he thereby manifestly delivers the creatures from Varuṇa's noose. They are made of barley, because it was when they (the creatures) had eaten barley that Varuṇa seized them. A pair they form, so that he

quotes, above a hundred samî-leaves and above a thousand karîras should be strewn over the two dishes of curds. Cf. Taitt. Br. I, 6, 5, 5.

¹ A kind of porridge prepared with roasted barley, coarsely ground, and sour curds.

delivers the creatures from Varuna's noose through conjugal union.

17. The ewe he places on the southern, and the ram on the northern dish of curds; for in this way alone a proper union is effected, since the woman lies on the left (or north) side of the man.

18. The Adhvaryu places all the (other) sacrificial dishes upon the northern altar; and the Pratiprasthâtri places on the southern altar that dish of curds (belonging to the Maruts).

19. Having thus placed the sacrificial dishes, he churns the fire; and having churned it and placed it on (the hearth)¹, he offers thereon. The Adhvaryu in the first place says (to the Hotri)², 'Recite to the fire that is being kindled!' Both (the Adhvaryu and the Pratiprasthâtri) then put firewood on (the fire) and both reserve one kindling-stick each; and they both pour out the first libation (âghâra). Thereupon the Adhvaryu says, 'Agnîdh, trim the fire!' Although the summons is given, the trimming does not take place (immediately)³.

20. Thereupon the Pratiprasthâtri returns (to where the sacrificer's wife is seated). When he is about to lead the wife away, he asks her, 'With

¹ The author here apparently alludes to a different way of transferring the fire to the new fire-places from that detailed by Kâtyâyana (see p. 392, note 1). The same mode seems to be referred to by the Paddhati on Kâty. V, 4 (p. 467). According to this mode (called samâropana, or mounting of the fire), the old fires are 'taken up' by means of the two aranis being lighted, or rather heated, at them, and then 'churned out' and placed on the newly-prepared hearth-mounds.

² For the detailed course of procedure, see I, 3, 5, 1 seq.

³ Asamsrîshâṃ eva bhavati sampreshitam. The Kânva recension reads, asamsrîshâ evâgnir bhavati sampreshitaḥ. Cf. par. 30.

whom holdest thou intercourse?' Now when a woman who belongs to one (man) carries on intercourse with another, she undoubtedly commits (a sin) against Varuṇa. He therefore thus asks her, lest she should sacrifice with a secret pang in her mind; for when confessed the sin becomes less, since it becomes truth; this is why he thus asks her. And whatever (connection) she confesses¹ not, that indeed will turn out injurious to her relatives.

21. He then makes her say the text (III, 44), 'We invoke the Maruts, the voracious consumers of enemies, delighting in their porridge.' This (verse) is (of like import) as the invitatory prayer: she therewith invites them to these dishes².

22. Of these (dishes) there is one for each descendant; as many (children) as there are in the (sacrificer's) family, so many (dishes) there are, exceeded by one. There being one for each descendant, he thereby delivers from Varuṇa's noose one by one the children born to him; and there being an additional one, he thereby delivers from Varuṇa's

¹ According to Kāty. V, 5, 7-9, she is either to give the total number or the names of her lovers, or to hold up as many stalks of grass. [If she have none, she is to reply, 'with no one else.' Comm.]—'He makes the wife speak (confess): (thereby) he renders her pure, and then he leads her to penance. Were she not to reveal (the name of) a paramour she has, she would harm a dear relative. Let her declare "N. N. is my paramour," by thus declaring (any one) she causes him to be seized by Varuṇa.' Taitt. Br. I, 6, 5, 2.

² According to the Black Yagus, the Pratiprasthâtri mutters this formula, while leading the mistress to the place of offering. The sacrificer then recites as the invitatory prayer the verse given in par. 28 (Vâg. S. III, 46); while the offering-prayer (Vâg. S. III, 45) and the text III, 47 (par. 29) are muttered by both the husband and wife. Taitt. I, 6, 5, 3 argues against the practice of the wife being made to pronounce the anuvâkyâ.

noose those children of his that are as yet unborn : this is why there are (the same number of dishes) exceeded by one.

23. (In the form of) dishes they are, because it is from dishes that food is eaten ; and of barley they are prepared, because it was when they (the creatures) had eaten the barley corn that Varuṇa seized them. From the winnowing basket she offers, because food is prepared by means of the winnowing basket. The wife offers (together with her husband) : thus he delivers his offspring from Varuṇa's noose through conjugal union.

24. She offers previously to the sacrifice, previously to the oblations, since the people do not eat offerings, and the Maruts are the people. Now when Pragâpati's creatures, being seized by Varuṇa, became rent all over, and sat and lay them down, breathing in and breathing out, then the Maruts destroyed their sin ; and so do the Maruts now destroy the sin of his (the sacrificer's) offspring. This is why she offers previously to the sacrifice, previously to the oblations.

25. He¹ offers in the southern fire, with the text (III, 45), 'Whatever (sin we have committed) in the village and forest,'—for both in the village and in the forest sin is committed ;—'whatever in society and in our own self,'—by 'whatever (we have committed) in society,' he means to say 'against man ;' and by 'whatever in our own self' (indriya), he means to say 'against the gods ;'—'whatever sin

¹ According to Kâty. V, 5, 11, either the mistress alone offers, or she together with her husband. In the latter case, the offering-formula (as well as the dedicatory formula, 'This to the Maruts') is pronounced by both.

we have here committed, that we expiate by offering, Svâhâ!—whereby he says ‘whatsoever sin we have committed, from all that we rid ourselves.’

26. Thereupon he mutters the (verse) addressed to Indra and referring to the Maruts.—Now when the Maruts destroyed the sin of Pragâpati’s creatures, he thought within himself, ‘I hope they will not destroy my creatures.’

27. He muttered that (verse) addressed to Indra and referring to the Maruts. Indra indeed is the nobility, and the Maruts are the people; and the nobility are the controllers of the people: ‘They shall be controlled,’ he thought; and therefore (that verse, Vâg. S. III, 46) is addressed to Indra.

28. ‘Let there not, O Indra, be (fight) for us here in battles with the gods, since there is a share for thee in the sacrifice, O fiery one!—for thee, the mighty showerer of gifts, whose Maruts the song of the offerer stream-like celebrates.’

29. He then makes her say the text (Vâg. S. III, 47), ‘The men skilled in the work have done the work,’—those skilled in the work have indeed done the work;—‘with pleasing song;’—for with song they have done it. ‘Having done the work for the gods;’—for the gods indeed they have done the work;—‘go home, ye companions!’—they are now together with her while she is led thither from another place: hence she says, ‘ye companions’ (*sakâ-bhû*, ‘being together’). ‘Go home,’ she says, because that wife doubtless is the hind part of the sacrifice, and he has just now made her take her seat to the east of the sacrifice. ‘Home’ doubtless means the house, and the house is a resting-place: hence he thereby makes her rest in that resting-place, the house.

30. Having led her back (to her seat) the Prati-prasthâtri returns (to his place by the side of the southern altar). They now trim the fire¹. When the fire has been trimmed, both (the Adhvaryu and Prati-prasthâtri) make the second libation (of butter). Thereupon the Adhvaryu, having called (on the Âgnîdhra) for the 'Sraushat,' chooses the Hotri. The chosen Hotri then seats himself on the Hotri's seat beside the northern altar; and having seated himself, he urges (the Adhvaryu and Prati-prasthâtri) to proceed. Being thus urged to proceed, they both take up the spoons and step across (to the south side of the fires). After stepping across and calling for the 'Sraushat,' the Adhvaryu says (to the Hotri), 'Pronounce the offering-prayer on the kindling-sticks!' and 'Pronounce the offering-prayer!' at each (subsequent fore-offering). Pouring (the butter in the spoons) together (into the *guhû*) at the fourth², they both proceed with the nine fore-offerings³.

31. Thereupon the Adhvaryu says (to the Hotri),

¹ The *Kânva* text has more correctly, 'He trims both fires;' since it is the Âgnîdhra who has to trim both the northern and southern fires. See par. 19.

² The recipients of the first four fore-offerings are the same as at the normal haviryagñâ (cf. p. 146 note), viz. 1. the kindling-sticks (*samidhs*); 2. *Tanûnapât* (or *Narâsamsa*); 3. the *Id's*; 4. the *Barhis*. The remaining ones are—5. the doors (of heaven); 6. dawn and night; 7. the two divine Hotris; 8. the three goddesses (*Sarasvatî*, *Idâ*, and *Bhârati*); 9. all the deities to whom offering is made during the sacrifice (see I, 5, 3, 22 seq.). The objects of the first eight offerings are identical with those of the first eight verses of the Âpri hymns.

³ Or, 'at every fourth (fore-offering)?' According to the Pad-dhati on Kâty. V, 5, the butter is poured together at the fourth and seventh prayâgas. See also I, 5, 3, 16.

‘Pronounce the invitory prayer to Agni!’ referring to Agni’s butter-portion¹. Both (the Adhvaryu and Pratiprasthâtri) having taken four ‘cuttings’ of butter, they step across (to the north side of their respective fires). Having stepped across and called for the ‘Sraushat,’ the Adhvaryu says (to the Hotri), ‘Pronounce the offering-formula to Agni!’ After the ‘Vashat’ has been uttered, they both pour out the oblation.

32. The Adhvaryu then says, ‘Pronounce (the invitory prayer) to Soma!’ referring to Soma’s butter-portion. Both having taken four cuttings of butter, they step across. Having stepped across and called for the ‘Sraushat,’ the Adhvaryu says (to the Hotri), ‘Pronounce the offering-prayer to Soma!’ After the ‘Vashat’ has been uttered, they both pour out the oblation.

33. Thus whatever has to be done by speech, that the Adhvaryu does, and not the Pratiprasthâtri. Now as to why the Adhvaryu alone calls for the ‘Sraushat.’ Here indeed when the ‘Vashat’ is pronounced,—

34. The Pratiprasthâtri is merely the imitator of what is done (by the Adhvaryu). For Varuna is the nobility, and the Maruts are the people: hence he thereby makes the people the imitators, the followers of the nobility. But were the Pratiprasthâtri also to call for the ‘Sraushat,’ he would doubtless make the people equal in power to the nobility: for this reason the Pratiprasthâtri does not call for the ‘Sraushat.’

35. The Pratiprasthâtri sits down, after taking the two offering-spoons in his hand. The Adhvaryu then

¹ See I, 6, 1, 20 seq.

proceeds with those oblations,—viz. Agni's cake on eight potsherds, Soma's pap, Savitri's cake on twelve or eight potsherds, Sarasvatī's pap, Pūshan's pap, and Indra and Agni's cake on twelve potsherds.

36. Thereupon, being about to proceed with those two oblations of curds, (the Adhvaryu and Pratiprasthâtri) exchange (the ram and ewe): the ram which was on the Maruts' (dish of curds) he (the Adhvaryu) places on that of Varuṇa; and the ewe which was on Varuṇa's (dish of curds) he (the Pratiprasthâtri) places on that of the Maruts. Now the reason why they make this exchange, is this,—Varuṇa is the nobility, and the male represents energy: hence they thereby bestow energy on the nobility. The female, on the other hand, is without energy; and the Maruts are the people: hence they thereby cause the people to be without energy. This is why they make this exchange.

37. The Adhvaryu now says (to the Hotri), 'Pronounce the invitatory prayer to Varuṇa!' He then pours an 'under-layer' of butter (into the guhû), takes two cuttings from Varuṇa's curds, and with either of the two cuttings puts the ram (in the spoon). He then pours butter thereon, replenishes (the place whence) the two cuttings (have been made), and steps across (to the south side of the fire). After stepping across and calling for the 'Sraushat,' he says (to the Hotri), 'Pronounce the offering-prayer to Varuṇa!' and, on the 'Vashat' being uttered, he pours out the oblation.

38. Thereupon the Adhvaryu takes both spoons in his left hand; and taking hold of the Pratiprasthâtri's garment, says (to the Hotri), 'Pronounce the invitatory prayer to the Maruts!' The

Pratiprasthâtri then makes an 'under-layer' of butter (in his *guhû*), and two cuttings from the curds of the Maruts, and with either of the two cuttings puts the ewe (in the spoon). He then pours butter thereon, replenishes (the place of) the two cuttings, and steps across (to the south of the fire). The Adhvaryu, having called for the 'Sraushat,' says (to the Hotri), 'Pronounce the offering-prayer to the Maruts!' and on the 'Vashat' being uttered, (the Pratiprasthâtri) he pours out the oblation.

39. The Adhvaryu then proceeds with the cake on eleven potsherds for Ka; and having made that offering, he says, 'Pronounce the invitatory prayer to Agni Svishṭakṛit ("the maker of good offering")!' The Adhvaryu then takes cuttings from all (his) oblations, one from each; and the Pratiprasthâtri also takes one cutting from that oblation of curds (to the Maruts). They then pour twice butter upon (the portions), and step across (to the south side of the fires). On stepping across and calling for the 'Sraushat,' the Adhvaryu says, 'Pronounce the offering-prayer to Agni Svishṭakṛit; and after the (concluding) 'Vashat,' they both pour out the oblation.

40. The Adhvaryu now cuts off the fore-portion. Having then cut off the *Idâ* piece by piece, he hands it to the Pratiprasthâtri; and the Pratiprasthâtri puts thereon two cuttings from the Maruts' curds. He (the Adhvaryu) then pours twice butter thereon. After invoking (the *Idâ*), they cleanse themselves¹.

41. Thereupon the Adhvaryu says, 'O Brahman, shall I step forward?' Having put on the (remaining) kindling-stick², he says, 'Agnîdh, trim the fire!'

¹ See I, 8, 1, 18-43.

² See II, 5, 2, 19, and I, 8, 2, 3.

He, the Adhvaryu, then pours the clotted butter¹ (in the *prishadâgya-upabhrîṭ*) into the two spoons (the *guhû* and *upabhrîṭ*); and the *Pratiprasthâtri* also, if he have any clotted butter, divides it into two parts and pours it (into the two spoons); but if there is no clotted butter, he divides the butter in the *upabhrîṭ* in two parts and pours them out separately. Then both step across (to the south side of the fires). The Adhvaryu, having stepped across and called for the '*Sraushat*,' says (to the *Hotri*), 'Pronounce the offering-formula to the gods!' and, 'Pronounce the offering-formula!' at each (subsequent after-offering). Thus they both perform the nine after-offerings², pouring together (the butter from the spoons) at the (or at every) fourth after-offering. The reason why there are nine fore-offerings and nine after-offerings, is that he thereby delivers the creatures both times from Varuṇa's noose,—by the former (he delivers) the upright and by the latter those looking to the ground: for this reason there are nine fore-offerings and nine after-offerings.

42. They both then separate the spoons³, after laying them (on the altars). Having separated the spoons, and anointed the enclosing-sticks; and having thereupon taken hold of the (middle) enclosing-

¹ *Prishad-âgya* (lit. mottled butter) is clarified butter mixed with sour milk.

² The recipients of the nine after-offerings are as follows: 1. The divine Barhis; 2. the divine doors; 3. the divine dawn and night; 4. the two divine benefactresses (*goshtri*); 5. the two goddesses of potent sacrifice (*ûrgâhutî*); 6. the two divine *Hotris*; 7. the three goddesses; 8. the divine *Narâṇsa*; 9. the divine Agni *Svish-takrîṭ*. Cf. p. 400, note 2.

³ See I, 8, 3, 1 seq.

stick, and called for the (Âgnîdhra's) 'Sraushat,' the Adhvaryu thus addresses (the Hotri)¹, 'The divine Hotris are summoned for the proclamation of success; the human is called upon for the song of praise!' The Hotri then intones the song of praise (sûktavâka). Thereupon both seize their prastara-bunches and throw them (into the fires); both take a single straw each therefrom and remain sitting by (the fires); when the Hotri recites the song of praise,—

43. The Âgnîdhra says, 'Throw after!' Both (the Adhvaryu and Pratiprasthâttri) throw (the stalk) after (the prastara); and both touch themselves.

44. He (the Âgnîdhra) then says², 'Discourse (with me)!' [The Adhvaryu asks,] 'Has he gone (to the gods), Agnîdh?'—'He has gone!'—'Bid (the gods) hear!'—'Yea, may (one) hear!'—'Good-speed to the divine Hotris! Success to the human!'—The Adhvaryu also (afterwards)³ says (to the Hotri), 'Pronounce the "All-hail and blessing!"' They both throw the enclosing-sticks (into the fire); and after taking up the spoons together, they both place them on the wooden sword⁴.

45. Thereupon the Adhvaryu returns (to the Gârhapatya fire) and performs the Patnîsam-yâgas⁵. The Pratiprasthâttri, in the meantime,

¹ See I, 8, 3, 10 seq.

² See I, 8, 3, 20 seq.

³ In thus briefly recapitulating the chief points of the course of sacrificial performance, the author's object is merely to assign to each officiating priest—especially to the Adhvaryu and his assistant, the Pratiprasthâttri—his special share of business. In the actual performance, the pronunciation of the formula of 'All-hail and blessing' (see I, 9, 1, 26), of course, comes after the throwing of the enclosing-sticks into the fire (see I, 8, 3, 22).

⁴ See I, 8, 3, 26.

⁵ See I, 9, 2, 1.

remains waiting. After performing the *Patñisamyâgas*, the *Adhvaryu* steps up (to the northern fire).

46. He (the *Adhvaryu*) performs the three *Samishṭayagus* (with the respective texts)¹; the *Pratiprasthâtri* takes up his spoon (and performs those oblations) silently.—The same garments, worn by the sacrificer and his wife at the *Vaisvadeva*, should be put on also on this occasion. They now take (the *havis*) mixed with the burnt scrapings of the *Varuna* curds, and betake themselves to (the place of) the expiatory bath (*avabhṛitha*). This (ablution) stands in relation to *Varuna*, (being performed) with a view to deliverance from *Varuna*'s power. No *Sâman*-hymn is sung on this occasion, for at this (sacrifice) nothing whatever is performed with a *Sâman*-hymn. Having silently walked thither and entered (the water), he (the *Adhvaryu*) immerses (the vessel containing the scrapings).

47. With the text (*Vâg. S. III, 48*), 'O laving bath, laving thou glidest along: with the help of the gods may I wipe out the sin committed against the gods, and with the help of mortals the sin committed against mortals! Preserve me, O God, from injury from the fiercely-howling (demon)!' Those (garments worn while bathing)² he may give

¹ See p. 390, note 3.

² *Kâty. V, 5, 30-33*, and the scholiasts supply the following particulars: The sacrificer and his wife, accompanied by the priests, are to repair to some quiet part of flowing water. The *Adhvaryu* then takes the sacrificer by the arm and makes him enter the water. Thereupon he himself enters, strews sacrificial grass on the water, puts a stick on it, and thereon offers a spoonful of butter to *Agni*. Then follow six oblations, viz. four fore-offerings, performed in the usual way (the one to the *Barhis* being omitted);

to whichever (priest) he chooses, since they are not the garments of an initiated person. Even as a snake casts its skin, so does he cast away all his sin.

48. Thereupon they shave (the sacrificer's) hair and beard; and take up the two fires¹,—for only after changing his place (to the ordinary sacrificial ground) he performs that (other) sacrifice², since it is not proper that he should perform the Agnihotra on the uttaravedi: for this reason he changes his place. Having gone to the house³ and 'churned out' the fires, he performs the full-moon offering. These seasonal offerings doubtless are detached sacrifices; whereas the full-moon offering is a regular, established sacrifice: hence he finally establishes himself by means of that regular sacrifice; and therefore he changes his place (to the ordinary sacrificial ground).

an oblation of butter to Varuṇa, and another of the scrapings of curds to Agni and Varuṇa. Other authorities offer ten oblations instead of six, viz. four fore-offerings, two 'butter-portions' to Agni and Soma, the two oblations to Varuṇa and Agni-Varuṇa, and two after-offerings. The Adhvaryu then immerses the butter-pot, with the text Vâg. S. III, 48. Thereupon the sacrificer and his wife bathe without diving, but wash each other's back. They then come out of the water and put on fresh clothes.

¹ Viz. by lighting (or heating) at them two aravis or churning-sticks, by means of which the fires are transferred to the old hearths. According to the Paddhati, the remaining ceremonies of the ishî, from the offering of the Barhis (see I, 9, 2, 29) to the end, are performed previously to the lifting of the fires.

² Viz. the full-moon sacrifice, see II, 6, 2, 19, where, however, agnau instead of agnî. The construction here is quite irregular. The Kâṇva text has: *kesarṃsarūptvâgnî samârohayata udavasâya hy etena yagate*.

³ That is, to the ordinary sacrificial ground.

THIRD BRĀHMANA.

C. THE SĀKAMEDHA OFFERINGS¹.

1. Verily, by means of the Varunapraghāsāḥ Pragâpati delivered the creatures from Varuna's noose; and those creatures of his were born without disease and blemish. Now with these Sâkamedha offerings,—therewith indeed the gods slew Vṛitra, therewith they gained that supreme authority which they now wield; and so does he now therewith slay his wicked, spiteful enemy and gain the victory: this is why he performs these offerings in the fourth month (after the Varunapraghāsāḥ). He performs them on two successive days.

2. On the first day he offers a cake on eight potsherds to Agni Anîkavat². For it was after

¹ The performance of the Sâkamedha offerings requires two days. In the first place—after the Âhavanîya has been 'taken out' from the Gârhapatya—both fires are taken up by means of (or 'made to mount') the two kindling-sticks, and transferred (by 'churning out') to another altar (the uttaravedi). On the first day oblations are then made to Agni Anîkavat, the Marutaḥ Sântapanâḥ and the Maruto Grîhamedhinaḥ, these being completed on the next morning by a Darvihoma to Indra, and an oblation of cake to the Marutaḥ Krîḍinaḥ. Then follows the Mahâhavis, consisting—besides the five constant oblations—of oblations to Indra-Agni, Mahendra, and Visvakarman. In the afternoon takes place the Mahâpitriyagñā, or (Great) sacrifice to the Manes (performed on a special altar and fire-place, south of the Dakshinâgni); which is succeeded by the Traiyambakahoma, or offering to Rudra Tryambaka, performed on a cross-way somewhere north of the sacrificial ground.

² That is, Agni, the 'sharp-pointed' or 'sharp-edged;' an epithet apparently referring to the pointed flames or tongues of Agni. The St. Petersburg Dict. takes it to mean 'Agni, possessed of a face.' Perhaps it may mean, 'Agni, constituting the front or van of the army.' In Sat. Br. III, 4, 4, 14, Agni is likened to the point (anîka) of the thunderbolt, Soma to its shaft (salya), and Vishnu

shaping Agni into a sharp point¹, that the gods rushed forward, intent on slaying *Vṛitra*; and that sharp point, Agni, swerved not. And so does he (the Sacrificer) now rush forward, after shaping Agni into a sharp point, intent on slaying his wicked, spiteful enemy; and that sharp point, Agni, swerves not: this is why he sacrifices to Agni *Anīkavat*.

3. Thereupon, at midday, he offers a potful of boiled grain (*karu*) to the Maruts, the Scorchers (*Sântapanâḥ*), for at midday indeed the scorching winds scorched *Vṛitra*; and thus scorched he lay panting and gasping, being rent all over. And so do the scorching winds scorch his (the Sacrificer's) wicked, spiteful enemy: hence (he sacrifices) to the Maruts, the Scorchers.

4. Thereupon, (in the evening, he offers a potful of boiled grain) to the Maruts, the Householders (*Grihamedhinaḥ*). That pap he cooks after driving

to the part where the point is fixed on the shaft (*kulmala*). Compare the corresponding passage in Taitt. Br. I, 6, 6: 'The gods and Asuras were contending. Agni spake, "My body is *anīkavat* (possessed of an army, acc. to *Sâyana*): satisfy it and you will overcome the Asuras!" The gods prepared a cake on eight potsherds for Agni *Anīkavat*. Agni *Anīkavat*, being pleased with his share, produced for himself four *anīkas*; and thereby the gods prevailed and the Asuras were defeated. . . . Now Agni *Anīkavat* is yonder sun: his rays are the *anīkas*.' Here *anīka* would rather seem to mean either 'dart' or 'face.' [In Taitt. Br. I, 6, 2, 5, in the battle between the gods and Asuras, Agni is represented as the *mukham* of the gods, which *Sâyana* takes to mean the 'van-guard' or 'the champion' of the gods. Compare also Sat. Br. II, 6, 4, 2; XI, 5, 2, 4.] Acc. to the Black Yagus, the cake to Agni *Anīkavat* is to be prepared (or offered) simultaneously (*sâkam*) with the rising of the sun; whence is probably derived the term '*Sâkam-edha*.'

¹ I. e. into a sharp-pointed weapon; or, perhaps, 'after appointing Agni their leader.' Cf. p. 449 note; and Sat. Br. V, 3, 1, 1.

away the calves (from the cows) with the (palāsa-) branch, and having (all the cows) milked into the pot containing the strainers. Now, whenever (in preparing the pap) they use (whole) rice-grains, then that is a *kāru*: this nourishment¹ the gods took when they were about to slay *Vṛitra* on the morrow; and so does he (the Sacrificer) now take that nourishment, being about to slay his wicked, spiteful enemy. The reason, then, why it is milk-pap, is that milk is nourishment, and rice-grains are nourishment, and that he thus puts into him (*âtman*) that twofold nourishment. For this reason it is a rice-pap (prepared) with milk.

5. The practice, in regard to this (pap, is as follows). The same altar covered (with sacrificial grass) which served for the (oblation to) the Maruts, the Scorchers, is (now used)². Near this covered altar they lay down the enclosing-sticks and pieces of wood. Having had (the cows) milked in the same way (as before), he (the *Adhvaryu*) cooks the pap; and having cooked it and basted it with butter, he removes it from the fire.

6. They then rinse either two plates or two dishes, and put that (pap) thereon in two equal

¹ That is, strengthening food. Instead of *medhas*, the *Kânva* recension has throughout *medham* (as once in our text).

² At the preceding offering, that to the Maruta *h* *Sântapanâh*, the *ishî* is either to be interrupted at the end of the *Samish/ayagus* (see I, 9, 2, 25-28), or only the offering of the *Barhis* (I, 9, 2, 29-31) is to be omitted. The concluding ceremonies are to be performed either on the same day, after the offering to the Maruto *Grîhamedhinah*—which itself concludes with the *Idâ*, and (acc. to Taitt. Br. I, 6, 6, 6) has neither fore-offerings nor after-offerings—or the following morning after the *Darvihoma* (see par. 17). *Kâty.* V, 6, 3-5; 32-33.

parts. Having then made a hollow in each (pap), he (the Adhvaryu) pours clarified butter therein, and wipes both the dipping-spoon and the offering-spoon. Thereupon he takes the two dishes of pap, and walks up (to the altar); and again, he takes the dipping and offering spoons, and walks up; and having touched¹ the covered altar, and laid the enclosing-sticks round (the fire)², he puts on as many pieces of firewood as he thinks fit. He then deposits those two dishes of pap, and the dipping and offering spoons, in their places (outside the altar). The Hotri sits down on the Hotri's seat. Taking the dipping and offering spoons, he (the Adhvaryu) says,—

7. 'Pronounce the invitatory prayer to Agni!' with reference to Agni's butter-portion. He then takes four 'cuttings' of butter from the hollow of the southern pap, and steps over (to the south side of the fire). Having stepped over, and called for the (Âgnîdhra's) 'Sraushat,' he says (to the Hotri), 'Pronounce the offering-prayer to Agni!' and pours out the oblation, as soon as the Vashaṭ has been uttered.

8. He then says, 'Pronounce the invitatory prayer to Soma!' with reference to Soma's butter-portion. He then takes four cuttings of butter from the hollow of the northern pap, and steps over. Having stepped over and called for the 'Sraushat,' he says, 'Pronounce the offering-prayer to Soma!' and pours out the oblation, as soon as the Vashaṭ has been uttered.

9. He then says, 'Pronounce the invitatory prayer

¹ According to Kâty. V, 6, 14, he is to do so either silently, or with the text (Vâg. S. II, 2) used in spreading the sacrificial grass on the altar. See I, 3, 3, 11.

² See I, 3, 3, 13; 3, 4, 1 seq.

to the Maruts, the Householders!' He makes an 'under-layer' of butter (in the offering-spoon) from the hollow of the southern pap, takes two cuttings from the latter, pours some butter thereon, and steps across. Having stepped across and called for the 'Sraushat,' he says, 'Pronounce the offering-prayer to the Maruts, the Householders!' and pours out the oblation as soon as the Vasha^t has been uttered.

10. He then says, 'Pronounce the invitatory prayer to Agni Svish^tak^rit¹!' He makes an under-layer of butter from the hollow of the northern pap, takes two cuttings from the latter, pours some butter thereon, and steps across. Having stepped across and called for the 'Sraushat,' he says, 'Pronounce the offering-prayer to Agni Svish^tak^rit!' and pours out the oblation as soon as the Vasha^t has been uttered. Thereupon he cuts off the Idâ², but no fore-portion³. Having invoked (the Idâ), they cleanse themselves. This is one mode of performance.

11. Then there is this other. The same altar covered (with sacrificial grass) which has served for the Maruts, the Scorchers, is (used now). Near this covered altar they lay down the enclosing-sticks and pieces of firewood; and having had (the cows) milked in the same way (as before) he cooks the rice-pap. The butter he puts on so as to be no mere accessory⁴. Having cooked (the pap) and basted

¹ See I, 7, 3, 1 seq.

² See I, 8, 1, 1 seq.

³ See I, 7, 4, 6 seq.

⁴ Ned eva prativesam âgyam adhisrayati. There seems to be some mistake here. The commentary on Kâty. V, 6, 6 has 'tad eva' instead of 'ned eva.' Sâyana says that the butter is put on the Dakshinâgni; but according to Kâty. V, 6, 24, it is put on the fire together with the pap. The Kânva text has, abhyardha âgyam

it, and removed it (from the fire), he anoints it. He then removes the butter in the pot (from the fire), and wipes the dipping and offering spoons. Thereupon, taking the dish with the pap, he walks up (to the altar); and again, taking the butter in the pot, he walks up; and again, taking the dipping and offering spoons, he walks up (to the altar). He then touches that covered altar, lays the enclosing-sticks round (the Āhavantya fire), and puts on as many pieces of wood as he thinks fit. He then deposits successively¹ (in their respective places) the dish with the pap, the pot with butter, and the dipping and offering spoons. The *Hotri* sits down in the *Hotri*'s seat. Taking the dipping and offering spoons, he (the *Adhvaryu*) says,—

12. 'Pronounce the invitatory prayer to Agni!' with a view to (offering) Agni's butter-portion. He then takes four 'cuttings' of butter from the pot and steps across (to the offering-place on the south side of the fire). Having stepped across and called for the (Āgnīdhra's) *Sraushaṭ*, he says (to the *Hotri*), 'Pronounce the offering-prayer to Agni!' and pours out the oblation, as soon as the *Vashaṭ* has been uttered.

13. He then says, 'Pronounce the invitatory prayer to Soma!' with a view to Soma's butter-portion. He then takes four cuttings of butter from the pot, and steps across. Having stepped

sthālyām adhisrayati, 'he puts on the butter in the pot on the near side.'

¹ In the original this is expressed by repetition of the verb, as was the case in the last sentence but one, where the original construction is retained. The *Kāṇva* text has merely, 'Having taken (the pap) with the dish, he hastes up (*udādravati*).'

across, and called for the *Sraushat*, he says, 'Pronounce the offering-formula to Soma!' and pours out the oblation, as soon as the *Vashaṭ* has been uttered.

14. Thereupon he says, 'Pronounce the invitational prayer to the Maruts, the Householders!' He then makes an 'under-layer' of butter (in the *guhû*), takes two cuttings from that pap, pours some butter thereon, re-anoints (replenishes with butter the parts of the sacrificial dish from which he has made)¹ the two cuttings, and steps across (to the offering-place). Having stepped across and called for the *Sraushat*, he says, 'Pronounce the offering-prayer to the Maruts, the Householders!' and pours out the oblation, as soon as the *Vashaṭ* has been uttered.

15. Thereupon he says, 'Pronounce the invitational prayer to Agni *Svishṭakṛit*!' He then makes an under-layer of butter, takes one cutting from the pap, pours twice butter thereon, without, however, re-anointing the (place of the) cutting; and steps across. Having stepped across, and called for the *Sraushat*, he says, 'Pronounce the offering-prayer to Agni *Svishṭakṛit*!' and pours out the oblation, as soon as the *Vashaṭ* has been uttered.

16. He then cuts off the *Idâ*, but no fore-portion. Having invoked (the *Idâ*), they (the priests) eat it. As many members of (the sacrificer's) household as are entitled to partake of the remains of sacrificial

¹ 'Pratyanakti' is probably the same as 'pratyabhighârayati,' generally applied to the basting of the *avadâna-ssthâna*, or that part of the havis from whence the cuttings have been made (*Kâty.* I, 9, 11; the 'replenishing' of the havis in *Sat. Br.* I, 7, 3, 6 refers to the same thing). See, however, *Kâty.* V, 6, 22, where it is ruled that no *pratyabhighârayana* is to take place at the present sacrifice. The *Kânva* MS., on the other hand, reads, 'he does not re-anoint the two cuttings.' Perhaps he is to anoint separately the two cut-off pieces.

food¹ may eat (of the pap); or the officiating priests may eat it; or, if there be abundant pap, other Brâhmans also may eat of it. The pot having then been covered, before it is quite emptied, they put it away in a safe place, for the 'full-spoon ceremony.' Thereupon they let the calves together with their mothers; and thus the cattle take that nourishment. That night he performs the Agnihotra with rice-gruel. In the morning they milk a cow, which suckles an adopted calf², for the purpose of the offering to the fathers.

17. Thereupon, in the morning, either after or before the performance of the Agnihotra—which ever he pleases—he cuts out (the remaining rice-pap) with the darvi-spoon³ from the unemptied pot, with the text (Vâg. S. III, 49), 'Full, O spoon, fly away, well filled fly back to us!

¹ That is, those who have been invested with the sacrificial cord. According to Taitt. Br. I, 6, 7, 1 the mistress of the house is not to eat of it, but an additional (prativeśa) pap is to be cooked specially for her on the Dakṣiṇa fire.

² 'In the morning they tie up the (adopted) calf of a nivânyâ (cow suckling a strange calf),' Kârva text.

³ The Darvi-homa, or oblation of a darvi-spoonful of boiled rice to Indra, the associate of the Maruts, may be considered as part of the *Gṛihamedhîyâ ishî*, being, as it were, an offering of remains (or scrapings, *nishkâsa*, Taitt. Br. I, 6, 7, 3); cf. Kâty. V, 6, 33. Like all Guhoti-offerings, the darvi-homa is performed by the Adhvaryu while seated on the north side of the fire. According to Taitt. Br. I, 6, 7, 3, it is to be offered in the Gârhapatya, but according to Kâty. V, 6, 38 (comm.) in the Âhavanîya. If the concluding ceremonies of the *Sântapanîyâ ishî* (from the offering of the Barhis) have not already been performed on the previous night, they have to be performed after the conclusion of the darvi-homa. If, however, only the offering of the Barhis was then omitted, the darvi-homa, if performed before the Agnihotra, is followed immediately by that oblation.

O thou (Indra), of a hundredfold powers, let us two barter food and drink, like wares!' In like manner as an invitatory prayer (is used at offerings) so does he by this (verse) invite him (Indra) to that share.

18. Let him then tell (the Sacrificer) to make a bull roar. 'If it roars,' say some, 'then that (sound) is the Vashaṭ; let him offer after that Vashaṭ.' And in this way indeed he calls Indra in his own form to the slaying of *Vṛitra*¹; for the bull is indeed Indra's form: hence he thereby calls Indra in his own form to the slaying of *Vṛitra*. If it roars, then one may know that Indra has come to his sacrifice, that his sacrifice is with Indra. And should it not roar, let the priest, seated on the south side (viz. the Brahman), say, 'Sacrifice!'—this, indeed, is Indra's voice.

19. He offers with the text (*Vâg. S. III, 50*), 'Give unto me, (and) I give unto thee. Bestow (gifts) on me, (and) I bestow on thee²! And mayest thou give me guerdon, (and) I will give thee guerdon! Svâhâ!'

20. He then offers a cake on seven potsherds to the sportive (*Kṛtīdinaḥ*) Maruts. For when Indra went forward in order to slay *Vṛitra*, the sportive Maruts were sporting around him singing his praises; and even so do they sport around this (Sacrificer), singing his praises, now that he is about to slay his wicked, spiteful enemy: this

¹ On the symbolic connection of the seasonal offerings, especially the *Sākamedhâḥ*, with the slaying of *Vṛitra*, the evil spirit of drought, see II, 6, 4, 1.

² According to *Mahîdhara*, this first line is spoken by Indra to his worshipper; the second line containing the latter's reply.

is why (he sacrifices) to the sportive Maruts¹. Thereupon (follows the performance) of the Great Oblation (Mahâ-havis): this (performance) is in accordance with that of the great (seasonable) oblation².

FOURTH BRÂHMANA.

1. Verily, by means of the Great Oblation the gods slew *Vṛitra*³; by means of it they gained that supreme authority which they now wield; and so does he (the Sacrificer) thereby now slay his wicked, spiteful enemy, and gain the victory: this is why he performs this sacrifice.

2. The mode of its performance (is as follows): They raise an *uttara-vedi*⁴; they use clotted butter⁵; and they churn the fire. There are nine

¹ Comp. Taitt. Br. I, 6, 7, 4: When Indra had slain *Vṛitra* (with the thunderbolt) he went to the farthest distances, thinking that he had missed (his aim). He said, 'Who will know this' [viz. whether *Vṛitra* is really dead or not, comm.].? The Maruts said, 'We will choose a boon, then we will know (find it out): let the first oblation be prepared for us! They sported (danced about) on him (*Vṛitra*, and thereby found out that he was dead).

² That is to say, the Mahâ-havis, or Great Oblation, though apparently only an integral part of the *Sâkamedhâh*, is in reality its chief ceremony, and may therefore be considered as being itself on a par with the other seasonal offerings; hence it requires the five oblations common to all the *Kâturmâsyas*; see II, 5, 1, 8-11. The Black Yagur it seems does not use the term Mahâ-havis, but assigns more importance to the Mahâ-pitriyagña (see II, 6, 1, 1 seq.). See Âpastamba's *Paribhâshâs*, 80, 81 (M. Müller, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morg. Ges.* IX), according to which the sacrifice to the Manes belongs to the Mahâyagñas.

³ See p. 416, note 1.

⁴ See p. 392, note 1. The southern altar is not required at the present ceremony.

⁵ See p. 404, note 1.

fore-offerings and nine after-offerings¹, and three Samishṭayagus. In the first place there are those five oblations².

3. Now as to why there is a cake on eight potsherds for Agni. With Agni, (shaped into) a sharp point (tegas)³, indeed, they (the gods) slew him (Vritra); and Agni, that sharp point, swerved not: hence there is (a cake) for Agni.

4. Then as to why there is a rice-pap for Soma. With the aid of Soma, the king, indeed they slew him, they who have Soma for their king: hence there is a pap for Soma.

5. Then as to why there is a cake on twelve, or eight⁴, potsherds for Savitri. Savitri, indeed, is the impeller (prasavitri) of the gods; and impelled by Savitri they slew him: hence there is (a cake) for Savitri.

6. Then as to why there is a rice-pap for Sarasvatî. Sarasvatî in truth is Speech; and Speech indeed it was that cheered them up, saying, 'Strike! slay⁵!' Hence there is a pap for Sarasvatî.

7. Then as to why there is a rice-pap for Pûshan. Pûshan doubtless is this earth⁶, and this

¹ See II, 5, 2, 30 and 41.

² See II, 5, 1, 11, with note 9.

³ See II, 5, 3, 2. This cake, again, is to be prepared (or offered) simultaneously with the rising of the sun; see p. 409 note.

⁴ According to Taitt. S. I, 8, 4 it is to be one on twelve potsherds.

⁵ The Kânva text has, 'Attack (abhipadyasva)! strike! slay!'

⁶ This identification of Pûshan with the earth is very strange, the more so as, at II, 5, 1, 11, special stress is laid on the male nature of Pûshan. Perhaps it is in his character of bountiful bestower of food and cattle, or as the tutelary god of travellers, that he is so identified.

earth, indeed, gave him (*Vṛitra*) up to slaughter; and they slew him, thus given up by her: hence there is a rice-pap for Pûshan.

8. Then follows a cake on twelve potsherds for Indra and Agni; for by means of that they slew him, since Agni means fiery glow (*tegas*), and Indra means manly power, and by means of these two powers they did indeed slay him. Moreover, Agni is the priesthood, and Indra is the nobility; having allied these two, having closely united the priesthood with the nobility, they (the gods) slew him by means of these two powers: hence there is a cake on twelve potsherds for Indra and Agni.

9. Then follows a rice-pap for Mahendra. For before the slaying of *Vṛitra* he was indeed Indra; but after slaying *Vṛitra* he became Mahendra (the great Indra), even as (a king becomes) a mahârâga, after obtaining the victory: hence there is a rice-pap for Mahendra. And thereby indeed he renders him great (strong) for the slaying of *Vṛitra*: for this reason also there is a rice-pap for Mahendra.

10. Then follows a cake on one potsherd for Visvakarman. To the gods, indeed, on performing the Sâkamedha-sacrifice and obtaining the victory (over *Vṛitra*), that sacred work (*karman*) was made complete (*visva*), and all was conquered; and so is that sacred work made complete, and all is conquered, by him who has performed the Sâkamedha-sacrifice and obtained the victory: hence there is a cake on one potsherd for Visvakarman.

11. And, verily, by performing this sacrifice the gods became what race, what prosperity of the gods there now is; and that same race he propagates,

that same prosperity he attains, whosoever, knowing this, performs this sacrifice. Let him therefore perform this sacrifice.

SIXTH ADHYÂYA. FIRST BRÂHMANA.

1. Verily, by means of the Great Oblation the gods slew *Vṛitra*, and gained that supreme authority which they now wield. And by means of the sacrifice to the fathers they then recalled to life those of them that had been slain in this battle; and they, indeed, were the fathers: hence the name *Pitṛiyagñā*¹ (sacrifice to the Manes).

2. Now the spring, the summer, and the rainy season,—they are those who vanquished (*Vṛitra*); and the autumn, the winter, and the dewy season,—they are those whom they (the gods) recalled to life².

3. Now when he performs that sacrifice, he does so, hoping that thus they (the Asuras) will not slay any of his, or because the gods did so (perform it). Moreover he thereby offers to those (fathers) the share which the gods assigned to them; and thus he gratifies those whom the gods recalled to life, and leads his own fathers up to a better world; and whatever injury or loss he suffers through his own unrighteous conduct (or wrong sacrificial performance)³ that is thereby made good to him: that is why he performs this sacrifice (to the fathers).

¹ This is generally called the *Mahâpitṛiyagñā*, as distinguished from the ordinary monthly *Pitṛiyagñā* of the new-moon sacrifice; for which see II, 4, 2, 1 seq.

² See II, 1, 3, 1 seq.

³ Instead of '*ākaraṇena*,' the *Kāṇva* MS. has '*karāṇēna* (!)'. Cf. *Sāyana's* interpretation '*anukaraṇena anugamanena ka*.'

4. He offers a cake on six potsherds to the Pitaraḥ Somavantaḥ, or to Soma Pitṛimat¹. Six doubtless are the seasons, and the fathers are the seasons: hence it is one of six potsherds.

5. Thereupon they parch barley-grain on the Anvâhâryapaṭana (or Dakshinâgni) for the Pitaro Barhishadaḥ². They then grind one half of it; and (the other) half remains thus unground,—this is the parched grain for the Barhis-seated fathers.

6. Then a porridge is (prepared) for the Pitaro 'gnishvâtâtâḥ³ (by the ground half of the parched grain) being mixed with the milk of a cow suckling an adopted calf, by stirring it once with a single splinter. It is indeed once for all that the fathers have departed, and hence it is stirred but once. These are the oblations.

7. Now those (fathers) who have sacrificed with Soma are the Pitaraḥ Somavantaḥ; and those who gain the world (of the gods) by means of cooked (sacrificial food) offered by them are the Pitaro Barhishadaḥ; and they who (have offered) neither the one nor the other, and whom Agni consumes by burning, they are the Pitaro 'gnishvâtâtâḥ. These, then, are the fathers⁴.

8. He takes out [the rice for] that cake of six potsherds, while seated behind the Gârhapatya, and looking southwards, with the sacrificial cord over his right shoulder. From thence he rises and

¹ That is, either to 'the fathers, accompanied by Soma (or possessed of Soma),' or to 'Soma, accompanied by the fathers.' The Black Yagur assigns the oblation to Soma Pitṛimat.

² That is, 'the fathers seated on the barhis.'

³ That is, 'the fathers consumed by the fire.'

⁴ 'These, then, are the three kinds of fathers,' Kâṇva recension.

threshes (the rice), while standing north of the *Dakshina*-fire, with his face towards the south. He cleans it but once¹; since it is once for all that the fathers have departed.

9. He places the two mill-stones on (the black antelope skin, so as to be inclined) towards the south²; and puts the six pots herds on the south part of the *Gârhapatya* hearth. The reason why they keep the southern direction is because that is the region of the fathers: this is why they keep the southern direction.

10. Thereupon he raises a square altar south of the *Dakshinâgni*³. He makes the corners point towards the intermediate quarters. There are doubtless four intermediate quarters, and the fathers are the intermediate quarters: this is why he makes the corners point towards the intermediate quarters.

11. In the centre of this (altar) he lays down the fire. From the east, indeed, the gods came westwards to the men: hence one offers to them while standing

¹ Not thrice, as at an ordinary *ish/i*; see I, 1, 4, 23.

² Not towards the east, as at the *Darsapûrnamâsa*; cf. p. 38, note 3. At offerings to the Manes the south, as a rule, takes the place of the east, the west that of the south, &c.

³ At the conclusion of the *Âptya* ceremony (cf. I, 2, 2, 18-3, 5) he erects south of the (ordinary) *Dakshina*-fire a (quadrangular) shed (see further on, paragraph 20) with a door on the north side. Inside it he prepares a quadrangular altar (of the same size as at the *Darsapûrnamâsa*; cf. I, 2, 5, 14) with the corners towards the intermediate quarters, in the centre of which he makes the (new) *Dakshinâgni* hearth. [According to *Taitt. Br.* I, 6, 8, 5-6 no digging takes place in preparing the altar (which is to be square) at the *Pitriyagña*.] When the *Dakshina*-fire is transferred to the new fire-place, the *Pranîta*-water (see p. 9, note) is carried after it, followed by the Brahman and Sacrificer, and placed east (not north) of the hearth. The laying down of the fire is preceded by the usual fivefold lustration of the hearth (see p. 2).

with his face towards the east. On all sides are the fathers, for the fathers are the intermediate regions, and the intermediate regions are indeed on all sides : this is why he lays down the fire in the centre.

12. From thence he throws the grass-bush (stambayagus) eastwards¹. Having thrown away the grass-bush, he first encloses (the altar) thus (viz. on the west side), then thus (viz. on the north side), then thus (on the east side). Having enclosed it with the first line of enclosure, he (the Adhvaryu) draws (three) lines (across the altar)² and [the Âgnîdhra] removes (from them the dust) which has to be removed. In the same way he encloses it with the second line of enclosure; and having enclosed it with the second line of enclosure, and smoothed it down, he says, 'Place the sprinkling water on (the altar)!' They accordingly place the sprinkling water on (the altar); and the firewood and barhis they lay down beside it³. He (the Âgnîdhra) wipes the spoons. He then walks up (to the altar) with the butter (and

¹ Instead of northwards, as is done at the normal ishî; see I, 2, 4, 12 seq.

² After tracing the first line of enclosure, the Adhvaryu draws three lines across the altar, either from west to east or from south to north; and says to the Âgnîdhra, 'Take thrice!' The latter then takes the dust from the lines and throws it on the utkara (the heap of rubbish, formed north of the altar in preparing the latter), and thereupon again obliterates them. According to Kâty. II, 6, 29, the same ceremony may be performed at the Darsapûrnamâsa; but there no mention is made of it by our author (see I, 2, 5, 12).

³ Viz. the Âgnîdhra lays them down between the altar and the prañîtâh (see p. 422, note 3); the firewood behind (west of) the sacrificial grass (barhis), and both with the tops towards the south. The wooden sword also has been previously put down by the Adhvaryu close behind the prañîtâh.

puts it down thereon¹, north of the sprinkling water). He (the Adhvaryu) takes butter, while 'sacrificially-invested².'

13. Here now they say, 'Let him take butter in the upabhṛit (by) twice (ladling with the dipping spoon); since there are two after-offerings³ at this (sacrifice).' Let him, nevertheless, ladle eight times into the upabhṛit: let him do so, lest he should depart from the manner of the sacrifice. After ladling out butter, and shifting his cord back to the right shoulder,—

14. The Adhvaryu takes the lustral water, and sprinkles first the firewood, and then the altar⁴. Thereupon they hand the sacrificial grass⁵ to him, and he puts it down (on the altar) with the knot to the east. Having thereupon sprinkled it and

¹ The lady of the house not being present at the sacrifice to the Manes, neither the ceremony of girding (I, 3, 1, 12 seq.), nor that of her looking at the butter—while it is taken from the Gârhapatya fire, along the east side of the Âhavanīya to the altar—takes place on this occasion. According to the commentators on Kâty. V, 8, 25 (Paddh. p. 519), however, the Adhvaryu has to look down on the butter, with the same text (Vâg. S. I, 30) which was used by the sacrificer's wife. For some details to be supplied here, see I, 3, 1, 22–28.

² He has hitherto worn his sacrificial cord on the right shoulder and under the left arm ('eastward-invested'), and now shifts it so as to be on the left shoulder and under the right arm ('sacrificially-invested'). As to the taking or ladling of butter into the offering-spoons, see I, 3, 2, 1 seq.

³ See I, 3, 2, 9.

⁴ See I, 3, 3, 1 seq.

⁵ The barhis, on this occasion, must have been cut close to the root (upamûlam, II, 4, 2, 17; ûpamûle ditam, Kânva rec.). According to Taitt. Br. I, 6, 8, 6–7, on the other hand, it has apparently to be torn up with the roots (yat parushi dinam tad devânâm, yad antarâ tan manushyânâm, yat samûlam tat pitṛînâm).

poured out (the lustral water on the lower ends of the grass-stalks), and untied the knot, he (at once) seizes the knot, not the prastara¹;—it is once for all that the fathers have departed: hence he does not take the prastara.

15. After undoing the band, he moves thrice² round from right to left, spreading the sacrificial grass all over (the altar); while spreading it all over from right to left in three layers, he reserves as much as may serve for the prastara-bunch. He then moves again thrice round (the altar) from left to right. The reason why he again moves thrice round from left to right, is that, while the first time he went away from here after those three ancestors of his, he now comes back again from them to this, his own world: that is why he again moves thrice round from left to right.

16. He lays the enclosing-sticks along (the fire, with their tops) towards the south³; and the prastara also he spreads (with the grass-tops) towards the south; nor does he lay down the two vidhr̥tis between (the barhis and the prastara). Once for all the fathers have departed from hence: therefore he lays no vidhr̥tis between.

¹ As he did on the former occasion, I, 3, 3. 5.

² According to Taitt. Br. I, 6, 8, 7, because the fathers abide in the third world from here (*trīṭīye vâ ito loke pitarāḥ*).

³ Viz. he is to lay down the enclosing-sticks along the north, west, and east sides, the last two with their tops towards the south. The third text (cf. I, 3, 4, 4) has, of course, to be changed to 'May Mitra-Varuṇa lay thee around in the east,' &c.; as has also the one he mutters after putting the two sticks on the fire, to 'May the sun guard thee from the south against any imprecation!' (I, 3, 4, 8.) According to Taitt. Br. I, 6, 8, 8—9, on the other hand, he is to lay down only two enclosing-sticks (viz. the middle or western, and the northern one, cf. Sâyana on Taitt. S. II, p. 72).

17. Thereon he lays the *guhû*, and east of it (on the *barhis*) the *upabhrî*. Having then put down the *dhruvâ*, the cake, the parched grain, and the porridge (each east of the preceding one), he touches the oblations.

18. All of them having now become 'sacrificially-invested,' the Sacrificer and Brahman (being) thus (invested) walk round (from the east, along the south) to the west side; and the *Âgnîdhra* (from the west) to the east side (of the fire)¹.

19. They perform this (sacrifice) in a low voice. Secret, indeed, are the fathers, and secret also is (what is spoken) in a low voice: hence they perform (the offering) in a low voice.

20. They perform it in an enclosed place. Secret, indeed, are the fathers, and secret also is that which is enclosed: hence they perform in an enclosed place.

21. While putting firewood (on the fire), he then says (to the *Hotri*), 'Recite to the fire, as it is being kindled!' Only (this) one kindling-verse the *Hotri* recites², (and that) thrice;—the fathers have departed once for all: hence the *Hotri* recites thrice only one kindling-verse.

22. He recites, 'Loving we deposit thee (O Agni), loving we enkindle thee: O loving one, bring

¹ Here he remains standing, while the Sacrificer and Brahman sit down facing the east.

² Instead of the ordinary eleven verses, the first and last of which are recited thrice; see I, 3, 5, 6. According to Taitt. Br. I, 6, 9, 1, the *Adhvaryu* summons the *Hotri* with 'Recite to the fire, as it is being kindled for the gods (and) fathers!' The bunch of firewood, with the exception of one stick, which is reserved for the after-offerings, is divided into three parts, one of which is thrown on the fire at the same time when the syllable 'om' is pronounced by the *Hotri* at the end of the kindling-verse.

hither the loving fathers to eat their oblation! Thereupon he says, 'Bring Agni hither¹! bring Soma hither! bring hither the fathers, accompanied by Soma! bring hither the fathers, seated on the barhis! bring hither the fathers, consumed by Agni! bring hither the butter-drinking gods! bring hither Agni for the Hotri²ship! bring hither (thine) own greatness²!' Having thus called on (Agni) to bring hither (the fathers and gods), he sits down.

23. Having then called³ for the (Âgnîdhra's) 'Sraushat,' he does not elect the Hotri; for this being a sacrifice to the Manes, he does not elect the Hotri⁴, lest he should consign the Hotri to the Manes. He says, 'Hotri, seat thyself!' and takes his seat. The Hotri, having sat down on the Hotri's seat, urges (the Adhvaryu) to proceed; and thus urged, the Adhvaryu takes the two spoons and steps across to the west (of the fire); and having stepped across and called for the 'Sraushat,' he says, 'Pronounce the offering-prayer to the kindling-sticks!' He performs four fore-offerings⁵,

¹ The Kâṇva MS. reads, 'Bring Agni hither, O Agni!' Before this, Âsval. II, 19, 7 inserts, 'Bring hither the gods (and) fathers for the sacrificer!' See I, 4, 2, 16.

² According to the Kâṇva text he adds here the same formula as at ordinary ishâs (I, 4, 2, 17), 'Bring (them) hither, O Gâtavedas, and offer up a good offering!' For the formulas 'Bring hither Agni for the Hotri²ship! bring hither thine own greatness!' Âsval. II, 19, 8 apparently substitutes 'Bring hither Agni Kavyavâhana!' cf. further on, par. 30.

³ 'The Adhvaryu, having offered the two libations of butter, and called for the Sraushat,' Kâṇva recension.

⁴ On the pravara, or election of the (divine and human) Hotri, see I, 4, 2, 1 seq., 5, 1, 1 seq. The call 'Hotri, seat thyself!' here takes the place of the formulas given I, 5, 1, 5 seq.

⁵ See I, 5, 3, 1 seq.

omitting the one to the Barhis; for the barhis means offspring, and he therefore performs the four fore-offerings without the one to the barhis, lest he should consign his offspring to the fathers. Thereupon they proceed with the two butter-portion; and having offered the two butter-portions,—

24. They all shift their sacrificial cord over to the right shoulder, being now about to proceed with those (chief) oblations. The Sacrificer and Brahman, (being) thus (invested), step across (from the west) to the east side, and the Âgnîdhra (from the east) to the west side (of the fire). And furthermore, the (Adhvaryu's) call for the 'Sraushat' is 'Ōm svadhâ!' and the (Âgnîdhra's) response is 'Astu svadhâ!' and the Vashat-call is 'Svadhâ nama!'.

25. As to this, Âsuri said, 'Let them call for the Sraushat (by "Ō Srâvaya"), and let them respond with the "(Astu) Sraushat," and let them pronounce the "Vashat," lest we should depart from the manner of the sacrifice.'

26. [The Adhvaryu] then says, 'Pronounce the invitatory prayer to the fathers, accompanied by Soma!' or '—to Soma, accompanied by the fathers!'—Two invitatory prayers he (the Hotri) pronounces (at the offerings), because it is with one that one moves the gods, and with two the fathers, since the fathers have departed once (for all)²: hence he pronounces two invitatory prayers.

¹ At the sacrifice to the Manes, the Âgnîdhra, when uttering his response, stands south of the Adhvaryu. See p. 132, note. The first syllable of 'svadhâ' is protracted. According to the comm. on Kâty. V, 9, 12, the offering formulae also begin with 'Yē svadhâmahe,' instead of 'Yē yagâmahe' (see I, 5, 2, 16 and note).

² I do not quite see the pertinency of the reason here alleged, unless it be that the author means to say that once (by the first

27. [The Adhvaryu] makes an 'under-layer' of butter (in the *guhû* or offering-spoon). He then cuts a piece from the cake, and together therewith some of the parched grain and the porridge¹. This he puts down at the same time (in the *guhû*); makes two sprinklings of butter thereon; and re-anoints (replenishes with butter, the parts of the sacrificial dishes from which he has made) the cuttings. He does not walk over (to the south side of the fire); but having risen and stepped up (to the fire) on the same side (where he was seated), and called (on the *Āgnīdhra*) for the 'Sraushat', he says (to the *Hotri*), 'Pronounce the offering-prayer to the fathers, accompanied by Soma!' and pours the oblation (into the fire) as soon as the *Vashat*² has been uttered.

act) the fathers have departed, and by a second act they return hither. According to *Āsval.* II, 19, 22, the two invitational prayers to the *Pitarāḥ Somavantaḥ* are Rig-v. X, 15, 1; IX, 96, 11; to Soma *Pitrīmat*, Rig-v. I, 91, 1; 20; to the *Pitaro Barhishadaḥ*, Rig-v. X, 15, 4; 3; to the *Pitaro 'gnishvāttāḥ*, Rig-v. X, 15, 11; 13; [to Yama X, 14, 4; 5.]—The offering-prayers being respectively, Rig-v. X, 15, 5; VIII, 48, 13; X, 15, 2; X, 15, 14; [X, 14, 1.]

Somewhat different the Black Yagus; viz. Soma *Pitrīmat*, *anuvākyās* Rig-v. I, 91, 1; IX, 96, 11; *yāgyā* VIII, 48, 13; *Pitaro Barhishadaḥ*, *anuvākyās* X, 15, 4; 3; *yāgyā* X, 15, 5; *Pitaro 'gnishvāttāḥ*, *anuvākyās* X, 15, 11; 14 (ye 'gnishvāttāḥ, &c. I); *yāgyā 'vānyāyai dugdhe*, &c. [Then either *upahoma* with the formulas X, 15, 1; 2; IV, 2, 16; or] an oblation to *Agni Kavyavāhana* (*anuvākyās*, 1. 'yad agne kavyavāhana,' 2. X, 15, 12; *yāgyā* X, 14, 3) [and another to Yama *Āngirasvat Pitrīmat* (*anuv.* X, 14, 4; 5; *yāgyā* X, 14, 6).] *Taitt. S. I*, 8, 5; II, 6, 12; *Taitt. Br. I*, 6, 9.

¹ From the centre of each sacrificial dish he makes one 'cutting' with the *śritāvadāna*, shaped like a cow's ear. *Kāty. V*, 9, 2, and Schol.

² Or rather the 'Svadhā namaḥ,' cf. par. 24. The Adhvaryu makes the oblation with his left hand, while looking towards the south. *Paddh. on Kāty. V*, 9.

28. Thereupon he says, 'Pronounce the invitatory prayer to the fathers, seated on the barhis!' He then makes an under-layer of butter, takes a 'cutting' from (the north part of) the parched grain, and together therewith some of the porridge and the cake; puts down all this at the same time (in the *guhû*); makes two sprinklings of butter thereon, and re-anoints (the places of) the cuttings. He does not walk across; but having stepped up (to the fire) on the same side and called for the 'Sraushat,' he says, 'Pronounce the offering-prayer to the fathers, seated on the barhis!' and pours out the oblation as soon as the *Vasha* has been uttered.

29. Thereupon he says, 'Pronounce the invitatory prayer to the fathers, consumed by the fire!' He then makes an under-layer of butter, takes a cutting from (the south part of) the porridge, and therewith some of the cake and the parched grains; puts down all this at the same time (in the *guhû*); makes two sprinklings of butter thereon, and re-anoints (the places of) the cuttings. He does not walk across; but having stepped up (to the fire) on the same side, and called for the 'Sraushat,' he says, 'Pronounce the offering-prayer to the fathers, consumed by the fire!' and pours out the oblation as soon as the *Vasha* has been uttered.

30. Thereupon he says, 'Pronounce the invitatory prayer to Agni Kavyavâhana!' that being for (Agni as) the *Svishtakṛit* ('maker of good offering'). For to the gods indeed he is *havyavâhana* ('bearer of oblations'), and to the fathers he is *kavyavâhana* ('the bearer of what is meet for the wise'): hence he says, 'Pronounce the invitatory prayer to Agni Kavyavâhana!'

31. He makes an under-layer of butter (in the offering-spoon); then cuts a piece from (the front part of) the cake, and therewith some of the parched grain and the porridge; puts down all this at the same time; and makes two sprinklings of butter thereon. The (places from which he has made the) cuttings he does not replenish with butter, nor does he walk across; but having stepped up (to the fire) on the same side (where he was seated), and called for the 'Sraushat,' he says, 'Pronounce the offering-prayer to Agni Kavyavâhana!' and pours out the oblation, as soon as the Vashat has been uttered.

32. Now the reason why he does not walk across (to the ordinary place of offering), but pours out the oblation after stepping up (to the fire) on the same side, is that the fathers have departed once for all; and the reason also, why he cuts but once from each of the sacrificial dishes, is that the fathers have departed once for all. And the reason why in making the cuttings, he keeps them together, is that the fathers are the seasons;—he thus keeps the seasons together, joins them to one another: that is why in making the cuttings, he keeps them together.

33. Here now some hand over that entire (remaining) porridge to the Hotri; and the Hotri, having invoked it¹, smells it and hands it to the

¹ According to the comm. on Kâty. V, 9, 13, 'manthah' is, in that case, substituted for 'idâ' in the invocation, see I, 8, 1, 19 seq. The Kânva MS. has as follows: Thereupon, by way of idâ, they place that same porridge into the hand of the Hotri. The Hotri, having invoked it, smells it. They hand it to the Âgnîdhra. The Âgnîdhra smells it. They hand it to the Brahman. The Brahman smells it. As to this Âsuri said, 'As from any other oblation they cut off the "idâ" and the fore-portion, so let them cut off and smell,

Brahman. The Brahman smells it and hands it to the Âgnîdhra; and the Âgnîdhra also smells it. And so indeed they do this. But, as from any other oblation they cut off the *Idâ* and the fore-portion, so let them cut from this also; and having invoked it (the *Idâ*) they smell it, but do not eat it. 'But,' said Âsuri, 'we think that some should be eaten, of whatever is offered up in the fire.'

34. Now he who is about to present (the obsequial cakes to the fathers),—either the Adhvaryu or the Sacrificer,—takes the vessel of water and walks thrice round (the altar) from right to left sprinkling all about (the altar). He then, with the text, 'N. N., wash thyself¹!' pours out water (in the north-west corner of the altar) for the Sacrificer's father² to wash himself; and (in the south-west corner), with 'N. N., wash thyself!' for the grandfather; and (in the south-east corner), with 'N. N., wash thyself!' for the great-grandfather.

but not eat: some indeed must be eaten of that of which offering is made in the fire.'

¹ See II, 4, 2, 16 seq. According to the comm. on Kâty. V, 9, 17, some sprinkle three times round the altar for each of the three ancestors. But according to the Paddhati, he sprinkles once round the altar, beginning from the north-west corner; then he sits down and pours out water in that corner for the father. Thereupon, after walking round in the opposite direction (from left to right) to the south-west corner, he again sprinkles all round, and in the same way pours out water in that corner for the grandfather; and after retracing his steps as far as the south-east corner, he performs the same circumambulation, and pours out water in that corner for the great-grandfather; whereupon he again retraces his steps up to the west of the altar.

² In the case of a sacrificer whose father is still alive, these ceremonies are performed in honour of the father's father, grandfather, and great-grandfather.

As one would pour out water for (a guest) who is to take food with him, so in this case.

35. Thereupon he takes one 'cutting' from the cake and puts it in his left hand; from the parched grain also he takes one cutting and puts it in his left hand; and from the porridge also he takes one cutting and puts it in his left hand.

36. And in the corner (of the altar) opposite this intermediate quarter (viz. the north-west), he then presents (an obsequial cake¹) to the Sacrificer's father, with the formula, 'N. N., this for thee!' And in the corner opposite this intermediate quarter (the south-west), he presents one to the Sacrificer's grandfather, with 'N. N., this for thee!' And in the corner opposite this intermediate quarter (the south-east), he presents one to the Sacrificer's great-grandfather, with 'N. N., this for thee!' And in the corner opposite this intermediate quarter (the north-east), he cleanses (his hands), with the text (Vâg. S. II, 31), 'Here, O Fathers, regale yourselves! Like bulls come hither, each to his own share!' whereby he means to say, 'Eat ye each his share!' And the reason why he thus presents (food) to the Fathers is that in this way he does not exclude his own fathers from this sacrifice.

37. Thereupon they all, being sacrificially invested, walk out (of the shed) on the north side, (pass along the east side of, and) stand by the (north) side of, the Âhavantya fire. For he who has established his fires, and performs the New and Full-moon sacrifices, approaches the gods; but they have just been

¹ He mixes the three pieces (about as much as a thumb's joint each) cut from the sacrificial dishes, and forms them into three *pindās* or round cakes.

performing the sacrifice to the Manes, and therefore they now propitiate the gods.

38. They stand by the Âhavantya fire (worshipping) with two (verses) addressed to Indra [viz. Rig-veda I, 82, 2-3; Vâg. S. III, 51-52], since the Âhavantya is Indra. 'The friends have eaten, and regaled themselves, and have shaken off (the enemies)¹; the self-shining bards have extolled (thee) with their newest hymn: yoke, then, thy pair of bay steeds, O Indra!—To thee, the splendid, we will sing praises, O bountiful one! Thus praised, do thou now issue forth, with well-filled car, agreeably to our desire! yoke, then, thy pair of bay steeds, O Indra!'

39. Thereupon they return to the Gârhapatya and stand by it worshipping with the verses (Rig-veda X, 57, 3-5; Vâg. S. III, 53-55), 'We invoke the Mind with man-lauding strain², and with the hymns of the fathers.—May the Mind come back to us for (us to obtain) wisdom, vigour, and life, and that we may long see the sun!—May the divine race restore to us the Mind, O Fathers, that we may abide with the living kind!' They have indeed been performing the sacrifice to the Manes; but now they return to the (land of the) living: hence he says, 'That we may abide with the living kind!'

40. Thereupon he who has presented (the obsequial cakes) again shifts his sacrificial cord to the right shoulder and betakes himself (to the fire in the shed), and mutters (Vâg. S. II, 31), 'The

¹ '—the friends have shaken off (their intoxication),' Ludwig; '—they showered down upon us delightful gifts,' Grassmann; 'they shook their dear (bodies),' Sâyana; '—have trembled through their precious (bodies),' Wilson.

² The Rig-veda has 'somena' instead of 'stomena.'

Fathers have regaled themselves: like bulls they came each to his share:’ whereby he means to say, ‘they have eaten each his own share.’

41. He now takes the vessel of water and again, while sprinkling, walks thrice round (the altar) from left to right (sunwise). With ‘N. N., wash thyself!’ he pours out water (in the respective corner) for the Sacrificer’s father to wash himself; with ‘N. N., wash thyself!’ for the grandfather; with ‘N. N., wash thyself!’ for the great-grandfather. As one would pour out water for (a guest) who has taken food with him, so in this case. And as to his again walking thrice round from left to right, while sprinkling,—they think, ‘This holy work of ours shall be accomplished sunwise¹,’ and hence he walks thrice round from left to right, while sprinkling.

42. He then pulls down the tuck (of the nether garment)² and makes obeisance (to the Fathers). The tuck, doubtless, is sacred to the Fathers: hence he makes obeisance to them after pulling down the tuck; and obeisance means worship: hence he thereby recognises them as entitled to worship. Six times he makes obeisance to them, since there are six seasons, and the Fathers are the seasons: hence he thereby establishes his sacrifice in the seasons,—that is why he makes obeisance six times³. ‘Give houses

¹ The Kâṇva text has, ‘The reason why he moves thrice round, sprinkling from left to right, is that, after going after those three ancestors of his, he thereby leaves them, and returns to this, his own, world.’ See II, 6, 1, 15.

² On the *nîvi*, or unwoven end of the waist-cloth (Hindi *dhoti*, Mahr. *dhotar*), which had to be passed under and tucked up behind, at the beginning of the present ceremony, see p. 368, note 2. Cf. *Âpast. Dharmas.* I, 2, 6, 19.

³ For the six formulas used for this purpose; see p. 368, note 2.

unto us, O Fathers!' he (further) says, because the Fathers are the guardians of houses;—and this is the prayer for blessing at this sacred performance.

43. Being now about to proceed with the after-offerings, they all invest themselves sacrificially (by shifting the cord over to the left shoulder); and thus (invested) the Sacrificer and Brahman walk round to the west, and the Âgnîdhra to the east, side; and the Hotri sits down on the Hotri's seat.

44. He (the Adhvaryu) then says, 'Brahman, I shall step forward.' Thereupon he puts the stick (reserved at the time of kindling) on (the fire), and says, 'Agnîdh, trim the fire!' He then takes the two spoons and crosses over to the west side. After crossing over and calling for the 'Sraushat,' he says (to the Hotri), 'Pronounce the offering-prayer to the gods!' He performs two after-offerings, omitting the one to the Barhis; for the Barhis means offspring: hence he performs two after-offerings, omitting the one to the Barhis, lest he should consign his offspring to the Fathers.

45. He then separates the two spoons¹, after laying them down (in their respective places on the altar); and having separated them, and anointed the enclosing-sticks, he takes one enclosing-stick, calls for the 'Sraushat,' and says, 'The divine Hotris are summoned for the proclamation of success, the human is called upon for the song of praise!' The Hotri intones the 'song of praise (sûktavâka).' The Adhvaryu, on the other hand, does not seize the prastara-bunch, but watches while the Hotri recites the song of praise.

¹ See I, 8, 3, 1 seq.

46. Thereupon the Āgnīdhra says, 'Throw it after!' He (the Adhvaryu) throws nothing after, but silently touches himself.

47. He (the Āgnīdhra) then says, 'Discourse together!' [The Adhvaryu asks], 'Has he gone (to the gods), Agnīdh?'—'He has gone!'—'Bid (the gods) hear!'—'May one (or, they) hear!'—'Good-speed to the divine Hotṛis! Success to the human!—Pronounce the All-hail and blessing!' Thus saying, he merely touches the enclosing-sticks, but does not (now) throw them (into the fire). The Barhis and enclosing-sticks he throws in afterwards².

48. And here some throw also the remaining sacrificial food into the fire; but let him not do so; for that (remaining havis) is the residue of an offering; and lest he should offer the residue of an offering, let them (the priests) rather throw it into the water or eat it.

SECOND BRĀHMAṆA.

1. Verily, by means of the Great Oblation the gods slew Vṛitra; by it they gained that supreme authority which they now wield. Now whichever of them were hit by (the Asuras') arrows in that battle, those same darts they extracted, those they pulled out, by performing the Tryambaka-offerings.

2. And, accordingly, when he performs those offerings, he either does so hoping that thus no arrow

¹ See I, 8, 3, 19 seq.

² Viz. after the strewing of the Veda,—see I, 9, 2, 24, the formulas being pronounced by the Hotṛi on this occasion,—at the time when the Samish/ayagus, which is here omitted, would have to be performed in an ordinary ishā.

(misfortune) will hit any of his, or because the gods did so. And thereby he delivers from Rudra's power both the descendants that are born unto him and those that are unborn; and his offspring is brought forth without disease and blemish. This is why he performs these offerings.

3. They are (offered) to Rudra : Rudra's, indeed, is the dart; and hence (these offerings) belong to Rudra. They consist of (cakes) on one potsherd: 'To one deity they shall belong!' so (he thinks, and) therefore they consist of (cakes) on one potsherd.

4. There is one for each individual,—as many as he has descendants,—exceeded by one. (There being) one for each individual, he thereby delivers from Rudra's power the descendants that are born unto him; and there being an additional one, he thereby delivers from Rudra's power the descendants that are not yet born to him: this is why there are (as many cakes as there are descendants) exceeded by one.

5. He takes out (the rice for) those (cakes), while seated behind the Gârhapatya, sacrificially invested and facing the north. From thence he rises and threshes (the rice), while standing with his face towards the north. He places the two mill-stones on (the black antelope skin, so as to incline) towards the north; and puts the potsherds on the north side of the Gârhapatya hearth. As to why they keep the northern quarter,—that indeed is the quarter of that god (Rudra), and hence they keep the northern quarter.

6. They (the cakes) may be anointed (with ghee),—for the havis is anointed¹;—but let them rather be

¹ This refers to the so-called *prâṇadâna*, or 'bestowal of life

unanointed ; for, indeed, Rudra would be hankering after the (sacrificer's) cattle, if he were to anoint (the cakes): let them therefore be unanointed.

7. Having removed all (the cakes from the potsherds) into one dish, and taken a fire-brand from the Dakshina-fire, he walks aside towards the north—for that is the region of that god—and offers. He offers on a road,—for on roads that god roves ; he offers on a cross-road,—for the cross-road, indeed, is known to be his (Rudra's) favourite haunt¹. This is why he offers on a cross-road.

8. He offers with the central leaflet of a palâsa-leaf. The palâsa-leaf, truly, is the Brahman (priesthood)²: with the Brahman, therefore, he offers. He takes a cutting from (the northern part of) all the cakes ; from the additional one alone he takes no cutting.

(or soul),’ that is, the anointing of the sacrificial dishes with ghee, previously to their being placed on the altar. The anointing takes place with the text (Vâg. S. ed. p. 35), ‘That life (or soul, *prâna*) of thine which has entered into the cattle, and becomes diffused through the various forms of the gods,—endowed with (that) life (*âtman-vân*)—for thou art laden with ghee—go to Agni, O Soma ! and obtain bliss (*svar*) for the Sacrificer !’ Kâty. II, 8, 14. At the new and full-moon sacrifice, this ceremony is not even alluded to in our Brâhmaṇa, either in this or the Kâṇva recension. See I, 3, 4, 16. The Kâṇva text reads, ‘They may be anointed,’ so they say, &c.

¹ ‘He offers on a cross-road, for such is the halting-place (*paḍ-bîsa*) of the Agnis,’ Taitt. Br. I, 6, 10, 3.

² ‘The central leaflet of the palâsa-leaf is the Brahman,’ Kâṇva text. The leaf of the palâsa (*Butea Frondosa*) consists of three leaflets,—leathery, above shining and pretty smooth, and below slightly hoary ; the central (or terminal) one being obovate and considerably larger than the lateral ones (which, according to Roxburgh, *Flora Ind.*, III, p. 244, are from 4 to 6 inches long, and from 3 to 4½ broad). ‘Palâsasâkhâyâm yâni trîṇi parṇâni tatra madhyamam parṇam prasastayâ srugrûpam,’ Sây. on Taitt. S. I, 8, 6.

9. He offers¹, with the text (Vâg. S. III, 57 a), 'This is thy share, O Rudra! graciously accept it together with thy sister Ambikâ! Svâhâ!' Ambikâ², indeed, is the name of his (Rudra's) sister; and this share belongs to him conjointly with her; and because that share belongs to him conjointly with a woman (strī), therefore (these oblations) are called Tryambakâḥ. Thereby, then, he delivers from Rudra's power the descendants that have been born unto him.

10. Now as to that additional (cake),—he buries it in a mole-hill³, with the text (Vâg. S. III, 57 b), 'This is thy share, O Rudra! the mole is thy animal (victim).' He thus assigns to him the mole as the only animal⁴, and he (Rudra) does not therefore injure any other animal. Then as to why he buries (the cake): concealed, indeed, are embryos, and concealed also is what is buried,—that is why he buries it. By this (offering) he delivers from the power of Rudra those descendants of his, that are not yet born.

¹ He consecrates, by the usual fivefold lustration, some spot on a cross-way, to the north of the sacrificial ground, and after laying down the fire-brand taken from the Dakshinâgni, he offers thereon, using the central leaflet of a palâra-leaf as the offering-spoon.

² In Taitt. Br. I, 6, 10, 4, this sister of Rudra is identified with the autumn, wherewith the god is wont to kill (viz. by means of catarrh, fever, &c., Sây.). See also Weber, Ind. Stud. I, 183; Muir, Original Sanskrit Texts, vol. iv. p. 321.

³ 'Ākhût-kara,' 'ākhukarīsha,' Kāṇva text. Possibly a mouse-hole, or the earth thrown up by a mouse, is meant. See p. 278, note 3. Cf. Taitt. Br. I, 6, 10, 2: 'N. N. is thy victim,' thus saying, let him indicate the one he (the Sacrificer) hates; thereby he delivers over to him (Rudra) the one he hates. If he hate no one, let him say, 'the mole (mouse) is thy victim.'

⁴ 'Thus he makes over to him only the mole as victim, and puts it into his mouth,' Kāṇva text.

11. Thereupon they return (to the fire) and mutter (Vâg. S. III, 58, 59), 'We have satisfied the claims of Rudra, satisfied the divine Tryambaka, that he may make us richer, that he may make us more prosperous, that he may render us steady in our purpose. —Thou (O Rudra) art a remedy for the cow, a remedy for the horse, a remedy for man; a blessing for the ram and the ewe.' This is the prayer for blessing at this performance.

12. They then walk thrice round the altar not sun-wise, beating their left thighs (with the right hand), with the text (Vâg. S. III, 60 a), 'We worship Tryambaka, the fragrant increaser of prosperity. Even as a gourd (is severed) from its stem, so may I be severed from death, not from immortality!' This is the prayer for blessing at this performance: thereby they invoke a blessing (upon the Sacrificer), for verily blessed is he who shall be severed from death, not from immortality. That is why he says, 'May I be severed from death, not from immortality.'

13. Let the maidens then also walk round, thinking, 'May we enjoy prosperity!' That sister of Rudra, named Ambikâ, indeed is the dispenser of happiness: hence the maidens also should walk round, thinking, 'May we enjoy prosperity!'

14. The text (prescribed) for them is (Vâg. S. III, 60 b), 'We worship Tryambaka, the fragrant bestower of husbands. Even as a gourd (is severed) from its stem, so may I be severed from this (world), not from thence (yonder world)!' By saying 'from this,' she means to say 'from my relatives;' and by saying 'not from thence,' she means to say 'not from husbands.' Husbands, doubtless, are the support of woman: hence she says 'not from thence.'

15. Then they (the Sacrificer and priests) again walk round thrice sunwise, beating their right thighs, with the same text. As to why they again walk round thrice sunwise,—they think, ‘Sunwise this sacred work of ours shall be accomplished,’ and therefore they again walk thrice round sunwise.

16. The Sacrificer now takes those (remains of the cakes) into his joined palms and throws them upwards higher than a cow can reach¹. Thereby they cut out his (Rudra’s) darts from their bodies. If they fail to catch them², they touch (those that have fallen to the ground). Thereby they make them medicine, and hence, if they fail to catch them, they touch them.

17. Having then packed them into two net-work baskets and tied them to the two ends of either a bamboo staff or the beam of a balance, he steps

¹ ‘Yathā gaur nodāpnuyāt.’ ‘Yāvad gaur nodāpnuyāt tāvat,’ Kāṇva text. Sāyana takes *go* to mean ‘earth,’ and interprets, ‘in such a way that the earth does not obtain it (i. e. that they do not fall to the ground).’ Kāty. prescribes, V, 10, 18, The Sacrificer, with his joined open hands, throws the Rudra-cakes upwards as high as not to be reachable by a cow (*agoḥprāpanam*); 19, He catches them; 20, If they cannot be (caught), then touching (of those that have fallen on the ground).

² I adopt (not without reluctance) Sāyana’s interpretation of *vilipsantaḥ* (= *labdhum asaktāḥ*), which seems to be that of Kātyāyana also. The St. Petersburg Dict. takes it in the sense of ‘(if they are) desirous of distributing them.’ Taitt. Br. I, 6, 10, 5 has merely ‘*utkiranti bhagasya lipsante*,’ ‘they throw (them) up, (whereby) they desire to obtain prosperity.’ Āpastamba, as quoted by Sāy. on Taitt. S. I, 8, 6, says,—Having thrown up the cakes and caught them again (*pratilabhya*), and having, with ‘We worship Tryambaka,’ put them into the Sacrificer’s joined palms; and having taken them up separately (*ṇapādāya*), with (or thinking) ‘We desire to obtain you of (ṇfrom) Bhaga;’ let them put them together (*samāvapeyuh*) thrice in this way.

aside towards the north; and if he meets with a tree or a stake or a bamboo or an ant-hill, he fastens them thereon, with the text (Vâg. S. III, 61), 'These, O Rudra, are thy provisions; therewith depart beyond the Mûgavats!'—(supplied) with provisions people indeed set out on a journey: hence he thereby dismisses him supplied with provisions whithersoever he is bound. Now in this case his journey is beyond the Mûgavats: hence he says, 'Depart beyond the Mûgavats!'—'with thy bow unstrung and muffled up—,' whereby he means to say, 'Depart propitious, not injuring us¹;' 'Clad in a skin,'—whereby he lulls him to sleep²; for while sleeping he injures no one: hence he says, 'Clad in a skin.'

18. They then turn to the right about, and return (to the uttaravedi) without looking back. Having returned thither, they touch water; for they have been performing a ceremony relating to Rudra³, and water is (a means of) purification: with water, that (means of) purification, they accordingly purify themselves.

19. Thereupon he shaves his hair and beard, and takes up the fire (of the uttaravedi),—for only after changing his place (to the ordinary sacrificial ground) he performs the (Full-moon) sacrifice on that fire, since it is not proper that he should perform the

¹ In the Vâg. Samhitâ this forms part of the text, but it is clearly a gloss taken from the Brâhmana. The Kâṇva recension of the Brâhmana has '—pinâkâvasa ity ahimsan na^h siva^h sânto 'tîhîty evaitad âha,' which has likewise found its way into the Samhitâ of that school. On the Mûgavats, see Muir, Orig. Sanskrit Texts, vol. ii. p. 352.

² According to Kâty. V, 10, 22, he mutters the word 'skin-clad' while steadying the two baskets.

³ See p. 2, note 2.

Agnihotra on the uttaravedi: for this reason he changes his place. Having gone to the house, and 'churned out' the fires¹, he performs the Full-moon offering. The Seasonal offerings, doubtless, are detached sacrifices; whereas the Full-moon offering is a regular, established sacrifice: hence he finally establishes himself by means of that regular sacrifice, and therefore changes his place (to the ordinary sacrificial ground).

THIRD BRÂHMANA.

1. Verily, imperishable is the righteousness of him that offers the Seasonal sacrifices; for such a one gains the year, and hence there is no cessation for him. He gains it (the year) in three divisions, he conquers it in three divisions. The year means the whole, and the whole is imperishable (without end): hence his righteousness is indeed imperishable. Moreover, he thereby becomes a Season, and as such goes to the gods; but there is no perishableness in the gods, and hence there is imperishable righteousness for him. This, then, is why he offers the Seasonal sacrifices.

2. Then as to why he should perform the Sunâsîrya offering. The prosperity (sri) that accrued to the gods on performing the Sâkamedha offerings, and gaining the victory (over Vṛitra), is suna; and the essence (rasa) that belonged to the year gained by them is sîra². Now that same prosperity which

¹ See II, 5, 2, 48.

² The author identifies sîra (plough) with sâra, 'essence, sap'; and takes suna, ploughshare (?), as identical with sunam, 'successfully, prosperously.' See next page, note 3.

accrued to the gods on performing the Sâkamedha offerings, and that same essence which belonged to the year gained by them,—both these he takes possession of and makes his own: that is why he performs the *Sunâsîrya*.

3. The mode of its performance (is as follows): They prepare no *uttaravedi*; they do not use clotted butter; nor do they churn the fire¹. There are five fore-offerings, three after-offerings, and one *Samish-tayagus*.

4. Then, in the first place, there are those five (regular) oblations². By means of these oblations, indeed, *Pragâpati* produced creatures; with them he delivered the creatures both ways from *Varuna*'s noose; with them the gods slew *Vṛitra* and gained that victory which was gained by them. And so does he, by means of them, obtain and make his own, both that prosperity which accrued to the gods from performing the Sâkamedha offerings, and that essence of the year which was gained by them. This is why those five oblations are (offered).

5. Then follows a *Sunâsîrya*³ cake on twelve

¹ But see XI, 5, 2, 8, 'At all four of these (*Kâturmâsya* offerings) they churn the fire.' On account of this contradiction, the commentators, on *Kâty. V, 11, 3*, consider the churning of the fire as optional. But, if the fires were produced by 'churning,' nine fore-offerings and after-offerings would have to be performed, as at the other Seasonal sacrifices, which is expressly forbidden in the above passage. According to *Kâty. himself*, the *Sunâsîrya* is to be treated like an ordinary *ishî*, except that the *barhis* is to be tied together in the way prescribed for the Seasonal offerings; see II, 5, 1, 18.

² See II, 5, 1, 8-11.

³ That is, according to *Kâty. V, 11, 5*, to *Suna* and *Sîra*,—probably the ploughshare and plough, considered as two tutelary deities of agricultural pursuits (*Rig-veda IV, 57, 5-8*); but by *Yâska* identified with *Vâyu* and *Âditya*;—or, according to *Taitt. S. I, 8,*

potsherds. The import of this Sunâsrya oblation is what we have stated before.

6. After that there is an (oblation of) milk¹ to Vâyu. Now it is to milk that living beings readily take, when they are born: 'May the creatures readily take to me—now that I have gained the victory (by means of the Sâkamedha offerings)—for my prosperity, glory, and support!' so he thinks, and hence that (oblation of) milk.

7. Then as to why it is (offered) to Vâyu. Now Vâyu, indeed, is yonder blowing (wind); it is he that makes swell whatever rain falls here. But it is by the rain that plants grow; and on the plants being eaten and the water drunk, milk is produced out of that water. Hence it is he (Vâyu) that produces it; and for this reason it is (offered) to Vâyu.

8. Then follows a cake on one potsherd for Sûrya. Now Sûrya, indeed, is yonder scorching (sun); it is he that governs all this (world), now by means of a good, now by a bad (king)²; he assigns its place to everything here, now under a good, now under a bad (king): 'Now that I have obtained the victory, may he, in his pleasure, govern me through a good (king), may he assign to me a place under a good (king)!' thus he thinks; and for this reason there is a cake on one potsherd for Sûrya.

9. The priests' fee for this (oblation to Sûrya)

7, 1, Taïtt. Br. I, 7, 1, 1, to Indra Sunâsîra (i.e. Indra, accompanied by Suna and Sîra, Sây.).

¹ According to Kâty. V, 11, 6-10, the milk, in this case, is to be offered quite fresh (and warm) from the cow, without having been put on the fire. Rice-gruel may, however, be offered instead.

² Or, 'now by good, now by bad (means).'

is a white horse¹; whereby it is made of the characteristic form of yonder scorching (sun). If he be unable to procure a white horse, it may be a white bull; whereby it is likewise made of the characteristic form of yonder scorching (sun).

10. He may offer the *Sunâsîrya* at the same time when he performs the *Sâkamedha* offerings. By offering (Seasonal sacrifices) three times in the year, he indeed obtains the (whole) year: he may therefore offer (the *Sunâsîrya*) at any time².

11. Here now some wish to take possession of the nights; and should he wish to take possession of the nights, let him offer the *Sunâsîrya* (on the day) when, previously to the full-moon of *Phâlguna*, (the new moon) becomes visible in yonder sky.

12. Let him then get consecrated (for the Soma-sacrifice), lest the *Phâlguna* full-moon again pass by without his offering (Soma). For were the *Phâlguna* full-moon again to pass by without his having

¹ According to *Taitt. S. I, 8, 7*, *Taitt. Br. I, 7, 1, 2*, the *Dakshinâ* consists of a plough yoked with twelve oxen.

² That is to say, he may perform the *Sunâsîrya*, either immediately after the *Sâkamedhâ*, or at any time within four months after that sacrifice (*comm. on Kâty. V, 11, 3*). Our author, however, evidently favours the views set forth in the succeeding paragraphs. According to these, the householder who wishes to discontinue the Seasonal offerings after the first round, and to become a Soma-sacrificer, is to perform the *Sunâsîrya* on the first day of the waxing moon of *Phâlguna*, and then to undergo the *dîkshâ*, or rite of consecration for the Soma-sacrifice (see *III, 1, 2, 1 seq.*), either immediately or before the approaching full-moon, when he is to perform the *Agnishôma* (or an animal offering to Agni and Soma or an *Âgneyî ishî*, *Kâty. V, 11, 15*). If, on the other hand, he intends to continue the *Kâturmâsyas* for another year (or more), he is to perform the *Sunâsîrya* on the *upavasatha*, or day preceding the full-moon.

offered (Soma), he would certainly have to begin anew (to perform the Seasonal offerings): hence the Phâlguna full-moon should not again pass by without his offering Soma. Such (is the rule) for him who discontinues (the Seasonal offerings).

13. And in the case of one who recommences (the Seasonal offerings),—let him perform the Sunâstria on the day preceding the Phâlguna full-moon, and on the following day the Vaisvadeva, and after that the Full-moon offering. This, then, (is the rule) for him who recommences (the Seasonal offerings).

14. Then as to (the Sacrificer) shaving his head all round¹. Now yonder sun, indeed, faces every quarter; it drinks up whatever (moisture) it dries up here: hence this (Sacrificer) thereby faces every quarter and becomes a consumer of food.

15. This fire also faces every quarter, since it burns all they put into it from whatsoever quarter: hence this (Sacrificer) thereby faces every quarter and becomes a consumer of food.

16. This man, on the other hand, faces but one quarter; but by shaving his head all round he comes to face every quarter; and whosoever, knowing this, has his head shaved all round, becomes just such a consumer of food as those two: let him therefore have his head shaved all round.

17. And on this point Âsuri said, 'What in the world has it to do with his face, even if he were to shave off all the hair of his head! It is by offering

¹ 'Parivartayate' ('nivartayate,' Kâṇva), lit. 'he causes himself to be turned round,' is the technical expression for having one's head shaved all round (the *sikhâ*, or lock of hair on the crown of the head).

thrice in the year that he comes to face all the quarters and becomes a consumer of food : let him therefore not trouble himself about shaving his head.'

FOURTH BRÂHMAṆA.

1. Now when it is said, that the gods, by means of the Sâkamedha offerings, slew *Vṛitra* and gained that supreme authority which they now wield,—it is rather by means of all the Seasonal sacrifices that the gods slew *Vṛitra*; it is by all of them that they gained that supreme authority which they now wield.

2. They spake, 'With what king, with what leader¹ shall we fight?' Agni spake, 'With me for your king, with me for your leader!' With Agni for their king, with Agni for their leader, they gained four months; and with the Brahman (sacerdotium) and the threefold science they encompassed them.

3. They spake, 'With what king, with what leader shall we fight?' Varuṇa spake, 'With me for your king, with me for your leader!' With Varuṇa for their king, with Varuṇa for their leader, they gained other four months; and with the Brahman and the threefold science they encompassed them.

4. They spake, 'With what king, with what leader shall we fight?' Indra spake, 'With me for your king, with me for your leader!' With Indra for their king, with Indra for their leader, they gained other four months; and with the Brahman and the threefold science they encompassed them.

¹ Anîka (? 'van-guard'). cf. V, 3, 1, 1 'senâyâḥ senânîr anîkam;' II, 5, 3, 2.

5. And, accordingly, when he performs the Vaisvadeva, he thereby gains four months, with Agni for his king, with Agni for his leader. Then (in shaving) are used a porcupine's quill spotted in three places, and a copper razor; that three-spotted porcupine's quill resembles the threefold science, and the copper razor resembles the Brahman; for the Brahman is fire, and fire is of reddish (lohita) colour: hence a copper (loha) razor is used. Therewith he has (his head) shaved all round¹; and thus he (the Adhvaryu) encompasses him with the Brahman and the threefold science.

6. And when he performs the Varunapraghâsa offerings, he thereby gains other four months, with Varuna for his king, with Varuna for his leader. Then a three-spotted quill of a porcupine and a copper razor are used, wherewith he has himself shaved all round; and thus he (the priest) encompasses him with the Brahman and the threefold science.

7. And when he performs the Sâkamedha offerings, he thereby gains other four months, with Indra for his king, with Indra for his leader. Then a three-spotted quill of a porcupine and a copper razor are used, wherewith he has himself shaved; and thus he (the priest) encompasses him with the Brahman and the threefold science.

8. And when he performs the Vaisvadeva, then he becomes Agni, and attains to union with Agni and to co-existence in his world. And when he performs the Varunapraghâsa offerings, then he becomes Varuna, and attains to union with Varuna

¹ See p. 448, note 1.

and to co-existence in his world. And when he performs the Sâkamedha offerings, then he becomes Indra, and attains to union with Indra and to co-existence in his world¹.

9. And in whatever season he goes to yonder world, that season passes him on to the next season, and that season again passes him on to the next season,—he who performs the Seasonal sacrifices reaches the highest place, the supreme goal. Wherefore it is said, ‘They find not him that offereth the Seasonal offerings, for verily he goeth unto the highest place, to the supreme goal².’

¹ The Kâṇva text adds: And when he performs the Sunâsîriya, then he becomes Vâyu, and attains to union with Vâyu and to co-existence in his world.

² The Kâṇva text has: In whatever season the performer of Seasonal offerings goes to yonder world, that season passes him on to the next season, and that next one to the next one,—him the seasons, by transmission, make thus attain to the highest station, to the highest world. Wherefore is it said, ‘They find not him that offereth the Seasonal offerings, for he conquereth the highest world, the highest conquest (paramam hy eva lokam paramam gitim gayatîti).’

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

- Page 15, note 1. The pole of Indian carts is itself firmly bound with thongs.
- P. 27, paragraph 10. Read,—Väg. S. I, 15 b; I, 15 c.
- P. 28, par. 12, and note 2. The Kāṇva text has the correct order of castes: 'tāny etāni kṛtvāri vāka chhīti brāhmaṇasyāgahy ādraveti rāganyasya ka vaisyasya śādhāveti śūdrasya.'
- P. 47, par. 1. The Taitt. S. (II, 6, 6) has a somewhat different version of this legend:—Agni had three elder brothers. While carrying the oblations to the gods, they perished. Agni was afraid, 'In like manner this one will meet with destruction (ārtim āriṣhyati).' He concealed himself. He entered the waters. The gods wished to find him. A fish betrayed him. He cursed it, 'May (people) kill thee by whatever means they can devise (dhiyā-dhiyā), who hast betrayed me!' Hence they kill the fish by whatever means they can devise, for he is accursed. They found him, and said to him, 'Come back to us and carry our oblation!' He said, 'I will ask a boon: whatever portion of the taken (ghee) shall fall outside the enclosing-sticks, before it is offered, that shall be my brothers' portion!' Hence whatever portion of the taken (ghee) falls outside the enclosing-sticks, that is their portion: with that he satisfies them.
- P. 47, par. 2. The Kāṇva text reads,—'They followed Indra even as now-a-days also a Brāhman follows a Kshatriya blessing him (āśamsamāno 'nukarati).'
- P. 85, par. 6. Read,—for this represents the fringe (of the Sacrificer's nether garment), and it is on the right side that the fringe (is tucked in) . . . for the fringe also is covered (by being tucked in). Cf. below to p. 368.
- P. 118, line 18. Read,—'Thine' instead of 'Your.'
- P. 164, par. 2. Professor Delbrück, Syntaktische Forschungen II, p. 118, translates, 'And from the mouth which had been drinking surā, the sparrow sprang: hence the latter sings so merrily, for indeed he sings so merrily as if it had drank surā.' Differently, however, *ibid.* III, p. 64.
- P. 175, par. 1. Compare also the corresponding legend in Taitt. Br. I, 6, 7, 4:—Indra, having slain Vṛitra, went to the farthest distance, thinking 'I have committed a sin (aparādhā, ? I have missed him).' He said, 'Who will find this out?' The Maruts said, 'We will choose a boon, then we shall know: let the first offering be made to us!' They sported on him (Vṛitra), &c. (According to Sāyana, on Taitt. S. I, 8, 4, Indra flees from fear and says, within the Marut's hearing, 'Is Vṛitra dead or not? Who will go near him and find it out?' &c.)
- P. 183, par. 1. According to Sāyana, on Taitt. Br. I, 1, 3, 10, it was the Soma-plant (soma-vallī) that was carried off by Gāyatrī devatā, and one of its leaves (parṇa) was broken off, and on falling to the ground became a palāśa tree. See also Taitt. S. VI, 1, 6; Sat. Br. III, 2, 4, 1 seq.; Weber, Ind. Stud. II, 312 seq.
- P. 184, note 4. Add,—Compare Max Müller, Hist. of Anc. Sansk. Lit., p. 352.
- P. 206, par. 19. Correct,—'Bhāllaveya' (also II, 1, 4, 6).
- P. 288, note 2. On the etymology of nakṣatra, see also Max Müller, Rig-veda-Samhitā IV, p. lxxi note.
- P. 310, pars. 8-9. Correct,—'And whichever (of the Asuras) they (the gods) slew, he indeed remained the same (viz. alive). In consequence of this the gods were left inferior.'
- P. 313, par. 20. The paragraph should have been rendered thus:—To Aruṇa Apuṇvesi his kinsmen said, 'Thou art advanced in years: establish thou the fires!' He replied, 'Thereby ye tell me, "keep silence!" he who has established his fires must not speak an untruth, and only by not speaking at all one speaks no untruth: to that extent the service (of the consecrated fire) consists in truth.' Similarly the Kāṇva text,—*arunam haupavesim grātaya ūkū sthāviro vā sy agnī ādhatsveti*.—*sa hovāka tan maitad brūtha vātam-ya evaidhīti mā brūtheti na hy agnī ādhāya mṛishā vaden no vātā vadato mṛishodyam asti tasmād u satyam eva vivadishet*. See Delbrück, Syntaktische Forschungen III, p. 29.
- P. 368, par. 24. Read,—He (the Sacrificer) then pulls down the tuck of his (nether garment) and performs obeisance. Cf. p. 435, note 2.

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.			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	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	.
4 " aspirata	gh	.	.	.	घ	𐬚	𐬚	𐬚	𐬚	𐬚	.
5 Gutturo-labialis	q	.	.	.	.	𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	.
6 Nasalis	h (ng)	.	.	.	ङ	{ 𐬢 (ng) }	.	.	.	.	.
7 Spiritus asper	h	.	.	.	ह	{ 𐬢 (N) }	𐬢	𐬢	𐬢	𐬢	h, hs
8 " lenis . . . . .	,	.	.	.	.	𐬨	𐬨	𐬨	𐬨	𐬨	.
9 " asper faucalis	'h	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
10 " lenis faucalis	'h	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
11 " asper fricatus . . . . .	.	'h	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
12 " lenis fricatus . . . . .	.	'h	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Gutturales modificatæ (palatales, &c.)											
13 Tenuis . . . . .	.	k	.	.	ख	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	k
14 " aspirata . . . . .	.	kh	.	.	ख	.	.	.	.	.	kh
15 Media . . . . .	.	g	.	.	ग	.	.	.	.	.	.
16 " aspirata . . . . .	.	gh	.	.	घ	.	.	.	.	.	.
17 " Nasalis . . . . .	.	ñ	.	.	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	,	y
19 Spiritus asper . . . . .	...	(y)	...	...	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	...
20 " lenis . . . . .	...	(y)	...	...	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	...
21 " asper assibilatus . . . . .	...	s	...	श	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	...
22 " lenis assibilatus . . . . .	...	z	...	...	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	...
Dentales.										
23 Tenuis	t	...	...	त	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	t
24 " aspirata	th	...	...	थ	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	th
25 " assibilata . . . . .	...	...	TH	...	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	...
26 Media	d	...	...	द	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	...
27 " aspirata	dh	...	...	ध	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	...
28 " assibilata . . . . .	...	...	DH	...	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	...
29 Nasalis	n	...	...	न	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	n
30 Semivocalis	l	...	...	𐬨	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	l
31 " mollis 1 . . . . .	...	l	...	...	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	...
32 " mollis 2 . . . . .	...	...	L	...	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	...
33 Spiritus asper 1	s	...	...	स	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	s
34 " asper 2 . . . . .	...	...	s (ʃ)	...	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	...
35 " lenis	z	...	...	...	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	z
36 " asperimus 1 . . . . .	...	...	z (ʒ)	...	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	z
37 " asperimus 2 . . . . .	...	...	z (ʒ)	...	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	z

Dentales modificatae
(linguales, &c.)

38 Tenuis	t	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
39 " aspirata	th	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
40 Media	d	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
41 " aspirata	dh	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
42 Nasalis	n	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
43 Semivocalis	r	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
44 " fricata	r	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
45 " diacritica . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
46 Spiritus asper	sh	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
47 " lenis	zh	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

Labiales.

48 Tenuis	p	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
49 " aspirata	ph	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
50 Media	b	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
51 " aspirata	bh	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
52 Tenuissima . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
53 Nasalis	m	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
54 Semivocalis	w	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
55 " aspirata	hw	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
56 Spiritus asper	f	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
57 " lenis	v	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
58 Anusvāra	m	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
59 Visarga	h	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

