ORIGINAL SANSKRIT TEXTS
ON THE
ORIGIN AND HISTORY
OF
THE PEOPLE OF INDIA,
THEIR RELIGION AND INSTITUTIONS,
COLLECTED, TRANSLATED, AND ILLUSTRATED,
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VOLUME FOURTH.
COMPARISON OF THE VEDIC WITH THE LATER REPRESENTATIONS OF THE
PRINCIPAL INDIAN DEITIES.
SECOND EDITION, REVISED.

LONDON:
TRÜBNER & CO., 57 AND 59, LUDGATE HILL.
1873.
PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

The object which I have had in view in the present Volume is to compare the representations which are given of the Indian deities Brahmā, Vishnu, and Rudra, and of the goddess Ambikā, in the Vedic hymns and Brāhmaṇas, with the accounts which we find in the legendary poems called Itihāsas and Purāṇas, and to show, so far as the materials at our command will allow, to what extent, and by what steps in each case, the earlier conceptions were gradually modified in the later works.

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

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

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

Three of the acts which the earlier legends ascribe to

* See Professor H. H. Wilson’s Essay on the Padma Purāṇa, in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. V., p. 309, reprinted in vol. iii. of his collected works, pp. 74 ff; and the same author’s Oxford Lectures, p. 21. In the preface to his edition of the Nārada Panahātra, published in the Bibliotheca Indica in 1865, p. 4, the Rev. K. M. Banerjea refers to this subject: “Of the three select divinities,” (Brahmā, Vishṇu, and Siva) “the first, however, had never become an object of special adoration, having been guilty of an incestuous attempt on his own daughter.” (See pp. 45 ff. of this volume.) “The incident is thus accounted for in the work now presented to the public.” The words referred to will be quoted below. They occur in the tenth section, vv. 30 ff. It had been previously related that Brahmā had exhorted his son Nārada to take a wife and so people the world (ṣrīkṛṣṇa kuru mahābhūga kṛṣṇa dāra-paurāṇam, v. 5). Hereupon Nārada, who was a votary of Kṛiṣṇa, becomes angry, affirms that devotion to that god is the sole way to attain felicity, and denounces his father as an erring instructor (vv. 7–22). Brahmā in reply curses Nārada, and dooms him to a life of sensuality and subjection to women, etc. (vv. 23–29). Nārada pays back the imprecation in the lines translated by Mr. Banerjea, which I give in the original, with some of those that follow: Tātāyā vachanaṁ śrūtvā chukopa Nārado muniḥ | tāpāṇa pitaraṁ śīhram ādārayati cha | yathākchitam | 31. Apūrya bhava dusṭa teṣaṁ tevan-mantropāsakaḥ kutah | agamyā-gamanēcchā te bhavishyati na saṁśayaḥ | 32. Nāradasya tu dāpena so ’pūrya jagatāṁ | vidhiḥ dhṛishṭaṁ svā-kanyāṁ rūpaṁ cha paśchād dhāvitaṁ pūrā | 33. Puṇaṁ svadehaṁ tasya bhavitaḥ Sanakadībhīḥ | lajñētaḥ kāma-yuktaiḥ cha punar Brahmā bābhūva saḥ | 34. Nāradasya nāmaśkritya pitarair kamalodbhavam | vipra-deham parityajya ganāharvāḥ cha bābhūva saḥ | 30. “Hearing the words of his father, the munī Nārada became incensed, and straightway cursed him dreadfully, as was befitting. 31. ‘Wretch, become no object of adoration: how shall any one be devoted to the forms of thy worship? Thou shalt without doubt lust after her who is no fit object of thy desires.’ 32. Through this curse of Nārada, the creator of the world ceased to be an object of worship. Beholding the beauty of his daughter, he formerly ran after her. 33. Afterwards, being reproached by Sanaka and others, he abandoned his corporeal form. Brahmā afterwards became ashamed, being a slave to lust. 34. And Nārada, having made obeisance to his lotus-born father, forsook his Brahmanical body, and became a Gandharva.” His loves are then related.
him, or to Emūsha, the assumption of the forms of a tortoise, a boar,* and a fish, are in later works transferred to Vishnū (see pp. 27, 33 f., 36 and 38).

The Second Chapter (pp. 63–298) first of all describes the original conception of Vishnū as he is celebrated in the hymns of the Rig-veda (pp. 63–97). The particular attribute by which he is there distinguished from every other deity is that of striding across the heavens by three paces. This phrase is interpreted by one of the ancient commentators as denoting the threefold manifestations of light, as fire on earth, as lightning in the atmosphere, and as the sun in the sky; and by another as designating the three stages of the sun’s daily movement, his rising, culmination, and setting. The latter explanation seems to satisfy best the idea of movement expressed in the description; but the conception is not distinctly developed in any of the texts. Some of the highest divine functions and attributes are also assigned to Vishnū; and we might thus be led to suppose that the authors of these hymns regarded him as the Supreme Deity. But this supposition is invalidated by the fact that Indra is sometimes associated with Vishnū in the performance of these functions, and that several other deities are magnified in terms of similar import (pp. 97–114). The Third Section (pp. 114–121) treats of Vishnū as one of the sons of Aditi. The origin here assigned to this god would lead us to conclude that he was originally considered as of no higher rank than the other beings who bear the same name of Ādityas. The Fourth

* Compare the passage from the Tattiriya Sanhitā, vii. 1, 5, 1, quoted in the first volume of this work, p. 52.
Section (pp. 121–156) contains the legends relating to the same god in the Brāhmaṇas, in which he is identified with sacrifice; while in one of them he is spoken of as a dwarf. The later accounts of the dwarf incarnation are next adduced as recorded in the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata, and in the Vishṇu and Bhāgavata Purāṇas. In the Fifth Section a passage is quoted from the Nirukta (pp. 156 ff.), in which the gods are classified, and the most prominent places are assigned to Agni, Vāyu or Indra, and Sūrya, who seem to have been regarded by the author as the triad of deities in whom the Supreme Spirit was especially revealed, while Vishṇu and Rudra are merely mentioned as gods who were worshipped conjointly with Indra and Soma, respectively. The later triad of Brahmā, Vishṇu and Rudra, seems therefore to have been then unknown. The remainder of this Section (pp. 163–298), and pp. 441–491 of the Appendix, are chiefly occupied by quotations from the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata, containing a great variety of details relating to Rāma and Krishṇa, the two heroes who came ultimately to be regarded as the principal incarnations of Vishṇu; and an attempt is made by an examination of these texts to elucidate the question whether or not a divine nature was ascribed to these two personages by the authors of the two poems as they originally stood. The passages adduced from the Mahābhārata relating to Krishṇa make frequent mention of Mahādeva also, and illustrate the conceptions entertained of him at that epoch of Indian history when they were composed. This Section contains also many texts which indicate the existence of a strong rivalry between the adherents of these
two gods. In different passages here cited, Vishnu and Rudra (Mahadeva) are both described by their respective votaries as one with the Supreme Spirit; while in some places they are identified with one another.

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

A further indication of the various matters illustrated in this Volume will be obtained by consulting the Index under the names Brahmā, Vishnu, Rāma, Kṛṣṇa, Umā, etc.

It will be apparent to all Sanskrit scholars that the
main results at which I have arrived in regard to Vishṇu, Rudra, and Ambikā, are not new. Rosen (in the notes to his translation of the R.V. p. li.), Burnouf (Pref. to Bhāg. Pur. vol. iii. p. xxii.), whose remarks are subjoined in a note,* and Wilson (Pref. to transl. of R.V. i. p. xxxiv.), had already drawn attention to the text of Yāska and to the Commentary of Durga, by which it is shown that the three steps of Vishṇu were interpreted by the ancient commentators in the manner which I have indicated in pp. 64 ff.

In the same way Wilson, Weber, and Whitney (see pp. 394 ff. of this Volume), had pointed out that the Rudra of the Rig-veda is very different from the Rudra or Mahādeva of the Purāṇas. And in pp. 421 ff. I have quoted the dissertations of Professor Weber on the mythological history of Ambikā or Umā. The whole, therefore, that I can claim to have effected is to have brought together, and to have illustrated to the best of my power, all the most important texts which I could

* “We can at this day go further still, and affirm that the Vishṇu of the Vedas is in no way the Vishṇu of the mythologists. A commentator of a certain authority, Durgāchārya, explaining the Nirukta of Yāska, when he arrives at the text of Medhātithi published by Rosen,” (i.e. R.V. i. 22, 17 ff.) “says positively that Vishṇu is the sun, either because he enters into the heaven, or because he entirely occupies it. This interpretation, which he derives from Yāska himself, leaves no doubt on the question what we are to understand by the Vishṇu of the Vedas, who takes three steps. It is manifestly the luminary of day regarded in the three principal moments of his course, his rising, meridional position, and setting; and there is none of the expressions of the Vedic texts in which this god appears, making himself in three steps master of the celestial vault, to which this explanation given by Yāska several centuries before our era does not apply. We learn by this example what prudence it is indispensable to bring to the studies by the aid of which criticism must restore the chain which connects the mythical development of the Indian religion with the conceptions of the primitive naturalism of the Vedas. Neither the identity of the names, nor even that of the sense, is a sufficiently sure guide; and the ideas, though originally simple, are clothed in forms either so different, or so easy to be confounded, that we cannot judge of the details without having understood and embraced the whole.”
discover to have any bearing on the subjects which I have handled.

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

With the exception of a variety of additions, interspersed through the work, which in all fill about 60 pp., but little alteration has been made in this Edition. The most important additions, chiefly in notes, will be found in pp. 39 f., 78 f., 126, 131, 138 f., 143 f., 151–156, 165, 167, 200–203, 255 f., 261 f., 267, 278, 289 f., 298, 301–303, 304, 310, 314 f., 317, 321, 327 ff., 337, 341, 347 f., 351, 393, 403, 406, 413 f., 420, 425, 441 f., 456, 464 f., 472, 474, 476, 491–493, 494, 496, and in the "Additional Notes." The addition in pp. 151–156, from the Matsya Purāṇa, contains a statement (unusual, if not altogether unknown in other Indian works) in reference to Vishnu's incarnations, which represents seven of them as being the result of a curse uttered against the god by Sukra, the priest of the Asuras, whose mother he (Vishnu) had slain. At the same time it is affirmed, strangely enough, that these incarnations, though occasioned by a curse, were intended for the repression of unrighteousness when it should become dominant on the earth.
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REFERENCE has already been made in the second volume of this work (pp. 212–216, 1st ed.) to the great difference which is discoverable between the mythology of the Vedas and that of the Indian epic poems and Purāṇas; and this difference was there illustrated by comparing the representations of Viṣṇu and Rudra which are given in the hymns of the Rig-veda with those which we find in the productions of a later age. On the same occasion I intimated my intention of treating the same subject in greater detail in a subsequent portion of my work. In pursuance of this design, I propose to collect in the present volume the most important texts regarding the origin of the universe, and the characters of the three principal Indian gods, which occur in the Vedic hymns and Brāhmaṇas, and to compare these passages with the later narratives and popular speculations on the same subjects which are to be found in the Mahābhārata, the Rāmāyaṇa, and the Purāṇas.

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

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

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

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

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

TEXTS FROM THE VEDIC HYMNS, BRAHMANAS, AND PURANAS, ETC., RELATING TO THE CREATION OF THE UNIVERSE, AND TO THE DEITIES VISVAKARMA, BRAHMANASPATI, DAKSHA, ADITI, HIRANYAGARBHA, SKAMBHA, PRAJAPATI, PURUSHA NARAYANA, BRAHMA, ETC.

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

SPECULATIONS ABOUT CREATION,—RIG-VEDA, X. 129 (= TAITTIRIYA BRAHMAṆA, ii. 8, 9, 3).

R. V. x. 129, 1 ff.—Na asad āsīd no sad āsīt tadānām na āsīd rajo no vyona paro yat | kim āvarivaḥ kuha kasya śarmann anbhāḥ kim āsīd gahanaṁ gabhiram | 2. Na mrityur āsīd amritaṁ na tarhi na rātryāḥ ahaṁ āsīt praketaḥ | āsīt avātaṁ svadhavyā tad ekaṁ tasmāh ha anyad na paraḥ kinchanāsa | 3. Tamaḥ āsīt tamasaṁ gātham agras apraketaṁ salilaṁ sarvam āh śadām | tucchyaena abho apihitau yad āsīt tapasas tad

1 The Vishnu Purana, i. 2, 21 ff., quotes (from some source which is not indicated) a verse which seems to be in some degree founded on the text before us, and employs it in support of the Sānkhya doctrine of Pradhāna: Veda-vāda-viro ājīvaṁ niyatāḥ Brahma-vādinaḥ | paṭkanti vai tam evārtham Pradhāna-pratipadaḥ | 22. Nāha na rātrir na nābho na bhūmir nāsīt tamo jyotir abhūd na āvī 'nyat | śvāruññi- budhyānupalabhyam ekam pradhānikam Brahma pumāṇas tadāsīt | “Brahmans learned in the tenets of the Veda, firm assertors of its principles, repeat the following statement establishing the doctrine of Pradhāna: 22. ‘There was neither day nor night, neither sky nor earth; there was neither darkness nor light, nor anything else. There was then the One, Brahma possessing the character of Pradhāna, the Male, incomprehensible by the eye, or other senses, or by the intellect.'” See Dr. Hall’s ed. of Wilson’s V. P., vol. i., pp. 23 ff., with the Editor’s notes.

2 These words are quoted by Kullūka or Manu, i. 5, of which passage this may be the germ. In the S’atapatha Brhaṇaṇa, x. 6, 5, 1 (=Bṛhad Aranyaka Upan-
mahinā jāyataikam | 4. Kāmas tad agre samavarttatādhi manaso retaḥ

prathamaṁ yad āsīt | sato bandhum asati niravindan hṛidi pratishya

cāvayo manāshā | 6. (Vāj. S. xxxiii. 74) Tīrāchhino vitato raśmīrah

ədhaḥ svād upari svād āsīt | retodhāḥ āsān mahimānāḥ āsān evādā
avastū pratyākhih parasatāt | 6. Ko anga veda kha iha pravochat kutāh

ajātā kutāḥ iyāṁ viśrīkhitāḥ | arvāg devaḥ asya visarjanaena atha ko veda

yataḥ ābhbhuva | 7. Iyāṁ viśrīkhitā yataḥ ābhbhuva yadi vā dadhe yadi

vā na | yo asyaṁbhakshāḥ parame vyoman sa anga veda yadi vā na veda |

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

īśad, pp. 26 ff., in Bibl. Ind.), it is said, Na eva iha kinekhanā agre āsīt | mṛtyunā

evā itām aśritam āsīt | "Originally there was nothing here. This was enveloped by

Death," etc. See also the Taitt. Br. ii. 2, 9, 1 ff., quoted in the first volume of this

work, p. 27.

2 In the passages which I shall quote from the S'atapatha Brāhmana, etc., further

on, we shall see that the creative acts of Prajāpati are constantly said to have been

preceded by desire: so t'kāmyata, "he desired," etc. In a hymn of the Atharva V.

(ix. 2) Kāma is personified as a deity. See the fifth vol. of this work, pp. 402 ff.

4 In regard to water, as the origin of all things, see verse 3, and the quotations

which are given further on, from R. V. x. 82, 6 f., x. 72, 6; the S'atapatha

Brāhmana, etc.

See Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon under the words ōbhu and tuṣhīṣa.
source this creation arose and whether [any one] made it or not,⁶—He who in the highest heaven is its ruler, He knows, or [even] He does not know.”

See Professor Müller's translation of this remarkable hymn, his enthusiastic appreciation of its merits, and his remarks in regard to its age, in his “History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature,” pp. 559-566; and Professor Goldstücker's observations on the same subject in his “Pāṇini,” pp. 144 f. The hymn is also translated and illustrated in the fifth volume of this work, pp. 356 ff., to which I refer.

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


R. V. x. 82, 1 ff.—Chakshushās pitā manasaḥ hi dhīro ghrītam¹¹ ene

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⁶ Ob Einer zie sich oder nicht. Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, under the root dhā (p. 903).
⁷ Paramachāndhād varṇ | T.S.
⁸ The A.V. reads yo viśvāchakṣhāṅgūr uta viśvatomukho yo viśvataspāṅgūr uta viśvatāsprayāṅgūḥ | sam bāhubhyāṁ bhāratī, etc.
⁹ Instead of prithivim uta dyām the S.V. reads taṇvāṁ svā hi te.
¹⁰ Instead of jaṇūsāḥ the Vāj. S. reads sapatnāk.
¹¹ Compare R.V. v. 83, 8. See the fifth volume of this work, pp. 140 f.
RIGVEDA X. 81 AND 82; VISVAKARMA.

ajanad namnamāne | yadā id antāḥ adadṛihanta pūrve ad īd dyāvā-
prithivī aprathetām | 2. Viśvakarmā vimanaḥ ād.12 vihayaḥ dhātā
vidhātā paramā uta saṁdṛık13 | teshām ishtāni sam isha madanti yatra
svaṭa rishān paraḥ ekam āhūḥ | 3. (=A. V. 2, 1, 3.) Yo naḥ pita
janitā yo vidhātā14 dhāmānī veda bhuvanāni viśvā15 | yo devānām
namadhaḥ ekaḥ eva taṁ samprāśnam bhuvanā yanti anyā | 4. Te
āyaśanta draviṇāḥ sam asmai rishayaḥ pūrve jariṭāro na bhūnā |
[=Nir. vi. 15] asūrte sūrtte rajasi nishatte16 ye bhūtāni samakṛivann
imāni | 5. Paro divā paraḥ enā prithiṇyā para devedhīr asurair yad
asti17 | kaṁ svad garbhām prathamaṁ dadhre āpo yatra devāḥ sama-
pakṣyaṁta viśve | 6. Tam īd garbham prathamaṁ dadhre āpo yatra devāḥ
samagachhānta viśve | ajasya nāhāv adhy ekam arpitāṁ asmin viśān
bhuvanāṁ tasthūḥ18 | 7. Na taṁ vidadhā yaḥ imā jaṭāna anyad yushmā-
kan antaram babhāva19 | vihāreṇa praśvitaḥ jālpyā cha asutripaḥ uktha-
saṁś charanti |

R. V. x. 81, 1 ff.—"Our father, who, a rishi and a priest, celebrated
a sacrifice, offering up all these creatures,—he, earnestly desiring sub-
stance, he, the archetype, entered into later [men]. 2. What was the
position, which and whence was the principle, from which the all-seeing
Viśvakarman produced the earth, and disclosed the sky by his might?

3. The one god, who has on every side eyes, on every side a face, on
every side arms, on every side feet, when producing the sky and earth,
shapes them20 with his arms and with his wings. 4. What was the
wood, what was the tree, out of which they fashioned the heaven and

12 Manasā yad | T.S.
13 See R.V. iv. 1, 6, and iv. 6, 6, and Roth's Illustrations of Nirukta, x. 26, p. 141.
14 Instead of yo vidhātā the A.V. has sa uta bandhuḥ.
15 Yo naḥ sato abhi ā saj jaṭāna | T. S.
16 Asūrte sūrtte rajasi vināne | T. S.
17 Guhā yat | T. S.
18 After this verse the Taitt. Sanh. has the following [=Vāj. S. xvii. 32]: Viśva-
karman hy ajanishka devaḥ ād īd gandharve abhavā devitiyā | tritiyāḥ pitaḥ jaṇitā
ekadāhitām apām garbham vyadādhit purutruḥ | "The god Viśvakarman was born :
then the Gandharva was produced the second; the third was the father, the generator
of plants; he divided into many parts the source of the waters."
19 Bhavātī | T.S.
20 Compare R.V. x. 72, 2, below, p. 11; and R.V. iv. 2-17 (=A. V. xviii. 3, 22): 
Ayo na devāḥ jaṭimād dhamantaḥ | "The gods blowing on [or shaping] productions,
like iron."
the earth? Inquire mentally, ye sages, what that was on which he took his stand, when establishing the worlds. 5. Do thou, Viśvakarman, grant to thy friends those thy abodes which are the highest, and the lowest, and the middle, and these. Thou who art strong in the oblation, exhilarated, thyself offer up thyself. 6. Do thou, Viśvakarman, delighted by the sacrifice, thyself offer up heaven and earth. Let other men who are round about me become confounded. May a generous son remain here to us. 7. Let us to-day invoke in our conflict the lord of speech, who is swift as thought, Viśvakarman, for succour. May he who is the source of all prosperity, the beneficent, with a view to our protection, receive graciously all our invocations.

R. V. x. 82, 1.—"The father of insight, wise in mind, impregnated with sap these two [worlds] as they bowed down [before him]. When their remotest ends were fixed, then the heaven and earth extended. 2. Viśvakarman is wise, energetic, the creator, the disposer, and the highest object of intuition. The objects of their desire inspire them with gladness in the place where men say that the One dwells beyond [the abode of] the seven rishis. 3. He who is our father, our creator, disposer, who knows all spheres and creatures, who alone assigns to the gods their names, to him the other creatures resort for instruction. 4. The former rishis, who fashioned these creatures in the remote, the near, and the lower atmosphere, offered to him, like worshippers, substance in abundance. 5. That which is beyond the sky, beyond this earth, beyond gods and spirits,—what earliest embryo did the waters contain, in which all the gods were beheld? 6. The waters contained that earliest embryo in which all the gods were collected.

21 This half verse also occurs in R. V. x. 31, 7. The second half verse, as also the answer given to the question in Taitt. Br. ii. 8, 9, 6, "Brahma was the wood, Brahma was that tree," etc., are quoted in the fifth volume of this work, p. 32.
22 See, however, Roth, s.v. tana, and R. V. x. 7, 6; vi. 11, 2.
23 Prof. Aufrecht proposes to translate this verse as follows: "May all other people around us vanish into nothing, but our own offspring remain blessed in this world." In proof of the sense of "offspring," or "son," here assigned to sūri (though it has not always this meaning), he refers to R. V. v. 42, 4; vi. 26, 7; vi. 63, 11; vi. 68, 7; vii. 66, 9; viii. 26, 12. This sense is perhaps also recommended by the parallel in R. V. i. 181, 4, between sumakhasya sūriḥ and diwah putraḥ.
24 Nāma cha pīṭha eva karoti | Mahīdhara.
25 Compare verses 1 and 3 of R. V. x. 129, above, p. 3.
One [receptacle] rested upon the navel of the unborn, wherein all beings stood. 7. Ye cannot know him who produced these things; something else is within you. The chanters of hymns go about enveloped in mist, and unsatisfied with idle talk."

I have placed these two hymns together, as they are so similar in character. The sense in some parts of them is clear, in others very obscure. The verses of which they are made up are all to be found in the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā (xvii. 17–23, and 25–31), in the same order in which they occur in the Rig-veda, and without any various readings of importance. They are also repeated in the Taittirīya Sanhitā, with variations, of which the chief have been noted above. Some of them also occur in the Nirukta; viz., R. V. x. 81, 6 in Nir. x. 27; R. V. x. 82, 2 in Nir. x. 26; the second half of R. V. x. 82, 4 in Nir. vi. 15; and R. V. x. 82, 7 in Nir. Pariśishta, ii. 10.

Professor Roth, in his Illustrations of the Nirukta (pp. 141, f.), offers some remarks on the 2nd verse of the second, and the 6th verse of the first, of the hymns before us, which I shall translate. He renders the former verse thus: "Viśvakarman, wise and mighty in act, is the creator, the orderer, and the highest image [for the spiritual faculty]. That which men desire is the attainment of good in the world where the One Being dwells beyond the seven rishis." He then proceeds to observe: "Viśvakarman, who is no mythological personage, but the "creator of all things," and who in the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā, 12, 61, is so far rightly identified with Prajāpati, is here celebrated as equally wise in design, and powerful in execution (the highest conception which can be attained by man): and from him the fulfilment of every desire is obtained beyond the starry heaven, where he resides alone, without the numerous deities of the popular creed. . . . . The legend, which relates that Viśvakarman, son of Bhuvana, after he had offered up all beings in sacrifice, concluded by offering up himself, belongs, in my opinion, to the numerous class of stories which have arisen out of a misunderstanding of Vedic passages, viz., in the present instance, verses 1 and 5 of R. V. x. 81."

The Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, viii. 2, 1, 10, and viii. 2, 3, 13, identifies Viśvakarman with Prajāpati (Prajāpatir vai Viśvakarmā). See also

26 Prajāpatir Viśvakarmā vimunchatu.
the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, iv. 22, and Professor Haug's translation, p. 299.

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

_Tatretihāsam āchakshate Viśvakarmā Bhauvanaḥ sarvamedhe sarvāṃ bhūtāni juhavānchakāra sa atmānam apy antato juhavānchakara | tad-ahīvādy esā ṛig bhavati 'yaḥ imā viśā bhauvanāni juhva'd iti_

"Here they tell a story: Viśvakarman son of Bhuvana offered up all creatures at a universal sacrifice (sarvamedha). He finally offered up himself also. The following verse (R. V. x. 81, 1) is descriptive of this, viz., 'he who offering up all beings,' etc."

Some further passages relating to Viśvakarman will be found below, in the sixth section of the third chapter, to which, as well as to the first volume of this work, pp. 52, 76, and 456 f., and to the fifth volume, p. 372, I may refer.

On the 6th verse of the first of the hymns before us (R. V. x. 81), Professor Roth remarks thus: "For the correct understanding of the second pāda (the latter half of the first line), and similar passages, the reader should compare R. V. x. 7, 6, _yathā 'yajah pītubhir deva derān evā yajasva tanvān sujāta | 'As thou (O Agni) at the measured times, O god, didst sacrifice to the gods, so sacrifice also to thyself.' Agni is to accept the offering for himself also. In the same way are the words of the 5th verse of the hymn before us to be understood; _svayam yajasva tanvān vridhāṇah | 'sacrifice to thyself for thine own glorification': the idea of self-immolation has arisen from a misunderstanding of the word _tanu_ and of the construction of the root _yaj_. The 1st verse of the same hymn (R. V. x. 81, 1) is, as it appears to me, to be understood in a similar manner: 'He who received all these creatures as offerings.' In the passage before us (the

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27 In his remarks on the word _Tanūnapūt_ in p. 117 of his Illustrations, Professor Roth observes: "The signification has been overlooked, which _tanū_ obtains in the older Sanskrit, as well as in Zend and modern Persian, as it there designates our own person, our self, in contrast to things belonging to us. Hence I might explain the word _Tanūnapūt_ as meaning 'his own son.' Agni is his own son, because he springs into life either as lightning, or from the friction of wood, without being the product of similar phenomena, or powers." See also Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, under the word _Tanūnapūt_.
6th verse of R. V. x. 81) the words would therefore be rendered as follows: ‘Viśvakarman, glorify thyself by the sacrifice, offer up to thyself heaven and earth.’ The idea of sacrifice is introduced, because every portion of the created universe which is given as a possession to the gods, comes to them in the shape of a sacrifice. The god who takes anything into his possession is said to offer it to himself. The various reading which we find in the Śāma-veda, ii. 939, as compared with the verse before us (viz., tanvāṁ sivā hi te, ‘offer thy body, for it is thine,’ instead of prīthivim uta dyām, ‘offer earth and heaven’) may be an amendment in support of the legend.”

I do not know whether this view is consistent with the 6th and 7th verses of the Purusha Sūktā. See the first volume of this work, pp. 3, 9, and the fifth volume, pp. 367, ff. Possibly both conceptions (that of the gods sacrificing themselves, and that of their sacrificing to themselves) may have been entertained by the Vedic writers.

[I may here remark that the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, ii. 6, 15 ff., gives a sort of paraphrase on the Purusha Sūktā. The author there puts into the mouth of Brahmā the following lines (verses 21 ff.), which are intended to illustrate the 7th and following stanzas of that allegorical hymn:

21. Yada 'ya nābhya'd nalinād aham āsam mahātmanaḥ | nāvindam yajna-sambhārān Purushāvayavān rite |
22. Teshu yajnasya paśavaḥ svanapatayaḥ kusāḥ | idancha deva-yajanaṁ kālaś choru-guṇānvitaḥ |
23. Vastany oshadayāḥ snehāḥ rasa-loha-mrito jalam | rīcho yajunaṁhī sāmāṁ chāturhotraṁca vattamaṁ |
24. Nāmadhyeyīni mantrās cha dakshinās cha vrataṁ cha | devatānukramaḥ kalpaḥ sankalpas tantram eva cha |
25. Gatayo matāsa chaiva prāyaśchittraṁ samarpaṇam | Purushāvayavair ēte sambhārāḥ sambhūrītāḥ mayā |
26. Iti sambhrīta-sambhāraḥ Purushāvayavair aham | tama eva Purusāḥ yajnaṁ tenaivāyajam iśvarqam |

“21. When I was produced,” says Brahmā, “from the lotus sprung out of the navel of that great Being, I found no materials for sacrifice excepting the members of Purusha. 22. Among them were the victims, the sacrificial posts, the Kuśa grass; they formed the sacrificial ground, and the seasons with their various qualities. The utensils, the grains, the unctuous substances, the flavours, the metals, the earths, the water, the verses of the Rīch, the Yajush, and the Śāman, the functions of the four priests, the names [of the rites], the texts, the
gifts, the vows, the list of deities, the ritual rules, the designs, the forms, the arrangements, the meditations, the expiation, the dedication,—all these essentials of sacrifice were derived by me from the members of Purusha. Having thus drawn from the members of Purusha all these appliances, I by this means offered up Purusha, the lord [himself], as a sacrifice.”

In his note on the Nirukta, vi. 15, Professor Roth translates the 4th verse of the second hymn before us (R. V. 82) as follows: “They who in still, in moving, and falling vapour (rajas) created those beings . . . . . furnished to him the material.” In his Lexicon, however, he renders the word asūrtta, not by “still,” but by “distant;” and quotes A. V. x. 3, 9, as another passage in which it occurs.

The later conception of Viśvakarman, as the artificer of the gods, is found in the following passage of the Mahābhārata, i. 2592: Viśvakarmā mahābhāgo jajne śilpa-prajāpatiḥ | kartā śilpa-sahasrānāṁ tridaśānām cha vardhakīḥ | bhūshaṇaṁśeṣa sarveshaṁ kartā śilparatāṁ varaḥ | yo divyāṇi vimānaṁ tridaśānāṁ chakāra ha | manushyaś chopaśvanti tasya śilpaṁ mahátmanāḥ | pūjayaṁ cha yaṁ nityaṁ Viśvakarmanām avyayam | “Then was born the illustrious Viśvakarman, the lord of the arts, executor of a thousand handicrafts, the carpenter of the gods, the fashioner of all ornaments, the most eminent of artisans, who formed the celestial chariots of the deities; on whose craft men subsist, and whom, a great and immortal god, they continually worship.”

Brahmaṇaśpati, Daksha, and Aditi,—Rig-veda, x. 72.28

R. V. x. 72, 1 ff.—Devānāṁ nu vayaṁ jānā pravochnāma vipanyayā | ukthesu šaśyamāneshu yaḥ paśyād uttare yuge29 | 2. Brahmanaśpatir etā saṁ karmāraḥ30 ivādhamat | devānām puṣyate yuga avataḥ sad ajāyata31 |

28 This hymn is also translated and illustrated in the fifth volume of this work, pp. 48 ff.
29 See Benfey’s Glossary to the Sūma-veda, under the word yuga; and the first volume of this work, p. 45 f.
30 Karmāraḥ | sa yathā bhastrayā 'gnim upadhamat evan udayādayat | (Sāyaṇa)
“As a blacksmith blows up a fire with a bellows, so he created them.” Compare R. V. x. 81, 3, above p. 6, and note 20, there.
31 Compare Atharva-veda x. 7, 25.—Brikanto nīma te devāh ye satah pāri jajnire | ekāṁ tad angiṁ Skambhasya asād āhuḥ paro jaunāḥ | “Great are those gods who
3. Devānām yuge prathame asataḥ sad ajayata | tād āśāḥ anv ajayanta
tad Uttanapadās pari | 4. Bhūr jañē Uttanapado bhūvah āśāḥ ajayanta |
Adiṭer Dakṣo ajayata Dakṣād u Aditiḥ pari | (comp. R. V. x. 90, 5.)
5. Adiṭir hi ajanishṭa Dakṣa yā duhitā tava | Tāṁ devāḥ anv ajayanta
bhadrāḥ amrita-bandhavah | 6. Yad devāḥ adāḥ salī | susaṁvṛddhāḥ
atishātha | atra vā mrityatām ivā tivro reṇur apāyata | 7. Yad devāḥ
yatayo yathā bhuvanāṁ apiṁ vātā | atra samudre āgāhām u sūryam aja-
bhuttanā | 8. Ashtau putrāso Adiṭer ye jātās tanvas pari | devān upa
prait saptabhiḥ pari Mārttāṇḍaṁ āsyat | 2. Saptabhiḥ putrair Adiṭer
upa prait pūreyām yugam | prejayaṁ mrityave toat punar Mārttāṇḍaṁ
ābharat |

"1. Let us celebrate with exultation the births of the gods, in
chanted hymns, [every one of us], who may behold them in [this]
later age. 2. Brahmaṇaspati shaped all these [beings] like a black-
smith. In the earliest age of the gods, the existent sprang from the
non-existent. 3. In the first age of the gods the existent sprang from
the non-existent. Thereafter the different regions sprang forth from
Uttanapad. 4. The earth sprang from Uttanapad; from the earth
sprang the regions. Dakṣa sprang from Aditi, and Aditi [came]
forth from Dakṣa. 5. For Aditi was produced, she who is thy
daughter, O Dakṣa. After her the gods came into being, blessed,
sharers in immortality. 6. When, O gods, ye moved, strongly agitated,
on that water, there a violent dust issued forth from you, as from
dancers. 7. When ye, O gods, like devotees [or strenuous men],
replenished the worlds, then ye disclosed the sun which had been
sprang from non-entity. Men say that that remote non-entity is one member of
Skambha." This production of the gods out of nothing seems, on one interpretation,
to be contrary to the doctrine of the Ohhāndogya Upanishad. Tad ha ke eāhur "asad
evedam apra āśid ekam evādvitīyāṁ tasmād asataḥ saj ājyeta" | Kutas tu khalu saumya
evaṁ syād iti hovhāca katham asataḥ saj ājyeta iti | (Biblioth. Ind. vol. iii. pp. 389,
392.) "Some say 'this was originally non-existent, one without a second; therefore
the existent must spring from the non-existent.' 'But how, gentle friend,' he said,
'can it be so? how can the existent spring from the non-existent?'" See the fifth
volume of this work, pp. 358 ff.

32 Compare R. V. x. 129, 1, 3, above, p. 3.
33 Here Sāyaṇa makes yatayaḥ meghāḥ, "clouds." See the fifth volume of this
work, p. 49, note 92.
34 Paṅgaṁat = upari prakāśhitā, "tossed aloft" (Sāyaṇa).
35 Abhārat = ūharat = āyuloke adhārayat, "placed in the sky" (Sāyaṇa).
hidden in the ocean. 8. Of the eight sons who were born from the body of Aditi, she approached the gods with seven, but cast away [the eighth] Mārttāṇḍa [the sun]. 9. With seven sons [only] Aditi approached the former generation of gods. Again, for birth as well as for death she disclosed Mārttāṇḍa.”

In R. V. vi. 50, 2, mention is made of certain luminous gods (svyotishaḥ) as being the sons or descendants of Daksha (Daksha- pitṛṇ). These notices of Daksha which occur in the Rig-veda have been greatly developed in the later mythology, as may be seen by a reference to the passages given in the first volume of this work, pp. 65, 72, 116, 122 ff., etc. Uttānapāda is said in the Vishnu and other Purāṇas to have been a son of Manu Svāyambhuva by Satarūpā (ibid. pp. 65, 72, 106, 114).

On the fourth verse of this hymn Yāska remarks as follows in the Nirukta, xi. 23: Adityo Dakshaḥ ity ākhar Aditya-madhya cha stutah | Aditir Dakshāyaṃ | “Aditer Daksho ajāyata Dakshād u Aditiḥ pari’’ iti cha | tat katham upapadyeta | samāna-janmānau syātām ity api vā deva-dharmena itaretara-janmānau syātām itaretara-prakṛiti | “Daksha is, they say, a son of Aditi, and is praised among the sons of Aditi. And Aditi is the daughter of Daksha, [according to the text] Daksha sprang from Aditi, and Aditi came forth from Daksha. How can this be possible? They may have had the same origin; or, according to the nature of the gods, they may have been born from each other,—have derived their substance from one another.” See also Nirukta vii. 4, as quoted below in chapter ii. sect. 5.

Roth, in his Illustrations of the Nirukta (p. 151), translates the 4th and 5th verses of the hymn before us: “Bhū (the world) was born, and from her opened womb (Uttānapad) sprang the Spaces: from Aditi was born Daksha (spiritual force), and from Daksha again Aditi. Yes,

36 The word Mārttāṇḍa is compounded of two words māṛtta, apparently derived from mrītyu, death, and aṅga, an egg, or place of production. The last line seems to contain an allusion to this derivation of the word, The Harivaṁśa v. 549, thus interprets the word: Na khalo agna mṛtto 'yastathāḥ iti svaḥit abhūkata | ajñānāt Kaśyapas tamśo Mārttāṇḍah iti chochyate | “Kaśyapa, from affection, but in ignorance, said, ‘he is not dead, abiding in the egg;’ hence he is called Mārttāṇḍa.” See the fifth volume of this work, p. 49, note 94. Böhtlingk and Roth, s.v., assign to the word in this passage the sense of “bird.” See R. V. ii. 38, 8-23.

37 See, however, the fifth volume of this work, p. 51 f.
Aditi was born, O Daksha, she who is thy daughter; after her the gods were produced, the blessed possessors of immortality.” He then proceeds to remark: “Daksha, spiritual force, is the male power, which generates the gods in eternity. As Bhū (the World or Being) and Space are the principles of the Finite, so to both of these is due the beginning of divine life.”

Sāyana annotates thus on the 8th verse of the hymn:

“Asṭau putrāḥ” putrāḥ Mitrādayo 'diter bhavanti | “Ye Aṣṭes tanvas pari” sarīrāj “jātāḥ” utpannāḥ | Aṣṭer aṣṭa-putrāḥ Ādhyātvya-ḥrāhmān purāṇītaḥ | tathā hi | “tān amukramiṣhyaśno Mitraś ca Varuṇaḥ cha Dhātā cha Aṃśaḥ cha Bhagaḥ cha Vīvasvān Ādityaḥ cheti” | tathā tatraiva pradesāntare Aṣṭim prastutya āṁśatam “tasyāḥ uchchheshaṁ adadhas tat prāṇāt | sā reto ‘dhaṭta tasyai chatvāraḥ Ādityaḥ ajāyanta sā dvitiyam apiḥaḥ” ityādīna asta-ṭaṁ Ādityānāṁ utpattiṁ varūta |

“Eight sons, Mitra and the rest, were born to Aditi, who sprang from her body. Eight sons of Aditi are enumerated in the Brāhmaṇa of the Adhvaryus, thus: ‘We shall state them in order, Mitra, Varuṇa, Dhātri, Aryaman, Aṃśa, Bhaga, Vivasvat, and Āditya.’

In another part of the same work, after reference has been made to Aditi, it is recorded; “They placed before her the remnant of the sacrifice. She ate it. She conceived seed. Four Ādityas were born to her. She drank the second [portion], etc. Thus is narrated the birth of the eight Ādityas.” See the first volume of this work, pp. 26 ff.

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

Asṭau ha vai putrāḥ Āditer | Yaṁs tv etad “devaḥ Ādityaḥ” ity uḍakshate sapta ha eva te | avikritaṁ " ha ashtamaṁ janayānchakāra
Maṛtṝaṁ | sandegho " ha evaṣa | yāvān evordhesaśaṁ tāvaṁs tīryaṁ purusha-sammitaḥ ity u ha eke āhuḥ | 4. To u ha ete u churn devaḥ Ādityaḥ “jad asaṁ ane ajanina taṁ amuyeva bhād | hanta imaṁ vikaravāmā” iti | taṁ vich krur yathā tyam puruṣaḥ vikritas tasya yāni māṁsaṁi sankṛitya sannyāsas tato hasti samanabhat | tasmād āhuḥ “na hastinam

38 Avikritaṁ kara-charāṇḍi-vikāroḥ iti taṁ-rahitam | Comm.
39 Samyag upachitaḥ samaḥ evāṣit | Comm.
parigrahīyat puruṣājano 40 hi hastā iti | yam u ha tad vichakruḥ sa 
Vivasvān Ādityas tasya imāḥ preyāḥ |

After quoting the text of the Rig-veda, the author of the Brāhmaṇa proceeds:

"Aditi had eight sons. But there are only seven [gods] whom men call the Āditya deities. For she produced the eighth, Mārttāṇḍa, destitute of any modifications of shape (without hands and feet, etc.). He was a smooth lump; of the dimensions of a man, as broad as long, say some. The Āditya deities said, 'If in his nature he be not conformable to ours, then it will be unfortunate; come let us alter his shape.' Thus saying, they altered his shape, as this man is modified (by possessing different members). An elephant sprang out of those [pieces of] his flesh which they cut off, and threw away. Wherefore men say, 'let no one catch an elephant, for an elephant partakes of the nature of man.' He whom they then altered was Vivasvat (the Sun) the son of Aditi, from whom these creatures are descended."

HIRANYAGARBHA,—RIG-VEDA, X. 121.

R. V. x. 121, 1 ff. (Vāj. S. 13, 4: A. V. 4, 2, 7)—Hiranyagarbhā 41 samavarītāgre bhūtasya jātaḥ 42 patir ekaḥ āsit | sa dādhāra prīthivīṁ 
dyām utemaṁ kasmaś devāya 43 havisha vidhema | 2. (Vāj. S. 25, 13: 
A. V. 4, 2, 1.) Ya utmaḍāḥ baladāḥ yasya viśve upāsate prāśishāṁ yasya 
devāḥ | yasya cchāyā amṛitaṁ yasya mrityuḥ kasmaś devāya ityādi | 3.

40 Puruṣājanaḥ puruṣa-prakṛtikah | Comm.
41 Hiranye hiranya-puruṣa-rūpe brahmaneḥ garbha-rūpena avasthitah Prajāpatir 
Hiranyagarbhāḥ bhūtasya prāṇyātāsya agrre samavartinā prāṇyātātaptāḥ puraḥ 
svayeṣv śarīra-dhārī bahūva | Prajāpatī Hiranyagarbha, existing as an embryo, 
in the egg of Brahma, which was golden,—consisting of the golden male (puruṣa),— 
sprung into being before all living creatures; himself took a body before the pro-
duction of all living creatures." Mahīdhara on Vāj. S. 13, 4. (Compare the words 
hiranyayāḥ sakunir Brahma nāma | "The golden bird, namely Brahma," in Tātt. 
Br. 3, 12, 9, 7.)
42 Jātaḥ. Compare R. V. ii. 12, 1; R. V. x. 133, 2, aśātrur Indra jahnīche— 
"Indra, thou hast been born without a rival;" and R. V. viii. 21, 13 . . . . . . . . 
tvam anāpir Indra jahnāḥ sanād asi | "Indra of old art thou by nature without a fellow."
43 Kasmai devāya | Kasmai Kāya Prajāpataye devāya | "Kasmai, 'to whom,' is 
for Kāya, the dative of Ka, the god Prajāpati." Comm. on Vāj. S. 13, 4. Prajāpatir 
vai Kas tasmāi havisha vidhema | "Ka is Prajāpati: to him let us offer our oblations."
S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, 7, 4, 1, 19.
(Vāj. S. 23, 3: A. V. 4, 2, 2.) Yaḥ prāṇato nimsitah mahitvā ekaḥ id vājā jagato babhūva | yaśe asya dvipadaḥ chatushpadah kasmai ītyādi | 4. (Vāj. S. 25, 12: A. V. 4, 2, 5.) Yasaye himavanto mahitvā yasya samudraṁ rasayāḥ saḥāḥah | yasyemāḥ prātiṣo yasya bahu kasmay ityādi | 5. (Vāj. S. 32, 6, 7: A. V. 4, 2, 3, 4.) Yena daun varu gṛthivī ccha dṛḍhā yena svah stābhitaṁ yena nākaḥ | yo antarikshe rajaśo vimānaḥ kasmay ityādi | 6. Yaṁ krandasā evaṁ tastaḥāne abhy aikshetum manasaḥ rajamāne | yatṛādi sūrah udito vibhāti kasmay ityādi | 7. (Vāj. S. 27, 25: A. V. 4, 2, 6, 8.) Āpo ha yaḥ bhṛhatīr viśām āyan garbhaṁ | dadhnāḥ jananyantaḥ agnim | tato devānāṁ samavartatāsuv ekaḥ kasmay ityādi | 8. (=Vāj. S. 27, 26.) Yaḥ chid āpo mahinā paryapatyadakshām dadhnāḥ jananyantaḥ yajnam | yo devevah udhi devāh ekaḥ āṣt kasmay ityādi | 9. (=Vāj. S. 12, 102.) Mā no himay jāntih yaḥ prīthivyaḥ yaḥ eva divānāḥ satyadharmā jajānā | yaḥ chāpaḥ chandāh bhṛhatīr jajñā kasmay ityādi | 10. (=Vāj. S. 10, 20: A. V. 7, 79, 4; 7, 80, 3; Nir. x. 43.) Prajāpate na tvadh etāmy anyo viśām jātāni pari ta babhūva | yathāmāś tejumasa tan na astu vayaṁ syāma patayo rājaṁ | 1. Hīranyagarbha arose in the beginning; born, he was the one lord of things existing. He established the earth and this sky: to what god shall we offer our oblation? 2. He who gives breath, who gives strength, whose command all, [even] the gods, reverence, whose

44 On the word rasā, see the second volume of this work, p. 343, note 119.

45 Krandasā | “This word is explained in Böhtlingk and Roth’s Lexicon as meaning” (not heaven and earth, as Mahīdhara in loco understands it, and Sayana on R. V. ii. 12, 8, alternatively interprets,—the other sense assigned being, armies,—but) two armies engaged in battle. See the references there given.

46 Compare with verses 7 and 8, the preceding hymn, x. 129, 1, 3 ; x. 82, 5, 6; and x. 72, 6.

47 I have observed another hymn in the R. V., the 168th of the tenth Mandala, of which the fourth verse ends with words similar to those which conclude the first nine verses of the 121st, except that instead of kasmay the 168th hymn has tasmai. I quote this verse with the last words of the 3rd. . . . kva svāj jātaṁ kutāh ābābhūva | 4. ātmā devānāṁ bhuvaṁyā garbhya yathāvādasiyā devāh eshāḥ | ghoṣhāḥ id asya śrīvite na rūpaṁ tasmai Vātāya vahishā vidhāma | “Where was he produced? whence has he sprung? 4. Soul of the gods, and source of the world, this deity marches at his will. His sounds are heard but [we see] not his form: to this Vātā (wind) let us offer our oblations.” Compare St. John iii. 8. “The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh, and whither it goeth.”
shadow is immortality, whose shadow is death—to what god shall we offer our oblation? 3. Who by his might became the sole king of the breathing and winking world, who is the lord of this two-footed and four-footed [creation],—to what god, etc.? 4. Whose greatness these snowy mountains, and the sea with the Rasā [river], declare,—of whom these regions, of whom they are the arms,—to what god, etc.? 5. By whom the sky is fiery, and the earth fixed, by whom the firmament and the heaven were established, who in the atmosphere is the measurer of the aerial space;—to what god, etc.? 6. To whom two contending armies, sustained by his succour, looked up, trembling in mind; over whom the risen sun shines,—to what god, etc.? 7. When the great waters pervaded the universe, containing an embryo, and generating fire, thence arose the one spirit (āsvu) of the gods,—to what god, etc.? 8. He who through his greatness beheld the waters which contained power, and generated sacrifice, who was the one god above the gods,—to what god, etc.? 9. May he not injure us, he who is the generator of the earth, who, ruling by fixed ordinances, produced the heavens, who produced the great and brilliant waters!—to what god, etc.? 10. Prajāpati, no other than thou is lord over all these created things: may we obtain that, through desire of which we have invoked thee; may we become masters of riches."

On Prajāpati, see the fifth volume of this work, pp. 352 f.; 390 ff.

The whole of this hymn is to be found repeated in the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā, the first eight verses in the Taittirīya Sanhitā iv. 1, 8, 3 ff., and most of the verses recur in the Atharvaveda. In making my translation, I have had the assistance of Mahādhara’s Commentary on the first-named Veda, as well as of the version given by Professor Müller in his Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 569 f. In his annotation on Vāj. S. 27, 5, =verse 7, the commentator Mahādhara refers to the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, xi. 1, 6, 1: Āpo ha vai idam āgri saśilum evāsa | “This [universe] was in the beginning waters, only water;” 48 and explains the words garbhāṅ gaddhānāḥ, "containing a germ," thus: tathā garbhāṅ Hiranyagarbhakahaṇām gaddhānāḥ dhāreyantyaḥ atah eva agnim janayantiḥ agni-rāpaṁ Hiranyagarbhāṁ janayantyaḥ utpādayishyantyaḥ | “And also containing an embryo (garbha) distinguished as the golden

48 Compare R. V. vi. 50, 7, quoted in the fifth volume of this work, p. 345; and the quotations from the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa and other works in the next section.
embryo Hiranyagarbha); and consequently generating, being about to produce, fire,—Hiranyagarbha in the form of fire.” The Atharva-veda reads this seventh verse somewhat differently, thus (A. V. 4, 2, 6): Āpo agre viśvaṃ avan garbham ādībhutam amritāḥ ritajñāḥ | yāsu devīśv adhi devaḥ aśit kasmā ityādi | “In the beginning, the waters, immortal, and versed in the sacred ceremonies, protected (covered?) the universe, containing an embryo; over these divine [waters] was the god,” etc. The verse which comes next, the seventh in the A. V., is the first in the R. V. The eighth in the A. V., which has none answering to it in the R. V., is as follows: Āpo vatsaṁ janayantī garbham agre samairayan | tasyaḥ jayamānaśya ubhaḥ āśīd hiranyayaḥ | kasmāi devāya ityādi—“In the beginning the waters, producing a child, brought forth an embryo, which, as it was coming into life, was enveloped in a golden covering.”

The idea of the production of the divine principle by which the gods were animated (asu) from the embryo generated in the waters, contained in the seventh verse of the hymn before us (R. V. x. 121, 7) is replaced, as we shall find, in the Brāhmaṇas and the later mythology by that of the generation of Prajāpati, or Brahmā, from the egg formed in the waters. In the verse attached to the hymn as the 10th, the deity celebrated in the hymn is addressed by the appellation of Prajāpati, which became a title of Brahmā. The last verse which I have quoted from the A. V. (iv. 2, 8) assigns a “golden covering” to the embryo produced by the waters.

In another part of the same Veda (A. V. x. 7, 28) the following verse occurs: Hiranyagarbham paramam anatyudyaṃ janāḥ viduḥ | Skambhās tadagre prāśinchad hiranyam lokes antarā | “Men know Hiranyagarbha, the supreme, the ineffable: before him Skambha [the Supporter] shed forth gold in the midst of the world.”

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

**Extracts from the Atharva-veda, x. 7, and x. 8.**

A. V. x. 7, 7.—Yasmin stadhvā Prajāpatir lokāṁ sarvān adhārayat | Skambhaṁ tam brūhi katumaḥ svid eva saḥ | 8. Yat paramam avamaṁ

A. V. x, 8, 2.—Skambhenem vishtabhite dyauś cha bhūmiś cha tiṣṭhataḥ | Skambhaḥ idaṁ sarvam ātmavady yat prāṇaṁ nimirshachchaḥ yat | . . . . 11. Yaḥ ejati patati yachcha tiṣṭhāti prāṇaṁ aprāṇan nimirshach cha yat bhuvat | tad dādāra prithivīṁ viśvarūpaṁ tat sambhāya bhavaty ekam eva | . . . . 44. Akāmo dhiro amritaḥ svayambhūḥ raṣena tripto na kutaschanonah | tam eva vidvān na bibhāya mṛtyor ātmānaṁ dhiram ajaraṁ yuvānām |

A. V. x, 7, 7.—“Tell who that Skambha'(supporter) is, on whom Prajāpati has supported, and established all the worlds. 8. How far did Skambha penetrate into that highest, lowest and middle universe, comprehending all forms, which Prajāpati created? and how much of it was there which he did not penetrate? 9. How far did Skambha penetrate into the past? and how much of the future is contained in his receptacle? how far did Skambha penetrate into that one member which he separated into a thousand parts? . . . . 17. Those men who know Brahma (the divine essence) in the Male (Purusha), know him who occupies the highest place (Parameshthin): he who knows Parameshthin, and who knows Prajāpati,—they who know the highest

49 I know not whether this word has here its ordinary meaning, or the same sense which is assigned to the word vaśas in R. V. x. 95, 4, 5; S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, xi: 5, 1, 1; and Nir. iii. 21. See also R. V. iv. 58, 5; and S'atap. Br. vii. 5, 2, 11; and the fifth volume of this work, p. 384, note.
Brāhmaṇa (divine mystery), they know Skambha. . . . . 24. In the place where the gods, the knowers of sacred science (brahma) reverence the highest Brahma,—that priest (brahmā) who knows them clearly, will be a knower. . . . . . 32. Reverence to that highest Brahma, of whom the earth is the measure, the atmosphere the belly, who made the sky his head. . . . . 35. Skamba established both these [worlds] the earth and sky, Skambha established the wide atmosphere, Skambha established the six wide regions, Skambha pervaded this entire universe. 36. Reverence to that highest Brahma, who, sprung from toil and from austere fervour, has pervaded all the worlds, who made soma for himself alone. . . . . 41. He who knows the golden reed standing in the water, is the mysterious Prajāpati."

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

I quote these passages partly because they contain frequent refer-
ences to Prajāpati, a name which occurs but sparingly in the Rig-veda; and partly because they celebrate a new god called Skambha, the "Supporter," or "Proper," whose personification may have been suggested by the function of "supporting" the earth and heavens, which, as we shall see in the next chapter, is frequently ascribed to Indra, Varuṇa, Vishnu, and Savitri.

The verse last quoted (x. 8, 44) seems to contain the idea of the supreme Soul as the object of knowledge.

On the subject of this and the next sections compare the twenty-
fifth section of the fifth volume of this work, pp. 350 ff.

Sect. II.—Original non-entity; Prajāpati; primeval waters; mundane
egg, etc., according to the Sātapatha Brāhmaṇa, Manu, the Rāma-
vana, Vishnu Purāṇa, etc.

The Sātapatha Brāhmaṇa contains the following legends about the creation.

I. Sātapatha Brāhmaṇa, vi. 1, 1, 1 ff. (pp. 499 of Weber's ed.)—
Asad vai idam agre āsīt | tād āhūk 'kīṁ tad asad āśīṃ' iti | rishaya vāva
to 'agre asad āsīt' tad āhūk | 'ke te rishayah' iti | prānāḥ vai rishayas to
yat purā 'smaṁ sarvasmād idam ichhantaḥ śramaṇa tapasā 'rishāṁ' tas-
maṇ ṁ rishayaḥ | 2. Sa yo 'yam madhye prānāḥ esa evendraḥ | tān esa
dīnān madhyataḥ indriyena indha | yaṁ aṁdha tasmād Indāḥ | Indo-
ha vai tam Indāḥ ity āchakṣate parokṣham | parokṣha-kāmāḥ hi devās
te iddhaḥ sapta nāṁ purushān asṛjanta | 3. Ta 'bravaṇa "sa vai
ītthāṁ santāḥ sakṣhāṁ ṛṣaṇayitum īmān sapta purushān ēkaṁ
purahsaṁ karavāma" iti te ētān sapta purushān ēkaṁ purahsaṁ
akurvan | yad uṛddhaṁ nābhes tau dvau samaudjaṇ | yad aṁnābhes
tau dvau | pakṣhaḥ puruṣhaḥ | pakṣhaḥ puruṣhaḥ | pratishthā ēkaḥ
āsīt | ...... 5. Sa eva puruṣaṁ Prajāpatīr abhavat sa yaḥ sa
puruṣaṁ Prajāpatīr abhavat ayaṁ eva sa yo 'yam Agniś̄
chyate | 6. Sa vai sapta-puruśha bhavati | sapta-puruśha hy ayaṁ puruśha
yach chatvāraḥ atmaṁ trayāḥ pakṣha-pucchāṇi | chatvāro hi tasya
purusasaṁ atmaṁ trayāḥ pakṣha-pucchāṇi | atha yad ekena puru-
usheṇa atmaṁ samhāraya tena viryeya ayaṁ atmaṁ pakṣha-pucchāṇi
udvaychati | ...... 8. So 'yaṁ puruṣaṁ Prajāpatīr akāmayata
'bhāyaṁ syāṁ prajāyeya' iti | so 'srāmyat sa tapo 'tasyata | so
śrāntas tepāno brahma eva prathamam asṛjata trayīṁ eva vidyāṁ
so eva asmai pratishtāḥ 'bhavat tasmād āhur 'brahma asya sarvasya
pratishtāḥ' iti | tasmād anūchya pratisthēthi | pratishtāḥ hy eskā
yad brahma | tasyāṁ pratishtēyaṁ pratishtētha 'tasyata | 9. So
'po 'srjata vāchaḥ eva lokād vāg evāsya sa 'srjātā sa idaṁ sarvaṁ
āpnot yad idaṁ kincha | yad āpnot tasmād āpaḥ | yad avrṇot tasmād
vāḥ | 10. So 'kāmayata 'ābhyo 'ābhyo 'dhi prajāyeya' iti so 'naṁ trayāḥ
vidyāya saha āpaḥ prāviṣat tataḥ āṅgāṁ samavarttata tad abhyamrīṣād
'astṛ' ātṛu bhāyo 'stv' īty eva tād abavaṁ | tato brahma eva pra-
thamam asṛjyata trayy eva vidyā | tasmād āhur 'brahma asya sarvasya
prathamajam' īty | api hi tasmāt puruṣahād brahma eva pūram asṛjyata
tad asya tād muṁkham eva asṛjyata | tasmād anūchānam āhur 'Agni-
kalpaḥ' īty | muṁkham hy etad Agner yaḥ brahma | 53

50 Compare S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa vi. 1, 2, 13, and 21 (pp. 502-3); ix. 2, 2, 2
(p. 713). According to vi. 2, 1, 1; and xi. 1, 6, 14, Agni is the son of Prajāpatī.
51 Comp. vi. 2, 2, 4, and 9.
52 Compare S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa ii. 1, 1, 3; and vi. 1, 3, 1 ff.
53 Compare Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa ii. 2, 9, 1 ff. quoted in the first volume of this
work, pp. 27 ff.
“In the beginning this [universe] was indeed non-existent. But
men say, ‘what was that non-existent?’ The rishis say that in the
beginning there was non-existence. Who are these rishis? The rishis
are breaths. Inasmuch as before all this [universe], they, desiring
this [universe], were worn out (arishhan) with toil and austerity,
therefore they are called Rishis. 2. This breath which is in the midst
is Indra. He by his might kindled these breaths in the midst: inas-
much as he kindled them, he is the kindler (Indha). They call Indha
Indra esoterically: for the gods love that which is esoteric. They [the
gods] being kindled, created seven separate males (purusha). 3. They
said, ‘being thus, we shall not be able to generate; so let us make these
seven males one male.’ So speaking, they made these seven males one
male (purusha). Into the part above the navel, they compressed two
of them, and two others into the part below the navel; [one] male
[formed one] side; [another] male [another] side: and one formed the
base. . . . 5. This [one] male became Prajāpati. The male who
became Prajāpati is the same as this Agni who is kindled on the
altar. 6. He verily is composed of seven males (purusha): for this
male is composed of seven males, since [four] make the soul, and three
the sides and extremity (lit., tail). For the soul of this male [makes]
four, and the sides and extremity three. Now inasmuch as he makes
the soul [which is equal to four] superior by one male, the soul, in
consequence of this [excess of ] force, controls the sides and extremity
[which are only equal to three]. . . . 8. This male (purusha) Pra-
jāpati desired, ‘may I be multiplied, may I be developed.’ He toiled,
he performed austerity. Having toiled and performed austerity, he
first created the Veda (brahma), the triple science. It became to him
a foundation; hence men say, ‘the Veda (brahma) is the foundation of
all this.’ Wherefore having studied [the Veda] a man has a founda-
tion, for this is his foundation, namely the Veda. Resting on this
foundation, he performed austerity. 9. He created the waters from
the world [in the form of] speech.84 Speech belonged to him. It was

84 This is illustrated by a passage in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, vii. 5, 2, 21 (p. 617),
which says: vāg vai ajo vācho vai prajakah Viśvakarmā jagāna | “Speech is the mover
[or, the unborn]. It was from speech that Viśvakarmā produced creatures.” And
in the Brhad Aranyaka (p. 290 of Bibl. Ind.) it is said | trayo lokāḥ, ete eva | vāg
vāyaḥ loko mano 'ntariksha-lokāḥ prāya sau lokāḥ | “It is they which are the three
PRAJĀPATI COMPOSED OF SEVEN MALES.

created. It pervaded all this. Because it pervadād (āpnot) all this which exists, it (speech) was called waters (āpah); and because it covered (aurīnot), it was called vāh (another name of water). 10. He desired, ‘May I be reproduced from these waters.’ So saying, with this triple science he entered the waters. Thence an egg arose. He handled it. He said to it, ‘let it become,’ ‘let it become,’ ‘let it be developed.’ From it the Veda was first created, the triple science. Hence men say, ‘the Veda is the first-born of this whole [creation]. Further, [as] the Veda was first created from that Male, therefore it was created his mouth. Hence they say of a learned man that he is like Agni; for the Veda is Agni’s mouth.”

The same idea about Prajāpati being composed of seven males, occurs again in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, x. 2, 2, 1, and seems to be connected with the notion of Agni having the size of seven males. (See the commentary on Satap. Br. x. 2, 2, 1).—Yān vai tān sapta purushān ekam purusham akurvan sa Prajāpatir abhavat | sa prajāḥ asrijata | sa prajāḥ srishtvā urdāhvaḥ udakramat | sa etām lokam agachhad yatras esha etat tapati | no ha tarhy anyāḥ etasmād atra yajniyāḥ āsa tam devāḥ yajnenaiva yasāḥm adhriyanta | tasmād etad rishinā ’bhyanuktaṁ ’yajnena yajnam ayajanta devāḥ ityādi | “These seven males whom they made one male (purusha) became Prajāpati. He created offspring. Having created offspring, he mounted upwards; he went to this world where this scorches this. There was then no other being fit for sacrifice: the gods began to offer him with sacrifice. Hence it has been said by the rishi (R. V. x. 90, 16), ‘the gods offered the sacrifice with sacrifice.’” Part of the passage, Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, vi. 1, 1, 6 is repeated in Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, x. 2, 2, 5.

II. In the preceding story, the gods are represented as the creators worlds. Speech is this world, mind is the atmospheric world, and breath is that world (the sky).” Regarding the action of Vāch in the creation, compare Weber’s Ind. Stud. i. 477 f., and the passages quoted from him in the fifth volume of this work, p. 391 f.

53 Compare A.V. x. 2, 7 | sa ā varṇārthi bhuvanesvān antar apo vasānah kah u tache chiketa | “He (Purusha) moves actively in the worlds, clothed with the waters: who has known this?”

55 It had, however, been created before. See a few lines above.

57 Compare S’atap. Br. x. 2, 3, 18.—Saptavidhā vai agre Prajāpatir asrīyata. These words are repeated in x. 2, 4, 8.
of Prajāpati, who in his turn is stated to have generated the waters, which he entered, and from which sprang the mundane egg. In the following story, the order of production is different. The waters generate the egg, and the egg brings forth Prajāpati, who creates the worlds and the gods.

Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, xi. 1, 6, 1 ff.—Apo ha vai idam agre salilam eva śa[56] | tāḥ akāmayantā ‘kathāṁ nu prajāyemahi’ iti tāḥ aśrāmyaṁś tāṁ tapo ‘tapayanta | tāṣu tapas tapyamānaśu hiranyamān āṇḍāṁ sambaṁbhūva | ājāto ha tarhi saṁvataraḥ āsa | tad ādāṁ hiranyamān āṇḍāṁ yāvat saṁvatsarasya vela tāvat paryapłavata | 2. Tatāḥ saṁvatsare purushaḥ samābdhavat sa Prajāpatiḥ | tasmād u saṁvatsare eva strī va gaur va vaḍābā va viyāyate saṁvatsare hi Prajāpatir ajāyata | sa ādāṁ hiranyamān āṇḍāṁ vyayujat | na aha tarhi kāchana pratisṭhāḥ āsa | tad enam idam eva hiranyamān āṇḍāṁ yāvat saṁvatsarasya velā āsit tāvaḥ bibhrat paryapḷavata[59] | 3. Sa saṁvatsare vyājihitrhat | sa ‘bhūr’ iti vyāharat sā iyam prithivy abhavadd[60] ‘bhūvaḥ’ iti tad ādāṁ antarikšam abhavat ‘svar’ iti sā asau dvaya abhavat tasmād u saṁvatsare eva kumāro vyājihitrati saṁvatsare hi Prajāpatir vyāharat | . . . 6. Sa sahasrāyur jañye | sa yathā nadyai pāram parāpaśye evam svasyāyusyaḥ pāram parāchakhyau | 7. So ‘rchaṁ brāmyaṁś chachāra pra jākāmaḥ |

[56] S’atapatha Brāhmaṇa, vi. 7, 1. 17.—Tasya āpaḥ eva pratisṭhāḥ | apsu hi ime lokāḥ pratisṭhitāḥ | “Waters are its support: for these worlds are based upon the waters.” S’atapatha Brāhmaṇa, xiv. 8, 6, 1 (=Brihad Aranyaka Upanishad, p. 974).
—Apo evedad agre ānuḥ | tāḥ āpaḥ satyam aṣṭijanta satyam Brahma Brahma Prajāpatim Prajāpatir devōn | “In the beginning waters alone formed this universe. These waters created Truth, Truth created Brahma, Brahma created Prajāpati, and Prajāpati the gods.” Compare Taitt. Sanh. vii. 1, 5, 1 ff.; Taitt. Br. i. 1, 3, 5 ff.; and Taitt. Arany. i. 23, 1 ff. quoted in pp. 31 and 52 ff. of vol. i. this work. To the same effect is Taitt. Sanh. v. 7, 5, 3, Āpo vai idam agre salilam āsit. The A. V. xii. 1, 8, also says: yā ‘rṇave ṛṇi satilam agre aṣid yām meyāhvāṁ anvacharan manishyaḥ | “That earth which formerly was water on the ocean, which the sages followed after by their divine powers,” etc. R. V. x. 109, 1, speaks of the “divine first-born waters” (ōpo devōḥ prothamaṁjāḥ). The S’atap. Br. xiv. 2, 2, 2, represents the wind as the ocean, which was the source from which the gods and all creatures issued (aṣiṁ vai samudrō yo ‘yam pavate | tasmād vai samudrāt sarve devōḥ sarvōḥ bhūtāni samudrāvanti |”

[59] Tasya Prajāpati āśpadāṁ kimapi na babhuva sa cha nirādharavat sthātum aśakṣavaṁ idam eva bhūmam hiranyanāyāṁ punaḥ saṁvatsara-parjanyaṁ bibhrad dārṣyan tāṅsv evōṣu paryasvat | “There was no resting place for Prajāpati; and he, being unable to stand, from the want of any support, occupying this divided golden egg for a year, floated about on these waters.” Commentary.

sa ātmany eva prajātim adhatta sa āṣyenaiva devān asṛjata | te devāh
divam abhipadya asṛjyanta tad devānām devatvām yad divam abhipadya
asṛjyanta | tasmai saśrijänāya divā iva āsa61 | tad veva devānām devatvām
yad asmai saśrijänāya divā iva āsa | 8. Atha yo 'yam avān prāṇas tena
asurān asṛjata | te imām eva prithivim abhipadya asṛjyanta | tasmai
saśrijänāya tamaḥ iva āsa | 9. So 'vet "pāṃnām vai arīkshi yasmai
me saśrijänāya tamaḥ iva abhūd" iti | tāṁs tataḥ eva pāṃmanā 'vidhyat |
te tataḥ eva parābhavan | . . . . 14. Tāh vai etāh Prajāpater adhi
devatāh asṛjyanta Aṇvūr Indräḥ62 Somaḥ Parameshthi prajāpatyah |
. . . . 18. Sa Prajāpātīr Indrāṇ putram abruvīd ityādi |

"In the beginning this universe was waters, nothing but water. The waters desired, 'how can we be reproduced?' So saying, they
toiled, they performed austerity. While they were performing austerity,
a golden egg came into existence. Being produced, it then became
a year. Wherefore this golden egg floated about for the period of a
year. 2. From it in a year a male (purusha) came into existence, who
was Prajāpati. Hence it is that a woman, or a cow, or a mare, brings
forth in the space of a year, for in a year Prajāpati was born. He
divided this golden egg. There was then no resting-place for him.
He therefore floated about for the space of a year, occupying this
golden egg. 3. In a year he desired to speak. He uttered 'bhūr,'
which became this earth; 'bhuvah,' which became this firmament; and
'svar,' which became that sky. Hence a child desires to speak in a
year, because Prajāpati spoke in a year. . . . 6. He was born with
a life of a thousand years. He perceived the further end of his life,
as [one] may perceive the opposite bank of a river. 7. Desiring
offspring, he went on worshipping and toiling. He conceived progeny
in himself: with his mouth he created the gods. These gods were
created on reaching heaven. This is the godhead of the gods (devāh)
that they were created on reaching heaven (divām). To him while
he was continuing to create, it became, as it were, daylight (divā).
This is the godhead of the gods, that to him as he was continuing to

61 Divā iva āsa | ākāśaḥ iva bābhūva | Comm. Comp. Taitt. Br. ii. 2, 9, 9, translated
in the first volume of this work, p. 30.
62 In R. V. x. 134, 1 ff. Indra is said to be the son of a mother whose name is not
mentioned. See, however, the fifth volume of this work, where this subject is
referred to.
create, it became, as it were, daylight. 8. Then from this lower breath he created the Asuras. They were created when they reached this world. To him, when creating, darkness, as it were, appeared. 9. He knew: ‘I have created evil, since as I was creating, darkness, as it were, appeared.’ He then pierced them with evil; and they in consequence were overcome . . . . 14. These [following] gods were created from Prajāpati,—Agni, Indra, Śoma, and Parameśthiṇī, son of Prajāpati . . . . 18. Prajāpati said to his son Indra,” etc.

The mundane egg is also mentioned in the Chhāndogya Upanishad (p. 228 ff.): Ādityo Brahma ity ādeṣaḥ | tasyopavyākhyānam | asad eva idam agre āṣīt | tat sad āṣīt | tat samabhavat | tat aṅgaṁ niravarttata | tat saṁvatsarasya mātrām aṣayata | tat nirabhidyata | te aṅga-kapāle rajataṁ cha suvarṇaṁ cha abhavatām | tat yad rajataṁ sā iyam prīthivi yat suvarṇaṁ sā dyaur yaj jaryāy 62 te parvataḥ yad ucaṁ 64 sa megho niḥāro 65 yāḥ dhamanayas 66 tāḥ nadyo yad vāsteyam 67 uḍakam sa samudraḥ | atha yat tad ajāyata so 'sāv Ādityas tāṁ jāyamānaṁ ghoshaḥ uulavo 68 'nudatisṭhan [‘nudatisṭhan?] sarvāṇi cha bhūtāni sarve cha kāmās tasmāt tasyodayam prati pratyāyanam 69 prati ghoshaḥ uulavo 'nudatisṭhan sarvāṇi cha bhūtāni sarve chaiva kāmāḥ | which is thus translated by Babu Rājendralal Mittra: “The sun is described as Brahma;—its description. Verily at first this was non-existent; that non-existence became existent; it developed,—it became an egg: it remained [quiet] for a period of one year; it burst into two; thence were formed two halves of gold and silver. Thereof the argentine half is the earth, and the golden half the heaven. The inner thick membrane [of the egg] became mountains, and the thin one cloudy fog; the blood-vessels became rivers, and the fluid became the ocean; and lastly, what was born therefrom is the sun, Āditya. On its birth arose loud shouts [or shouts of ‘ulu-ulu’], as well as all living beings, and their desires. Hence on the rising, and re-rising [day after day]
of the sun, arise shouts of ‘ulu-ulu,’ as well as all living beings and
their desires.” (Bibl. Ind. No. 78, p. 65.)

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

Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, vii. 4, 3, 5.—Sa yat kūrmo nāma etad vair upaṁ kṛtvas Prājapatiḥ prajāh asrijata | yad asrijata akarot tad yad
akarot tasmaṁ kūrmaḥ | Kaśyapa vai kūrnas tasmād āhuḥ ‘sarvaḥ prajāh
Kaśyapyaḥ iti | sa yaḥ sa kūrmo ’sau sa Ādityaḥ | “Having assumed the
form of a tortoise, Prājapati created offspring. That which he created,
he made (akarot); hence the word kūrna. Kaśyapa means tortoise;
hence men say, ‘all creatures are descendants of Kaśyapa.’” This
tortoise is the same as Āditya.”

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

Thus in the chapter of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa descriptive of Vishṇu’s
incarnations it is said (i. 3, 16): Surāsūrāgāṁ uddhūṃ mathunāṁ
manathāchalam | dadhre kamaṭha-rūpeṇa prishṭhe ekādaśe vibhuḥ | “In
his eleventh incarnation, the Lord in the form of a tortoise supported
on his back the churning-mountain, when the gods and Asuras were
churning the ocean.”

In its application of the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā, 37, 5, the Satapatha
Brāhmaṇa, 14, 1, 2, 11, makes the following allusion to the elevation
of the earth by a boar: “Iyatḥ agrā āśīd” (Vāj. S. 37, 5) iti | iyati
ha vai iyam agrā prithivyā āsa pradeśa-mātrī | tām Eṇūṣhaḥ iti va-
rāḥau | ujjaghāna | so ‘syāḥ patiḥ Prajāpatiṣ tena evam etanmithu-
nena priyena dhāman | samardhayati kriṣṇam karoti ityādi |

“‘She (the earth) was formerly so large,’ etc.; for formerly this

70 Kaśyapa is mentioned in the A. V. xix. 53, 10 (see the fifth volume of this
work, p. 408); as well as in two rather obscure verses of the Sāma-vedas, which do
not occur in the Rigveda. The first is i. 90: Jātah pareṇa dharmayā grat saṁidbhiḥ
saḥābhvaḥ | pitā yat Kaśyapaṣyaśnāḥ Sṛddhā mātā Manuḥ kaviḥ | “Since with
thy companions, thou hast been produced through an excellent rite; since Agni is
the father, Faith (Sṛddhā) the mother, and Manu the bard, of Kaśyapa.” The
second is i. 361: Kaśyapasya saarveśa yāu āhuḥ sauvāva iti | yavay viśvam api
vrateśa yajnaṁ dūrāśa niḥkīyya | “Whom twain the wise, revering, declare to be the
companions of the heavenly Kaśyapa; to whom twain [they declare] the entire
power (or ceremonial) and sacrifice to belong.”

71 See R. V. viii. 66, 10.

72 In regard to these words compare Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, iii. 9, 4, 20.
earth was only so large, of the size of a span. Emūsha, a boar, raised her up. Her lord, Prajāpati, in consequence, prospers him with this pair, the object of his desire, and makes him complete," etc. Compare the passages from the Taïtirīya Sanhitā and Taïtirīya Brāhmaṇa, etc., quoted in the first volume of this work, pp. 52 ff., and 181 ff.; and also the fifth volume of this work, pp. 390 ff.

From Weber's Ind. Stud. i. 78, I find that in the Taïtirīya Āraṇyaka also, the earth is said to have been "raised by a black boar with a hundred arms" (varāhena krishnena śata-bāhunā uddhrītā).

I quote some further texts from the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa relative to Prajāpati.

In the following he is said to have in the beginning constituted the universe, and to have created Agni (see above, p. 26).

Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, ii. 2, 4, 1.—Prajāpatir ha vai idam agre ekāh evāsa | sa aikshata 'kathāṁ nu prajāyeya' iti | so 'srāmyat sa tapo 'tapayata so 'gnim eva mukhāj janayānchakre ītyādi | "Prajāpati alone was all this [universe] in the beginning. He considered, 'how can I be reproduced?' He toiled, and performed austerity. He generated Agni from his mouth." Compare the passages quoted in the first vol. of this work, pp. 24, 69 ff.; in volume third, p. 4; and in volume fifth, pp. 390, ff.

In the next passage he is identified with Daksha:

Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, ii. 4, 4, 1.—Prajāpatir ha vai etenāgre yajneneja prajākāmo 'bahuḥ prajaya-pasubhiḥ syāṁ kriyāṁ gachheyam yasaḥ syām annādāk syām' iti | sa vai Daksho nāma ītyādi | "Prajāpati formerly sacrificed with this sacrifice, being desirous of progeny, [and saying] 'may I abound in offspring and cattle, attain prosperity, become famous, and obtain food.' He was Daksha."

In Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, vi. 8, 1, 14, Prajāpati is said to be the supporter of the universe (a function afterwards assigned to Vishnū): Prajāpatir vai bhurataḥ sa hi idaṁ sarvam bibharti | "Prajāpati is Bharata (the supporter), for he supports all this universe."[74]

73 See R. V. x. 72, 4, 5 (above p. 12).

74 In R. V. i. 96, 3, the epithet Bharata is applied to Agni. The commentator there quotes another text, no doubt from a Brāhmaṇa, esha prāgo bhūteṣu praṇāh bibhātī tasmād esha bharataḥ | "He becoming breath, sustains all creatures; hence he is the sustainer."
Compare the first verse of the Mundaka Upanishad, where Brahmā is called the preserver of the world (bhuvanasya goptā).

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

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

In Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, xiii. 6, 1, 1, Purusha Nārāyaṇa is introduced: Purusho ha Nārāyaṇo 'kāmayata 'atitishṭayaṁ sarvāṁ bhūtāṁ aham eva idāṁ sarvam syām iti | sa etam purusya-medham pancha-rūtraṁ yajnākramam apāyat tam āharaṇa tena ayajata tena iṣṭvā 'tyatityaṁ sarvāṁ bhūtāṁ idāṁ sarvam abhavat | atitishṭati sarvāṁ bhūtāṁ idāṁ sarvam bhavati yaḥ evam vidvān purusya-medhena yujjate yo vai etad evam veda |

"Purusha Nārāyaṇa desired, 'may I surpass all created things; may I alone become all this?' He beheld this form of sacrifice called 'purusya-medha' (human sacrifice) lasting five nights. He took it; he sacrificed with it. Having sacrificed with it, he surpassed all created things, and became all this. That man surpasses all created things, and becomes all this, who thus knowing, sacrifices with the 'purusya-medha,'—he who so knows this." The Purusha-sūkta is shortly afterwards quoted. Comp. Satap. Br. xii. 3, 41, quoted in the fifth volume of this work, p. 377.

In Satap. Br., xi. 2, 3, 1, Brahma (in the neuter) is introduced as being the original source of all things: Brahma vai idam agre āsīt | tad-devān asṛṣyata | tad-devān sreṣṭvā eshu lokashu vyāraham āsmin eva lokes'gānīm Vāyum antariṣkha divy eva Sūryam | "In the beginning Brahma was all this. He created the gods. Having created the gods, he placed them in these worlds, in this world Agni, Vāyu in the atmosphere, and Śūrya in the sky." This passage is quoted at greater length in vol. v. of this work, p. 387 ff. Comp. the other passages quoted in pp. 378–390, and Tattt. Br. iii. 12, 3, 1, cited in p. 361, note, of the same volume; and Satapatha Brāhmaṇa xiv., 4, 2, 21, and 23 (=Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upanishad in Bibliotheca Indica, pp. 198 ff., and 235).

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

"na vai tapasy ānantyam asti hanta aham bhūteshv ātmānaṁ juhavāni bhūtāni cha ātmāni" iti | tat sarveshu bhūteshv ātmānaṁ hutvā bhūtāni cha ātmāni sarveshām bhūtānāṁ śraishṭhyāṁ svārājyām ādhipatyaṁ paryait | tathaiva etad yajamānaḥ sarvamedha sarvān medhān hutvā sarvāṁ bhūtāṁ śraishṭhyāṁ svārājyāṁ ādhipatyaṁ paryeti |

"The self-existent Brahma performed austerity. He considered, ‘in austerity there is not infinity. Come let me sacrifice myself in created things, and created things in myself.’ Then having sacrificed himself in all created things, and all created things in himself, he acquired superiority, self-effulgence, and supreme dominion (compare Manu, xii. 91). Therefore a man offering all oblations, all creatures, in the ‘sarvamedha’ (universal sacrifice), obtains superiority, self-effulgence, and supreme dominion."  

See also Satap. Br. xi. 1, 8, 2 f., quoted in the fifth volume of this work, p. 372, note 554.

The following is the account of the creation, given at a later period by Manu, i. 5 ff., founded, no doubt, on R. V. x. 129, and the passages of the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, given above (pp. 20 ff.), or some other ancient sources of the same character, with an intermixture of more modern doctrines:


5. "This universe was enveloped in darkness, unperceived, undis-

75 See the discussion on the sense of R. V. x. 81, 1, 6, 6 (above, pp. 9 f.).
tinguishable, undiscoverable, unknowable, as it were entirely sunk in sleep. 6. Then the irresistible self-existent Lord, undiscerned, causing this universe with the five elements and all other things, to become discernible, was manifested, dispelling the gloom. 7. He who is beyond the cognizance of the senses, subtle, undiscernible, eternal, who is the essence of all beings, and inconceivable, himself shone forth. 8. He, desiring, seeking to produce various creatures from his own body, first created the waters, and deposited in them a seed. 9. This [seed] became a golden egg, resplendent as the sun, in which he himself was born as Brahmana, the progenitor of all the worlds. 10. The waters are called ‘naraḥ,’ because they are the offspring of Nara; and since they were formerly the place of his movement (ayana), he is therefore called Nārāyaṇa. 11. Being formed by that First Cause, undiscernible, eternal, which is both existent and non-existent, that Male (purusha) is known in the world as Brahma. 12. That lord having continued a year in the egg, divided it into two parts by his mere thought. 13. With these two shells he formed the heavens and the earth; and in the middle he placed the sky, the eight regions, and the eternal abode of the waters.’’

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

On verse 8 Kulluka annotates thus: ‘Tad anḍam abhavad haimam’ iti | tad viṣam Paramesvaroḥkhyā haiman anḍam abhavad haimam eva haimam śuddhi-guṇa-yogad na tu haiman eva | tadiyaika-sakalena bhumi-nirmaṇasya vakṣayamanavād bhūmeśṭhāhaimatvaya pratyaṅkatvād upachārārayaḥ | tamaṁśeviḥ Hiranyakarbhā jātavān | yena pūrva-janmanī ‘Hiranyakarbhā ’ham asmi’ iti bhedābheda-bhāvanayā Paramesvaropāsanā kṛtā tadīyaṁ linga-śartrāvachhinā-jīvam anupraviśya svayam Paramātmā eva Hiranyakarbhā-rūpatayā prādurbhātah | ‘That [seed] became a golden egg,’ etc. That seed by the will of the deity became a golden egg. Golden, i.e. as it were golden, from the quality of purity attaching to it, and not really golden; for since the author proceeds to describe the formation of the earth from one of the halves of its shell, and since we know by ocular proof that the earth is not golden, we see that a mere figure of speech is here intended. ... In that egg Hiranyakarbha was produced: i.e. entering into the living soul,—invested with a subtile body,—of that person
by whom in a former birth the deity was worshipped, with the contemplation of distinctness and identity expressed in the words, ‘I am Hiranyagarbha,’ the supreme Spirit himself became manifested in the form of Hiranyagarbha.’"

The creation is narrated in a similar manner, but without the introduction of any metaphysical elements, in the Harivamśa, vv. 35 ff.:

Tataḥ svayambhūr bhagavān sīśrikshur vividhāḥ praṇāḥ | apaḥ eva sasārijā-
dau tāsu vijam avāsrijat | āpo nārāḥ iti proktāḥ āpo vai nara-sūnavāḥ |
ayanaṁ tasya tāḥ pūrvam tenā nārāyaṇaṁ smṛtāḥ | hiranyavarnam
abhavat tad anāṁ udakeśayam | tatra jāhe svayam Brahma svayambhūr
iti nāḥ śrutam | Hiranyagarbho bhagavān uṣhitvā parivatsaram | tad
anāṁ akarod dvaiḍaḥṁ dīcam bhuvam athāpi cha | tayoḥ śakalayor
mādyo ākāṣam asṛijat prabhuh | apsu pāriplavāṁ prīthvīṁ diśuṣcha
dāsadhaḥ dadhe |

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

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

Harivamśa, vv. 12, 425 ff.—Jagat-śrāšṭu-manāḥ devalaḥ chintayāmāsa
pūrvataḥ | tasya chintayato vaktrād niśrūṣaḥ purusah kila | tataḥ sa
purusho devaṁ kim karomāt upasūryena | pratyutpacho sūryena kṛitvā
deva-devo jagat-patīḥ | ‘vibhajātmanam’ ity uktvā gato ’ntardhānaṁ
śvaraḥ | antarhitasya devasya sāsārasya bhāṣavat | pradīpasye
śaṅsasya gatiḥ tasya na vidyate | tataḥ terneritāṁ viṁśṭiṁ so ’nvachintayata
prabhuh | ‘Hiranyagarbho bhagavān yaḥ esha ekaḥ sadābhavat | evaḥ
prajāpatīḥ pūrvam abhavaḥ bhavanādhipaḥ | tada-prabhṛti tasyādyo
yajna-bhāgaḥ vidhyate | ‘vibhajātmanam’ ity uktas tenāśmi samahatmanā |
katham ātmā vibhajyāḥ syāt suṁśayo hy atra ms mahān” |
"Being desirous to create the world, the deity formerly meditated. As he meditated, a man (purusha) issued from his mouth. This man then approached the deity, [saying] 'what am I to do?' The god of gods, the lord of the world, answered smiling, 'divide thyself.' Having thus spoken, the lord vanished. The path of the radiant embodied deity, when he has vanished, is not known, like that [of the flame] of an extinguished taper. The lord then meditated [thus] upon the word which the deity had uttered: 'This divine Hiranya-garbha, who is celebrated in the Vedic hymn, was formerly the one sole Prajāpati, the ruler of the world. Thenceforward the first half of the sacrifice is allotted to him. 'Divide thyself,'—thus have I been commanded by that mighty being. But how is the self to be divided? Here I have great doubt.'" Then follow the verses which have been quoted in the third volume of this work, p. 13 f., to which I refer.

The Rāmāyana, which I quote first according to the recension of Schlegel (which here coincides with the Serampore, and essentially with the Bombay, editions), thus describes the origin of the world:

Rāmāyana (Schlegel's ed.), ii. 110, 2 ff. — Imāṁ loka-samutpattiṁ loka-nātha nibodha ma | 3. Sarvaṁ salilam evāsit prīthivi yatra nirmiṁ |
tataḥ samabhavād BrahmA svayambhūr daivataiś saha | 4. Sa varāhas tato bhūtvā projjahāra vasundhāram | asrījachoha jagat sarvaṁ saha putraṁ kriyātmabhiḥ |
5. Ākāśa-prabhavo BrahmA śāvato nityam avyayaḥ | tasmād Mariciḥ sanjña Maricheḥ Kaśyapaḥ sutaḥ | 6. Vivasvaṁ Kaśyapaḥ jajna Manuṁ Vivasvataḥ smṛitaḥ | sa tu Prajāpatiḥ pūrvam ityādi |

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

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


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

It will be noticed that at the end of the third śloka, the reading of the first recension, viz. Brahmā svayambhūr daivataḥ saha, “Brahmā, the self-existent, with the deities,” is, in the second, changed into Brahmā svayambhūr Viṣṇur avyayaḥ, “Brahmā, the self-existent, the imperishable Viṣṇu,” whereby Brahmā becomes a mere manifestation of Viṣṇu,—a character of which we have no hint in the earlier recension. Similarly the words which are given in Schlegel’s recension, at the close of the fourth śloka, viz. saha putraiḥ kriśtmabhīḥ, “with the saints, his sons,” are in the other recension altered into sascarācharam avyayam, “movable and immovable, and imperishable”—epithets descriptive of the world. This second alteration was rendered necessary by the first: for as soon as the god who is the subject of the passage had been changed from Brahmā to Viṣṇu, the mention of sons became inapplicable; as Viṣṇu is not described in the accounts of the creation as having any sons, whereas Brahmā is.
WATERS PRODUCED FROM THE ETHER.

Compare with the fifth verse of the passage before us (in Schlegel's text), the Vishnu Purana, i. 7, 1 ff.; quoted in the first volume of this work, pp. 64 f. The accounts of Brahmas's descendants are not, however, always consistent. See Manu, i. 32 ff., and Vishnu Purana, i. 7, 12 ff., quoted in pp. 35 ff., and 64 f., of vol. i.

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

\[ Bh\text{\u098bp}r\text{\u0988}gur uv\text{\u0985}\text{\u0988}a\text{\u0982}a | Praj\text{\u098e}a-visar\text{\u0985}ga\text{\u0982}a vividham \text{\u0938}\text{\u093e}\text{\u0926}m Manaso manas\text{\u093e} 'srijat | sa\text{\u092a}\text{\u0935}raksha\text{\u0935}n\text{\u093e}r\text{\u0935}tam bh\text{\u0938}\text{\u0935}t\text{\u0926}n\text{\u093e}m srishtam prathamato jalam | ya\text{\u0915}h pr\text{\u0915}\text{\u0935}n\text{\u093e} kara\text{\u0935}m bh\text{\u0938}\text{\u0935}t\text{\u093e}n\text{\u093e}m var\text{\u0926}thane yena cha praj\text{\u0935}h | parityakta\text{\u0935} cha nas\text{\u0935}\text{\u093e}yanti tenedam sar\text{\u093e}vam \text{\u093e}\text{\u0928}\text{\u093e}ritam | pr\text{\u0935}thiva\text{\u092a}vata\text{\u0935}h megh\text{\u0935}h m\text{\u0935}rtimanta\text{\u0935} cha ye \text{\u0924}pare | sar\text{\u0935}vam tad var\text{\u0935}\text{\u093e}na\text{\u093e}m jneyam \text{\u0935}\text{\u093e}pas tastambhire yata\text{\u0935}h |

Brahmakalpe pura brahman brahmashini\text{\u093e}m samagame | loka-sambha\text{\u0935}va-sandeha\text{\u0935}h samutpanno mahatmanam | te 'tish\text{\u0935}\text{\u093e}tham dhy\text{\u0935}anam alambya maungam astha\text{\u0935}ya nishala\text{\u0935}h | tyaktahara\text{\u0935}h pavana-pa\text{\u0935}h divay\text{\u0935}m varsha\text{\u0935}sam dvij\text{\u0935}h | tesh\text{\u0935}h Brahma\text{\u0935}m\text{\u093e}y vi\text{\u0915}\text{\u0935}h sarvesha\text{\u093e}m \text{\u0935}\text{\u093e}\text{\u0926}\text{\u0935}rotram \text{\u0935}\text{\u093e}g\text{\u0935}mah | divya Sarasvat\text{\u0935}tatra sambab\text{\u0935}va nama\text{\u0935}h | tata\text{\u0935}h sa\text{\u0935}\text{\u093e}lam utpanna\text{\u0935}h tama\text{\u0935}h | tasm\text{\u0935}c cha salilotp\text{\u0935}d\text{\u0935}d utatish\text{\u0935}tha m\text{\u0935}ruttak |

"Bhrigu says: M\text{\u0938}nas\text{\u0935} (the Intellectual) 'formed by a mental effort the varied creation of living beings. For the preservation of creatures water was first produced,—water which is the breath of all creatures, by which they grow, and forsaken by which they die:—by it all things were covered. The earth, the mountains, the clouds, and other material objects;—all these things must be understood as aqueous, because the waters supported them." Bharadv\text{\u0935}ja asks how water, fire, air [or wind], and earth were created, and Bhrigu replies: "Formerly, in an assemblage of Brahma rishis, in the Brahmakalpa, a doubt arose in their minds as to the production of the worlds. These Brahmanas continued fixed in meditation and in silence, eating no food, drinking in only air, for a hundred years of the gods. A voice, of the essence of Brahma, reached the ears of them all: the divine Sarasvat\text{\u0935} |

\[ 78 \text{This word is defined in v. 6775: } M\text{\u0935}nas\text{\u0935} nama ya\text{\u0935}h p\text{\u0935}\text{\u093e}vo vi\text{\u0935}ruto vai mahar\text{\u0935}\text{\u093e}hi\text{\u0935}bh\text{\u0935}h | an\text{\u0935}\text{\u093e}di-nidhano devas tatha 'bhedyo j\text{\u0935}\text{\u093e}mar\text{\u0935}h | "The primeval god, without beginning or dissolution, indivisible, undecaying and immortal, who is known and called by great rishis M\text{\u0938}nas," etc. \]
sprang forth from the heavens. Formerly the infinite ether, motionless, like a mountain,—moon, sun and air having been destroyed in it,—appeared as it were asleep. Then water was produced like another darkness (tamas) in darkness, and from the foam of that water arose air."

Before proceeding to quote the other texts which I have to adduce regarding the egg of Brahmā, I shall here introduce two quotations, to show how the assumption of the form of a boar, ascribed in the older recension of this passage of the Rāmāyaṇa to Brahmā, is in works of a later date represented as the act of Vishnu. The first passage forms a part of the rapid enumeration of the twenty-two incarnations of Vishnu, in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, i. 3, 7: Dvitiyāṁ tu bhavāyaśya rasā-tala-gatāṃ mahīṃ | udāharishyann upādatta yajñesah sau karaṁ vapaḥ | "Secondly, with a view to the creation of this universe, the lord of sacrifice, being desirous to raise up the earth, which had sunk into the lower regions, assumed the form of a boar."

The second passage to be adduced is from the Vishnu Purāṇa, i. 4, 1 ff. (p. 57 ff. of Wilson’s English trans., Dr. Hall’s ed., vol. i.), and has been already partly quoted in the first volume of this work, pp. 50 ff.: Maitreya uvācha | Brahmā Nārāyaṇakhyo ‘sau kalpādau bhagavān yathā | sasarjja sarva-bhūtāni tad āchakshaṇa mahāmune79 | Purāśarāḥ uvācha | prajāḥ sasarjja bhagavān Brahmā Nārāyaṇatmakaḥ | prajāpati- pātir devo yathā tan me niṣāmaya | atita-kalpāvasāne niṣā-suptoṭhitāḥ | prabhuh | sattvadriktas tato Brahmā śānyaṁ lokāṁ avaikshata | Nārā- yanāḥ para ‘chintyaḥ paresāṁ api sa prabhuh | Brahma-svarūpiḥ bhaga-79 I take the opportunity of quoting here an answer given in the Vishnu Purāṇa, i. 3, 1 ff. (p. 44 of Wilson’s trans. in Dr. Hall’s ed. vol. i.), to the question how it is conceivable that Brahmā should create,—an answer which, if admitted as the only solution of the problem, would have rendered many speculations of the Indian philosophers unnecessary. Maitreyaḥ uvācha | nirguṇasya-prameyasya siddhasyāpy amalātmahāḥ | kathan sarpaścikṣārītitevam Brāhmaṇo ‘bhuyapadyate | Purāśaraḥ uvācha | saktyāḥ sarva-bhūvaṇām achintya-jñāna-gocarāḥ | yato 'to Brahmaṇās tāṁ tu sarpaścikṣāḥ bhava-śaktyāḥ | bhavanti tapasyā śreṣṭhā pūvakṣasya yathoṣaṁtva] "Maitreya asks: How can the agencies of creation, etc., be possible to Brahma, who is devoid of the [three] qualities, immeasurable, pure, and free from stain? Parāśara answers: Since powers which could not be imagined [?] are actually known to belong to all natures, therefore, O chief of ascetics, these powers of creative agency, etc., belong to the essence of Brahma, as heat is an attribute of fire." Dr. Hall translates differently. See his note. Can the proper reading be achintyaḥ in place of achintya?
vān anādiḥ sarvā-sambhavaḥ | toyāntaḥ sa mahīṁ jñātva jagaty ekārṇave
prabhūḥ | anumāṇad tad-uddhārāṁ karttu-kāmaḥ Prajāpatiḥ | akarot
sa tānām anyām kalpādīśu yathā purā | matsya-kūmāvādikaṁ tadev
vārāhāṁ vapur āśkhitāḥ | vedā-yajnamayam rūpam aśesa-jagataḥ
sthitau | sthitāḥ sthīrātmā sarvātmā paramātmā Prajāpatiḥ | janałoka-
gataiḥ Siddhāṁ Sanakādyāṁ abhīshṭutaiḥ | pravīvesa tada toyam ātmā-
dhāro dharaṇāḥ | nirūkṣhya taṁ tādā devi pāṭāla-talam ugaṭam
| tushṭāva praṣatā bhūtvā bhakti-namrā vasunāharaḥ | Prthivy uvāca |
Namas te sarva-bhūṭaya tābhyāṁ śāṅkha-gada-dhara | mām uddhār-
āsmaḥ adya tvam tvatvāḥam purvam utthitaḥ | ... sambhakshayitvā
sakalaṁ jagaty ekārṇavikrite | āhams tvam eva Govinda chintyamāno
maṁśhībhiḥ | bhavato yat paraṁ rūpaṁ tan na jānāti kācchana | avatā-
reṣu yad rūpaṁ tad archanti divaukasah | tvām ārādhya paraṁ Brahma
yātāḥ muktim mumukṣahavah | Vāsudevaṁ anārādhyo ko mokṣham sama-
vāpsyati | ... tvām yajna tvam vahaṅkāras tvam omkāras tvam
agnayaḥ | ... Evam samstāyamānas tu Prthivyā prthivi-dharaḥ |
sāma-svara-dvaniṁ śrimān jagacjja parighurgharam | tataḥ samātokshipyaj
dharāṁ sa damshṭrayā mahāvarāhaḥ sphaṭa-padma-lochanāḥ | vasātalād
upala-patra-samihāḥ samutthito nilaḥ ivāchalo mahān | ... evam
samstāyamānas tu Paramātmā mahīdharaḥ | uvāhāra mahīṁ kṣhipram
nyastavāṁ oha mahāmbhai | tasyopari jalaṅghasya mahatt naur eva
sthitā | vītatatvāḥ tu dehasya na mahī yāti samplavam |

"Maitreya said: Tell me, great Muni, how, at the beginning of the
Kalpa, that divine Brahmā called Nārāyaṇa created beings. Parāśara
replied: Hear from me how the divine Brahmā, lord of the Prajāpatis,
who had the nature of Nārāyaṇa, created living beings. At the close of the
past (or Pādma) Kalpa, Brahmā, the lord, endowed predominantly with
the quality of goodness, awoke from his night-slumber, and beheld the
universe void. He [was] the supreme lord Nārāyaṇa, who cannot even
be conceived by others, existing in the form of Brahmā, the deity with-
out beginning, the source of all things. [The verse given in Manus
i. 10, and the Harivanśa, v. 36, regarding the derivation of the word
Nārāyaṇa, is here quoted.] This lord Prajāpati, discovering by in-
ference,—when the world had become one ocean,—that the earth lay
within the waters, and being desirous to raise it up, assumed another
form. As he had formerly, at the commencement of the [previous]
Kalpas, taken the shape of a fish, a tortoise, etc. (so now), entering
the body of a boar,—a form composed of the Vedas and of sacrifice, —the lord of creatures, who throughout the entire continuance of the world remains fixed, the universal soul, the supreme soul, the self-sustained, the supporter of the earth, hymned by Sanaka and other saints residing in the Janaloka, entered the water. Beholding him then descended to Pātāla, the goddess Earth, bowing down, prostrated in devotion, sang his praise: ‘Reverence, bearer of the shell and club, to thee who art all things: raise me to-day from this place: by thee have I been formerly lifted. . . . Having swallowed up the universe, when the world has become one ocean, thou, Govinda, sleepest, meditated upon by the wise. No one knows that which is thy highest form: the gods adore that form which [thou assumest] in thy incarnations. Worshipping thee, the supreme Brahma, men desirous of final liberation have attained their object. Who shall obtain liberation without adoring Vāsudeva? . . . . Thou art sacrifice, thou art the vashaṭkāra (a sacrificial formula), thou art the oṃkāra, thou art the fires.' . . . . Being thus celebrated by the Earth, the glorious upholder of the earth, with a voice like the chanting of the Śāmaveda, uttered a deep thundering sound. Then the great boar, with eyes like the expanded lotus, tossing up the earth with his tusk, rose up, resembling the leaf of the blue lotus, from the lower regions, like the great blue mountain. . . . [The boar is then again landed by Sanandana and other saints, in a hymn, in the course of which his different members are compared in detail to some of the materials and implements of sacrifice, etc.—See Wilson’s Vishñu Purāṇa, 2nd ed., i., pp. 63 ff.] . . . . Being thus hymned, the supreme Soul, the upholder of the earth, lifted the earth up quickly, and placed it upon the great waters. Resting upon this mass of waters, like a mighty ship, the earth does not sink, owing to the expansion of its bulk.”

Another instance in which an act ascribed to Brahmā by earlier writers is transferred to Vishnu in the later Purāṇas, may be found in the story of the deluge in the Mbh., Vanaprastha, 12, 797 ff. (see the first volume of this work, pp. 196 ff.); towards the conclusion of which, vv. 12, 797 f., the Fish declares himself to be Brahmā: Athābhiṣaṅgat animśas tān riṣhim sa hitas tada | ahem Prājāpatir Brahmā yat-paryayā nādhīganiyate | matsya-rūpeṇa yugyantam mayā 'smād mokṣhitāḥ dhayāt | “Then the god (lit. the unwinking), kindly-disposed, said to those rishis, ’I am the Prajāpati Brahmā, above whom no Being is discoverable: by me in the form of a fish
The Linga Purāṇa, however, which is of the Saiva class, and has not, as such, any interest in glorifying Viṣṇu, describes Brāhma as the deity who took the form of a boar: Part i. 4, 59 ff.: Rātran caikārnave Brāhma nashṭa sthāvara-jangame | sushrāpāmbhaisa yas tasmaḥ Nārāyaṇaḥ tī tīrthaḥ | sarvānante prabuddha vai dṛṣṭvā sānyāṃ charāḥcaram | srashtūṇ tadā matiṁ chakre Brāhma brāhma-viḍāṃ varaḥ | udakair āplutām kshmāṁ tāṁ samādāya sanātanaḥ | pūrva-vat sthāpayāmāsa varāham rāpaṁ āsthitāḥ | “In the night, when all things movable and immovable had been destroyed in the universal ocean, Brāhma slept upon the waters, and is hence called Nārāyaṇa. At the close of the night, awaking, and beholding the universe void, Brāhma, chief of the knowers of Brahma, then resolved to create. Having assumed the form of a boar, this eternal [god] taking the earth, which was overflowed by the waters, placed it as it had been before.”

[In Böhtlingk and Roth’s Lexicon, s. v. varāha, reference is made to a further passage from the Taittī S. vi. 2, 42, in which the boar is mentioned (see above, pp. 27 f.). I quote this with another story which follows it: Yajno devabhya nilāyata Viṣṇurūpaṃ kṛtiyā | su prāthivim prāviṣat | taṁ devāḥ hastān saṁrābhya aichhān | tam Indraḥ upary upary aty akrāmat | so ’bravīt “ko mā ’yan upary upary aty akrāmat” iti | “aham ērga hantā” iti | athā “kas tvam” iti | “aham ērga ēhantā” iti | so ’bravīt “ērga vai hantā avoḥathāḥ | varāha ’yan vāmamahāḥ saptaṇām girīnām parastād vittāṁ vedyam

you have been delivered from this danger.”’ Compare the story as told in the Bhūg. Pur. (and see Burnouf, Pref. to Bhūg. Pur., iii. p. xxiii.). Bhūg. Pur. viii. 24, 4: Ity ukto Viṣṇurūtaṃ bhagavān Vādarāyaṇiḥ | uvāca charitaṃ Viṣṇo mātaya-rūpeṇa yat kṛitam | Sūkaḥ uvāca | . . . . 7. aśād atita-kalpante Brāhma vāmi-mātika layaḥ | samudrapapāplūs tatra lokāḥ bhūrādayo nripa | 8. Kātenāya-nidrasya dhātuḥ bīśvyishor bali | mukhato niḥritīn veyān Hayagrīva ’ntike ‘haraṇ | 9. Juśtrā tad dānavendrasya Hayagrīvaṇa cheshṭatam | dadhāra sapheṇḍriṇam bhagavān Hāturī ēvarāḥ ētyādi | “Being thus addressed by Viṣṇu, the divine Vādarāyaṇi related the deed of Viṣṇu done by him under the form of a fish. Sūka said . . . . 7. At the end of the past Kalpa there was a Brāhma, or partial, dissolution of the universe (see Wilson’s Viṣṇ. Pur., 2nd ed., vol. i., p. 113; vol. v., p. 186); in which the earth and other worlds were submerged under the ocean. The powerful Hayagrīva [coming] near, snatched away the Vedas which had issued from the mouth of the creator, who from drowsiness, which had supervened through time, was disposed to sleep. Having discovered this deed of Hayagrīva, chief of the Dānavas, the divine lord, Hari, took the form of a saphari fish,” etc.
"The sacrifice, assuming the form of Vishnu, disappeared from among the gods, and entered into the earth. The gods joined hands, and searched for him. Indra passed over above him. He (Vishnu) said, 'Who is this who has passed over above me?' (Indra replied:) 'I am he who slays in a castle; but now who art thou?' (Vishnu said:) 'I am he who carries off from a castle.' He (Vishnu) said: 'Thou hast said a slayer in a castle. This boar, the plunderer of wealth, keeps the goods of the Asuras on the other side of seven hills. Kill him, if thou art a slayer in a castle.' He (Indra), plucking up a bunch of Kuśa grass, pierced through the seven hills, and slew him. He (Indra) then said: 'Thou hast said I am he who carries off from a castle; so carry him off.' He (Vishnu), the sacrifice, carried off the sacrifice for them. Inasmuch as they obtained (avindanta) these goods of the Asuras, this is one reason why the altar is called vedi.

'This earth formerly belonged to the Asuras, whilst the gods had only as much as a man can see when sitting. They (the gods) said, 'Let us have a share in this earth also?' 'How much shall we give you?' (asked the Asuras). 'As much as this she-jackal can go round in three (steps).' Indra, assuming the form of a she-jackal, stepped all round the earth in three (strides). Thus the gods obtained (avindanta) it. And from this circumstance the altar derives its name of vedi."

Compare the various stories about the original position of the gods in reference to the Asuras, given above, and in the fifth vol. of this work, p. 15, note].
To return to the mundane egg. In the Vishnu Purana i. 2, 45 ff. we have the following account of its production, in which the simplicity of the older mythical conceptions is destroyed by the intermixture of metaphysical ideas borrowed from the Sankhya philosophy. In fact, though it forms here the subject of a magniloquent description, the egg was an element in the cosmogonic traditions with which any writers less ingenious and fanciful than the authors of the Puranas would, perhaps, have found it somewhat inconvenient to deal in such a way as to harmonize with the current philosophical speculations: 

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"Ether, air, fire, water and earth, when joined in order, with sound and the other qualities in succession, are then called specific, being soothing, terrific, or stupefying, but being of different powers, and separated from one another, they could not, without contact, and without being combined together, produce living creatures. [At length] having attained to mutual conjunction, being dependent upon each other, having a tendency to amalgamation, and having so attained an

entire unity,—being presided over by Purusha (spirit) and favoured by Pradhāna (matter), these principles, commencing with Mahat (intellect), and down to the gross elements inclusive, generate an egg. Gradually augmented from the elements, smooth like a bubble of water, that vast egg, resting on the water, was the material and appropriate receptacle of Vishnu in the form of Brahmā. There, indiscernible in his essence, Vishnu, the lord of the world, himself abode in a discernible shape, in the form of Brahmā. It was like mount Meru; the mountains were the womb, and the seas were the uterine fluids of that vast [production]. In that egg, O Brahman, were collected the worlds, with their hills, continents, and oceans, the luminaries, the gods, Asuras, and men. This egg was enveloped externally by water, fire, air, ether, and the source of the elements (bhūtādi, i.e. ahankāra) increasing in tenfold progression; and in the same way ‘Ahankāra’ was invested by ‘Mahat’; and Mahat with all these [aforesaid principles] was surrounded by the indiscreet principle (Pradhāna). The egg is enveloped in these seven material coverings, as the seed within the cocoa-nut is surrounded by the outward husks. Assuming there the quality of passion (rajas) Hari, the universal lord, himself becoming Brahmā, engages in the creation of this world.”

The Vishnu Purāṇa does not connect the egg any further with the creation, or tell us how it became divided, etc., etc.


“And these principles, from Mahat to the gross elements inclusive, generate an egg, like a bubble of water, from which issued the Parent [of the universe], who was the same as divine Rudra, and Vishnu, the omnipresent lord. Within that egg these were these worlds,—this entire universe. The egg was externally invested with a tenfold ether; in like manner, the ether, sprung from sound, was surrounded by ‘ahankāra’;
the cause of sound (aṅkāra) by Mahat, and the latter itself by Pradhāna. These men call the seven coverings of the egg; its soul is Kamalāsana (Brahmā). Here ten thousand crores of crores of eggs are declared (to exist), in which four-faced Brahmās, Haris, and Bhavas (Sivas) were created by Pradhāna, which had attained to proximity with Sambhu (Siva)."

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

"Maitreya said:

12. "The Great principle (Intelligences) arose from the three qualities agitated by the Divine Being in consequence of an inscrutable destiny, supreme and ever wakeful. 13. Springing from the Great principle (in which the quality of passion prevailed, and which was impelled by destiny), the source of the elements (bhūtādi or aṅkāra), characterized by the three qualities (guṇas), created the ether and other principles, in groups of five. 14. These principles being severally unable to create, deposited, when united by the action of destiny, a golden egg formed of the elements. 15. This egg-shell lay lifeless on the waters of the ocean: the Lord dwelt in it for a complete [period of a] thousand years. 16. From his navel sprang a lotus splendid as a thousand suns, the abode of all living things, where Svarat (Brahmā) himself was born. 17. He penetrated by the Divine Being who reposes on the receptacle of waters, constructed as before, the substance (saṃsthā) of the worlds with his own substance."

The same ideas are repeated in a later chapter of the same book:

"Etāny asaṃhatya yadā mahād-ādīni sapta..."

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

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

34. Varsha-pūga-sahasrānte tad aṇḍam udakeśayam | kāla-karma-svabhāva-sthō jīve 'jīvam ajīvayat | 35. Sa eva purushas tasmād aṇḍamā nirbhidyā nirgataḥ | sahasrav-anghri-bāhu-ākṣaḥ sahasrānana-streṣhavān |

34. “At the end of many thousand years, the Life (Jīva) residing in time, action, and nature, gave life to that lifeless egg reposing on the water. 35. Splitting the egg, Purusha issued forth with a thousand thighs, feet, arms, eyes, faces, and heads.”

The same subject is yet again referred to in another text of the same work.

Bhāg. Pur. ii. 10, 10 f.: Purusho 'aṇḍaṁ vinirbhidyā yadda "dau sa vinirgataḥ | ātmano 'yanam avichhann apo 'srākshīḥ chhuchhiḥ suchḥiḥ | tāv avatāt svasriṣṭāsu sahasra-parivatsarān | tene Nārāyaṇo nāma yad āpak puruśodbhavāḥ | 10. “When, splitting the egg, Purusha first issued from it, seeking
a receptacle for himself, he created the pure waters, himself pure.

11. In these waters created by himself he dwelt a thousand years. Hence he is named Nārāyaṇa, because the waters were produced from Purusha.’’

The story about Brahmā’s incestuous passion for his own daughter, which is sometimes alluded to in the Purāṇas, is thus noticed in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, 1, 7, 4,1 ff.82—Prajāpatiḥ ha vai svāṁ duhitaram abhidadhyaou divaṁ và ushasaṁ và ‘mithuny enayā syām’ iti tam sambadēhuva1 2. Tad vai devinām āgaḥ āsa ‘yaḥ itthaṁ svāṁ duhitaram asmākaṁ svasaṛaṁ karoti’ iti | 3. Te ha devāḥ uchur ‘yo ’yaṁ devaḥ pāsūṇām iṣṭe’ tisandhaṁ vai ayaṁ charati yaḥ itthaṁ svāṁ duhitaram asmākaṁ svasaṛaṁ karoti vidhya imam’ iti | tam Rudro ‘bhuyatya vibhayādha tasya sāmi retaḥ prachakanda tathā id nūnaṁ tad āsa | 4. Tasmād tad rishiṇā ‘bhyanuktaṁ ‘pitā yat svāṁ duhitaram adhisṛkan kṣhmayā retaḥ sanjagmāno nishinchaḥ’ iti tad āgni-māruṭam ity uktaṁ tasmiṁs tad vyākhyaẏate yathā tad devaḥ retaḥ prājanayā | teshāṁ yadā devānāṁ krodho vyāid atha Prajāpatīṁ abhisheṣayaṁ tasya tam āsyaṁ nirakrīntaṁ | sa vai yajnaḥ eva Prajāpatiḥ |

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

This is a hymn addressed to Agni and the Maruts; and it is there related in what manner the gods generated this seed. When the anger of the gods had passed away, they applied remedies to Prajāpati, and cut out of him the arrow. Prajāpati is sacrifice.’’

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

82 See the passages from the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa and the Matsya Purāṇa on the same subject, with the remarks subjoined, in the first vol. of this work, pp. 107 ff.
to in the preceding legend, which refers apparently to some atmospheric phenomenon. It is hard to say what gods or powers of nature are denoted by the father and the daughter respectively, and the passage is obscure and difficult to translate, even with the aid of Sāyaṇa's comment, for a copy of which I am indebted to Professor Müller. The 4th verse is addressed to the Aśvins. The commentator regards verses 5–7 as intended to show how "Rudra Prajāpati created Rudra Vāstoshpati with a portion of himself:" (Yathā, svāmśena bhagavān Rudraḥ prajāpatir Vāstoshpatiṁ Rudram asrijat tad etad-ādibhir tiṣṭhis dibhir vadati.)

R. V. x. 61, 4: Krishṇa yad gosu aruṣīshu sīdād divo napātā Aśvinā huve vām | vitam me yajnam āgatam me annaṁ vavānāṁśa na isham asmrita-dhrū. | 5. Prathīṣṭaḥ yasya vīrakarmam ishād anushṭhitam nu naryyo apauhat | punas tad āvrihati yat. kanāyāḥ duhitur āḥ anubhrītam anarvā | 6. Madhyā yat kartvam abhavād abhīke kāman kriṣvānṃ pitārī yuvatyāṁ | manānag reto jahatur viyantā sānau nishiktaṁ sukṛitasya yonau | 7. Pitā yat svām duhitaram adhishkan keśmayā retaḥ sanjagmāno nishinchat | svādhyo ajanayan brahma devaḥ vāstoshpatīṁ vratapāṁ niratakshan | "When the dark female (night) stands among the tawny cows (rays of the dawn?), I invoke you twain, Aśvins, sons of the Sky." Come eagerly to my sacrifice, come to my oblation, as desiring sustenance, ye who do not disappoint my longings. That male, whose prolific virile (organ) was extended, now withdrew it, after it had been sent forth. Again the irresistible [god], draws forth that which had been

83 In S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa vi. 1, 2, 1 ff., it is related that Prajāpati, being desirous of creating, connected himself with various spouses, or associates, for this purpose, first,—in the form of, or by means of, Agni,—with the Earth (So 'gāniḥ gṛhitvāṁ mithunaṁ samabhāvāt): from which union sprang an egg, and thence Vāyu; next, through Vāyu he united himself with the Air (antarikśa, neuter), and again an egg was produced, and thence Aditya (the Sun); thirdly, through Aditya he connected himself with Dyauṣ (the Sky); fourthly, fifthly, sixthly, and seventhly, through his mind (manas) with Vāch; the result of which, in each of the last four cases, was his own pregnancy (garbhaḥ abhāvat).

84 The same phrase occurs in R. V. iii. 29, 8.
85 See the fifth vol. of this work, pp. 234 and 239.
86 Such is the meaning given by Professor Roth to asmrita-dhrū from a+asmrita++-dhrū, "not suffering what I have desired to fall." See s.v. 2, dhrū. Sāyaṇa renders it, asmrita-drohaṁ mayi.droham asmarantaṁ | "forgetting injury—forgetting injury to me."
introduced into the womb of] his youthful daughter: 6. [They then did] in the midst that which was to be done at their contact, when the father loved the youthful damsel,—separating from each other, they discharged a little seed which was shed on the surface, on the place of holy ceremonies. 7. When the father, bent on impregnating his own daughter, united with her, discharged his seed on the earth, the benevolent gods generated prayer, they fashioned Vāstoshpati, the protector of sacred rites."

The same story is repeated in the later literature, as in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa iii. 12, 28 ff., only that Vāch is the daughter of Brahmā who is there spoken of: Vāchaṁ duhitaram tanvīṁ Svayambhū haratīṁ manaḥ | akāmāṁ chakame kshattā sakāmāṁ iti naḥ śrutam | 29. Tam adharma krita-matim vilokya pitaram sutāḥ | Marichi-mukhyā munayo viśram-bhât pratyabodhayan | 30. Naitaṁ purvaiḥ kritaṁ tvad ye na karishyanti chāpare | yas tvam duhitaram gachher anigrīhyāngajam prabhūḥ | 31. Tejyāsāṁ api hy etad na suślokāṁ jagadgirī | yad vṛttam anunīshthan vai lokāḥ kshemāya kalpaṁ | 32. Tasai namo bhagavate ya idaṁ seva rochishā : ātmāsthāṁ vyavayāmāsa sa dharmaṁ pātum arhati | 33. Sa itthāṁ griñataḥ putrān puro dhiṣṭvā prajāpatiṁ | prajāpati-patis tanvāṁ tatyāṁ vṛtātās tadā | tām diśo jagrihur ghorāṁ nihāraṁ yad vidus tamaḥ |

“We have heard, O Kshatriya, that Svayambhū (Brahmā) had a passion for Vāch, his slender and enchanting daughter, who had no passion for him. The Munis, his sons, headed by Marīchi, seeing their father bent upon wickedness, admonished him with affection: ‘This is such a thing as has never been done by those before you, nor will those after you do it,—that you, being the lord, should sexually approach your daughter, not restraining your passion. This, O preceptor of the world, is not a laudable deed even in glorious personages, through imitation of whose actions men attain felicity. Glory to that divine being (Vishnū) who by his own lustre revealed this [universe] which abides in himself,—he must maintain righteousness.’ Seeing his sons, the Prajāpatis, thus speaking before him, the lord of the Prajāpatis (Brahmā) was ashamed, and abandoned his body. This dreadful body the regions received, and it is known as foggy darkness.”

This legend of Brahmā and his daughter, though, as appears from the passage in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, it has occasioned scandal among
the Indian writers from an early period, is not to be regarded in the same light as many other stories regarding the licentious actions of some of the other gods. The production of a female and her conjunction with the male out of whom she was formed, is regarded in Manu i. 32, as one of the necessary stages in the cosmogonic process (and finds its near parallel in the book of Genesis): 

"tvānā dohām arddhena purusho 'bhavā | arddhena nāri tasyāṁ sa Virājam asrijat prabhuḥ | "Dividing his own body into two, [Brahmā] became with the half a man, and with the half a woman; and in her he created (i.e. according to the commentator, begot) Virāj." Compare also the passage from the Vishnu Purāṇa i. 7, 12 ff: quoted in the first volume of this work, p. 65, and the passage from the Satap. Brāhmaṇa cited in the same vol., p. 25 ff. On the injustice of ascribing an immoral character to the Hindu writings, or to the deities whom they describe, on the ground of such legends as the one before us, or of the dialogue between Yama and Yamī in the 10th hymn of the tenth Maṇḍala of the Rig-veda, see some instructive remarks by Prof. Roth in the third vol. of the Journal of the American Oriental Society, pp. 332–337.

The case is different, however, with another class of stories, which are frequently to be met with in the Itihāsas and Purāṇas, in which various adulterous amours, of the Āśvins, Indra, Varuṇa, and Kṛishṇa, are described.—See the passages from the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, iv. 1, 5, 1 ff.; the Mahābhārata, Vanapurva, v. 10, 316 ff., quoted or abstracted in the fifth vol. of this work, pp. 250 ff., and in Indische Studien, i. 198; the Rāmāyaṇa i. 48, 16 ff. (Schlegel's and Bombay ed., Gorresio's ed. i. 49); and the passages quoted from the Mbh. in the first volume of this work, pp. 310, 466 (with note), and 467. In all these cases a licentious character is evidently attributed to the gods. 

87 Ṣaithuna-dharmena Virāt-śanjinaṁ purusham nirmītavān |

88 "The Matsya P. has a little allegory of its own on the subject of Brahmā's intercourse with Ṣatarūpā; for it explains the former to mean the Vedas, and the latter the Śāvitrī, or holy prayer, which is their chief text; and in their cohabitation there is therefore no evil: Ṣvad-prashia saṁrito Brahmā Śāvitrī tad-adhānāhītiḥ | tas-māṁ na kaścid daśoḥ syati Śāvitrī-pamane vibhoḥ | "—Wilson's Vishnu Pur., 2nd ed., vol. i. p. 108, note. See the first vol. of this work, p. 112.

89 Kumārīla Bhaṭṭa, however, attempts to explain allegorically not only the dalliance of Brahmā with his own daughter, but also the adultery of Indra with Ahalyā.—See the passage quoted from him and translated in Müller's Anc. Sansk.
In the case of Krishna the following is the reasoning by which the author of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa attempts to quiet the scruples of some of the purer-minded among the devotees of the pastoral deity, and to vindicate his morality, by seeking to impart a mystic character to those loose adventures which had been the occasion of scandal to them, though, no doubt, well suited to the taste of his coarser worshippers.


Lit., pp. 529 f. In the Rāmāyana i. 49 Indra tells the gods that his adulterous act had tended to their benefit, by exciting the wrath of Gautama and so neutralizing the fruit of those austerities of the saint which threatened danger to the celestials. On this the commentator in the Bombay ed. remarks: Dharma-dhavanaharasāyī S’akrasya adharma pravṛttata vijām darśayītum āha | “What follows is said to show what was the ground of Indra’s practising unrighteousness, though he is the supporter of righteousness.”

90 This passage is partly quoted in my Mata-parikshā, published in Calcutta in 1852, p. 87; and in Prof. Banerjea’s Dialogues, p. 383 f.
"The king said: 27. The divine lord of the world became partially²¹ incarnation for the establishment of virtue, and the repression of its opposite. 28. How did he, the expounder, author, and guardian of the bulwarks of righteousness, practise its contrary, the corruption of other men’s wives? 29. With what object did the lord of the Yadus (Krīṣṇa) perpetrate what was blameworthy? Resolve, devout saint, this our doubt. Śūka said: 30. The transgression of virtue, and the daring acts which are witnessed in superior beings, must not be charged as faults to those glorious persons, as no blame is imputed to fire, which consumes fuel of every description. 31. Let no one other than a superior being ever even in thought practise the same: any one who, through folly, does so, perishes, like any one not a Rudra [drinking] the poison produced from the ocean.²² 32. The word of superior beings is true, and so also their conduct is sometimes [correct]: let a wise man observe their command, which is right. 33. These beings, O king, who are beyond the reach of personal feelings, have no interest in good deeds done in this world, nor do they incur any detriment from the contrary. 34. How much less can there be any relation of good or evil between the lord of all beings, brute, mortal, and divine, and the creatures over whom he rules? (i.e. since he is entirely beyond the sphere of virtue and vice, how can any of his actions partake of the nature of either?) 35. Since Munis, who are satisfied by worshipping the pollen from the lotus of his feet, and by the force of abstraction have shaken off all the fetters of works,—since even they are uncontrolled, and act as they please, how can there be any restraint upon him (the Supreme Deity) when he has voluntarily assumed a body? 36. He who moves within the gopīs (milkmens’ wives) and their husbands, and all embodied beings, is their ruler, who only in sport assumed a body upon earth. 37. Taking a human form out of benevolence to creatures, he engages in sports such as that those who hear of them may become devoted to himself. 38. The [male] inhabitants of Vṛṣṇi harboured no ill-will to Krīṣṇa, since, deluded

²¹ Comp. Mbh. i. 2785. Yasy tu Nāruṇyaṁ nāma deva-devaṁ sanātanaṁ | tasyāṁso mānushaṁ g āyāṁ Vāsudevaṁ prati-pavān | See further passages to be quoted in chapter ii., sect. v., below.

²² This refers to the poison drunk by Śiva at the churning of the ocean. See Rāmāyaṇa i. 45, 26, ed. Schlegel, and Wilson’s Viṣṇu Purāṇa, note p. 78 (1st ed.). The passage of the Rāmāyaṇa will be quoted further in chap. iii., sec. vi.
by his illusion, they each imagined that his own wife was by his side. 39. When Brahma’s night bad arrived, the gopis, beloved and gladdened by Krishna, departed unwillingly to their own homes.”

This passage is followed (v. 40) by an assurance on the part of the author of the Purana, that the person who listens with faith to the narrative of Krishna’s sports with the cowherds’ wives, and who repeats it to others, shall attain to strong devotion to that deity, and shall speedily be freed from love, that disease of the heart (vikridita Vrajasvadhabhir idam cha Vishnoh brddhavnito 'nu riniyuad atha varnaya'd yah | bhaktin param bhagavati pratilabhya kama'm hrid-rogam asv apahinoty achirena dhira'h). A remarkable instance of homoeopathic cure, certainly!

In order to refute [the charge of immorality] in regard to the Supreme Deity, by the *d fortiori* argument, the author states generally the conduct of great persons in the words ‘the transgression,’ etc. The ‘daring acts witnessed’ are those of Prajāpati, Indra, Soma, Viśvāmitra, and others; and these are not to be charged to them as faults. 31. Having intimated the doubt that according to the reasoning ‘whatever an eminent person does,’ etc., etc., there is a danger that another person may do the like,—he says, ‘Let no one do the same,’ etc.; ‘no one other than a superior being,’ i.e. no one who is in subjection to a body, etc.; ‘as any one separate from Rudra using,’ swallowing, ‘poison.’ 32. Whence, then, is the authority for pure conduct? He tells us in the words, ‘of superior beings,’ etc. Their word is true; therefore let their declarations be followed. Their conduct is [only] sometimes true [correct]: therefore, let ‘their correct words,’ viz., that, not being contrary [to right], which is declared by their word, be followed. 33. In answer to the question why these superior beings also thus practise ‘daring acts,’ he states, in the words ‘good deeds,’ etc., that they have no other concern whatever than merely to nullify [the consequences of] their commenced works [so as to prevent these works from interfering with their final liberation]. 34. He arrives at his main subject in the words ‘how much less,’ etc.: i.e. [in the case of ‘the supreme Viṣṇu] there is no such relation of good or evil: What more is to be said? 35. He makes this clear. [The first words here mean either] ‘they who are satisfied by worshipping the pollen of the lotus of his feet;’ or ‘they who are worshippers of the pollen of the lotus of his feet, and are also satisfied, i.e. devotees’; further, who are wise men, not bound,—finding no restraint. The objection that the gopīs were other men’s wives is [here] admitted, and obviated. 36. Now he [further] asserts, in the words ‘the gopīs,’ that in the case of the divine, all-pervading, Being there is no such thing as an attachment to other men’s wives [since he pervades, and is one with, everything]. It is ‘he who moves within, the ruler,’ the witness of the understanding, etc., who in sport takes a body; but he does not resemble such persons as ourselves, so that he should be in fault. 37. The author now, in the words ‘out of benevolence,’ answers

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23 This text, from the Bhagavad Gītā, will be quoted below.
the question why, if the case be so, the Being who has no want unsatisfied should engage in acts which have been censured: the purport is, that he seeks to incline to himself even such persons as are attracted by sensual love, and greatly devoted to external things.\textsuperscript{34} 38. But do not others of a very different mode of life represent their own conduct as of this very description? In reference to this he says 'they harboured no ill-will,' etc. The drift is, that those who without such divine character act in the same way are to be considered sinners.'

The following is the passage referred to by the commentator in his annotation on verse 31. It will be seen that it inculcates a doctrine diametrically opposed to that urged in the earlier part, at least, of the argument by which the author of the Bhāgavata endeavours to justify the adulteries of Kṛishṇa, and perfectly coincident with the tenor of the condemnation which the same author (who is inconsistent with himself) had, in an earlier part of his work, pronounced on Brahmā by the mouth of his sons (above, p. 47):


"20. For it was by works that Janaka and other sages attained perfection. You also ought to act, seeking the edification of mankind."\textsuperscript{35} 21. Whatever a person of eminence practises, that the rest of men also [do]. Whatever authoritative example he sets, the people follow. 22. There is nothing in the three worlds, son of Pṛithā, which I have

\textsuperscript{34} I find this sense of the word _bahirmukha_ in Molesworth's Marathi Dictionary.

\textsuperscript{35} Compare Raghuvirāsa ii. 46. . . . _pathaḥ śueker darśayitārāḥ īśvarāḥ viśīmasāṁ ādādante na paddhatim |”Our lords, who point out to us the pure way, do not [themselves] pursue an unclean path.”"
to do, nor anything unattained which I have to attain; and yet I continue in action. 23. If I were not to continue diligently engaged in works, O son of Pṛithā, men would follow my course in every respect. 24. These people would be ruined if I did not practise works; and I should occasion a confusion of castes: I should destroy these creatures. 25. In the same way as the ignorant, who are attached to works, perform them, so let the wise man perform them, without attachment, seeking the edification of mankind. 26. Let not the wise man create a distraction of mind among ignorant persons who are attached to works: let him fulfil all ceremonies with alacrity, while he practises them with abstracted mind."

I quote here some other interesting stories which I have observed in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa regarding Prajāpati, the creation of the gods, and the manner in which they acquired immortality, and became superior to the Asuras, or to other deities. (Compare the fifth volume of this work, pp. 12–16.) The first extracts tell how Prajāpati himself became immortal, and what difficulties he encountered in the work of creation.

Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, x. 1, 3, 1 (p. 761 ff.)—Prajāpatiḥ prajak asrijata | sa urādhvabhyah eva prānebhya devan asrijata ye vānchaḥ prajās teḥhyo martyah prajak | atha urāhvan eva mṛtyum praṇāhhyo ’ttāram asrijata | 2. Tasya ha Prajāpater arāham eva martyam āṣtā arāham amṛtam | tad yad asya martyam āṣītena mṛtyor abibḥet | sa vibhyad imāṁ praviśad dvayam bhūtvā mṛichcha āpaścha | 3. Sa mṛityur devān abraḥit ‘kva nu so ’bhūd yo no ’sriśta’ iti | ‘tvad vibhyad īmāṁ prā- viśad’ iti | so ’brahīt ‘tāṁ vai anvichhāma tāṁ sambharāma na vai ahaṁ tāṁ hiṁsishyāmi’ iti | tāṁ devāṁ asyāḥ aḥi samabhāran | yad asya apos āṣīt tāḥ apah samabhārann attha yad asyāṁ tāṁ mṛidam | tad ubhayaṁ sambhṛitya mṛidancha āpaścha iṣṭaṁ kaṁ akurvaṁ tasmād etad ubhayaṁ

96 The gods are sometimes mentioned in the Rig-veda (see i. 34, 11; i. 45, 2) as being thirty-three in number. Here is an enumeration of them in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, iv. 5, 7, 2: Āsātra Vasuḥ ṇaḍasi Rudraḥ dvādaśa Ādityāḥ ime eva dvāpa-prithivi trayastrīṁśayau | trayastrīṁśad vai devāḥ Prajāpatiḥ chetrastrīṁśah | "There are eight Vasus, eleven Rudras, twelve Adityas, and these two, heaven and earth are the [thirty-second and] thirty-third. There are thirty-three gods, and Prajāpati is the thirty-fourth."
isfaction bhavati mricha āpaśca 4. Tāta etāh vai asya tāh pancha martyās tanvāh āsan loma tvan māṁsat asthi majjā atha etāh amritāh mano vāk praṇāḥ chakshuḥ śrotam 6. Te devāh ahrvanv ‘amritam imāṁ karavāma’ iti | tasya etabhyām amritābhyaṁ tanubhyām etam martyām tanūṁ parigrihyām amritām akurvann ityādi 7. lato vai Prajāpati amrīto ‘bhavat...

x. 1, 4, 1.—Ubbhayāṁ ha etad agro Prajāpatir āsa martyāṁ chaiva amritanča | tasya praṇāḥ eva amritāḥ āsuh sarirāṁ martyam | sa etena karnaṁ ētayā āvritā ekadhā ‘jaram amritam ātmānam akuruta |

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

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

Satapatha Brāhmaṇa x. 4, 4, 1: Prajāpatīṁ vai praḷāh srijamānam pāṁma mṛityur abhīparijaghaṇa | sa tavo ‘tapyata sahasrāṁ savatsarān pāṁmanāṁ vijīhāsann ityādi | “Misery, death, smote Prajāpati when

97 Comp. Tātt. Sanh. ii. 3, 2, 1. Devaḥ vai mṛityor abhīhayaḥ, te Prajāpatim upādhaṇe | “The gods were afraid of Death: they hastened to Prajāpati,” etc. See also S'atap. Br. x. 4, 2, 2, quoted in the first volume of this work, p. 69.
he was creating living beings. He performed austerity for a thousand years, to get free from misery.” See the passages to a similar effect, quoted in the first volume of this work, pp. 68 ff., and Satap. Br. xi. 4, 3, 1 ff., quoted in the fifth volume, p. 349; and further the same Brāhmaṇa, iv. 6, 3, 1: Prajāpater ha vai praśāh saṣṭijānasya parvāṇi visasraṁsuḥ: “As Prajāpati was creating living beings, his joints became relaxed,” etc.

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

Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, x. 4, 3, 1 ff. (p. 787): Esaha vai mṛtyur yat sāmvatsaraḥ | Esaha hi mṛtyunām aho-rātrābhhyām āyuḥ kshinoṭi atha mṛtyante tasmād esha eva mṛtyuḥ | sa yo ha etam mṛtyuṁ saṁvatsaram veda na ha asya esha purā jaraśaḥ ho-rātrābhhyām āyuḥ kshinoti sarvaṁ ha eva āyur eti | 2. Esaha eva antakaḥ | esha hi mṛtyunām aho-rātrābhyām āyuḥo 'ntaṁ gachhaty69 atha mṛtyante | tasmād esha eva antakaḥ | sa yo ha etam antakaṁ mṛtyuṁ saṁvatsaraṁ veda na ha asya esha purā jaraśaḥ ho-rātrābhhyām āyuḥo 'ntaṁ gachhati sarvaṁ ha eva āyur eti | 3. Te devāḥ etasmād antakād mṛtyoḥ saṁvatsarat Prajāpater bibhayān-chakrur 'yad vai no 'yam aho-rātrābhhyām āyuḥo 'ntaṁ na gachhe' iti | 4. Te etān yajnakaṛatāṁ tenire 'gniḥotraṁ dāra-pūrṇamāsaḥ chāturmaṁ-yāni paśubandhaṁ saumyam adhvarām | et etair yajna-krtubhir yajasmaṁ na amṛtatvam ānāśīre | 5. Te ha apy Agniṁ chikyire | te 'parimitaḥ eva pariśritaḥ upadadhur aparimitaḥ yajushmatir aparimitaḥ lokampringāḥ yathā idam apy etarhy eke upadadhati iti devāḥ akurvann iti te ha eva amṛtatvam ānāśīre | 6. Te 'ṛchantaḥ śrāmyantaḥ cherur amṛtatvam avarurutsamanāṁ | tān ha Prajāpatir uvācha 'na vai me sarvāṇi rūpāṇy upadhattha ati vā eva rechayatha vā 'bhṛyāpayatha tasmād na amṛtāḥ bhavatha' iti | 7. Te ha 'ucluḥ | 'tebhya vai nas tām eva tad brāhi yathā to sarvāṇi rūpāṇy upadadhama' iti | 8. Sa ha uvācha shashtiṁ cha tṛṇi cha satāṁ pariśritaḥ upadhatta shashtiṁ cha tṛṇi cha satāṁ yajushmatir adhi shat-trimiṣataṁ ati lokampringāḥ daśa

69 Comp. Satap. Br. ix. 5, 1, 1 ff., quoted in the first volume of this work, p. 14, note; and the same Brāhmaṇa ix. 3, 3, 2. In Satap. Br. x. 3, 5, 13, happiness, or gladness, is said to be the soul or essence of all the gods (ānandātmāno ha eva sarve devāḥ).

69 Gachhati = gamayati | Comm.
TELLING HOW THE GODS ATTAINED IMMORTALITY.

cha sahasränya ashtau cha śatány upadhatta atha me sarväni rūpāny upadhāsyatathā atha ariritāḥ bhavishyatathā iti | te ha tathā devāḥ upadādhus tato devāḥ ariritāḥ āsuh | 9. Sa mrityur devān abhravā ‘iṁtham eva sarve manushyāḥ ariritāḥ bhavishyanty atha ko mahyam bhāgo bhavishyāti’ iti | te ha uchur ‘na ato ’paraḥ kaśchana saha sarīreṇa arirto ’sad yadā eva tvam etam bhāgam karāsai | atha vyāvritya sarīreṇa [sarīram vighāya, Comm.] arirto ’sad yo ’mrito ’sad vidyāya vā karmāṇa vā’ iti | yad vai tad abruvan ‘vidyāya vā karmāṇa vā’ ity esha ha eva sā vidyā yad Agniṛ etad u ha eva tat karma yad Agniḥ |

10. Te ye evam etad vidur ye vā etat karma kurvate mṛitvā punah sambhavanti | te sambhavantāḥ eva ariritatvam abhi sambhavanti | atha ye evam na vidur ye vā etat karma na kurvate mṛitvā punah sambhavanti te etasya eva annam punah punar bhavanti |

Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, p. 787.—“It is this year which is death; for it wears away the life of mortals by days and nights, and then they die; wherefore it is it which is death. Whoso knows this death [which is] the year,—it does not wear away his life by days and nights before [the time of] his decay: he lives through his whole life. 2. This [the year] is the ender; for it by days and nights brings on the end of the life of mortals, and then they die: hence it is the ender. Whosoever knows this ender, death, the year, it does not by days and nights bring on the end of his life, before his decay: he lives through his whole life. 3. The gods were afraid of this ender, death, the year [which is] Prajāpati, ‘lest he should by days and nights bring on the end of our life.’ 4. They performed these rites of sacrifice, viz. the agnihotra, the darśa and pūrṇamāsa, the chäturmāyas (oblations offered at intervals of four months), the paśubandha, and the saumya adhvara: but sacrificing with these rites they did not attain immortality. 5. They moreover kindled sacrificial fires; they celebrated parīśritis, yajushmatīs, lokam-prīnās, without definite measure, as some even now 100 celebrate them. So did the gods, but they did not attain immortality. 6. They went on worshipping and toiling, seeking to acquire immortality. Prajāpati said to them, ‘Ye do not celebrate all my forms; ye either carry them to excess, or ye do not fully carry them out; hence ye do not become

100 This seems to be a polemical hit aimed by the author of the Brāhmaṇa at some contemporaries who followed a different ritual from himself.
immortal." 7. They said, 'Tell us how we may celebrate all thy forms.' 8. He said, 'Perform 63 hundred paríśrits, 63 hundred and 36 yajushmats, and 10 thousand 8 hundred lokampriñas: ye shall then celebrate all my forms, and shall become immortal.' The gods celebrated accordingly, and then they became immortal. 9. Death said to the gods, 'In the same way all men will become immortal, and then what portion shall remain to me?' They said, 'No other person shall henceforward become immortal with his body, when thou shalt seize this portion [the body]: then every one who is to become immortal through knowledge or work, shall become immortal after parting with his body.' This which they said, 'through knowledge or work,' this is that knowledge which is Agni, that work which is Agni. 10. Those who so know this, or those who perform this work, are born again after death; and from the fact of being born, they are born for immortality. And those who do not so know, or those who do not perform this work, and are born again after death, become again and again his (death's) food.'

Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, xi. i. 2, 12.—Martyāḥ ha vai agre devāḥ āśuḥ | sa yadā eva te saṁvatsaram āpur atha amṛitāḥ āśuḥ | sarvaṁ vai saṁvatsaraḥ | sarvaṁ vai akshayam | etena u ha asya akshayam sukṛtam bhavaty akshayyo lokāḥ | "The gods were originally mortal. When they obtained the year, they became immortal. The year is all: all is undecaying: by it a man obtains undecaying welfare, an undecaying world."

Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, xi. 2, 3, 6.—Martyāḥ ha vai agre devāḥ āśuḥ | sa yadā eva te Brahmāṇā "pur (vyāptāḥ, Comm.) atha amṛitāḥ āśuḥ | "The gods were originally mortal. When they were pervaded by Brahma, they became immortal" (see the context of this passage in the fifth vol. of this work, p. 388). Comp. Tatt. Br., iii. 10, 9, 1, quoted in the first vol. of this work, p. 71.

The following story describes how the gods became distinguished from, and superior to, the Asuras. Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, ix. 5, 1, 12 ff. (p. 741).—Devaśaḥ Asurāśaḥ ubhaye prājāpatyāḥ Prajāpateḥ pitur

101 See Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, ii. 2, 2, 8, quoted in the second volume of this work, p. 388, note 36, for another legend on this same subject, in which the gods are said to have become immortal by another means.
dayam\textsuperscript{102} upayur vācham eva satyānirte satyanehaiva anrītaneха | te ubhaye eva satyam avidann ubhaye 'nritam | te ha sadriśaṁ vadantaḥ sadriśaḥ eva āsuh | 13. Te devaḥ utsrijya anrītām satyam anvālebhire | asurāḥ u ha utsrijya satyam anrītam anvālebhire | 14. Tad ha idaṁ satyam ikshānchakre yad asuresh āsa ' devaḥ vai utsrijya anrītam satyam anvālapṣata hanta tad āyāni' iti tad devān ājagāma | 15. Anrītam u ha ikshānchakre yad devesha āsa 'asurāḥ vai utsrijya satyam anrītam anvālapṣata hanta tad āyāni' iti tad asurān ājagāma | 16. Te devaḥ sarvaṁ satyam avidan sarvaṁ asurāḥ anrītam | te devaḥ āsakti\textsuperscript{103} satyaṁ vadantaḥ aishāvīrataraquo ḍīva āsūr anādhyataraḥ ḍīva ḍīva | tasmād u ha etad yaḥ āsakti satyaṁ vadaty aishāvīrataraquo ḍīva eva bhavata anvādhyataraḥ ḍīva | sa ha te eva antato bhavati\textsuperscript{104} devaḥ hy evāntato 'bhavan | 17. Aṭha ha asurāḥ āsakti anrītam vadantaḥ uṣhaḥ ḍīva pipisur\textsuperscript{106} ādhyāḥ āsūr āsuh | tasmād u ha etad yaḥ āsakti anrītam vadaty uṣhaḥ āsuh eva ṭsīyatv ādhyāḥ āsūr āsuh bhavati parā ha te eva antato bhavati parā hy anvādhyataraḥ bhavati parā hy anvādhyataraḥ | tad yat tat satyaṁ traiyā sā vidya | te devaḥ abrvo tāyām kritātā idāṁ satyamaṁ tanavāmaḥ | . . . . 27. Teshu preteshu triśīya-savanam atavataḥ | tat samaṭhāpayan | yat samaṭhāpayauṁ tat sarvaṁ satyaṁ āpnuvaṁ tato 'surāḥ apapupruvīre | tato devaḥ abhavan parā 'surāḥ | bhavatā atmanā parā 'syā devīshān bhrāṭriyao bhavati yaḥ evaṁ veda | 102 Compare S'atap. Br., i. 7, 2, 22.
103 Āsaktī satyaṁ | kevalāṁ satyaṁ | Comm.
104 Some such preposition as abhi might appear to be wanted here; but Dr. Aufrecht suggests to me that bhavati may be taken in a pregnant sense as meaning, “he really exists, continues, or prevails.” Compare the words at the close of the 27th paragraph of this passage.
105 I am indebted to Dr. Aufrecht for pointing out to me another passage of the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa where the word pisiyati occurs, and which throws light on the one before us. The passage in question occurs in pp. 71, 72, of the Brāhmaṇa, i. 7, 3, 18: Peseukam vā vāstu pisiyati ha pra:vya paśubhir yaṣya evaṁ vidusho 'nuṣh-tubhau bhavataḥ | “His house becomes flourishing, he increases in progeny and cattle,—that man who, when he knows this, has the two anushtubhāṁ.” The commentator explains the word peseukam as equal to abhiyāvahana-śītam, “whose nature is to increase,” and pisiyati as meaning atiśīḍhaḥ bhavati, “he becomes exceedingly augmented.”
106 Comp. Taitt. Br. i. 4, 1, 1. Ubhaye vai ete Prajāpate dahī asṛjjyanta devaḥ cha asurāḥ cha | tān na vyajñānād “ime anye ime anye” iti | “Gods and Asuras were both created from Prajāpate. He could not distinguish the one as different from the other.”
and falsehood. They both spoke truth, and both [spoke] falsehood. Speaking alike, they were alike. 13. Then the gods, abandoning falsehood, adopted truth; while the Asuras, abandoning truth, adopted falsehood. 14. The truth which had been in the Asuras perceived this, ‘the gods, abandoning falsehood, have adopted truth; let me go to it.’ So [saying, truth] came to the gods. 15. Then the falsehood which had been in the gods perceived, ‘the Asuras, abandoning truth, have adopted falsehood; let me go to it.’ So [saying, falsehood] came to the Asuras. 16. The gods [then] spoke entirely truth, and the Asuras entirely falsehood. Speaking truth exclusively (or devotedly), the gods became, as it were, weaker, and, as it were, poorer. Hence it happens that the man who speaks exclusively truth becomes, as it were, weaker and poorer; but in the end he becomes [prosperous], for the gods became so in the end. 17. Then the Asuras, speaking exclusively falsehood, increased like saline earth, and became, as it were, rich. Hence it happens that he who speaks exclusively falsehood increases like saline earth, and becomes, as it were, rich; but succumbs in the end, for the Asuras succumbed. That which is truth is the triple science (the three Vedas). Then the gods said, ‘Let us, after performing sacrifice, celebrate this truth.’” The gods then performed a variety of sacrifices, which were always interrupted by the arrival of the Asuras. At length, 27. “When these had gone, they celebrated the third Savana, and accomplished it. Inasmuch as they accomplished it, they found it entirely true. Then the Asuras went away, and the gods became [superior, while] the Asuras were worsted. The man who knows this becomes in his own person superior, and his hater, his enemy, is defeated.”

Another story relates to the same subject, Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, v. i. 1, 1 (=xi. 1, 8, 1 f.): Devaḥ cha vai Asurās cha ubhaye prajāpatyaḥ pasyādhir | tato ’surāḥ atimānena eva “kasmin nu vayaṁ jahuyāma” iti sveśeva āsyeshu juhvataś cheruḥ | te ’timānena eva parābhuhuvuḥ | tasmād na atimānyeta | parābhavasya hy etad mukhaṁ yad abhimānaḥ | 2. Atha devaḥ anyo ’nasmin juhvataś cheruḥ | tebhyaḥ Prajāpatir atimānena pradadau | yajno ha eshām āsa yajno hi devānām annam | “The gods and Asuras, both of them the offspring of Prajāpati, strove together. Then the Asuras, asking themselves to whom they should offer their oblations, through presumption went on placing them in
their own mouths;\(^{107}\) and in consequence of this their presumption they were overcome. Wherefore let no one be presumptuous; for presumption leads to defeat. 2. The gods went on offering their oblations to one another. Prajavati gave himself to them; sacrifice became theirs; for sacrifice supplies the food of the gods.'\(^{108}\)

The following is from the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, iii. 2, 9, 6 f.: *Asurānāṁ vai iyam agre āsit | yāvad āśīnaḥ parāpaśyati tāvad devānāṁ | te devāḥ abruvan "aste eva no 'yam api" iti "kyaṁ no dāsyatha" iti | "yāvat svayam parigrihyātha" iti | "This [earth] formerly belonged to the Asuras. The gods had only as much as any one can see while sitting. The gods said to them, 'Let us also have a share in it. What will you give us?' 'As much as you yourselves can encompass.'" The different classes of gods then encompassed it on four sides.\(^{109}\)

The next legend explains how inequality was introduced among the gods. Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, iv. 5, 4, 1 (p. 397 f.).—Sarve ha vai devāḥ agre sadriśāḥ āsūḥ sarve punyāḥ | teshāṁ sarveshāṁ sadriśānāṁ sarveshāṁ punyānāṁ trayo 'kāmayanta 'atishṭāvānaḥ syāma' ity Agnir Indraḥ Śūryaḥ | 2. Te 'rachantaḥ śrāmyantaḥ cheruḥ | te etān atigrāhyān da- 
driśus tān atyagrihīnata | tad yad enān atyagrihīnata tasmād atigrāhyāḥ nāma | te 'tisthāvāno bhavan | yathā te etad atishthā eva atishthā iva ha vai bhavati yasya evaṁ viduṣaḥ etān grahān gриhṇanti | 3. No ha vai idam agre 'gnau varcḥāḥ āsa yad idam asmin varcḥāḥ | so 'kāmayata 'idam mayi varcḥāḥ syād' iti | sa etāṁ grahām apaśyat taṁ agrihīnta tato 'sminn etad varcḥāḥ āsa | 4. No ha vai idam agre Īndre ojah āsa yad idam asmin ojah | so 'kāmayata 'idam mayy ojah syād' iti | sa etāṁ grahām apaśyat taṁ agrihīnta tato 'sminn etad ojah āsa | 5. No ha vai idam agre sūrye bhrājaḥ āsa yad idam asmin bhrājaḥ | so 'kāmayata 'idam mayi bhrājaḥ syād' iti | sa etāṁ grahām apaśyat taṁ agrihīnta tato 'sminn etad bhrājaḥ āsa | etāṁ ha vai tejāṁsy etāṁ vyāyāy atman dhatte yasya evaṁ viduṣaḥ etān grahān gриhṇanti |

"Originally the gods were all alike, all pure. Of them, being all alike, all pure, three desired: 'May we become superior,' viz. Agni, Indra, and Śūrya (the sun). 2. They went on worshipping and toiling.

\(^{107}\) Comp. the words ye adhi s'uptāv ajuhvata, R. V. i. 51, 5; and Śāyaṇa's comment thereon.
\(^{108}\) Comp. S'atap. Br. xi. 3, 2, 1: Sarveshaṁ vai esha bhūtōnāṁ sarveshaṁ devānāṁ ātmā yad yajnaḥ | "Sacrifice is the soul of all beings, of all the gods."
\(^{109}\) Comp. S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, vi. 6, 2, 11; vi. 6, 3, 2; xi. 2, 7, 26.
They saw these atigrāhyas; they offered them over and above. Because they did so, these draughts (or cups) were called atigrāhyas. They became superior. As they [became] thus, as it were, superior, so superiority is, as it were, acquired by the man, of whom, when he knows this, they receive these grahas (draughts, or cups). 3. Originally there was not in Agni the same flame, as this flame which is [now] in him. He desired: 'May this flame be in me.' He saw this graha, he took it; and hence there became this flame in him. 4. Originally there was not in Indra the same vigour, etc., etc. [as in para. 3]. 5. Originally there was not in Sūrya the same lustre, etc., etc. [the same as in para. 3]. That man has in himself these forces, these energies, of whom, when he knows this, they receive these grahas."

110 By this name are called "three particular grahas, or sacrificial vessels, with which libations were made in the Jyotishtoma sacrifice to Agni, Indra, and Sūrya." Prof. Goldstücker's Dict. The word is explained by Böhtlingk and Roth, as meaning "haustus insuper hauriendus," a draught to be drunk over and above; the designation of three fillings of the cup, which are drawn at the Soma offering.
CHAPTER II.


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


16. "May the gods preserve us from the place from which Vishnū strode over the seven regions of the earth."³ 17. Vishnū strode over this [universe]; in three places he planted his step: [the world, or

¹ Yujyo vā sañkhā vā, R. V. ii. 28, 10; yuj, i. 10, 9; yuyyāya, ix. 66, 18.
² Mbh. Sānti-Parva, v. 13171: Kramanāčchāḥ cāpy aham Pārthā Vishnur ity abhirasāṃjñitaḥ | "And from striding, O son of Prithū, I am called Vishnu." The A. V. ix. 6, 29, speaks of the steps of Prajāpati being imitated by his worshipper (Prajāpatere vai esha vikramān anuvikramate yaḥ upaharati).
³ Instead of the words prithivyāḥ septa dhāmabhīḥ, the Sāma-veda reads, prithivyāḥ adhi sānamā: "over the surface of the earth." This verse, as well as the following ones, is rendered by Professor Benfey, in his translation of the Sāma-veda, as well as in his "Orient and Occident," i. 30. He understands the place from which Vishnū strides to be the sun, referring to verse 20. For the sense given by Sāyaṇa to this and the following verses, see Wilson’s translation of the Rig-veda and notes in loco. Compare also Rosen’s Latin version.
his step, was] enveloped in his dust. 4. Vishṇu, the unconquerable preserver, strode three steps, thereby maintaining fixed ordinances. 19. Behold the acts of Vishṇu, through which this intimate friend of Indra perceived established laws. 20. Sages constantly behold that highest position of Vishṇu, like an eye fixed in the sky. 21. Wise men, singing praises, and ever wakeful, light up [by the power of their hymns?] that which is the highest station of Vishṇu."

The 17th verse of this hymn is quoted in the Nīrūkta, xii. 19; where we have the following explanations of its purport, derived by Yāska from two older writers:—

Yad idāṁ kinccha tad vikramate Vishṇuḥ | tridhā niḥhatte' padam |
'tredhā-bhāvāya prithivyām antarikshē divī' iti Sākapūṇiḥ | 'sama-rohāne vishṇupade gayaśirasi' ity Aurṇavābhaḥ | 'samudham asya pāṁsura' | puyane 'antarikshe padaṁ na śrīyate | apiśa upamārtho syāḥ | saṁudham asya pāṁsule iva padaṁ na śrīyate ityādi |

"Vishṇu strides over this, whatever exists. He plants his step in a three-fold manner,—i.e. for a three-fold existence, on earth, in the atmosphere, and in the sky,' according to Sākapūṇi; or, 'on the hill where he rises, on the meridian, and on the hill where he sets,' according to Aurṇavābha. 'Samudham asya pāṁsura,' i.e. his step is

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

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

6 Sāyaṇa gives to the root spad the sense of "hindering," or "touching." Benfey, in his S. V., renders paspate by "received," and, in the "Orient und Occident," by "firmly fixed." The sense, he says, is this: "Look to the sun, where the terminus lies from which Vishṇu started (verses 16, 21), and in which all the powers which work in nature have their source." Roth, in his Illustrations of the Nīrūkta, pp. 138 f., thinks that the sense of "beholding" is suitable in all the texts where forms of the root spad occur in the R. V.

7 Benfey renders samindhate "glorify." The commentator on the Vāj. S. 34, 44, makes it dipayante = upāsate. Roth, under the word, explains "they kindle [Agni f] when Vishṇu is in his highest position."

8 Formerly cited in part in the second volume of this work.
not seen in that prolific region, the atmosphere (pyāyane antarikshe): or the phrase may be metaphorical, ‘enveloped in his dust, as it were, his step is not seen,’ etc.

The following is the comment of Durgāchārya on this passage of the Nirukta:

Vishnur Ādityah | Katham iti yataḥ āha ‘tṛēdhā niḍādhē padam’ niḍhatte padaṁ niḍhānam padaḥ | kva tat tāvat | ‘prithivyāṁ antarikshe divi’ iti Sākapūṇih | pārthivo ‘gnir bhūtvā prithivyāṁ yat kinchid asti tād vikramate tād adhitisṭhati | antarikshe vaidyutātmaka | divi suryātm-manā | yad uktam ‘tam ā akrīṣyaṇa tṛēdhā bhūve kam’ (R. V. x. 88, 10) iti | ‘samārohaṇe’ udaya-girāv udayan padam ekaṁ niḍhatte | ‘vishnupade’ madhyandine ‘antarikshe | ‘gayasirasy’ astaṁgirāv ity Aurnavābhaḥ āchāryo manyate |

“Vishnu is the sun [Āditya].” How so? Because [the hymn] says, ‘in three places he planted his step’; i.e. plants his step, [makes a planting with his steps. Where, then, is this done? ‘On the earth, in the firmament, and in the sky,’ according to Sākapūṇi. Becoming terrestrial fire, he strides over,—abides in, whatever there is, on earth; in the shape of lightning, in the firmament; and in the form of the sun, in the sky. As it is said (in the R. V. x. 88, 10), ‘They made him to become threefold.’ Aurnavābha Āchārya thinks [the meaning is] this, ‘He plants one foot on the ‘samārohaṇa’ (place of rising), when mounting over the hill of ascension; [another] on the ‘vishnupada,’ the meridian sky; [a third] on the ‘gayaśiras,’ the hill of setting.’

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

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

9 Already quoted in the second volume of this work.
10 The Atharvaveda, v. 26, 7 has the following reference to Vishnu: Vishnur yunaktu bahuḥtā tapāṇi asmin yajne suyuḥā svāhā |
11 See Appendix B.

VOL. IV.
Tisrah eva devatah iti Nairuktah Agniḥ prithivi-sthāno Vāyur vā Indro vā 'ntariksha-sthānaḥ Sūryo dyu-sthānaḥ | tāsām mahābhāgyad ekaikasyah api bahūni nāmadheyāni bhavanti | api vā karma-prithaktvād yathā hotā 'dhvayur brahma udgātā īty āpi ekasya sataḥ | api vā prithag eva syuḥ | prithag hi stutayo bhavanti tathā 'bhidhanāni ītyādi |

"There are only three deities, according to the Nairuktas (etymologists), Agni, whose place is on earth, Vāyu, or Indra, whose place is in the atmosphere, and Sūrya, whose place is in the sky. These [deities] each receive many designations, in consequence of their greatness,13 or from the diversity of their functions, as [the appellations of] hotṛi, adhvayu, brahman, and udgātri are applied to one and the same person. Or [the gods in question] may all be distinct, for distinct hymns and appellations are addressed to them," etc.13

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

Secondly: Aurnavābha interprets the passage differently. He understands the three steps of Vishnu, not of fire, lightning, and solar light, out of the different positions of the sun at his rising, his culmination, and his setting.14 According to him, therefore, Vishnu is simply the sun.

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

Vishṇus trivikramāvatāram kṛitvā idaṁ viśvaṁ vichakrame vibhajya kramate sma | tad eva āha | tṛdha padaṁ nidadhe bhūmāv ekam padam

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12 Kal ταύτα πολλάν δομάτων μορφή μία, Æschylus Prom. Vinct. v. 217.
13 In a previous part of this passage, vii. 4, it is said, Mahābhāgyad devatayāh ekaḥ ātmā bahudhā stūyate | ekasya ātmānā nye devāḥ prayasyāni bhavanti | "From the greatness of the Deity the one Soul is celebrated in many ways. The different gods are members of the one Soul," etc. Compare Mr. Cobbe’s Essays, i. 26 ff.; or p. 12 f. of W. and N.'s ed. It appears from an advertisement in No. 70 of Trübner’s American and Oriental Literary Record, that these Essays are being reprinted under the editorship of Prof. E. B. Cowell. (August, 1872.)
14 This is the view taken by Prof. Max Müller: "This stepping of Vishnu is emblematic of the rising, the culminating, and the setting of the sun," etc. Trans. of R. V., vol. i., p. 117.
antariṣke dvitiyaṁ divi tṛitiyaṁ iti kramād Agni-Vāyu-Sūrya-rupena ity arthaḥ

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

The commentator here combines the view that the Dwarf incarnation of Vishṇu is referred to in the hymn, with the conception that his different steps on the earth, in the atmosphere, and in the sky, were taken in the successive characters of Agni, Vāyu, and Sūrya, which is the interpretation of Śākapūrī, as explained by Dūrga. There is no trace in the words either of Śākapūrī, or of Aurovībraha, as handed down by Yāska, of any allusion to such a Trivikrama incarnation of Vishṇu.\(^{15}\)

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

R. V. i. 61, 7: Aṣved u mātuḥ savanesu sadyo mahaḥ pītum papivān chāru annā | mushāyād Vishnuḥ pachatam sahiyān vidhyay varāham tiro adrim astā—"Having at the libations of that great measurer [of the worlds, i.e. Indra], drunk the potion, and [eaten] the pleasant oblations, the impetuous Vishṇu straightway stole the cooked mess, pierced the boar and shot through the mountain." See R. V. viii. 66, 10, below, and the quotation from Śāyana's note on that verse.

\(^{15}\) The Brāhmaṇas, as well as the hymns, contain frequent allusions to the three steps or stations of Vishṇu. See the S'atap. Br. vi. 7, 4, 7 ff.; Taitt. Sanh. i. 7, 5, 4. The Vājasaney Sanhitā has the following additional reference to them. According to the commentator, the interlocutors in the two verses are the brahmans and udgātri priests. Vāj. Sanh., xxiii. 49: Prichhāmi tvā chitaye devasakha yadi tvam atra manasā jagantuḥ | yeshu Vishṇuḥ tresu padesu eshaṁ tresu visvam bhuvanam āviveṣa | 50 | Api tresu tresu padesu asmi yeshu visvam bhuvanam āviveṣa | sadyaḥ paryemī prithivīṁ uta dyāṁ ekenāngena diyo asya prishṭham | "I ask thee, friend of the gods, that I may know, if thou by thy mind hast reached so far,—did Vishṇu, in the three steps (or spheres) in which he is worshipped, pervade the entire universe? | 50. I am even in those three steps by which he pervaded the entire universe. Straightway I move around the earth and heaven; with one member, (I move; over the surface of this sky.)"
R. V. i. 85, 7: To avardhanta eva-tavaso mahitvana a na kam tasthur uru chakrire sadah | Vishnu yad ha avad vrishaṇam mada-chyutam vayo na sidam adhi barhishi priye |

"They (the Maruts), strong in themselves, increased in greatness. They ascended to heaven, and have made [for themselves] a spacious abode. When Vishnu assisted the hero [Indra?] who humbles pride, 16 they sat down like birds on the sacrificial grass which they love."

R. V. i. 90, 5, 9.—Uta no ahiyo ga-agni Puṣhan Vishno eva-yaṇaḥ | karta naḥ svastimataḥ | 9. saṁ no Mitraḥ saṁ Varuṇaḥ saṁ no bhavatu Aryama | saṁ naḥ Indro Bṛihaspatiḥ saṁ no Vishnu urukramah |

5. "Puṣhan, Vishnu, swift goer, make our prayers to bring us cattle and other possessions: make us prosperous. . . . 9. May Mitra, may Varuṇa, may Aryaman, may Indra, may Bṛihaspati, may the wide-striding Vishnu, all grant us prosperity."

I now come to a hymn which, with the exception of the last verse (where two gods are alluded to), is devoted exclusively to the celebration of Vishnu’s praises.

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

16 Though the commentator in loco renders mada-chyutam by madasya harhaśya asahṭāram, “dispenser of exhilaration” he interprets it in his note on R. V. i. 51, 2 —where it is an epithet of Indra—by sātṛ uṇaḥ madasya garuvaya chāvyayātāram, “who brings down the pride of his enemies.” In R. V., viii. 1, 21, the word mada-chyut is again applied to Indra, and in R. V. viii. 85, 5, to his thunderbolt. [I leave my translation to stand as it was in the first edition. Benfey, however, "Orient und Occident," ii. 248, renders the clause about Vishnu thus: "When Vishnu protects the dropping (Soma) who distils intoxication," and refers to a paper of his own in the Gött. Gel. Anzeigen regarding the relation of Vishnu to Soma. In Böhtlingk and Roth’s Lexicon the word mada-chyut, as it is to be understood in this passage, is translated “delightful,” “gladdening,” “inspiring.” Prof. Müller, Translation of R. V., vol. i., renders the clause, “When Vishnu descried the en-rapturing Soma.” In his note, p. 116, he remarks: “Vishnu, whose character in the hymns of the Veda is very different from that assumed by him in later periods of Hindu religion, must here be taken as the friend and companion of Indra.” After quoting various texts about the two gods, he adds, “The mention of Vishnu in our hymn is therefore by no means exceptional, but the whole purport of this verse is nevertheless very doubtful, chiefly owing to the fact that several of the words occurring in it lend themselves to different interpretations.” He says, p. 118, that “bringing down pride” is a meaning which the word madachyut clearly has not in the Veda. When applied to the thunderbolt, he says it ought to be rendered “wildly rushing down”; and when referred to Indra, his horses, or the Aśvins, or to horses in general, he would translate it by “furiously or wildly moving about.”]
relative to Vishnu.

vyágni pravocham²⁷ yaḥ párthiváni vimame rajásí | yo askabháyad uttaraṁ sadhasthaṁ vichakramánaṁ trídáh urugáyaḥ | 2. (=A.V. 7, 26, 2, 3; Nir. 1, 20): Pra taḥ Vishnuḥ stavaṁ výryena mürgo na bhimaḥ kucharo girishṭháḥ¹⁸ | yasyorushu trishu vibhramaneshu adhikshiyanti bhuvanáni vistá | 3. Pra Vishnavo sústham etu manma girishke urugáya¹⁹ vrishnée | yaḥ idáṁ dirgham prayataṁ sadhastham eko vimame tribhir it padábhīḥ | 4. Yasya tri pärña madhuná pādáni akshiyamána svadháya madánti | yaḥ u trídáhut párthivim uta dyám eko dákhará bhuvanáni vistá | 5. Tá asya priyam abhi pátho (R.V. iii. 55, 10) asyáṁ naro yatra deveyavo madánti | urukramasya sa hi bandhur itthá Vishnuḥ pade parame madhvaká utsákh | 6. (Váj. S. 6, 3; Nir. 2, 7): Tá vám vástúni úsmáti gamadhyaí yatrá gávo bhúri-bhringáḥ ayásah | atráha taḥ urugáyasya vrishnáḥ paramam padam ava bháti bhúri |

"I declare the heroic deeds of Vishnu, who traversed the mundane regions, who established the upper sphere, striding thrice, the wide-stepping. 2. Therefore is Vishnu celebrated for his prowess, terrible like a wild beast, destructive, abiding in the mountains [or, clouds, if this be an epithet of the god]; he within [the range of] whose three vast paces all the worlds abide. 3. Let my inspiring hymn proceed to Vishnu, the dweller in the [aerial] mountains, the wide-stepping, the vigorous, who alone traversed with three steps this wide, extended firmament;—4. Whose three [steps, or] stations, replenished with

²⁷ The same form of expression occurs in a hymn to Indra (R. V. i. 32, 1), Indrasya nu výryáni pravochanam, etc. Compare R. V., ii. 15, 1.

¹⁸ On this verse the Nirukta remarks: "'Kuchará' iti charati karma kutsitam| atha ched devatóbhábhánāṁ kva ayaṁ na charati iti | girishtháḥ girishtháyí girih parvataḥ . . . . tát-prakriti itarat sandhi-súmányād megha-stháyí megho 'pi gírí etas-mád eva | "'Kuchará' is one who does (charati) a blamable action. If the word be a designation of the god, it will mean 'where does he not go?' 'Girishtháḥ' means 'abiding in the mountains;' for gírí means 'mountain.'" . . . . The author then gives various etymologies of the word parvata, "mountain," one of which is that it is derived from parvan, "a joint"; and then proceeds: "From this sense is derived another (owing to the idea of joint being common to both), viz., that of 'abiding in the clouds,' for a cloud also is called gírí for the same reason." See Roth's Illustrations of the Nirukta, p. 17. The same comparison, mürgo na bhimaḥ kucharo girishtháḥ, is applied to Indra in R. V., x. 180, 2 (=S. V., ii. 1223, and A. V. 7, 84, 3). Böhtlingk and Roth, s. v., think the word Kuchará may signify "slowly-moving," "slinking." The word mürga is applied to Varuná in R. V. vii. 87, 6.

¹⁹ Urugáyasya =prithu-gamanasya adhikastuter vā.—Śaíyá on R. V. iii. 6, 4. Urugáyasya =mahágáteḥ.—Nir. ii. 7.
honey, imperishable, gladden us with food; who alone hath triply sustained the universe, the earth, and the sky, [yea] all the worlds. 5. May I attain to that beloved heaven of his, where men devoted to the gods rejoice; for (such a friend is he) there is a spring of honey in the highest abode of the wide-stepping Vishnu. 6. We yearn to attain to those abodes of you twain, where the many-horned and swiftly-moving cows abide. Here that supreme abode of the wide-stepping, vigorous [god] shines intensely forth."


"[The meaning is], Vishnu who formed,—especially constructed,—the terrestrial [regions]; i.e., those connected with prithivi (the earth), —the regions (rajāmsi),—the things whose nature is to delight (ranjanātmakāni),—existing in the form of Agni, Vāyu, and Āditya, who represent the three worlds, the earth, etc. Here all the three worlds are intended to be designated by the term prithivi. Thus another text [R. V. i. 108, 9] says: ‘Whether, Indra and Agni, ye are in the lowest world (prithivi), in the middle [world], or in the highest,’ etc. In the Taittiriya also, [we have the words] beginning with ‘thou who with thy life art in this world,’ etc.; [and proceeding] ‘who in the second, or third world,’ etc. Hence the three worlds are intended to be signified by the word prithivi. . . . Or, [the meaning may be], the Vishnu who formed the terrestrial [regions], the regions connected with the earth, the seven worlds beneath the earth. The term rajas denotes a world, since Yāska says ‘worlds are called rajāmsi.’ . . . Or [the
sense may be], he made the terrestrial regions, the worlds caused by the earth, i.e. the three worlds, the earth and the others. For as the other worlds are destined to be enjoyed as the rewards of merit acquired on earth, the latter is the cause of the former."

The following is the passage of the Nirukta, iv. 19, referred to by Sāyaṇa, which gives the meanings of rajas: Rajo rajateḥ | jyotih rajah uchyate | udakam rajah uchyate | lokah rajamasy uchyante | asrig20-ahani rajate uchyate | 'rajamsi chitrah vicharanti tanyavaḥ' ity api nigamo bhavati |

"Rajas is derived from the root raj. Light is called rajas. Water is called rajas. The worlds are called rajamśi. [Blood and day, or] day and night, are called rajas. There is also a text (R. V. v. 63, 5), ‘Brilliant and resounding [the Maruts] sweep over the worlds.’"—See also Nir. x. 44, and xii. 23, and R. V. i. 90, 7.

In R. V. i. 164, 6, mention is made of six worlds (rajamśi): vi yas tastambha shal imā rajamśi, "who established these six worlds."

The verb vimāma cannot, I think, have the meaning, which the commentator assigns to it, of "constructing." It occurs not only in verse 1, of the hymn before us, but in verse 3 also, where it must have the sense of "measuring," or "traversing,"21 as it could not fitly be said of Vishṇu that he constructed the firmament with three steps. The phrase rajaso vimānaḥ, "measurer of the world," occurs in R. V. x. 121, 5 (above p. 16), and in R. V. x. 139, 5, quoted in the third volume of this work, p. 260. In R. V. i. 50, 7, the participle vimimānaḥ seems to have the same sense: vi dyam eshi rajas prithu ahā mimāno aktubhiḥ | paśyan jannāni sārya | "Sun, thou traversest the sky, measuring the broad space (rajas), and the days, with thy rays,22 beholding created things."

The phrase rajaso vimānaḥ occurs also in R. V. iii. 26, 7 (=Vāj. S. 18, 66), where Agni says of himself that he is arkas tridhātuh rajaso vimānaḥ23 | "the threefold light, the measurer of the world," which the commentator explains thus: tredhā atmānam vibhajya tatva Vāyuvatmanā rajaso 'ntarikshaśya vimāno vimātā 'dhikṣṭhātaśmi | "Triply

20 Roth conjectures that the word asrīk here is spurious.—Illust. of Nir., p. 46.
21 See Bühlingk and Roth s. v. mā—vit.
22 The word aktubhiḥ is rendered "nights" by Yāska in his explanation of this passage, Nir. xii. 23, and by the commentator; but the latter explains the same word by rasmitibhiḥ, "rays," in his annotation on R. V. i. 94, 5.
23 This verse is explained in a spiritual sense in Nirukta Pariśiṣṭa ii. 1.
dividing myself, I am, in the character of Vāyu, he who abides in the atmosphere.”

Compare, with the phrase before us, Habakkuk iii. 6: “He stood and measured the earth,” etc.

I shall adduce one other passage R. V. v. 81, 3 (=Vāj. S. 11, 6), in which the same phrase occurs, where this function of measuring the world is ascribed to Savitri (the sun): Yasya prayāṇam anv anvye id yayur devaḥ devasya mahimānām ojasā | yah pārthivāni viname sa etāso rajāṃsi devaḥ Savitā mahītanā | “He, the god whose course and whose might the other gods have followed with vigour, who measured [or traversed] the terrestrial regions by his power, this god Savitri is a steed.”

This text is quoted and commented on in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, 6, 3, 1, 18: ‘Yasya prayāṇam anv anvye id yayur’ iti | Prājāpatir vai etad agrō karma akarot | tat tato devaḥ akurvan ‘devaḥ devasya mahimānām ojasā’ iti | yajno vai mahimā | devaḥ devasya yajnau viṣyam ‘ojasā’ ity etad | ‘yah pārthivāni viname sa etasāh’ iti | yad vai kincha asyaṁ tat pārthivam tad eṣa sarvāḥ vinimīte | raśmībhīr hy enad abhyavatantī | ‘rajāṃsi devaḥ Savitā mahītanā’ iti | ime vai lokāḥ rajāṃsi | asāv Ādityo devaḥ Savitā | tān eṣa mahimāni vinimīte | “‘Whose course the other gods have followed.’ Prājāpati formerly performed this rite. The gods afterwards did it, [according to the words] ‘the gods [followed] his [display of] power with vigour.’ Power means sacrifice. This, [then, is said, that] the gods [followed] the sacrifice, the energy, of the god with vigour. ‘He who measured out the terrestrial [regions] is a steed.’ Whatever is on this [earth] is terrestrial. All this he measures out: for he stretches over [all] this with his rays. ‘The god Savitri [measured out] the regions by his power.’ These worlds are the regions: that Āditya (sun) is the god Savitri. He measures them out by his power.”

The author of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa introduces the words pārthivāni viname rajāṃsi, with a part of R. V. vii. 99, 2, at the close of his account of the Dwarf incarnation of Vishnu, assigning to them, however (whether ignorantly, or knowingly), a different meaning from that which they have in the hymn,—Bhāg. Pur. viii. 23, 29: Pāram mahimnaḥ uru-vikramato grināno yah pārthivāni vinamā sa rajāṃsi martyah | kiṁ jāyamānah uta jataḥ upaiti martyah ity āha mantradṛg rishiḥ puru-
shasya yasya | “The mortal who celebrates the utmost limits of this wide-striding (Vishnu’s) greatness, computes the [particles of the] dust of the earth. Can ‘the mortal who is being born, or has been born,’ attain to it? Thus speaks the rishi who saw a hymn regarding this Purusha.”

This verse is explained by the commentator thus: Uru bahu vikramato Vishnor mahimnah padaṁ yo grīgāño bhavati sa martyah pārthivānti rajāṁsy api viname gaṇitavān | yathā pārthiva-paramāṇu-ganam asakyaṁ tathā Vishnor guṇa-ganaman asakyaṁ ity arthat | tathā cha mantra ‘Vishnor nu kaṁ viryāṇi’ iti | etad eva mantrāntarārthaṁ sāchayamm āha yasya purushasya pārṇa-mahimnah padaṁ mantra-drīg rishir Vasishṭhaṁ ity evam āha | katham | kim jāyamāno jāto vā upaiti na ko’ pi iti vadann anantatvena eva āha ity arthat | tathā cha mantra ‘na te Vishno jāyamāno na jāto deva mahimnaḥ param antam āpa’ iti | “The mortal who celebrates the utmost limits of the greatness of the wide-striding Vishnu, has computed also the particles of the dust of the earth. The meaning is, as the computation of the atoms of the earth is impossible, so also the enumeration of Vishnu’s qualities is impossible. Thus a hymn (R.V. 1, 154) says: ‘I declare the heroic deeds of Vishnu,’ etc. Alluding to the sense of another verse (R. V. vii. 99, 2), he says the same thing in these words: ‘regarding the utmost limit of the full greatness of which Purusha, Vasishtha, the seer of the hymn, thus speaks:’ How? ‘Can any man being born, or already born, attain it?’ No one. By this expression he intimates its infinitude. Thus the hymn says: No one who is being born, or has been born, has attained, O divine Vishnu, to the furthest limit of thy greatness.”

The sixth verse of the hymn before us is thus commented on in the Nirukta, ii. 6, 7: Sarve ’pi rasmayo gāvaḥ ucchante | ... tāni vān vāstāni kāmayamahe gamanāya yatra gavo bhūri-sṛṅgaḥ ... ayāso ’yanāḥ | tatra tad urugāyasya Vishnor mahāgateḥ paramam padam parārdoṣaḥatham avabhāti bhūri | “All rays are called gāvaḥ.” Then, after quoting the verse, the author proceeds to explain it: “We desire to attain to these regions of you two, where are the many-horned cows, ... the moving. There the highest abode, situated in the loftiest sphere, of that wide-stepping, large-pacing, Vishnu shines forth brightly.”

The verse is rendered thus, by Roth (Illustrations of Nir., p. 19): “May we arrive at your abodes, where the many-horned, moving,
cattle are; for thence shines brilliantly down the highest place of the far-striding Showerer.”’ Roth then proceeds to remark: “This verse occurs in a hymn to Vishnu; consequently the dual vām [‘of you two’] cannot refer to the deity of the hymn. Durga meets the difficulty, as the commentators frequently do with inconvenient duals, by saying vām iti dampati abhipretya, etc. [‘vām refers to the husband and his wife.’]” But here we have rather a proof of the fact that, in the arrangement of the Veda, many verses have been inserted in wrong places. The verse is addressed to Mitra and Varuṇa; and, perhaps, belonged to one of the hymns to those two gods which immediately precede this in the Sanhitā. The verse has been introduced into the wrong place because Vishnu is referred to in it. Compare verse 3. The inconvenient reading has been already altered in the Viṣṇusāṃjaya Sanhitā (6, 3),” which, instead of tā vām vāstūny uṣmāsi gamadhyai, “we desire to go to these abodes of you two,” etc., reads, ya te dhāmaṁ uṣmāsi, etc., “to which realms of thine we desire,” etc., etc.

In the next hymn Indra and Vishnu are jointly extolled:


“Sing praises to the great hero (Indra), who desires the draught of your soma, and to Vishnu, who both swiftly rose invincible, to the summit of the [aerial] mountains, as if [carried by] an excellent steed.

2. Indra and Vishnu, the drinker of the libation escapes the assault, so fierce, of you two who are violent,—who avert from the [pious]
mortal that which is aimed at him,—the bolt of the archer Kṛiṣānu. 3. These [libations, according to Sāyaṇa] augment his virility; he conducts the parents (heaven and earth) to receive the fertilizing seed; the son has the inferior name; the superior belongs to the father; the third is above the light of heaven. 4. We celebrate this virility of him, the strong, the deliverer, the innoxious, the bountiful, who with three steps traversed26 far and wide the mundane regions, for the sake of [granting us] a prolonged (lit. wide-stepping) existence.27 5. A mortal is agitated when contemplating two of the steps of this heavenly [deity]; but no one dares to attempt his third step,27* not even the soaring, winged birds. 6. With four and ninety names, he has impelled his steeds, like a rolling wheel. Accoutred by his encomiasts, vast in body, the youthful, full-grown [deity], advances to the combat."

R. V. 1, 156.—Bhava mitro na śevyo gṛhitāsutir vibhūta-dyumnaḥ evayāḥ u saprathāḥ | adhā te Viṣṇu vidūṣhā chid ardhyāḥ stomo yajnaścha rādhyo havishmatā | 2. Yaḥ pūrṇyāya vedhase navīyasu sumajjānaye Viṣṇave dadāsati | yo jātam asya mahato mahi bravat sa id u śravobhir yujyaṁ chid abhi asat | 3. Tam u stotāraḥ pūrṇyaṁ yatāḥ vida ritaṣya garbham janushā pipartana | ā asya jānanto nāma chid vivaktana mahā te Viṣṇo sumatīm bhaṇjāmaḥ | 4. Tam asya rājā Varuṇas tam Aśvinī kratuṁ sahanta mūrtaṣya vedhasah | dādhāra daksam uttamaṁ ahar-viśayā vṛajas cha Viṣṇur sakhivān aparṇute | 5. Ā yo vivāya sachi-thāya daivyaṁ Indrāya Viṣṇuḥ sukrite sukritaraḥ | vedhaḥ ajivat tishadasthaṁ āryam ritaṣya bhūge yajamānāṁ ā bhajat |

"Be to us beneficent like a friend, worshipped with butter, greatly renowned, swiftly-moving, broadly diffused. Truly, Viṣṇu, thy praise is to be celebrated by the sage, and sacrifice is to be performed to thee by the worshipper. 2. He who worships Viṣṇu, the ancient, the disposer [or the wise], the recent, the [god] with the noble spouse,28—he who extols the nature of this mighty Being, shall excel

26 Compare R. V. i. 22, 17, 18 (above, p. 63, f.), and R. V. i. 154, 1, 3 (p. 69).
27 Compare R. V. vi. 69, 6 (below).
27* See R. V. vii. 99, 1, below.
28 Sāyaṇa gives two explanations of the word sumaj-jānī. The first makes it svayam evopamāya, "born by his own power" (in proof of which sense he quotes Nir. vi. 22: Suman svayam ity arthaḥ | "sumat means svayam, self"). The second meaning is thus stated: Sutaraṁ mādavati iti sumat | tadṛṣṭi jāyā yasya su . . . | tasmā sarva-jāgan-mādana-āśa-Srī-pataye | "su-mat means 'greatly
his friend in renown. 3. Encomiasts, satisfy [with worship], as ye know how to do, him who, by his nature, is the primeval source of sacred rites. Knowing his name declare, ‘Vishnu, we enjoy the good will of thee, the mighty one.’ 4. King Varuna and the Aśvins have done homage to the power of this ruler [or wise god] who is attended by the Maruts. Vishnu possesses excellent wisdom, which knows the proper day; and with his friends, opens up the cloud. 5. The divine Vishnu, who has hastened to seek companionship with the beneficent Indra, [himself] more beneficent,—this wise [god]; occupying three stations, has gratified the Ārya, and renders the worshipper a sharer in the sacred ceremony.”

R. V. i. 164, 36 (A. V. 9, 10, 17; Nir. Par. ii. 21).—Sapta ardha-garbhaḥ bhuvanasya reto Vishṇos tishṭhanti pradiṣṭā vidharmāṇi | te dhātibhir manasā te vipāśchitaḥ paribhuvah pari bhavanti visvataḥ |
“Seven embryos, the prolific sources of the world, abide by the command of Vishnu in the function of supporting [the universe]. They by thought, and by mind, they intelligent, embracing, comprehend all things.”

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

R. V. i. 186, 10.—Pro Aśvināv avise kṛiṇādhvaṁ pra Pūshanāṁ svatavaso hi santi | adveso Vishṇur Vatāḥ Ribhuṭkṣaḥ achha sumnāya dvarīthya devān | “Dispose the Aśvins, dispose Pūshan, to succour us, for they have power in themselves. Vishnu is free from malice, and so is Vata (Vāyu) and Ribhuṭkshan. May I incline the gods to be favourable to us.”

R. V. ii. 1, 3.—Tvam Agne Indro vṛishabhah satām asi tvam Vishṇur gladdening.’ Sumaj-ānī then signifies ‘one who has such a wife.’ The phrase will thus mean, ‘to the lord of Śri, whose nature it is to gladden the world.’” Dr. Aufrecht thinks that ānī has always the sense of wife, and supposes the wife here alluded to be the world. Prof. Roth, Illust. of Nir., p. 90, supposes sumat to be derived from su, and to mean “easily,” “gladly.”

29 Compare the words yujya vā sakhā vā in R. V. ii. 28, 10, where yujya is explained by Sāyaṇa as = yojana-samarthah pitrādir vā; and R. V. i. 22, 19, where the same word yujya is said to be equivalent to anusūkula, “friendly.” Compare also avyga in R. V. viii. 51, 2.

30 See the interpretation of the word ahareid given by Sāyaṇa on R. V. i. 2, 2. In Böhtlingk and Roth’s Dictionary the word is explained as signifying “long known.”
urugāyo namasyaḥ | tvam brahmā rajivida Brahmanāspate tvāṁ vidhartaḥ 
sachase purandhīya | “Thou, Agni, art Indra, most energetic of heroes; 
thou art Vishnu, the wide-stepping, the adorable; thou, Brahmanāspati, 
art a priest, possessor of wealth; thou, sustainer, art associated with 
sacred wisdom.”

R.V. ii. 22, 1 (S.V. i. 457).—Trikadrakeshu mahisha yavāsiruṃ tuvi-
sūshmas tripat somam apīdad Vishnūnā sutaṃ yathā ’vāsat | sa im 
māda maḥi karma kartave mahām uruḥ sa enaṃ saśchad devo devaṃ 
satyaṃ Indraṃ satyaḥ Induḥ | “The great [Indra], of mighty force, 
satiating himself, has drunk the soma, mixed with barley-meal, poured 
forth by Vishnu at the Trikadruka ceremony, as much as he desired. 
He [Soma] has stimulated the great and vast [god, Indra,] to achieve 
mighty acts. He, the god, the true Indu (Soma), has attended him, 
the god, the true Indu.”

R.V. iii. 6, 4.—Mahān sadhasthe dhruve a nishatto antar dyāvā mā-
hine haryamānaḥ | āśre sapatnī ajare amrikte sabardughe urugāyasya
dhenu | “The great [god, Agni,] is seated in his firm abode, beloved, 
between the mighty heaven and earth,—those two cows, joint-wives of 
the wide-stepping [god], united, undecaying, inviolable, dispensers of 
water.” Agni himself may be the “wide-stepping god” intended here.

R. V. iii. 54, 14.—Vishnuṃ stomasaḥ puru-dasmam arkhaḥ bhagasyeva 
kūrṇo yāmāni gmas | urukramaḥ kakuho yasya pūrvir na mardhanti 
yuvatayo janitrīḥ | “Our hymns and praises have proceeded to Vishnu, 
the worker of many wonders, like bards proceeding in the train of their 
lord. He is the wide-stepping, the exalted, whose [will] the numerous, 
youthful, mothers do not disregard.”

R. V. iii. 55, 10.—Vishnur gopāḥ paramam pāti pāthaḥ priyā 
dhamani amritā dañdhānaḥ | Agnis tā visva bhuvanāni veda mahād 
devānām anuvatvam ekam | “Vishnu, a protector, preserves the highest 
heaven, sustaining the dear, undecaying regions. Agni knows all these 
worlds: great and incomparable is the divine nature of the gods.”

31 Prithugamanasya adhikā-stuter vā; Śāyaṇa, who names Agni as the god; 
though he makes heaven and earth to be the wives of the sun.
32 Compare R. V., i. 22, 18. The word Vishnu is here regarded by the comment-
tator as an epithet of Agni, and rendered by “pervading.” The hymn is, however, 
according to the Anukramaṇīka, one addressed to all the gods.
33 Pāthaḥ occurs also in R. V. i. 164, 5. See above.
34 Or, “vast.” The commentator renders the word priya by aparimita, “unmea-
sured,” in his note on R. V. iii. 32, 7.
R. V. iv. 2, 4.—Aryamaṇaṁ Varuṇaṁ Mitram eshāṁ Indrā-Viśṇu Maruto Aśvinī uda | su-aśvo Agne su-rathāḥ su-rādhāḥ ā id u vaha su-

havishe jandya | “Agni, [do thou, who hast] beautiful steeds, a beautiful car, and [bestowest] rich gifts, bring to the pious worshipper from among these [gods], Aranyam, Varuṇa, Mitra, Indra and Viśṇu, the Maruts, and the Aśvins” (comp. R. V. vii. 39, 5, below).

R. V. iv. 3, 7.—Kathā mahe pushtim-bharāya Pūṣaṁ kad Rudrāya

sumakhāya havir-de | kad Viśṇave uru-gāyāya reta35 brahāḥ kad Agne

Sarave brihatyai | “Why, Agni, [shouldst thou declare our sin] to the great supplier of nourishment, Pūṣaṁ? why to Rudra, the vigorous, the giver of obligations? why shouldst thou declare our sin to the wide-stepping Viśṇu? why to the great Saru (Nirṛiti)?”

R. V. iv. 18, 11.—Uta matā mahisham anvæenad amī tvā jahati putra
devāḥ | Atha abrāvid Vṛtram Indro hanishyan sakhe Viṣṇo vitaram

vikramasva | “And his mother sought to draw back the mighty [Indra], saying, ‘My son, those gods forsake thee.’ Then Indra, being about to slay Vṛitra, said, ‘Friend Viṣṇu, do thou stride vastly.’”

The last words of this verse form the commencement of the 12th verse of the 89th hymn of the 8th Maṇḍala, which I shall introduce here.

R. V. vii. 89, 12.—Sakhe Viṣṇo vitaram vikramasva āyaur dehi

lokaṁ vajrāya viṣhkaṁ | hanāva Vṛtram riṃchāya sindhun Indrasya

yantu prasave vishrīṁ | “Friend Viṣṇu, stride vastly; Sky, give room for the thunderbolt to descend; let us slay Vṛitra, and let loose the waters; let them, when released, flow by the impulse of Indra.”36

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

36 The Taittirīya Sanhitā, ii. 4, 12, 2, has the following story about Indra and Viṣṇu: Taṃnād Indro ‘jibhed aṣi Tvashṭā | Tvashṭā tasmai vajram asinchat | tapo vai sa vajraḥ āṣit | tam udyantum na aṣknot | atha vai tarhi Viṣṇur anyā devatā āṣit | so ‘bravīd “Viṣṇav ehi idam āharisyāvo yena aṣam idam” iti | sa Viṣṇus
tredhā āṃśanān vinayadhāta prthivyāṁ tritvayam antarikṣe tritvayam dīvi tritvayam | abhīpyāvartāt hy abhoket | yat prthivyām tritvayam āṣit tena Indro vajram udayyāchhead Viṣṇo-anusṭhītaḥ | so ‘oraśiv “mā me praḥāḥ | āsti vai idam mayi

vīryam | tat te prādhyāṃ” iti | taḥ aṃśai prāyachhat | tat pratyāgrihāḥ | “adāḥ mā” iti taḥ Viṣṇave ‘trprāyachhat | taḥ Viṣṇun pratyāgrihad “aṃśāv Indraḥ

indriyaṁ tadāhāt” iti | yad antarikṣe tritvayam āṣit tena Indro vajram udayyāchhead

Viṣṇo-anusṭhītaḥ | so ‘bravīd “mā me praḥāḥ | āsti vai idam mayi vīryam | tat
RELATING TO IN德拉 AND VIഷ्णU.

R. V. iv. 55, 4.—Vi Aryaṁ Varuṇaś cheti panthāṁ ishash-patiḥ su- vitaṁ gātum Agniḥ | Indra-Viṣṇu nṛ-vaḍ u suḥ stavāṇā śarma no yan-
tam amavad varuḥam | “Aryaman and Varuṇa know the path; so too
Agni, the lord of strength [knows] a prosperous road. Indra and
Viṣṇu, when ye are lauded, according to human ability, bestow on us
prosperity and strong protection.”

R. V. v. 3, 1–3.—Tvam Agne Varuṇo jāyase yat tvam Mitro bhavasi
yat samiddaḥ | tve viśve sahasas-putra devāḥ tvam Indro dāsushe mar-
te pradāsyāṁ” iti | tad asmai prāyachhat | tat pratyagriṁhāḥ | “dīr mā ādhāḥ”
iti tad Viṣṇave atrāprāyachhat | tad Viṣṇuḥ pratyagriṁhād “asmiśv Indraḥ indriyāṁ
dadhāte” iti | yad divi trīṇyām āśīt tena Indro vajraṁ udāyaḥdhe Viṣṇu-anu-
śhīṅdhitaḥ | so ‘braṇā mā me prahāḥ | yena aham idam asmi “tat te pradāsyāṁ”
iti | “toṁ” ity abraviḥ | “sambāṁ tu sandāhāvahai | tvāṁ eva praviśāṁ” iti |
“yan māṁ praviśāṁ kim mā bhūnyāḥ” ity abraviḥ | “tvāṁ eva indiṣṭa tava bhogāya
tvāṁ praviśeyam” ity abraviḥ | taṁ Viṣṇuḥ praviśat | udaraṁ vai Viṣṇuḥ | kshat
khālu vai manushyasya bhrāṭriyaḥ | yaḥ evaṁ veda hanti kahudham bhrāṭriyaṁ |
tad asmai prāyachhat | tat pratyagriṁhā | “trīr mā ’dīhāḥ” iti tad Viṣṇave
’tiprāyachhat | tad Viṣṇuḥ pratyagriṁhād “asmiśv Indraḥ indriyāṁ
dadhāte” iti | yat trīḥ prāyachhat tríḥ pratyagriṁhāt tat tridhātos tridhātutvam | yad Viṣṇu
anavaithaṁ Viṣṇave ‘tiprāyachhat tasmād Aindravaiśhavaṁ havir bhavati |
“Indra was afraid of him, as was also Tvasṭhṛ. Tvasṭhṛ moistened for him the
thunderbolt: it was heat or austere-fervour (tapas). He could not lift it. Now
there was another deity, Viṣṇu. Indra said: ‘Come, Viṣṇu, we two will take
that whereby he is this [which he is].’ Viṣṇu divided himself into three parts,
[placing] one on earth, a second in the air, and a third in the sky. For he was
afraid of [Viṣṇu’s] development (abhikarpāvatāt: yasmād aṣya Viṣṇasya abhi-
paryāvatāt sarva-dvīpyi-rūpāyaḥ yuddhāryaḥ aṣya Indro ‘bhbhet, Comm.). With the
third [of Viṣṇu] which was on the earth, Indra lifted the thunderbolt, followed by
Viṣṇu. Viṣṇu said, ‘Do not smite me: there is in me this energy: that I will
give to thee.’ He gave, and Indra took it, and passed it on to Viṣṇu, [saying,]
‘Thou hast supported me.’ Viṣṇu received it, [saying], ‘May Indra impart energy
to us.’ Indra then lifted the thunderbolt with the third [of Viṣṇu] which was in
the air,” etc., as before. “Indra passed it on to Viṣṇu, saying, ‘Thou hast twice
supported me,’” etc. “Indra then, followed by Viṣṇu, lifted the thunderbolt with
the third [of Viṣṇu] which was in the sky. Viṣṇu said, ‘Do not smite me; I will
give thee that whereby I am that [which I am].’ Indra agreed. ‘Let us make an
agreement; let me enter into thee’ [said Viṣṇu]. ‘If thou enterest me, wilt thou
eat me?’ [replied Indra]. ‘I will kindle thee; I will enter thee for thy enjoyment’
[answered Viṣṇu]. He accordingly entered into him. Viṣṇu is the belly. Hunger
is man’s enemy. He who knows this slays his enemy. So Viṣṇu gave Indra [that
whereby he was what he was]. Indra took it, [and saying,] ‘Thou hast thrice
supported me,’ passed it on to Viṣṇu,” etc., etc., as before. “From the circum-
stance that the one god gave, and the other took [what was given], thrice, the
‘tridhātu’ derives its character. And from the fact that Viṣṇu followed Indra,
and the latter passed on [what he had received] to the former, there is an oblation
called ‘Aindravaiśhava,’ i.e. common to both the gods.”
yāya | 2. Tvam Aryanā bhavasi yat kanīnām nāma svadhāvan guhyam bibharashi | anjantı mitrāṁ sudhitaṁ na godhir yaḥ dampati samanasaṁ kriñoshi | 3. Tava śriye Maruto marjayaṁ Rudra yat te jamina chāru chitram | padaṁ yaḥ Vīshoṁ upamaṁ nidhāyi tena pāsi guhyāṁ nāma gonāṁ |

"Thou, Agni, [art] Varuṇa, when thou art born; thou art Mitra when thou art kindled: son of strength, in thee [reside] all the gods; thou art Indra to the man who sacrifices. 2. Thou art Aryaman when thou, self-sustaining, possessest the mysterious name of the maidens. Men anoint thee, like a benevolent friend, with milk, when thou makest the husband and wife to be of one mind. 3. For thy glory, Rudra, [or, terrible Agni], the Maruts have adorned themselves, such is that beautiful and wondrous birth of thine. Through that which has been fixed as the highest abode of Vīshṇu, thou possessest the mysterious name of the cows."

R.V. v. 46, 2-4 (=Vāj. S. 33, 48, 49).—Agni Indra Varuṇa Mitra devaḥ ārdhaḥ pra yanta Māruta uta Vīshṇo | ubhā Nāsatyaḥ Rudro adha gnāṁ Pūshaḥ Bhagaḥ Sarasvatī jushanta | 3. Indrāgni Mitrā-Varuṇā Aditiṁ svah prithiṁ dvām Mārutaḥ parvatān apaḥ | huce Vīshṇum Pūshaṁ Brahmanaspatīm Bhagaṁ nu śaṁsaṁ Savitāram uṭaye | 4. Uta no Vīshṇur uta Vātō asridho dravinodāḥ uta Somo mayas karaṭ | uta Ribhavaḥ uta rāye no Aśvinā uta Tvāshtā uta Vībhva anu maṁsat
d

2. "Agni, Varuṇa, Mitra, ye gods, give us strength, and thou Vīshṇu with the Maruts. Both the Aśvins, Rudra, and the wives of the deities, with Pūshan, Bhaga, and Sarasvatī, are pleased. 3. I invoke Indra and Agni, Mitra, and Varuṇa, Aditi, Heaven, Earth, Sky, the Maruts, the Mountains, the Waters, Vīshṇu, Pūshan, Brahmanaspati; I praise Bhaga and Saviṭri, that they may succour us. 4. And may Vīshṇu, and the Wind, uninjuring, and Soma, the bestower of riches, give us happiness. And the Ribhus, Aśvins, Tvashtṛi, and Vībhva are favourable to us, so as to [grant us] wealth."

R.V. v. 51, 9.—Sajāt Mitrā-Varuṇāḥhyāṁ sajāḥ Somena Vīshṇunā | a yāhi Agne Atri-vat sute rāṇa | "Associated with Mitra and Varuṇa,

37 Compare R. V. vii. 3, 5.
35 This refers, Dr. Aufrecht suggests, to the production of lightning in the air at the time of a storm.
associated with Soma and Vishnu, come Agni, and rejoice in our libation, as [in that of] Atri."

R. V. v. 87, 1 (S. V. i. 462).—Pra vo mahe matayo yantu Vishnave Marutvate girijah evayamarut | pra śardhaya prayajyaye sukhādya tavase bhandad-iskaye dhuni-vrataya śavase | . . . 4. Sa chakrame mahato nir uru-kramaḥ samānasmat sadasaḥ evayamarut | yadā ayukta tmanā svād adhi shubhir vishpardhaso vimahaso jīgati śevridho nṛbhīḥ |

... 8. Advesho no Maruto gātam ā itana śrota havaṁ jaritur evayamarut | Vishnur mahaḥ samanyavo yuyotana smād rathyo na daṁśanā apa dvēshāṁśi sanūtaḥ |

"May your hill-born (or, voice-born) hymns proceed to the great Vishnu, attended by the Maruts, O Evayamurut, (swiftly-moving Marut?) ; and to the troop [of Maruts], impetuous, wearing beautiful rings, strong, rushing on exultingly,—to that power which delights in resounding. . . 4. The wide-striding [god] strode forth from the great common abode, O Evayamurut; when by himself he has yoked his emulous and vigorous [steeds], he issues from his own [abode] with his swift heroes, augmenting our felicity. . . . 8. Maruts, come in a friendly spirit to our song, hear the invocation of your worshipper, Evayamurut; of the same mind with the great Vishnu; like men riding in chariots, drive our enemies away far from us by your might."

The hymn from which these verses are taken is quoted and translated in Prof. Benfey’s Glossary to the Sāma-veda, p. 39 f.

R. V. vi. 17, 11.—Varahān yaṁ viśve Marutaḥ sajośhāḥ pachat satam mahishān Indra tuḥhyam | Pūṣā Vishnus trīṁśi sarāṁśi ḍhāvan ēṛtra-

hanam maḍiram aṁśum asmai | “For thee, Indra, whom all the Maruts, in concert, will magnify, Pūshan and Vishnu cooked a hundred buffaloes. For him three lakes discharged, the Vṛitra-slaying, exhilarating soma.”

39 To illustrate the last line, Dr. Aufricht has pointed out to me another passage, R. V. viii. 66, 4: Ekaīya pratīdāḥ ‘pihāt sākaṁ saraṁśi trīṁśatam | Indrāḥ somanva kāṁkā | “Indra swallowed at one draught thirty lakes of Soma, . . . .” This verse is quoted in Nir. v. 11. I have not attempted to translate the difficult word kāṁkā, at the close. See Roth’s Illust. of Nir. p. 60, f. In a review of Piette’s Origines Indo-Européennes, vol. ii., in Kuhn und Schleicher’s Beiträge zur Vergl. Sprachforschung, iv. 279, f., Prof. Weber refers to this passage. “Saras, a pond,” he says, “in the sense of cup (R. V. viii. 66, 4, . . . .), which reminds us of the ‘weltmeer’ (world-ocean) of our students, is no doubt merely a poetical metaphor.” See also R. V. viii. 103, 7; viii. 7, 10.” In R. V. v. 29, 7 f., Agni is said to have cooked three hundred buffaloes for Indra, who ate them, and drank three lakes of soma, when proceeding to fight with Vṛtra.
R. V. vi. 20, 2.—Divo na tubhyam anu Indra satrā asuryamī devisbhīr dhāyi visvam | Ahiṃ yad Vṛtrim apo vavvīṁsaṁ hann rīṣhīn Vīshnunā sachiṇaḥ | “All divine power, like that of the Sky, was completely communicated to thee, Indra, by the gods, when thou, O impetuous deity, associated with Vīshnū, didst slay Vṛitra Ahi, stopping up the waters.”

R. V. vi. 21, 9.—Pra utaye Varuṇam Mitram Indram Marutah krishva avase no adya | pra Pūṣanāṁ Vīshnum Agnim Purandhim Savitarām ośhadhiḥ pparaṭamēchā | “Dispose to-day to our help and succour Varuṇa, Mitra, Indra, the Maruts, Pūshan, Vīshnū, Agni, Purandhi, Savitri, the plants and the mountains.”

R. V. vi. 48, 14.—Tāṁ vaḥ Indram na sukraṇīṁ Varuṇam īva māyinam | Aryanamān na mandraṁ sripraṇāṁ Vīshnunā na stushe ādiśe | “I praise thee, of great power like Indra, wondrous in might like Varuṇa, pleasant like Aryanam, conferring large enjoyment like Vīshnū, that thou mayest bestow wealth.”

R. V. vi. 49, 13.—Yo rajāṃśi vimane pārthivāni triś chid Vīshnur Manave bādhītāya | tasya te sarman upadaḍyamāne rāyā madema tanā cha | “May we, ourselves and our offspring, be gladdened by wealth, under the protection afforded by thee, that Vīshnū who thrice traversed the mundane regions for Manu [or the Aryan man] when he was oppressed.”

R. V. vi. 50, 12.—Te no Rudrah Sarasvatī sajoshāṁ mihushmanto Vīshnur mṛṇanta Vāyuḥ | Ribhukshāḥ Vājo daiyov ṣīdevā Parjanyavatā pipyatām ishaṁ naḥ | “May these dispensers of blessings, Rudra, Sarasvatī, Vīshnū, and Vāyu together be gracious to us. May Ribhukshan, Vāja, the divine Vīdhātri (or disposer), Parjanya and Vāta replenish our store of nutriment.”

40 Stotribhīḥ, “worshippers,” according to Śāyana.
41 The word sripraṇā occurs also in R. V. i. 96, 3; i. 181, 3; iii. 18, 5; iv. 50, 2; viii. 28, 5; and viii. 32, 10=S. V. i. 217. By Yāska, Nir. vi. 17, it is derived from the root srip, “to go” (see Roth’s Illust., p. 83); and is rendered by Śāyana sarpaṇa-cīla, “going,” praṣṭita, “extended,” etc. (See also Benfey’s Glossary to the S. V.) The word visvā-bhōjasam occurs in the preceding verse vi. 48, 13.
42 Such is the sense assigned to ēdiś by Śāyana: in Wilson’s Sanskrit Dictionary I find the word pradesaṇa rendered “a gift or offering, anything given to the gods, superiors, or friends,” etc.
43 Tribhīr eva vikramanaiḥ pariṇitavān | “measured with three strides.”—Śāyana. Compare R. V. i. 154, 1, above (p. 69, ff.), and vii. 100, 4, below (p. 87).
44 Azuraiv hīṁśitāya | “injured by Azura.”—Śāyana.
TO VISHNU, INDRA, AND OTHER DEITIES.


"Indra and Vishṇu, I stimulate you twain with this rite and oblation: at the conclusion of this ceremony do ye accept our sacrifice, and grant us wealth, conducting us to our object by secure paths. 2. Indra and Vishṇu, ye who are the generators of all prayers, and are, [as it were,] the bowls which hold the soma-juice, may the words which are now recited gratify you, and the hymns which are sung with praises. 3. Indra and Vishṇu, ye two lords of exhilarating draughts, come to the soma-juice, bringing with you wealth; may the hymnus uttered with praises anoint you 45 twain with the unguents of our prayers. 4. Indra and Vishṇu, may your steeds, vanquishing foes, and sharing in your triumph, bear you hither. Accept all the invocations of our hymns, and hear my devotions and prayers. 5. Indra and Vishṇu, this deed of you twain is worthy of celebration, that, in the exhilaration of the soma-juice, ye took vast strides; 46 ye made the

45 Compare R. V. iii. 17, 1.
46 The commentator remarks on this: Yadyapi Vishṇor eva vikramastathāpy ekārthaśūd udbhayor ity uchytate | "Though 'striding' is an act of Vishṇu only, yet it is so [described as here] owing to both gods having one end in view." In R. V. vii. 99, 6 (see below), the epithet urukrama, "far-stepping," is applied in the same way to both these deities. In the Harivansa, 7418, it is applied to Śiva.
atmosphere wide, and stretched out the worlds, for our existence." 6. Indra and Vishnu, gladdened by our oblation, ye to whom are due the first draughts of the soma, ye to whom offerings should be presented with reverence, and to whom butter is offered, bring us wealth, for ye are the ocean in which the soma is held. 7. Indra and Vishnu, workers of wonders, drink this sweet potion; fill your bellies with soma; the exhilarating soma-draughts have reached you; hear my prayers and invocation. 8. Ye two have both conquered, and are not vanquished. Neither of these twain has been vanquished. Vishnu, when thou and Indra strove, ye scattered thrice a thousand [of your foes]."

R. V. vii. 35, 9 (= A. V. xix. 10, 9).—S’aṁ no Adītīr bhavatu vrataebhīḥ
śaṁ no bhavantu Marutaḥ su-arāḥ | śaṁ no Vishnuḥ śaṁ u Pūṣaḥ no
astu śaṁ no bhavitrāṁ śaṁ u astu Vāyuḥ | "May Aditi be propitious to us
with her acts: may the well-hymned Maruts be propitious to us:
may Vishnu, may Pūshan, may the Air, may Vāyu, be propitious to us."

464 Comp. i. 155, 5, above.

47 The commentator explains this as follows. "Yad yad vastu prayā t vaśrīdhethāṁ
asurāṁ sakaaspaśrīdhethāṁ tredhā loka-veda-vagāsmanā tridhā sthitam sahasraṁ
amitaṁ cha vi tad aircyethāṁ vyakramethām ity arthaḥ | tathā cha brāhmaṇam ubhā
jigaththu ity achaḥvāčaśa | ubhau hi taur jigmathur na parājyathe na parājigye
iti na hi tayoḥ katarāścana parājigye ‘Indraḥ cha Vishṇo yad apaspaśrīdhethāṁ
sahasaṁ cha vi tad aircyethāṁ’ iti | ‘Indraḥ cha ha vai Vishṇuḥ cha aswair yugyāthe
tāt ha sma jītāv ucbhūḥ “kalpātmahi” iti | te ha tathā ity asurāṁ ucbhūḥ | so ‘brahma
Indro “yadva evaśaṁ Vaiṣṇo trir viκramate tavaṁ asmākaṁ atha yugyāthe
itara’ iti | sa inmā lokaṁ vichaṁkrame ‘the vedān ato vichān | tad āhuḥ “kīṁ tat
saḥsaṛaṁ” iti “ime lokāṁ ime vedāḥ ato vṛga” iti brāvyāt | “aircyethāṁ aircyethāṁ
ity achaḥvācaḥ ukthya ‘bhayasyati’ | Alt. Br. 6, 15 (see Prof. Haug’s translation,
pp. 403, f.). "In reference to whatever thing ye two strove, i.e. strove with the
Asuras, over that, in its three characters, i.e. as existing in its character of world,
Veda, and speech, and in number a thousand, and immeasurable, ye strode. Thus a
Brāhmaṇa [the Aitareya, 6, 15.] says: ‘ye both conquered; this is what the
Achadhvāka priest [repeats]: for ye both conquered, ye are not vanquished, neither
was vanquished, for neither of these two was vanquished’ [the last line of the verse
before us is then cited]. Indra and Vishnu fought with the Asuras. Having
conquered them, they said, let us divide [the world]. The Asuras said, be it so.
Indra said, As much as this Vishnu strides over in three strides, so much shall be ours;
the rest yours. He strode over these worlds, then the Vedas, then speech. When
people say, what is that thousand? let him say, These worlds, these Vedas, then
speech. The Achadhvāka priest repeats at the Ukthya ritual, ye scattered, ye
scattered.’" Comp. Taitt. S. vii. 1, 5, 5.

48 The word bhavitrā is explained by Śiṣyaṇa as = bhuvanam antariksham vaśaṁ vā.
"The world, or the atmosphere, or water." The word, Dr. Aufrecht informs me,
does not occur again in the Vedas.
R. V. vii. 36, 9.—Achha ayaṃ vo Marutaḥ ślokaḥ etu achha Vishnuṃ nishikta-pām śravobhir ityādi | “Maruts, may this hymn reach you: may it [reach] Vishnu, the preserver of embryos, with its eulogies,” etc.

R. V. vii. 39, 5.—Ā Agne giro ṛivaḥ ā prithivyaḥ Mitraṃ vaha Varuṇam Indram Agnim | Ā Aryamanam Aditiṃ Vishnuṃ esām Sarasvatī Maruto mādayantām | “Agni, from heaven and earth bring Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra, Agni, Aryaman, Aditi, Vishnu to the hymns of these persons;” may Sarasvatī and the Maruts be gratified.”

R. V. vii. 40, 5.—Asya devasya māhusho vayāḥ Vishnur ehasya prabhrithe havirbhiḥ | vide hi Rudro rudriyam mahitaṃ yāsiṣṭhaṃ vartir Āsvinaḥ irāvat | “The branches of this prolific and rapid deity Vishnu [are to be worshipped?] with oblations at the offering. For Rudra possesses impetuous power. The Āsvins have come to our place of sacrifice which is provided with food.”

R. V. vii. 44, 1.—Dadhikrāṃ vah prathamam Āsvina Ushasam Agnim samiddham Bhagam utaye hve | Indram Vishnum Puṣanam Brahma-ṇaspatim Ādityān dyāvā-prithivī apah svah | “I invoke you for succour, first Dadhikrā, the Āsvins, Ushas, the kindled Agni, Bhaga, Indra, Vishnu, Puṣhan, Brahma-ṇaspati, the Ādityas, Heaven and Earth, the Waters, the Sky.”

R. V. vii. 93, 8.—Etāh Agne ākushāṇāśaḥ isṭīr yuvoh sacha abhi aśyāma vājan | mā Indro no Vishnur Marutaḥ parikhyam ityādi | “Breathing forth these petitions, may we, O Agni [and Indra], with [the help of] you twain, obtain food. Let not Indra, Vishnu, and the Maruts despise us,” etc.

49 Böhltingk and Roth, s.v. esha, conjecture that in this verse the correct reading is esām, “the rapid,” as an epithet of Vishnu, and not esām.

50 Śāya interprets the first words of the verse before us thus, Vishnuḥ sarva-devatmakasya asya devasya anye ṛivah vayāḥ śākhāḥ iva bhavanti | “Other gods are, as it were, branches of this god, who is the soul of all the gods.” He explains ehasya as follows: Prabhrithe havirbhir havi-rūpār annath ehasya prāpraṇīyasya, “one who can be brought by oblations of food.” The same epithet esha is applied to Vishnu in the other two following passages referred to in Böhltingk and Roth’s Lexicon under this word. R. V. ii. 34, 11.—Tūn vo mahe Marutaḥ evayāvno Vishnur ehasya prabhrithe havāmakaḥ ityādi | “At the offering of the rapid Vishnu we invoke you, the great, and impetuous Maruts,” etc. R. V. viii. 20, 3.—Vidna hi Rudriyāṇāṃ ushām ugraṃ Marutān śimēvaṇā | Vishnur ehasya māhushām | “For we know the fiery vigour of the sons of Rudra, the impetuous Maruts, of the rapid Vishnu, [all of them] prolific.”
R. V. vii. 99, 1.—Paro mātrayā\textsuperscript{51} tanvā vridhāna na te mahitvaṃ anu āśnuvanti | ubhe te vidma rajaśi prithivyāḥ Vishno deva tvam paramaṇya vīte | 2. Na te Vishno jāyamāno na jāto deva mahimnāḥ param antam āpa | ud āstabhnāḥ nākaṃ śrīvaiḥ bṛihantām dādhartha prāchīn kakubham prithivyāḥ | 3 (=Vāj. S. v. 16). Iravati dhenumati hi bhūtaṃ savyasāni manushe\textsuperscript{52} dāsasya | Vi āstabhnāḥ rōdāsi Vishno ete dādhartha prithivim abhito mayākhaiḥ | 4. Uruṇa yajña caḥ kṛathur u lokāṁ janañantā Śūryam Uḥsasam Agnīm | dāsasya chid śrīśaprasya māyāḥ jagñathur narā pritanāyēśhu | 5. Indrā-Viśṇu driṅhitāḥ Sāmbarasya navā puro navatiṣṭha cha śnathishām | sataṁ varchinaḥ sahasraṁ cha sūkaṁ hatho aprati asurasya virūn | 6. Iyam maniśā bṛihatī bṛihantā urukramā tavāv vardhanyā | rare vāṁ stomaṁ vidathēśu Viśṇo pinvatam isha vriñjaneshu Indrā | 7. (S. V. 2, 977; Tsitt. Sanh. ii. 2, 12, 4) Vashaṭ te Viśṇo āśaḥ ā kriyomi tad me jushasva Sīpīvēṣṭa havyam | vardhantu tvā sushtubayo giro me yāyam pāta svastivbhīḥ saḍā naḥ |

"Thou who, with thy body, growest beyond our measure, [men] do not attain to thy greatness: we know both thy two regions of the earth; thou, divine Viśṇu, knowest the remotest [world].\textsuperscript{52} 2. No one, O divine Viśṇu, who is being born, or who has been born, knows the furthest limit of thy greatness. Thou didst prop up the lofty and vast sky; thou didst uphold the eastern pinnacle of the earth.\textsuperscript{53} 3. [Ye two worlds,] be ye abundant in food, cows, and pastures, through beneficence to man. Viśṇu, thou didst prop asunder these two worlds; thou didst envelope the earth on every side with beams of light. 4. Ye (Indra and Viśṇu) have provided ample room for the sacrifice, producing the sun, the dawn, and fire. Ye, O heroes, destroyed in the battles the wonderful powers of the hostile (dāsa) Viśhaśipra. 5. Indra and Viśṇu, ye smote the ninety-nine strong cities of Sambara; together, ye slew, unopposed, a thousand and a hundred heroes of the Āsura Varchin. 6. This great hymn gladdens you twain, the great, the wide-striding, the powerful; Viśṇu and Indra, I present to you twain a hymn at the sacrifices. Supply abundant nutriment in our habitations. 7. Viśṇu, I utter to thee this invocation from my mouth.

\textsuperscript{51} Compare paro-mātratrim rīchāshanam Indram; R. V. viii. 57, 1.
\textsuperscript{52} Yajur-veda v. 16 reads manave.
\textsuperscript{52} Comp. R. V. i. 160, 5, above, p. 74.
\textsuperscript{53} Compare Isaiah xl. 22; xlv. 12. 18.
Sipivishṭa, favourably receive this my oblation. May my laudatory hymns delight thee: do you always preserve us with blessings."

R. V. vii. 100.—Nu marto dayato sanishyan yo Vishṇave urugāyāya dāsat | pra yaḥ satrāchā manasaḥ yaśate etāvantam naryam evivāsai | 2. Tvaṁ Vishṇo suṣmatiḥ viśajanyām aprayūtam evayavo matiṁ daḥ | pareho yathā naḥ suvitasya bhūrer aṣvavataḥ puruschandrasya rāyaḥ | 3. Trīr deval prīthivīṁ eṣaḥ etaiṁ vi chakrame satarchasam maḥitvā | pra Vishṇur astu tavasas tavīyān tvēshaṁ hi asya sthavirasya nāma | 4. Vi chakrame prīthivīṁ eṣaḥ etaiṁ kṣetraya Vishṇur manushe daśayan | dhrūvāso asya kīrayo ṣaṁsāṁ vayunāni vidvān | taṁ tvā grīṁni tavasam atavyān kṣhayantam asya rajasaḥ parāke | 6. (S. V. 2, 976; Taitt. S. ii. 2, 12, 5; Nir. 5, 9.) Pra tat te adya Sipivishṭa nāma aryaḥ śaṁśāṁ vayunāni vidvān | taṁ tvā grīṁni tavasam atavyān kṣhayantam asya rajasaḥ parāke | 6. (S. V. 2, 975; Taitt. S. ii. 2, 12, 5; Nir. 5, 8.) Kim it te Vishṇo parichakshyam bhūt55 pra yad vacakshe Sipivishṭo asmi | mā varpo asmad apa gāha etad yad anyarūparah samīthe babhātha | (The seventh verse is repeated from the last hymn.)

"That man never repents who, seeking [for good], brings offerings to Vishṇu, the wide-stepping, who worships him with his whole heart, and propitiates such a powerful [god]. 2. Vouchsafe to us, swiftly-moving Vishṇu, thy benevolence, which embraces all mankind, thy unpreoccupied regard; that thou mayest grant us abundant good, and brilliant wealth, with horses. 3. Thrice the swift god by his greatness has traversed this earth with its hundred lights. May Vishṇu the strongest prevail over the strong: for awful is the name (nature) of that immovable [being]. 4. The swift Vishṇu traversed the earth to bestow it for a habitation on Manu [or man]. The men who praise him are secure: [the god] of exalted birth has given them an ample abode. 5. I, a devoted worshipper, who know the sacred rites, to-day celebrate this thy name, Sipivishṭa; I, who am weak, laud thee who art strong, and dwellest beyond this lower world. 6. What, Vishṇu, hast thou to blame, that thou declaredst, ‘I am Sipivishṭa’? Do not conceal from us this form, since thou didst assume another shape in the battle."

54 See the note on this word where it occurs in the hymn next following.
55 The Sāma-veda reads parichakshi nāma.
56 The following illustration of this verse is quoted by Professor Densoy from the commentary on the corresponding passage of the S. V.: Purā khatu Vishṇuḥ svāṁ
R. V. viii. 9, 12.—Yad Indroṇa sarathaṁ yātho Āsvinā yad vā Vāyūnā bhavathāḥ samokasā | yad Ādytebhir Ribhuhī sajoshasā yad vā Vishnuḥ vikramaṇeshu tīṣṭhathāḥ | "When, Āsvins, ye ride in the same car with Indra, or when ye dwell in the same abode with Vāyu, or when ye are associated with the Ādyas and the Ribhus, or when ye abide in the strides of Vishṇu."

ṛüpam parītyajya kṛitrimāṁ rūpāntaraṁ dhūrayan sangrāme Vasishṭhasya sāhāyyam chakāra | taṁ jñānam rishir anayā pratyācchasē | "Vishṇu formerly abandoning his own form, and assuming another artificial shape, succoured Vasishṭha in battle. Recognizing, the rishi addresses him with this verse."

In Nir. v. 8 and 9, Yāska quotes verses 6 and 6 of the hymn before us in inverse order. After telling us (v. 7) that, "according to Aupamanyava, Vishṇu has two names, Śīpīvishṭa, and Vishṇu, of which the former has a bad sense" (Śīpīvishaṭo Śīpīvishṭa iti Viṣṇur ēte nāmāni bhavataḥ | kutsītvāturthāyaḥ pūrvaru bhavati ity Āupamanyavaḥ), Yāska quotes verse 6, on which he observes: "Kīṁ te Viṣṇuḥ prakṛtyataṁ etad bhavati aprakṛtya-paṇīyaṁ yan na prabrūśe | sepaḥ tvā nirveṣṭito 'ṣmi ity apratipanna-rāsmiḥ | api vā prakṛtyāṁ nāmaiva abhīṣetraṁ sūrat | kīṁ te Viṣṇuḥ prakṛtyataṁ etad bhavati aprakṛtya-paṇīyaṁ yan na prabrūśe."

"What, Vishṇu, is this undeclared thing of thine, not to be declared, which thou tellst not? 'I am enveloped like a private member,' i.e. with rays obscured. Or, by Śīpīvishṭa a laudatory appellation may be intended; 'what is this declared thing of thine, which is to be declared, that thou tellst?' 'I am Śīpīvishṭa, i.e. one whose rays are displayed.' The word 'śīpī' here means 'rays;' with these he is persuaded. 'Do not conceal this form:' varpas is a word meaning 'form.'

'That thou art of another form in the battle (sāmīthe = sangrame), with thy rays withheld.' See Taitt. S., vol. ii., p. 565. On v. 5, Yāska remarks: Nir. v. 9: "Tat te 'dyā Śīpīvishṭaṁ rūna aryaḥ ivaśiṁ" | aryas tvam asaś tvā staum tvam asaś tvām tvam tvam asaś tvam aryaḥ rūna aryaḥ rūna parāke parākṛnte | "I, a master, to-day celebrate this thy name, Śīpīvishṭa. 'I am aryaḥ, a master of praises. Or, thou art a master. 'I, weak, praise thee, the strong.' Tvama is a word used for 'great.'

'Dwelling beyond (parāke=parākṛnte) this lower world.' From the above quotation, it appears that even in the time of Yāska, the sense of the word Śīpīvishṭa was uncertain. In the Mahābhārata, Sāntiparva, vv. 13229, ff., Kṛishṇa is introduced as explaining the sense of the word thus (if the writer intended to represent Yāska as the Vedic rishi by whom the word was first applied to Vishṇu, he could not have been a particularly good Vedic scholar): Śīpīvishṭeṣu chākhāyāṁ khetram ēka yaḥ bhavet | teunāvishṭaṁ tu yat kinekād Chhipivishṭeṣu cha smṛtaḥ | Yāska māṁ rishir avaryagro naïka-gajeshu gītavan | Śīpīvishṭaṁ iti hy asaṁ gahya-nāma-dharmo hy aham | stuttā māṁ Śīpīvishṭeṣu Yāskaṁ sarvih udāra-dhīḥ | mat-prasūtaṁ ādā naścām Niruktam abhiṣṭaṁ vyāsaṁ | "A bald man is designated by the word Śīpīvishṭa. Anything which is penetrated by that is called Śīpīvishṭa. Yāska, the serene rishi, celebrated me at many sacrifices. In consequence of this, I bear the mysterious name of Śīpīvishṭa. Yāska, that rishi of large understanding, having lauded me as Śīpīvishṭa, recovered by my favour the Nirukta, which had been destroyed."
R. V. viii. 10, 2.—... Brihaspatiṁ Viśvānadevaṁ aham havo Indrā-Viṣṇu Āśvināv āsu-heshāṣa | "I invoke Brihaspati, the Viśvedevas, Indra and Viṣṇu, and the Āśvins with quickly reigning steeds."

R. V. viii. 12, 16 (=S. V. i. 384; A. V. 20, 111, 1).—Yat somam Indra Viśṇavi yad va gha Trita Āptye | yad va Marutsu mandase sam indubhiḥ | ... 25. Yad Indra pritanāyye devās tvā dadhiro puraḥ | ād it te haryata hari vavakhataḥ | 26. Yadā Vṛitraṁ nada-vritaṁ śavasā vajrīnṃ abadhiḥ | ād id ityādi | 27. Yadā te Viṣṇur ojasā trīni padā vichakramā | ād id ityādi |

"Whether, Indra, thou [drinkest] soma along with Viṣṇu, or with Trita Āptya, or with the Maruts art exhilarated by libations. ... 25. When, Indra, the gods placed thee in their front in the battle, then thy dear steeds waxed strong. 26. When, thunderer, thou didst by thy might slay Vṛitra, who stopped up the streams, then thy dear steeds grew strong. 27. When by thy force Viṣṇu striō three steps, then thy dear steeds waxed strong."

R. V. viii. 15, 8 (=S. V. 2, 996, f.; A. V. 20, 106, 26).—Tava ċyau Indra paunyayam grīthivā varahati śravaḥ | tvāṁ āpaḥ parvataśas cha hinvire | 9. Tvāṁ Viṣṇur brihan kṣaya" Mitro grīnati Varuṇaḥ | tvāṁ śardho madati anu mārutam | 10. Tvāṁ vriśā janaṇāṁ maṁhisṭhaḥ Indra jajnishe | satrā viśva su-apatyāni dādhīshe |

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


57 Benfey, in his translation of the Sama-veda, renders kṣaya by "king." Roth, in his Lexicon, thinks this sense is not established, and renders the words brihan kṣayaḥ by "high abode, i.e. heaven, or those who dwell in the high abode, the gods." He also conjectures that the correct reading in this passage may be brihan-kṣayaḥ, "who dwells on high."
"Do ye, bountiful [gods], preserve our bard night and day. May we, free from injury, receive your protection. 12. Free from injury, we [offer praise] to the innocuous, and bountiful Vishnu. Listen, O self-moving Ocean, [to us] as your first thought. 13. We desire that excellent treasure, worthy to be guarded, which Mitra, Varuna, and Aryaman possess. 14. And may the Ocean of waters, may the Maruts, may the Aśvins, Indra, and Vishnu, all of them prolific, associated together, [bestow] that upon us."

R. V. viii. 27, 8.—A prayata Maruto Vishno Āśvin Āśvin mañinayā dhiyā | Indrah āyātu prathamaḥ sanishyubhir vrishā yo vṛitrāh grīne | "Come hither, ye Maruts, Vishnu, Aśvins, Puṣhan, at my hymn. May Indra come the first, he who is celebrated by those who desire [his blessing], as the vigorous, the slayer of Vṛitra."

The following hymn, in the seventh verse of which Vishnu is mentioned, is interesting from the manner in which the various characteristics of the different gods are succinctly described:


"One is a youth, brown, variable, active. A golden lustre invests him. 2. Another, luminous, has seated himself on the place

58 Dr. Aufrecht tells me that the word sāvan is so accented that it cannot mean "ship." He regards it as a masc. noun from the root sṃ, "to praise;" and assigns to it the sense of "bard," or "hymn." That there is such a word as sāva is proved by its occurrence in R. V. ix. 45, 5: Induḥ nācāḥ anūṣdha | where it must mean "the bard, or hymns, celebrated Indu."

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

60 Böhtlingk and Roth understand viṣṇuṇa of the changing phases of the moon.

61 Agni, according to the commentator. Atra yonim iti lingād Agnir uchyate |
of sacrifice, wise, amidst the gods. 3. Another holds in his hand an iron axe, steadfast, among the gods. 4. Another holds the thunderbolt poised in his hand, with which he slays his enemies. 5. Another, bright, fiery, possessing healing remedies, holds a sharp weapon in his hand. 6. Another watches the roads like a robber: he knows the treasures. 7. Another, wide-stepping, strode three strides, in the regions where the gods rejoice. 8. Two ride on birds (horses) with one goddess: they dwell afar, as if abroad. 9. Two, the highest, have made their abode in the sky, monarchs, worshipped with butter. 10. Some, worshipping, have meditated a great sāma-hymn, by which they have caused the sun to shine."

R. V. viii. 31, 10.—Ā śarma parvatānāṃ varānāhā nadinām ā Vishnuḥ sacha-bhuvah | "We seek for protection from the mountains, the rivers, and Vishnu who is associated with them."

R. V. viii. 35, 1, 14.—1. Agni Indreṇa Varuṇena Vishnuṇā Adityaiḥ Rudrair Vasubhiṣṇu sacha-bhuvah | sajoshāśa Uṣhasa Śūryena cha somam pibatam Āśvinā | 14. Angirasvantā uta Vishnuvantā Marutvantā juriṣur gachhatho havam ityādi | "Āśvins, drink the soma-juice, united with Agni, Indra, Varuṇa, Vishnu, the Adityas, Rudra, the Vasus, and associated with Uṣhas and Śūrya. 14. Attended by Angiras, by Vishnu, and by the Maruts, you come at the invocation of your worshipper."

R. V. viii. 66, 10.—Viṣvā it tā Vishnu ubharaḥ urukramas tvā ishitaḥ | satam mahan kṣīra-pākam odanāh varāham Indra emusam | "The wide-striding Vishnu, urged by thee, O Indra, carried off all these things, a hundred buffaloes, broth cooked with milk, and a fierce (?) hog."

This verse is considered by Dr. Aufrecht to contain an allusion to

62 Tvashtri. 63 Indra.
64 Rudra. Compare R. V. i. 43, 4, where Rudra is named, and the same epithet, jalaśa-bhūṣaṇa, is applied to him, and R. V. vii. 35, 6, where he is called jalaśa, "healing."
65 Pūshan.
66 Vishnu.
67 The Āśvins. In various passages of the R. V., the daughter of the Sun is said to ride on the car of the Āśvins. See the account of these deities in the fifth volume of this work. In R. V. v. 73, 5, the goddess is called Śūryā.
68 Mitra and Varuṇa.
some myth (also referred to in R. V. i. 61, 7, quoted in p. 67), in which Vishnu appears to have been represented as carrying off cattle, a hog, and other provisions for the use of Indra. Compare Professor Wilson’s note (d) on R. V. i. 61, 7. The same story may be alluded to in R. V. vi. 17, 11, above, p. 81. See also the note there.

Sāyaṇa gives two explanations of the verse (viii. 66, 10), that of the Nairuktas or etymologists, and that of the Aitihāsikas or recorders of legends. I cite the latter only. The story there told is the same as I have already cited above (pp. 39 ff.) from the Taittirīya Sanhitā; but it is here given in a different and conciser version. Part of the following quotation consists of Sāyaṇa’s own application of two Vedic texts, R.V. i. 61, 7, quoted above, p. 67, and viii. 66, 10, which has just been given.

Aitihāsika-paksah | charaka-brāhmaṇa itihāsaḥ āmnāyate | "Vishnuḥ yajnaḥ | sa devbhyāḥ ātmānām antaradāḥ | tam anya-devatāḥ na avindan | Indras tv avet | sa Indram abravit ‘ko bhavān’ iti | tam Indraḥ prayabравidd ‘aham durgāyām asuraṁ cha hantā | bhavāṁs tu kaḥ’ iti | so ‘bravid ‘aham durgād āhartā | tvam tu yadi durgāyām asuraṁ cha hantā tato ‘yaṁ varāho vāmā-muṣaḥ skaviṁśatyāḥ purāṁ pāre śamanmayāṁ vasati | tasminn asuraṁ ās vāmāṁ asti | tam imaṁ jahi’ iti | tasya Indras tāḥ puro bhittavā hridayam avidhyat | adhi tatra yaḥ āṣṭa tād Vishnuḥ āharad” iti | so ’yam itihāso “asya id u mātvā savaneḥu” “viṣvā it tā Vishnuḥ” ity abhyāṁ pratipādaṁ | tayor madhye “asya id u mātvā” ity atra Vishnuṁ "he Indra tvam ‘durgāyām hantā’ ity ātmānaṁ kathayasi tarhi vāma-muṣhaḥ varāham asurāṁ jahi” ity uktarthe “viṣhyad varāham” ity pādeṇa pratipādaṁ | Indreṇa cha ‘Vishnu tvam ‘durgād āhartā’ iti brūshe | mayā purāṇī jītiṁ asuras cha ghatitas tasya vāmaṁ ās vānaya’ ity ukto Vishnuṁ-mūrtis tasya Varāhāsurasaya āhanam mūnisha | so ‘rtho “mushayad Vishnuḥ pachatam” ity pādeṇa sūchitaḥ | sa kim punar mushitavān iti tād atra uchyate “viṣvā it tā” iti |

"On the part of the Aitihāsikas a story is recorded in the Charaka Brāhmaṇa (i.e. the Brāhmaṇa of the Black Yajur Veda): ‘Vishnu is the sacrifice. He withdrew himself from the sight of the gods. The other gods did not discover him; but Indra knew [where he was]. He said to Indra, Who art thou? Indra replied, I am the destroyer of castles, and Asuras; but who art thou? He said, I am he who
removes [the spoil] from the castle; but if thou art the destroyer of castles and Asuras, then this Varāha, a plunderer of goods, dwells on the other side of twenty-one stone ramparts; in him abide the wealth and property of the Asuras: slay him. Indra broke through these ramparts, and pierced his heart; and Vishnu carried off all that was found there.' This story is set forth in the two verses, the one beginning 'Having at the libations,' etc. (R. V. i. 61, 7), and 'The wide-striding Vishnu,' etc. (viii. 66, 10). In the fourth quarter of the first of these verses the words 'pierced the boar' (Varāha) refer to the clause of this story in which Vishnu says, 'Thou, Indra, callest thyself a destroyer of castles; slay then the Asura Varāha, the plunderer of goods.' The third quarter of the same verse, 'the impetuous Vishnu stole the cooked mess,' alludes to the other clause of the story in which the being in the form of Vishnu, being addressed by Indra in the words, 'Vishnu, thou callest thyself the being who carries off goods from the castle. I (Indra) have conquered the castles and slain the Asura; now, therefore, bring the treasures plundered, the property of the Asura Varāha.' But what was it that he plundered? That is declared in the words, the wide-striding Vishnu, etc. (viii. 66, 10)." The verse is then explained. The story in the Brāhmaṇa seems to be made up from the obscure hints in the hymns.

R. V. viii. 72, 7 (=Vāj. S. 33, 47).—Adhi na Indra esāṁ Vishnu sajātyānām | ita Maruto Aśvinā | "Remember, Indra, Vishnu, Maruta, Aśvins, us thy kinsmen."

R. V. ix. 33, 3 (S. V. 2, 116).—Sutaḥ Indrāya Vāyave Varuṇāya Marudbhyaḥ | somāḥ arshanti Vishnave | "The soma-draughts poured forth, hasten to Indra, Vāyu, Varuṇa, the Maruts, and to Vishnu."

R. V. ix. 34, 2.—Sutaḥ Indrāya Vāyave Varuṇāya Marudbhyaḥ | somo arshati Vishnave | "The soma hastens to Indra, Vāyu, Varuṇa, the Maruts, and Vishnu."

R. V. ix. 56, 4.—Tvam Indrāya Vishnave svādur Indo pari srava | nṝṁ stotrīṁ pāṁ aṁhasaḥ | "Indu, do thou flow, sweet, to Indra, to Vishnu. Preserve from sin the men who praise thee."

R. V. ix. 63, 3.—Sutaḥ Indrāya Vishnave somaḥ kalaśe akṣarat | madhumāṇ astu Vāyave | "The soma, when poured forth, flowed into the vessel for Indra, for Vishnu. May it be honied for Vāyu."
R. V. ix. 65, 20 (S. V. 2, 345).—Apsāḥ Indrāya Vāyave Varuṇāya Marudbhyaḥ | somo avahati Vishnave | “Pouring forth streams, the soma hastens to Indra, Vāyu, Varuṇa, the Maruts, and to Vishnū.”

R. V. ix. 90, 5.—Matsi Soma Varuṇam matsi Mitram matsi Indram Indo pavamāna Vishnun | matsi śarāho Mārulam matsi devān matsi mahām Indram Indo mādāya | “Soma, Indu, purified, thou exhilaratest Varuṇa, thou exhilaratest Mitra, thou exhilaratest Indra, thou exhilaratest Vishnū, thou exhilaratest the troop of the Maruts, thou exhilaratest the gods, and the great Indra, that they may be merry.”

R. V. ix. 96, 5 (=S. V. ii. 293).—Somaḥ pavate janītā matināṁ janītā dīvo janītā prithivyāḥ | janītā Agner janītā Śūrasya janītā Indrasya janītā uta Vishnoḥ | “Soma is purified [he who is] the generator of hymns, the generator of the Sky, the generator of the Earth, the generator of Agni, the generator of Śūrya, the generator of Indra, and the generator of Vishnū.”

This verse is quoted, and thus explained in the Nirukta-parishṭa, ii. 12: Somaḥ pavate | somaḥ śūryaḥ prasavanāt | janītā matināṁ prakāśa-karmaṇām āditya-raśmināṁ dīvo dyotana-karmaṇām āditya-raśmināṁ prithivyāḥ prathana-karmaṇām āditya-raśmināṁ Agner gati-karmaṇām āditya-raśmināṁ Śūrasya svīkaraṇa-karmaṇām āditya-raśmināṁ Indrasya aśvarya-karmaṇām āditya-raśmināṁ Vishnur vyāpti-karmaṇām āditya-raśmināṁ ity adhidaivatam | atha adhyātman | somaḥ ātmā apaḥ etasmād eva indriyānāṁ janītā ity arthah | api vā sarvābhīr vibhūtiḥ vibhūtata (?) ātmā ity ātma-gatim āchāste | “Soma is purified. Soma is ‘śūrya’ (the sun), from generating (prasavanāt). He is the generator of hymns (or thoughts), i.e. of those solar rays whose function it is to reveal; of the Sky, i.e of those solar rays whose function it is to shine; of the Earth, i.e. of those solar rays whose function it is to spread; of Agni, i.e. of those solar rays whose function it is to move; of Śūrya, i.e. of those solar rays whose function it is to appropriate (svīkaraṇa); of Indra, i.e. of those solar rays whose function is sovereignty; of Vishnū, i.e. of those solar rays whose function is diffusion: such is the mythological explanation. Now follows the spiritual interpretation, i.e. that which refers to soul. Soma is also the soul; and for this cause he is the generator of the senses: such is the meaning. Or, he thus declares the course of the soul, that it is variously modified by all its changing manifestations.”
R. V. ix. 166, 6 (=S. V. ii. 366).—Pavasva vāja-sātamaḥ pavitre dhārayā sutah | Indrāya Soma Vishnave devebhya madhumattamah |
“Soma, be purified, dispenser of strength, poured out in a stream into the filter, for Indra, for Vishnu, for the gods, most honied.”

R. V. x. 1, 3.—Vishnur itthā paramam asya vidvān jāto bhīhann abhi pāti trittyam | āsā yad asya payo akrata svāṁ sachetaso abhi achanti atra | “Vishnu, knowing thus his (Agni’s) highest [birth-place], when born, the great being, protects his third [birth-place, on earth]. Men unanimously worship him here, when they offer him their libation face to face.”

R. V. x. 65, 1.—Agnir Indro Varuṇo Mitro Aryamā Vāyuḥ Pūshā Sarasvatī sajoshasaḥ | Ādityāḥ Vishnur Marutāḥ Svar bhīhat Somo Rudro Adītir Brahmaṇaspatīḥ | “Agni, Indra, Varuṇa, Mitra, Aryaman, Vāyu, Pūshan, Sarasvatī, associated together, the Ādityas, Vishnur, the Maruts, the great Sky, Soma, Rudra, Aditi, Brahmaṇaspati.”

R. V. x. 66, 4, 5.—Adītir dvīvā-prithivī rītam mahād Indrā-Vishnū Marutāḥ Svar bhīhat | devān Ādityān acase havāmahe Vasūn Rudrān Savitārām sudaṁsasam | 5. Sarasvān dhībhir Varuṇo dhīrīvataḥ Pūshā Vishnur mahinā Vāyur Aśvinā | brahma-kṛito amṛitāḥ visva-vedasaḥ sarma no yaṁsaṁ trivarūtham āṁhasah |
“We invoke Aditi, Heaven and Earth, the great Ceremonial, Indra and Vishnu, the Maruts, the great Sky, the divine Ādityas, to our succour, the Vasus, Rudras, and Savitri, the wonder-working. 5. May Sarasvatī, through our prayers, may Varuṇa, whose ordinances are fixed, Pūshan, Vishnu, the great Power, Vāyu, the Aśvins, the immortals, offerers of prayer, possessors of all wealth, grant us a triple protection from evil.”

R. V. x. 92, 11.—Te hi dvīvā-prithivī bhūri-retasaḥ Narāśāṁsaḥ chaturango Yamo ’ditiḥ | devas Tvashṭa Draviṇodāḥ Ribhubhānanah pra rodasti Maruto Vishnur arhīre | “The prolific Heaven and Earth, the four-limbed Narāśansa, Yama, Aditi, the god Tvashṭri, Draviṇodas, the Ribhubhans, the two worlds, the Maruts, Vishnu have been honoured.”

R. V. x. 113, 1.—Tam asya dvīvā-prithivī sachetasa viśvebhīr devair anu śushnam āvatām | yad ait kṛśvāno mahimānam indriyam pīvī somasya kratumān avardhata | 2. Tam asya Vishnur mahimānam ojasā 69

69 See above p. 66 f.; and the fifth volume of this work, p. 207.
69 The same combination of words, mahimānam ojasā, occurs in R. V. v. 81, 3, above, p. 72.
aṁśuṁ dadhanvān madhuno vi rápate | devebhīr Indro maṅghvaśā devaṁyavahīr Vītraṁ jaghanvān abhaṁvād varenaṁah |
"The concordant heaven and earth, with all the gods, have stimulated that vigour of his. When he went on displaying his energetic greatness, drinking the soma, the powerful god exulted. 2. Vishṇu, in his might, bringing the soma plant, [the source of] his greatness, is full of the honied juice. Indra, the opulent, with the gods attending, having slain Vītra, became distinguished."

R. V. x. 128, 2 (A. V. 5, 33).—Mama devāḥ vihīve sauntu sarve Indravanto Maruto Vīshnur Āgniḥ ityādi | "May the gods all attend on my invocation, the Maruts with Indra, Vishṇu, Agni," etc.

R. V. x. 141, 3 (Vāj. S. 9, 26; A. V. 3, 20, 4).—Somaṁ rājānam avase 'gniṁ gīrbhir havāmahe70 | Ādityān Vīshnunā Suryam brahmaṁy-zan-cha Bṛhaspatim | . . . 5. (Vāj. S. 9, 27; A. V. 3, 20, 7.) Aryanmaṇam Bṛhaspatim Indraṁ dānaṁ yod haya | Vātāṁ Vīshnunā Sarasvatṁ Savitārane vājīnam | "We invoke with hymns king Soma, to our aid, and the Ādityas, Vishṇu, Sūrya, and the priest Bṛhaspate. 5. Excite Aryaman, Bṛhaspati, Indra, to generosity, and Vātā, Vishṇu, Sarasvati, and Savitṛi, the heroic."

R. V. x. 181, 1.—Prathāsa cha yasya Suprathāsa cha nāma ānushṭu-bhavya havisha havir yat | Dhātur dyutānāt Savītus cha Vīshnunā rathantaraṁ ā jabhāra Vasishṭhaḥ | 2. Avindan te atihiṁ śya utāt yajnasya dhāma paramaṁ guhā yat | Dhātur dyutānād Savītus cha Vīshnur Bharadvājo bṛihad ā chakre Āgneh | 3. Te 'vindan manasaṁ didhyānaṁ yajuḥ skannam prathamaṁ devayānam | Dhātur dyutānād Savītus cha Vīshnur ā Sūryād abharaṁ gharmam etc |

"Vasishṭha has received from the shining Dhātri, from Savitṛi, and from Vishṇu, the Rathantara, that which is the offering of the fourfold sacrifice, whereof Prathas and Saprathas are the names. 2. These [sages] discovered what was very far removed, the supreme and secret abode of sacrifice. Bharadvāja has received the Bṛihat from the shining Dhātri, from Savitṛi, from Vishṇu, and from Agni. 3. Contemplating with their minds, these [sages] discovered the descended Yajush, the first path to the gods. From the shining Dhātri, Savitṛi, Vishṇu, Sūrya, they brought down Gharma."

R. V. x. 184, 1 (=A. V. 5, 25, 5).—Vīshnur yoniṁ kalpayatu Tvasṭā

70 The Vājasaneyī Sanhitā reads anvārabhāmahe instead of gīrbhir havāmahe.
UNDENfNED CHARACTER OF VISHNU.

rāpūni pimkatu | ā sinchatu Prajāpatir Dhātā garbhaṁ dadhātu te |
"Let Vishnu form the womb; let Tvāshtri mould the forms; let Prajāpati infuse [the seminal principle]; let Dhātri form the embryo."

SECT. II.—Subordinate position occupied by Vishnu in the hymns of the Rig-veda as compared with other deities.

The preceding passages are all, or nearly all, which the Rig-veda contains regarding Vishnu. In my remarks on R. V. i. 22, 16 ff. (above p. 64 ff.), I have quoted the opinions of two of the most ancient interpreters of the Veda, Sākapūni and Aurnavābha, on the character of Vishnu. The former regards him as a god who, in what are called his three strides, is manifested in a threefold form, as Agni on earth, as Indra or Vāyu in the atmosphere, and as the Sun in heaven. The second writer, Aurnavābha, on the other hand, interprets Vishnu’s three strides as the rising, culmination, and the setting of the sun. These three strides are also noticed, as we have seen above, in R. V. i. 154, 1, 2, 3, 4; i. 155, 4, 5; vi. 49, 13; vii. 100, 3, 4; vii. 29, 7; while in other places (R. V. ii. 1, 3; iii. 54, 14; iv. 3, 7; iv. 18, 11; viii. 89, 12; v. 3, 3; v. 87, 4; viii. 9, 12; viii. 66, 10; x. 1, 3) the epithet “wide-stepping,” or “wide-striding,” is either applied to this deity, or, at least, some allusion is made to this function, or to this god’s station in the heavens. In R. V. vi. 69, 5, and vii. 99, 6, Indra is associated with Vishnu as taking vast strides.

As the peculiar divine office of Vishnu, indicated by his three steps, stages, or stations, was differently understood by the oldest interpreters whose opinions have been handed down to us, it is natural to suppose that it was not so clearly defined or understood as the functions of some of the other gods, as Agni and Indra for example. But the specific character of many, I may say most, of the Vedic gods is far from being distinctly determined in the hymns.

Some other acts of even a higher character are attributed to Vishnu. In R. V. i. 154, 1, 2; vii. 99, 2, 3, he is said to have established the heavens and the earth, to contain all the worlds in his strides; in R. V. vi. 69, 5, and vii. 99, 4, to have, with Indra, made the atmosphere wide, stretched out the worlds, produced the sun, the dawn and fire; in R. V. i. 156, 4, to have received
the homage of Varuṇa; while in R. V. vii. 99, 2, his greatness is described as having no limit within the ken of present or future beings. The attributes ascribed to Vishṇu in some of these passages are such that, if these latter stood alone in the Rig-veda, they might lead us to suppose that this deity was regarded by the Vedic Rishis as the chief of all the gods. But, as we have already seen, Indra is associated with Vishṇu even in some of those texts in which the latter is most highly magnified (as R. V. i. 155, 1 ff.; vi. 69, 1 ff.; vii. 99, 4 ff.; viii. 15, 10); nay, in one place (R. V. viii. 12, 27), the power by which Vishṇu takes his three strides is described as being derived from Indra; in R. V. iv. 18, 11, vi. 20, 2, and viii. 89, 12, he is the associate of Indra; in another text (R. V. viii. 15, 9), Vishṇu is represented as celebrating Indra's praises; while, in R. V. ix. 96, 5, Vishṇu is said to have been generated by Soma.

It is also a fact, notorious to all the students of the Rig-veda, that the hymns and verses which are dedicated to the praises of Indra, Agni, Mitra, Varuṇa, the Maruts, the Aśvins, etc., are extremely numerous; whilst the entire hymns and separate verses in which Vishṇu is celebrated are much fewer, and have all, or nearly all, been adduced in the preceding pages.

The reader will also have noticed that, in a large number of shorter passages which I have cited, Vishṇu is introduced as the subject of laudation among a great crowd of other divinities, from whom he is there in no way distinguished as being in any respect superior. From this fact, we may conclude that he was regarded by those writers as on a footing of equality with the other deities.

Further, the Rig-veda contains numerous texts in which the Rishis ascribe to Indra, Varuṇa, and other gods, the same high and awful attributes and functions which are spoken of in the hymns before cited as belonging to Vishṇu. I shall quote a sufficient number of these texts to show that, in the Rig-veda, Vishṇu does not hold a higher rank than several of these other divinities. If, on the other hand, we look to the large number of texts, in which, as I have just stated, some of the other gods are celebrated, and to the comparatively small number of those in which Vishṇu is exclusively or prominently magnified, we shall come to the conclusion that the latter deity occupied a somewhat subordinate place in the estimation and affections of the ancient rishis.
DIVINE ATTRIBUTES ASCRIBED TO INDRA.

I shall first adduce a number of passages in which divine attributes and functions of the highest character are ascribed to Indra.\(^{71}\)

R. V. i. 7, 3—Indra dīrghāya chakshase ā sūryaṁ rohayad divi ityādi] "Indra has raised up the sun in the sky to be seen from afar," etc.


"Thou hast grasped in thine arms the iron thunderbolt; thou hast placed the sun in the sky to be viewed. . . . 12. [Dwelling] on the further side of this atmospheric world, deriving thy power from thyself, daring in spirit, thou, for our advantage, hast made the earth, the counterpart\(^{72}\) of [thy] energy; encompassing the waters and the sky, thou reachest up to heaven. 13. Thou art the counterpart of the earth, the lord of the lofty sky, with its exalted heroes. Thou hast filled\(^{73}\) the whole atmosphere with thy greatness. Truly there is none other like unto thee.\(^{74}\) 14. Whose vastness neither heaven and earth have equalled, nor the rivers of the atmosphere have attained its limit,—not when, in his exhaliration, he fought against the appropriator of the rain (?); thou alone hast made everything else in due succession."

R. V. i. 55, 1.—Divas chid asya varimā vi paprathē Indraṁ na mahnā prthivī Chaṇa prati | "His vastness is extended even beyond the sky: the earth is not comparable to Indra in greatness."

R. V. i. 61, 9.—Asya id eva praririche mahitvaṁ divas prthivyāḥ pari antarikṣhat ītyādi | "His greatness transcends the sky, the earth, and surpasses the atmosphere," etc.

\(^{71}\) Compare the additional texts of the same tenor in the fifth vol. of this work, pp. 99 ff.

\(^{72}\) Compare R. V. i. 102, 8; ii. 12, 9; x. 111, 5 (below). The word prātimāna also occurs in R. V. x. 138, 3.—See the second volume of this work, p. 362.

\(^{73}\) Compare R. V. i. 81, 5; ii. 15, 2; vi. 17, 7; vii. 20, 4; vii. 20, 4; vii. 98, 3; and x. 134, 1 (below).

\(^{74}\) Compare R. V. i. 81, 5; iv. 30, 1; vi. 30, 4; and vii. 32, 23 (below).
R. V. i. 81, 5.—Ā poprau pārthivāṁ rajo badbadhe rochanā dīvi | na tvāvān Indra kaśchana na jāto na janishyate ati viśvaṁ vavakshitaḥ |
“He has filled the terrestrial region: he has fastened the luminaries in the sky. No one like thee, Indra, hath been born, or shall be born: thou hast transcended the universe.”

R. V. i. 102, 8.—Trivishti-dhātu pratimānam ojasas tisro bhūmir nripate triṇi rochanā | ati idāṁ viśvam bhuvanāṁ vavakshitha asatīrṇa |
Indra janushā sanād asi | “The three worlds, O king, the three luminaries are a triple counterpart of [thy] energy. Thou hast transcended this whole universe. By nature, Indra, thou art of old without an enemy.”

R. V. i. 103, 2.—Sa dhārayat pṛthivīṁ paprathacheha vajreṇa hatvā mir apaḥ sasajna | ahann Ahim ityādi | “He established the earth and stretched it out; smiting with the thunderbolt, he let loose the waters. He slew Ahi,” etc.

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

R. V. ii. 12, 1 (Nirukta, x. 10).—Yo jātaḥ eva prathamā manasvān devo devān kratunā paryabhūhatāḥ | Yasya śūnmayā rodasic abhyasetāṁ
nṛtimāsaḥ mahan sa janāsah Indraḥ | 2. Yaḥ pṛthivīṁ vyathamanāṁ advineśad yaḥ parvatān prakupitān aramanāt | yo antarikshaṁ vimamo
everyo yo dyāṁ astabhna sa janāsah Indraḥ | 9. . . . Yo viśvasya
pratimānam babhūva yo achyuta-chyūt sa janāsah Indraḥ | 13. Dyāvā
chīḍ atmaṇī pṛthivīṁ nambeta śūnmayāḥ chīḍ asya parvatāṁ bhayante
ityādi |
“He who, immediately on his birth, the first, the wise, surpassed the gods in force; at whose might the two worlds shook, through the greatness of his strength, he, O men, is Indra. 2. He who fixed the quivering earth; who gave stability to the agitated mountains;

75 Compare R.V. viii. 21, 13; x. 133, 2 (below).
76 Kratunā karunanā paryabhavat paryagyānāḥ paryarakaśad atyakṛūmed vā . . .
nṛtimāsaḥ mahanā balasya mahatvam. —Nirukta. At the end of the comment the writer adds: iti rishier dpishtorbenas pṛitty bhavaṁ ākhyāna-saṁyuktā | “Thus when the rishi has seen the subject [of his hymn], gratification ensues, conjoined with a narrative.”
who measured the vast atmosphere; who propped up the sky, he, O men, is Indra. 9 . . He who has been a counterpart of the universe; who casts down the unskaken, he, O men, is Indra. . . . 13. Even the sky and the earth bow down to him; even of his might the mountains are afraid," etc.

R. V. ii. 15, 1.—Pra gha nu asya mahato mahāni satyā satyasya karanāni vocam | trikadrushu apibat sutasya asya māde ahim Indro jaghāna | 2. Avaṃśe dyām astabhāyah brihatam ā rodasi aprinād antariksham | sa dhārayat prithivīm paprathach cha somasya tā māde Indraś chakāra | 3. Sadmeva prācho vi mimāya mānair ātyādi |

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

R. V. iii. 30, 9.—Ni sāmanām ishirām Indra bhānim mahām aprām sadane sasattha | astabhnād dyām vrishabho antariksham arshantu āpas tvayēka prasūtāh | "Thou, Indra, hast fixed in its place the level, the blooming, earth, the great, the boundless. The vigorous god has propped up the sky, and the atmosphere: may the waters flow, sent forth now by thee."

R. V. iii. 32, 7.—Yajāma id namasā vriddham Indram brihatam rishvam ajaraṁ yuvānam | yasya priye mamatur yajnīyasya na rodaśi mahimānam mamāte | 8. Indrasya karma sukṛtā purāṇi vratāni devāh na minanti visve | dādhāra yaḥ prithivīṁ dyām utemāṁ jajāna sūryam ushasam sudaṃsāh | 9. Adrogha satyām tava tad mahītvān sadyo yaj jaṭo apibo ha somam | na dyāvaḥ Indra tavasas te ojo nāhā na māsāḥ sarado varanta 80 |

77 Compare R.V. i. 154, 1, 3, and the other corresponding passages above, p. 69 ff.; and R.V. ii. 15, 3, immediately following. The word here, however, may mean "constructed." With the first part of the verse compare R. V. x. 149, 1, below (p. 110).

78 Compare R. V. x. 149, 1 (below); and Job xxvi. 7, "He stretcheth out the north over the empty place, and hangeth the earth upon nothing." See also R. V. x. 111. 5; and vi. 72, 2 (below).

79 Böhltingk and Roth, s.v., explain ishira as meaning "fresh," "blooming."

80 Compare verse 16 of this same hymn, and R. V. viii. 77, 3: Na te vā brihanto adrayo varante "The mighty mountains do not stop thee."
"We worship, with reverence, the mighty Indra, the powerful, the exalted, the undecaying, the youthful. The beloved worlds (heaven and earth) have not measured, nor do they [now] measure, the greatness of this adorable being. 8. Many are the excellent works which Indra has done; not all the gods are able to frustrate the counsels of him, who established the earth, and this sky, and, wonder-working, produced the sun and the dawn. 9. O innoxious god, thy greatness has been veritable since that time when, as soon as thou wast born, thou didst drink the soma. Neither the heavens, nor the days, nor the months, nor the seasons, can resist the energy of thee [who art] mighty."

R. V. iii. 44, 3.—\textit{Dyām Indro hariḥdyāyasam \textit{gr̥thivinem hari\textit{varpa\textit{san}}\textit{adhyayad ityādi} | \textit{Indra upheld the sky with its golden supports, and the earth with its golden form,}} etc.\textit{}}

R. V. iv. 16, 5.—\textit{Varakshe Indro \textit{amitam r̥jish\textit{i ubhe \textit{prapau rodaśi mahīvā | ataś chid asya mahīmā virechi abhi yo viśvā bhuvanā babhūva | \textit{The impetuous Indra hath waxed immeasurably; he has filled both worlds with his vastness. Even beyond this extends the majesty of him who transcends all the worlds.}}}}

R. V. iv. 30, 1.—\textit{Nakir Indra tvad uttaro na jyāyān asti \textit{Vṛitrahan | nakir eva yathā tvam | \textit{There is none, Indra, higher than thee, or superior to thee, thou slayer of Vṛitra; neither is there any like thee.}}}

R. V. vi. 17, 7.—\textit{Pa\textit{prūtha kshām maḥī daṁso vi ùreṁ upa dyām rŁishvo bṛ̥hād Indra stabhāyaḥ | \textit{Thou hast filled the broad earth with thy mighty}}

\textit{Sāyaṇa explains \textit{priye} as meaning \textit{aparimite, inmeasurable.}}—See vii. 87, 2.

\textit{Dr. Aufrecht proposes to translate the last clause thus: \textit{his beloved (spouses), heaven and earth, imagine, but do not measure (=comprehend) the greatness of this holy being.}} He regards the repetition of the root \textit{mā \textit{to measure}} in two different forms as purposeless, and conjectures that \textit{māna\textit{tuḥ} may be the perfect of \textit{man}, and used for \textit{māna\textit{tuḥ} or \textit{manata\textit{uḥ}. Compare the aorist \textit{anata}, and \textit{sas\textit{avūn for \textit{sas\textit{av\textit{ān}}; see also R. V. vii. 31, 7: \textit{Mahān asya yasya te'nu svadhāvāri sahaḥ | \textit{manata\textit{u Indra rodaśi | \textit{Thou art great, (thou) to whose energy the self-supporting Heaven and Earth have submitted themselves.}}}}}}

\textit{In the hymn from which this verse is taken, the changes are rung on the words \textit{hari, hari\textit{ta, etc.}}}

\textit{See Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon under the word \textit{r̥jish\textit{iu}, and Bengal's note 260, on R. V. i. 32, 6, in his \textit{Orient und Occident.}} The verse before us (iv. 16, 5) is translated by the same author in his Glossary to S. V., p. 162. See also his Glossary to the Sāmaveda, s. r. \textit{r̥jish\textit{iu.}}}

works; thou, Indra, exalted, hast mightily propped up the sky; thou hast supported the two worlds, of whom the gods are the offspring, the ancient and mighty parents of holy rites."

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

R. V. vi. 31, 2.—Tvad-bhīyā Indra pārthivāni viścā achyutā chit chyāvayante rajāṃsi | dvāvā-kshāmā parvatāso vanāni viśvaṁ dṛhiham bhaya te ajam | "Through fear of thee, Indra, all the mundane regions, however steady, totter; heaven and earth, mountains, forests, everything that is fixed, is afraid at thy coming."

R. V. vi. 38, 3.—Taṁ vo dhiyā paramayā purājām ajaram Indram abhi anūshi arkaīr ityādi | "I have lauded with an excellent prayer, and with praises, thee, Indra, born of old, and undecaying."

R. V. vii. 20, 4.—Ubbe chid Indra rodasi mahītva a paprātha tavishibhis tuvishmaḥ ityādi | "Thou, powerful Indra, hast filled both worlds with thy mighty deeds," etc.

R. V. vii. 32, 16.—Tvā iś Indra avamaṁ vasi tvam pushyasā ma-dhyamam | satrā visvasya paramasya rājasī naktis tvā gosāh cīnu vīgyate | . . . 22. Abhi tvā śāra nonumāḥ adugdhaḥ iva dhenaḥ iśānam asya jagataḥ dvardhiṣam iśānam Indra taśthushaḥ 23. Na tvāvān anyo divyo na pārthivo na jāto na janishyate ityādi

"Thine, O Indra, is the lowest wealth; thou possessest the middle; verily thou rulest over all the very highest; none resist thee among the cattle. . . . 22. We, O heroic Indra, like unmilked cows, approach with our praises thee who art the heavenly lord of this moving, and of the stationary [world]. 23. No one, celestial or terrestrial, has been born, or shall be born, like to thee."

R. V. vii. 98, 3 (=A. V. 20, 87, 3).— . . . Ā Indra paprātha uru antarikṣaṁ yudhā devēbhyo varivaḥ chakartha | . . . "Indra, thou hast filled the wide sky: thou hast by battle acquired freedom for the gods."

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85 This entire hymn is translated in Müller's Anc. Sansk. Lit. pp. 543 ff.
86 The words at the close of this verse occur also in R. V. i. 59, 5 (see below). In regard to varivaḥ, compare R. V. i. 63, 7: aśhoh vṛjan varivaḥ Pūrve kah | "Thou affordedst relief to Pūrva from his strait." The word occurs R. V. ix. 97, 16, in the plural, varivaṁsi kriyvan. In the Nighantu, 2, 10, it is said to mean "wealth."
R. V. viii. 3, 6 (=S. V. ii. 938).—Indro mahá rodasi papratthach 
evah Indrah súryam arochayat | Indre ha víśva bhuvanáni yemire ityádi | “The mighty Indra by his power has spread out the two worlds; Indra has lighted up the Sun; on Indra all the worlds are supported,” etc. 67

R. V. viii. 21, 13 (=S. V. 1, 399; A. V. 20, 114, 1).—Abhrátrivyao 
ana tvam anápir Indra janushá sanád ase | yudhá id apitvam ichhase | “Indra, by thy nature, thou art indeed of old without a rival, without a fellow. By battle thou seekest alliance.”

R. V. viii. 36, 4.—Janitá divo janitá prithivyáh ityádi | “Generator of the sky, generator of the earth,” etc. (Indra).

R. V. viii. 37, 3.—Ekarád asya bhuvanasya rájası ityádi | “Thou rulest a sole monarch over this world,” etc. (Indra).

R. V. viii. 51, 2.—Áyuyo asamo nishhir eka krištír ayasyáh | 
právratvati visájá játámy ojasá ityádi | “Without a fellow, unequalled by men, [Indra] alone, unconquerable, has surpassed in power many tribes, and all creatures.”

R. V. viii. 59, 5 (=S. V. i. 278).—Yad dyávah Indra te sataṁ satam 
bhámir uta syuh | na tvá vajrin sahasram súryáh anu na játam aśta 
roday | “If, Indra, a hundred skies, and a hundred earths were thine, a thousand suns could not equal thee, thunderer, nor could anything created, [nor] the two worlds.”

This verse is quoted and briefly commented on in the Nirukta Parishishta i. 1, ff.: Astha imáḥ atistutayah ity áchakshate api vā sampratyayah 
eva syád mahabhGuyád devatáyáh | . . Yadi te Indra sataṁ divah 
śatam bhámayaḥ pratináváni syúc na tvá vajrin sahasram api súryáh na dyávah 
prithivyáv apiy abhyáśnávitáṃ iti | “Now these [which follow] are what are called exaggerated praises; or they may be expressions of perfect faith owing to the grandeur of the Deity.” Then, after citing

67 In the 8th verse of this hymn (=S. V. 2, 924; Vāj. S. 33, 97; A. V. 20, 99, 2) the following words occur: asyed Indro vúvridhe vipishyain śravo made sutasva 
vishnavi | “Indra increased his fecundating strength, in the exhilaration of this soma, at the sacrifice.” Vishnavi, the word here rendered “sacrifice,” is the locative case of vishnu. Böhtlingk and Roth, s.v., think the word here has this sense, as the Brahmans frequently employ the phrase yajno vai Vishnú | “Vishnu is the sacrifice.” The commentator of the Vāj. Sanhitā explains it by sarva-sārirav 
vāyopake, “That which pervades the whole body.” Śāyaṇa, too, makes it = kritsvan-
dekasya vyāpaka |
passages referring to Agni and Varuṇa, the writer quotes the verse before us, and thus paraphrases it: “If, Indra, a hundred skies, a hundred earths be the counterparts [with which thou art compared], not even a thousand suns, O thunderer, nor heaven and earth, can equal thee.”

R. V. viii. 67, 5.—Nākam Indro nikartave na S'akraḥ pariśaktave viśvāṁ śriṅoti paśyati | “Indra is not to be overcome, Sakra is not to be overpowered. He hears and sees all things.”

R. V. viii. 77, 4.—Yoddhā ’si kratvā šarasota dāṃsanā viśvā jātā abhi majjanā | ā tvā ayam arkaḥ ātayo vavartati yam Gotamaḥ aśjjanān | 5. (S. V. 1, 312.) Pra hi rivikshe ojasā dīvo antebhyas pari | na tvā vivyācha rajaḥ Indra pārthivam anu svadhāṁ vavakṣitha | “A warrior, thou surpassest all creatures in power, in vigour, in exploits, in strength. This hymn, which the Gotamas have generated, incites thee to succour us. 5. For by thy might thou hast overpassed the bounds of the sky. The mundane region hath not contained thee: thou hast grown according to thine own will.”

R. V. viii. 78, 5 (=S. V. ii. 779 f.)—Yaj jāyathāḥ apāveya Maghavan Vṛitra-hatyāya | tat prithivīm aprathayas tad astabhyāḥ uta dyām | 6. Tat te yajno ajāyata tad arkaḥ uta hakhritih | tad viśvām abhībhūr asi yaj jātāḥ yachcha jantvam | “When thou, O unrivalled Maghavan (Indra), wast born for the destruction of Vṛitra, then thou didst spread out the earth, and then thou didst establish the sky. 6. Then was thy sacrifice produced; then thy hymn and thy song of praise. Then thou didst transcend all things that have been born, or shall be born.”

R. V. viii. 82, 11.—Yasya te nu chid ādiśaṁ na minanti svarājaṁ na devo na adhīrgur janaḥ | “Whose command, and empire, no one,—whether god, or audacious mortal,—can resist.”

R. V. viii. 86, 9.—Na tvā devāsah āśata na marāyo adivih | viśvā

88 This hymn is translated by Professor Müller, Zeitsch. D. M. G. for 1853, p. 375.
89 Instead of antebhyāḥ the S. V. reads svodbhhyāḥ.
90 At the end of the verse the S. V. reads ati viśvām vavakṣitha | “Thou hast transcended the universe.” On the sense of svadhā, see Roth, Illust. of Nir. pp. 49 f. and 132; and Müller, Transl. of R. V. vol. i. pp. 49 ff.
91 Compare the words yad bhūtaṁ yachcha bhāvyam in the Purusha Sūkta, R. V. x. 90, 2. See the first volume of this work, in the early part of which this entire hymn is translated.
jātāni śavasā abhibhūr asi ityādi | 10 (S. V. i. 370). Viśvāḥ pritanāh abhibhūtāraṁ naraṁ 22 sajūs tatakshur Indrāṁ jajanuś cha rājase | kravā varishtaṁ vare 33 āmurim uta ugram ojishtaṁ tavasam 94 tarasvinam |

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

R. V. viii. 87, 2.—Tvam Indra abhibhūr Asi tvam sūryam arochayaḥ | viśvakarmā viśvadevo mahān asi | "Thou, Indra, art the most powerful; thou hast kindled the sun; thou art great, the architect of all things, and the lord of all."

R. V. x. 43, 5 (=A. V. 20, 17, 5; Nir. 5, 22).—Krītaṁ na śvaghnī vichinoti devane saṁvargam yad Mahavā sūryaṁ jayaṁ | na tat te anyo anu vīryaṁ śakaṁ na puraṇo Mahavan na uta nātanaḥ | "When Maghavan has conquered spoils 35 from the sun, he is like a gamester who gathers in his gains at play. 36 No other, Maghavan, either old or recent, can imitate that thy prowess."

R. V. x. 48, 3.—Mahyaṁ Tvashaṁ vajram atakṣhad āyasam mayi devāso avṛjann api kratum | mama anīkāṁ sūryasya īvā dustaram mām āryanti kritena kartveṇa cha | "Tvashaṭri fashioned for me (Indra) an iron thunderbolt; into me the gods have infused force. My splendour is unsurpassed, like that of the sun. Men praise me for what I have done and shall do."

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

22 The Sāma-veda reads naraḥ.
33 The Sāma-veda reads kravē vare sthemanā āmurim. It is difficult to assign a sense to vare in the text.
34 The Sāma-veda reads tarasaṁ.
35 Sāyaṇa explains saṁvargam as = saṁyag vṛiṣṭer varjayitaṁ | "discharger of rain."
94 The word, as Dr. Aulecth informs me, occurs only once again in the R. V.
95 The same phrases occur in R. V. x. 42, 9, and A. V. 7, 50, 6; 20, 89, 9.
IN WHICH INDRA IS CELEBRATED.

R. V. x. 111, 1.—Maniśiṇaḥ pra bharadhvam maniśham yathā yathā matayaḥ santi nriṇām | Indraṁ satyair ā āryāma kriṭebhiḥ sa hi viro girvanasyur vidānaḥ | 2. Ritasya hi sadaso khitir adyaut saṁ gārṣṭeyo vrishabhō gobhir ānāt | uḍ atiśhānaḥ taviseṇa ravaṇa mahānti chid samvigyača rajāṇi | 3. Indraḥ kila śrutiṣai asya veda sa hi jihṣuḥ pathikrit sāryāya | aññ menāṁ kriṇvann achyuto bhucad goḥ patir divaḥ sanajāk apratītaḥ | 4. Indro mahā mahato arṇavasya vratā aminād Angirbhīg griṇānaḥ | puruṇi chid ni tatāna rajāṇi daśhāra yo dharunam satyatāa | 5. Indro divaḥ pratimānam prithiṣyāḥ viścā veda savanā hanti Subhānam | mahāṁ chid dyām ā atanot sūryena chāśkambha chit skambhanena skabbhāya | “Sages, present the prayer, according as are the various thoughts of men. Let us move Indra, with his genuine acts, for he is a hero, and loves our hymns. 2. The hymn has shone forth from the place of sacrifice. The bull, offspring of a heifer, has approached the cows; he has arisen with a loud bellowing; he has embraced in himself the vast regions. 3. Indra by hearing is surely aware of this [hymn]. For he, the victorious, has formed a path for the sun, and then creating the female of the bull, became the unshaken, eternal and matchless lord of the sky (compare R. V. i. 51, 13; i. 121, 2). 4. Celebrated by the Angirases, Indra by his power has defeated the designs of the great streaming [cloud-demon]; he has stretched out many worlds, he who has laid a foundation in truth. 5. Indra, [who is] the counterpart of the heaven and of the earth, knows all libations, slays Sūṣṇa; with the sun, he has extended the vast sky, and, [being] a strong supporter, he has supported it with a support.” 56

R. V. x. 133, 2 (="S. V. ii. 1151).—Tvam sindhān avāsrījaḥ adhara-vācho ahann Ahim | aśatrur Indra jajuishe viścām pushyasi vāryam ityādi | “Thou hast let loose the streams to flow downwards; thou hast slain Ahi. Indra, thou hast been born without a foe: thou possessest all that is desirable, etc.

R. V. x. 134, 1 (="S. V. i. 379).—Ubbhe yad Indra rodast āpapraṭha

57 That this is the allusion in the word āryaṇa is shown by the following passage: R. V. x. 67, 2.—Indro mahā mahato arṇavasya vi rūdhīnaṁ abhinād Ardhaṇaśa ityādi | “Indra by his power split asunder the head of the great streaming Arbuda,” etc.

58 Compare R. V. vi. 72, 2, below.
ushāḥ iva | mahāntaṁ tvā mahīnāṁ saṁrājaṁ charshaṇānām |
dēvi janitri
ajjanaad bhadra janitri ajjanaat

"When thou, Indra, like the dawn,
didst fill both the worlds, a divine mother bore thee,
the mighty monarch of mighty creatures,—a gracious mother bore thee."

How great soever the attributes assigned to Indra may be, we see
that here he is not regarded as a self-existent being, but as the son of
a mother. See the earlier part of the account of this deity in the fifth
volume of this work.

The two following texts refer to Indra in conjunction with another
god:

R. V. vi. 72, 2.—Indrā-Somā vāsayathā uṣhāsam ut sūryaṁ
nayatho
jyotiśāḥ saha | upa dyāṁ skambhatuḥ skambhanena
aprathatam prithi-
vīṁ māṭarāṁ vi | "Indra and Soma, ye cause the dawn to shine,
ye make the sun to rise with the light. Ye have propped up the sky
with a support, ye have spread out the earth, the mother."

R. V. vii. 82, 5.—Indrā-Varuṇa yad īmāni chakrathur viśvā jātāni
bhavanasya majinanā ityādi | "Indra and Varuṇa, since ye have made
all these creatures of the world by your power," etc.

The passages next following celebrate the divine attributes of Varuṇa:

R. V. i. 24, 8.—Uruṁ hi rājā Varuṇaḥ chakāra sūryāya
panthām
anu-stavai u ityādi | "King Varuṇa hath made a broad path for the
sun to follow," etc.

R. V. ii. 27, 10.—Tvaṁ viśveshāṁ Varuṇa asi rājā ye cha
devāh asura
ye cha martoḥ | "Thou, divine Varuṇa, art king of all, both of those
who are gods, and of those who are men."—Quoted in Müller's Anc.
Sansk. Lit., p. 534.

R. V. vi. 70, 1.—Gṛhitavati bhavānānām abhiśriyā uṛvi
prithvi ma-
dhu-dugeḥ supeśasā | dyāva-prithivi Varuṇasya dharmāṇā
vishkabhto
ajare bhūri-retasa | "Full of fatness, the common abodes of creatures,
wide, broad, dropping sweetness, beautiful in form, heaven and earth
are sustained asunder by the support of Varuṇa, undecaying, abundant
in fertility."

R. V. vii. 86, 1.—Dhirā tu asya mahīnā janumśhi vi yas
tastambha
rodasti chid uṛvi | pra nākam rishvaṁ nunude byihantāṁ dvītā
nakshatraṁ
papratham cha bhūma | "Wise are his creations who by his power

99 The last line is repeated at the close of each of the five following verses.
100 Compare R. V. ii. 15, 2; x. 111, 5; and x. 149, 1, below.
propped asunder the two worlds, thought vast. He raised up the lofty and wide firmament, and spread out apart the stars and the earth."—This hymn is translated in Müller’s Sansk. Lit., pp. 540 f.

R. V. vii. 87, 1.—Radat patho Varunaḥ sūryāya pra arṇāmi samu-driyā nādinām | sargo100* na śrīṣṭo arvatir ṛitayan chakāra mahār avānit rahbhyaḥ | 2. Ātmā te vāto rajaḥ ā navinot pāṣur na bhūṛgir yavase sa-sa-vān100* | antar mahī brihati rodast ime viśvā te dhāma Varuṇa priyāṇi | "Varuṇa has opened out paths for the sun, and the courses of the rivers leading to the ocean. Like a troop (of horses) let loose, following the mares, he has made great channels for the days. 2. The wind, thy breath, has sounded through the atmosphere, like an impetuous beast rushing along a pasture. Within [thee?] are these two great and vast worlds; all thy realms, O Varuṇa, are beloved."101

R. V. viii. 42, 1.—Astaḥbhād dyām Asura viśvedāḥ animīta varimāṇam prithivyāḥ | āsīdād viśvā bhuvanaṁ samrṣyā viśvā it tāni Varuṇasya vratāni | 2. Eva vandasa Varuṇaṁ bhrīhantuṁ namasya dhīram amrītasya gopām | sa nāḥ śarman trivarūthāṅ viyānsad ityādi | "The omniscient Spirit (Asura) has propped up the sky; he has measured the expanse of the earth; he has occupied all the worlds, the monarch: all these are the achievements of Varuṇa. 2. Reverence, then, the mighty Varuṇa, bow down before the wise guardian of immortality. May he extend to us triple protection," etc.

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

R. V. i. 50, 7.—Vi dyām eski rajas prithv ahā mimāṇo aktubhiḥ | paśyan jannāṁi Sūrya | "Thou traversest the sky, the broad expanse, measuring the days with thy rays; beholding created things, O Sūrya."

R. V. viii. 90, 11, 12 (=S. V. ii. 1138, 9).—Baḍ mahān asi Sūrya baḍ Āditya mahān asi | mahas te sato mahimā panasyate addha deva mahān asi | Baṭ Sūrya ēravasā mahān asi satru deva mahān asi | mahān devānām asuryaḥ pruhohito cibhu jyotir adābhyaṃ | "Verily, Sūrya, thou art great; verily, Āditya, thou art great. The majesty of thee who art great is celebrated: certainly, god, thou art great. 12. Verily, Sūrya, thou art great in renown: O god, thou art

100* The word sargya occurs also in R. V. i. 190, 2; iii. 33, 4; vi. 32, 5; vi. 46, 13.
100* In regard to this participle, see the note (82) on R. V. i. 32, 7, above, p. 102.
101 See note (81) on R. V. iii. 32, 7, above, p. 102.
102 See above, p. 71.
truly great; through thy greatness thou art the divine leader of the gods, the pervading, irresistible luminary.”

R. V. x. 149, 1.—Savitā yantraiḥ prithivīm aramṇād askambhane Savitā dyām adriṁhat | asmam iva adhukshad āhunim antariksham atūrta baddham Savitā samudram | 2. Yatra samudrāḥ skabhito vi- annaḥ apāṁ napāt Savitā tasya veda | ato bhūr atāḥ āḥ utthitaṁ rejo ato dyāvā-prithivī aprathetām |

“Savitri has established the earth by supports; Savitri has fixed the sky in unsupported space;"¹⁰³ Savitri has milked the atmosphere, which resembles a sounding house,—the ocean fastened in the impassable expanse. 2. Savitri, the son of the waters, knows the place where the ocean, supported, issued forth. From him the earth, from him the atmosphere arose; from him the heaven and earth extended.”

¹⁰³ In later times, as is well known, the earth is represented in Hindu mythology as resting on the head of the serpent Śesha, or on some other support. Thus it is said in the Viṣṇu Pur. ii. 5, 19 (Wilson, Dr. Hall’s ed. ii. 212): Sa bībhṛat sekkhari-bhūtam əśeṣhaṁ keśit-mayāhām | āste pātāla-mūla-sthāḥ 'Sesha 'Śesha-sūrāḥhitāḥ | “Śesha, worshipped by all the gods, supports the whole region of the earth which forms a diadem on his head, and stands beneath the base of Pātāla.” The Siddhāntas, or scientific astronomical works of India, however, maintain that the earth is unsupported. Thus it is said in the Siddhānta-sīromāṇi, iii. 2: Bhūmeḥ puṇḍar ṣādūnka-jam-kavi-ravi-kunjyūrī-nakshatra-kakṣāḥ-vittair vṛtāḥ san mṛd-anila-salīla-vyama-tejoma-yam | kāyavāhāraḥ svas-akṣayaiva viyati niyataṁ tishtati ityādi | . . . 4. Mūrto dharāt ched dhātityās tad-anyase tasyāpyanyo tyaivasam atrānavasthā | antye kaipyā chet svā-saktiḥ kim ādye kiṁ no bhūmīr ityādi | which is thus translated by the late Mr. L. Wilkinson in the Bibl. Indica (new series), No. 13: “2. This globe of the earth formed of [the five elementary principles] earth, air, water, the ether, and fire, is perfectly round, and encompassed by the orbits of the Moon, Mercury, Venus, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn, and by the constellations. It has no [material] supporter; but stands firmly in the expanse of heaven by its own inherent force. On its surface throughout subsist [in security] all animate and inanimate objects, Danuṣjas and human beings, gods and Daityas.” . . . “4. If the earth were supported by any material substance or living creature, then that would require a second supporter, and for that second a third would be required. Here we have the absurdity of an interminable series. If the last of the series be supposed to remain firm by its own inherent power, then why may not the same power be supposed to exist in the first—that is, in the earth? For is not the earth one of the forms of the eight-fold divinity, i.e. of Sīva?” Ṛṣya Bhaṭṭa, one of the most ancient of Indian scientific astronomers, even maintained that the alternation of day and night is the result of the rotation of the earth on its own axis. His words, as quoted by Mr. Colebrooke (Essays, ii. p. 392), are these: Bhā-pañjaraḥ sthiṁ bhūr evārītyāviṣṭaṁ prāttidāvasthāv udayātavanyayu samādhyayati nakshatra-grahāṇāṁ | “The starry firmament is fixed. It is the earth, which, continually revolving, produces the rising and setting of the constellations and planets.”
The first of the preceding verses is quoted by Yāska (Nir. x. 32), and illustrated as follows: Savitā yantraḥ prathivim aramayat | anārambhane 'antarikshe Savitā dyām adṛśināt | aśvam iva adhukshad dhunimaantarikshe megham baddham atarthe baddham aturge iti vā 'tvaramāṇe iti vā Savitā samuditāram iti | kam anyam madhyamād evam avakshyaḥ | Ādityo 'pi Savitā vchya te. “Savitri by supports has caused the earth to rest; Savitri has fixed the sky in the place which has no basis—the atmosphere. Savitri has milked the cloud fastened in the atmosphere,—the impassable, or the unhastening—(the cloud) sounding as a horse, and that which rises. What other god than the intermediate one (i.e. the deity residing in the atmosphere) would he have thus described? The sun also (whose place is in the sky) is called Savitri.”

Prof. Roth (Illust. of Nir., p. 143) thus translates the verse: “Savitri has fixed the earth with supports, he has fastened the heaven in unsupported space; he has milked the atmosphere shaking itself like a horse, the stream which is confined within limits which cannot be overpassed.” In his Lexicon, however, Prof. Roth gives to dhuni the sense of “sounding” (which is also adopted by Prof. M. Müller, Transl. of R. V. i. 95). He then observes: “According to Yāska the Savitri who is here mentioned must be the intermediate one, on account of his function in causing rain.”

The following passages refer to Agni:

R. V. i. 59, 5.—Divās cihit te brihato Jātavedo vaiśānara pra ririche mahitvam | rājā kriṣṭinām asi mānushinām yudhā deverbhio varivā chakartha | “Jātavedas, present with all men, thy greatness surpasses even that of the vast sky. Thou art the king of human creatures; by battle thou hast obtained freedom for the gods” (see R. V. vii. 98, 3, above p. 103).

R. V. i. 67, 3.—Ajo na kshām ādāhāra prīthivim tathambha dyām māntrebhīḥ satyair ityādi | “Like the moving [sun, or the unborn] he upheld the broad earth; he supported the sky with true texts,” etc.

The next verses celebrate the greatness of Parjanya:

R. V. vii. 101, 4.—Yasmin viścānī bhuvanāni tathus tiero dyācas tredhā sasrur āpaḥ ityādi | 6. Sa retodhāh kriṣhabhah saścetinām tasminn atma jagataḥ tustushaścha | (Compare R. V. i. 115, 1.) “He

103 Comp. R. V. viii. 42, 10:—Yaḥ skambheva vi ruddati ajo na dyām adhārayat |
in whom all the worlds abide, and the three heavens, and [by whom] the waters flowed in three directions, etc. 6. He is the bull that impregnates all [the cows]: in him is the soul of the moving and stationary world” (comp. sūryaḥ atmā jagatas tastushaḥ ca, R. V. i. 115, 1).

The next passage refers to the god called Gandharva:

R. V. x. 139, 5.—... Divyo Gandharvo rajaso viṇānaḥ | “The divine Gandharva, measurer of the world,” etc.

The last set of passages which I shall adduce celebrate the greatness of Soma:

R. V. ix. 61, 16 (=S. V. I, 484).—Pavamāno ajñanad divaṁ chitraṁ na tanyatum | jyotir vaiśvānaram brihat | “The purified [Soma] has generated the great light which is common to all mankind, like the wonderful thundering of the sky.”

R. V. ix. 86, 28.—Tavemāḥ praṇaḥ diivyasya retasas tvam viśvasya bhuvanasya rājasī | athedaṁ viśvam pavamāna tevaṁ tvam Indo prathamo dhāmadevāḥ asi | 29. Tvam samudro asi visvavīt kave tavemāḥ pancha pradīpo vīdharmāḥ | tvam dyām eka prithivīṁ chahi jahrishe tava jyotīṁśhi pavamāna sūryaḥ | 30. Tvam pavitre rajaso vīdharmāṁ devbhyaḥ soma pavamāna pāyase | tvāṁ Uṣijñaḥ prathamāḥ agriṃh başında tubhyemā viśvā bhuvanāni yemire |

“All these creatures spring from thy divine seed; thou art the lord of the whole universe. All this, purified god, is under thy control; thou, Indu, art the first sustainer of the regions. 29. Thou, sage, art an all-containing ocean; all these five quarters of the world are upheld by thee. Thou hast ascended beyond the sky and the earth; thine, O purified god, are the luminaries and the sun. 30. In the filter which is the support of the world, thou, pure Soma, art purified for the gods. The Uṣijes first gathered thee. To thee all these worlds have bowed.”

R. V. ix. 89, 6.—Vishtambho dico dharunāḥ prithivyāḥ viśvāḥ uṣa kshitayo hante asya ityādi | “He is the supporter of the sky, the upholder of the earth: all men are in his hand.”

R. V. ix. 96, 5, which has been quoted above (p. 94), should be again referred to here.

R. V. ix. 97, 24.—Pavitrebhīḥ pavamāno nṛchakshaḥ rājā devānām uṣa martyānāṁ ityādi | “[Soma], purified by filters, the beholder of men, is the king of gods and of mortals,” etc.
PROFESSOR MÜLLER’S REMARKS ON THE VEDIC GODS. 113

R. V. ix. 100, 8.—Pavamāna mahi bravaḥ chitrebhīr yāsi raśmibhīk | ārdhan tamāṇi jighnaṁ viśvāṁ dāsusho grihe | 9. Tvāṁ dyāṁ cha mahi-
vatā paṁtipiṁc cāti jāhriśho ityādi | “Thou, pure [Soma], marchest
onward to great renown, by thy brilliant rays; daring, thou willest to
destroy all darkness in the house of thy worshipper. 9. Thou, achiever
of great deeds, hast ascended above heaven and earth,” etc.

R. V. ix. 107, 7.— . . . Tvāṁ kavir aḥhavo deva-vitamaḥ ā sūryam
rohayo divi | “Thou art a sage most pleasing to the gods; thou hast
caused the sun to rise in the sky.”

R. V. ix. 109, 4 (=S. V. ii. 591).—Pavasva soma mahān samudraḥ
pitā devaṇāṁ viśvā abhi dhāma | “Be purified in all abodes, Soma,
[who art] a great ocean, the father of the gods,” etc.

The preceding texts are amply sufficient to show that Vishnu is not
the only god to whom the highest divine functions are ascribed in the
Veda, but that, on the contrary, the same attributes are assigned, and
with far greater frequency, to several of the other deities.

The following passage from Professor Müller’s Ancient Sanskrit
Literature (p. 532 f.) shows that all the principal Vedic deities are, in
their turn, addressed by their worshippers as supreme:

“When these individual gods are invoked, they are not conceived as
limited by the power of others as superior or inferior in rank. Each
god is to the mind of the supplicants as good as all the gods. He is
felt, at the time, as a real divinity, as supreme and absolute, in spite of
the necessary limitations which, to our mind, a plurality of gods must
entail on every single god. All the rest disappear for a moment from
the vision of the poet, and he only who is to fulfil their desires stands
in full light before the eyes of the worshippers. ‘Among you, O gods,
there is none that is small, none that is young: you are all great
indeed,’ 105 is a sentiment which, though, perhaps, not so distinctly
expressed as by Manu Vaivasvata, nevertheless, underlies all the poetry
of the Veda. Although the gods are sometimes distinctly invoked as
the great and the small, the young and the old (R. V. i. 27, 13), this is
only an attempt to find the most comprehensive expression for the
divine powers, and nowhere is any of the gods represented as the slave

104 Compare R. V. ix. 4, 1: Sanu cha Soma jeshi cha pavamana mahir travaḥ | and
ix. 83, 6: Jyayn travo bṛihat |
105 R. V. viii. 30, 1, quoted by Müller, p. 531.
of others. It would be easy to find, in the numerous hymns of the Veda, passages in which almost every single god is represented as supreme and absolute. In the first hymn of the Second Maṇḍala, Agni is called the ruler of the universe,\(^{106}\) the lord of men, the wise king, the father, the brother, the son, and friend of men;\(^{107}\) nay, all the powers and names of the others are distinctly ascribed to Agni. The hymn belongs, no doubt, to the modern compositions; yet, though Agni is thus highly exalted in it, nothing is said to disparage the divine character of the other gods. Indra is celebrated as the strongest god in the hymns as well as in the Brāhmaṇas, and the burden of one of the songs of the Tenth Book\(^{108}\) is: \textit{Viśvamāda Indra uttaraḥ} | 'Indra is greater than all.' Of Soma it is said that he was born great, and that he conquers every one.\(^{109}\) He is called the king of the world,\(^{10}\) he has the power to prolong the life of men,\(^{11}\) and in one verse he is called the maker of heaven and earth, of Agni, of Śūrya, of Indra, and of Viṣṇu.\(^{112}\) If we read the next hymn, which is addressed to Varuṇa (\textit{adītavrā}), we perceive that the god here invoked is, to the mind of the poet, supreme and almighty. Nevertheless, he is one of the gods who is almost always represented in fellowship with another, Mitra; and even in our hymn there is one verse, the sixth, in which Varuṇa and Mitra are invoked in the dual. Yet what more could human language achieve, in trying to express the idea of a divine and supreme power, than what our poet says of Varuṇa: 'Thou art lord of all, of heaven and earth.' Or, as is said in another hymn (ii. 27, 10), 'Thou art the king of all; of those who are gods, and of those who are men,' etc.

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SECT. III.—Viśṇu as one of the Ādityas.

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

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\(^{106}\) \textit{Tvaṁ viśvāṁ svāṁca patyase} | ii. 1, 8.—See Nirukta Parishista i.

\(^{107}\) ii. 1, 9.

\(^{108}\) x. 66.

\(^{109}\) ix. 59.

\(^{110}\) ix. 96, 10: \textit{bhūsanasya rājā}.

\(^{111}\) ix. 96, 14.

\(^{112}\) ix. 96, 5.

\(^{113}\) See Büttlingk and Roth's Lexicon under the word \textit{Āditya} ; Prof. Roth's dissertation on the Ādityas in his paper "on the principal gods of the Arian nations," Journal of the German Oriental Society, vol. vi., pp. 68 ff.; and the 5th vol. of this work, pp. 54 ff. Śūrya (the Sun) is however called \textit{Aditya} in R. V. x. 88, 11 (Nir. vii. 29).
The following are the only texts which I consider it necessary to cite on this subject:

R. V. ii. 27, 1 (Nir. xii. 36).—‘Imāḥ girāḥ Ādityebyho ghrītasnuḥ sanād rājabhino juhvā juhomi | śriṇotu Mitra Aryamā Bhago nas tvujāto Varunā Daksha Aṁśaḥ | “With my tongue I of old offer up these praises, dropping with unctuousness, to the kings, the Ādityas: may Mitra, Aryaman, Bhaga, the mighty Varuṇa, Daksha, Anśa, hear us.” Yāsaka makes tvujātaḥ to be=baṁujātaḥ cha Dhātā, thus understanding it to designate Dhātri, as a seventh Āditya.

R. V. ix. 114, 3.—‘Saptā diśo nāṇā-sūryāḥ sapta hotārāḥ rītvijāḥ | devāḥ Ādityāḥ ye sapta tebhīḥ Somābhīraksha naḥ | “The seven points of the compass, with their respective suns, the seven hotṛ priests, and the seven gods, the Ādityas,—with these, O Soma, protect us.”

In another text (R. V. x. 72, 8, 9), which has already been quoted in p. 12 f., it is said that Aditi had eight sons, though she only presented seven of them to the gods, and cast out Mārtanda, the eighth.

In his explanation of the first text, which I have now quoted (R. V. ii. 27, 1), Śāyana observes of the Ādityas: ‘Te cha Taîtiriyaḥ ‘ashtau putrāso Āditer’ ity upakramya spasatam anukrāntaḥ | ‘Mitraścha Varunāscha Dhātācha Aryamācha Aṁśuścha Bhagaścha Indraścha Vivasvāṁs cha eko’ iti | “They (the Ādityas) are distinctly specified in the passage of the Taîtirīya, beginning with the words, ‘The eight sons of Aditi,’ as ‘these, Mitra, Varuṇa, Dhātri, Aryaman, Anśu, Bhaga, Indra, and Vivasvat.’”

In a passage of the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa (iii. 1, 3, 3 ff.) quoted above (p. 14, f.), the Ādityas are alluded to as eight in number, in conformity with the text of the R. V. x. 72, 8, 9. In other texts of the same Brāhmaṇa mention is made of twelve Ādityas.

Vishṇu, as is remarked by Messrs. Böhtlingk and Roth, s.v., is mentioned along with the Ādityas [of the R. V., and other gods with whom they were afterwards associated] in A. V. xi. 6, 2: Brūmo rājānāṁ Varunāṁ Mitraṁ Vishṇum ato Bhagam | Aṁśaṁ Vivasvatam brūmas te no munchantu aṁhasaḥ | 3 Brūmo devaṁ Savitāram Dhatāram ute Pūshanām | Tvāṣṭāram agriyam brūmaḥ | “We invoke King Varuṇa, Mitra, Vishṇu, Bhaga, Anśa, Vivasvat. May they free us from calamity. 3. We invoke the God Savitṛ, Dāṭṛ, Pūshan, and Tvāṣṭṛ the chief,” etc.
The following are two passages of the Satapatha Brähmana in which mention is made of the Ādityas as being twelve in number.

Satapatha Brähmana, vi. 1, 2, 8.—Sa manasa eva vācham mithunam sanabhavat sa dvādaśa drapeśan garbhī abhavat | te dvādaśa Ādityāḥ asriyanta tān dīkhau upādadhāt | “With his mind he associated conjugally with Speech. He became pregnant with twelve drops. They were created the twelve Ādityas. Them he placed in the quarters of the horizon.”

Satapatha Brähmana, xi. 6, 3, 8 (=Bṛih. Ār. Up. iii. 9, 5, p. 646). Katame Ādityāḥ iti | dvādaśā māsāḥ samvatsarasya ete Ādityāḥ—ete hi idāṁ sarvam ādādāṇāḥ yanti | te yad idāṁ sarvam ādādāṇāḥ yanti tasmād Ādityāḥ iti | “How many Ādityas are there? There are twelve months of the year. These are the Ādityas. For they go on taking (ādādāṇāḥ) all this. Since they go on taking all this, they are called Ādityas.”

The Taittirīya Brähmana, iii. 9, 21, 1, tells a story of the Ādityas: Ādityāḥ cha Angirasaḥ cha swarge loke 'spardhanta | te 'ngirasaḥ Ādityabhyyo 'mum Ādityaṁ āsvam svetam bhūtaṁ dakeśinām anayan | te 'bruvan “yaṁ no 'neshta sa varyo 'bhūd” iti | tasmād āsvam savarya ity āhavanty | tasmād yajne vo varo diyate | yat Prajāpatir ālabhādho 'śvō 'bhavat tasmād āśvo nāma | yat śvayad-arur āśī tasmād arvā nāma | yat sadyo vājān samajayat tasmād vājī nāma | yad asurāṇāṁ lokān ādatta tasmād Ādityo nāma | “The Ādityas and the Angirases strove in heaven. The Angirases brought that Āditya, who had become a white horse, to the Ādityas as a present. The latter said, ‘He whom you have brought to us has become excellent (varya).’ Hence men call to a horse, o savarya. Hence a boon (vāra) is given at a sacrifice. Inasmuch as Prajāpati when sacrificed became a horse (āsva, which means “pervading,” according to the commentator), he has the name of āsva. Inasmuch as he suffered pain from swelling (so the commentator renders śvayad-aruh, stating that Prajāpati suffered from a swollen eye), he is called arvan. Inasmuch as he conquered riches [or, in races] (vāja), he got the name vājin. Inasmuch as he took (ādatta) from the Asuras their worlds, he is called Āditya.”

The Taitt. Āranyaka, i. 14, 1, also derives Āditya from the root ā+da: Yo' sau tapann udeti sa sarveshām bhūtānām prāṇān ādāya udeti | mā me praṇāyāḥ mā paśūnām mā mama praṇān ādāya udāgh | asau yo
VARIOUS ETYMOLOGIES OF THE WORD ĀDITYA. 117

"That [Sun] which rises glowing, rises taking the breath of all creatures. Do not rise [O Sun], taking the breath of my offspring, or of my cattle, or of myself. That [Sun] which sets, sets taking the breath of all creatures. Do not set [O Sun], taking the breath of my offspring, or of my cattle, or of myself."

The Nirukta, ii. 13, gives various etymologies of the word Āditya: Ādityaḥ | kasmād | ādatte rasān | ādatte bhāsaṁ jyotishaṁ | ādipto bhāsa iti vā | Āditeḥ putraḥ iti vā | alpaprayogaṁ tu asya etad ārcharbhyaṁmāye | sūkta-bhāk "sūryam ādityaṁ" Āditeḥ putram | evam anyāsaṁ api devatānām Ādityapraṇvādāḥ stutayo bhavanti | tad yathā etad | Mitrasya Varunasya Aryanmo Dakṣasya Bhagasya Aṁśasya iti |

"The Āditya: whence [so called]? He takes up the fluids. He takes up the light of the luminaries; he is illuminated (ādiṁptakaḥ) by light; or, he is the son of Aditi. But this [appellation] is seldom applied to him in the text of the Rigveda. Sūrya Āditya, Sūrya the son of Aditi, is mentioned in a hymn. In the same way there are praises of other deities, addressed to them as Ādityas; as in the case of Mitra, Varuṇa, Arīman, Daksha, Bhaga, Anaśa."

In the following texts from the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas, the Ādityas, though their names are not always uniformly given, are stated or understood to be twelve in number, except in one case where only eleven are specified. Vishnu is almost always named as one of them,

114 Sahasra-guṇaṁ utrasaṁ ādatte hi rasān raviḥ | "For the sun takes up the fluids [from the] earth, to discharge them again a thousand-fold."—Raghuvaṁśa, i. 18. In the hymn to the Sun, Mahābh. iii. 166 ff., it is similarly said, v. 179: Tvaṁ ādāyaṁmahāṁ tejo nidāghe sarvo-devinaṁ | sarva-nākḥi-rāśiṇām cha punar varshāsya munehasi | "Having in the hot season taken up by the rays the substance of all embodied beings, and the essence of all plants, thou again dischargest them in the rainy season." And Manu says: Ashṭau māsaṁ yatha "dīyas toyaṁ karaṁ rāśiṁbhiḥ | tathā haret karaṁ ēṭhṛuṇām nityaṁ arkavrataṁ hi tat | "As Āditya (the sun) during eight months draws up water by his rays, so let him (a king) extract revenue from his country, for that is his continual solar function."—Manu, ix. 305.

115 Dr. Aufrecht conjectures that the word sūkta-bhāk should be read asūkta-bhāk "has not a hymn devoted to him;" as he appears to be only mentioned in one verse, R. V. x. 88, 11 (Nir. vii. 29). Durga, however, as quoted by Roth (Illust. p. 21), says: sūkta-bhāk eva chaitad abhidhānaṁ na kavirbhāk | "This appellation has a hymn devoted to it, but no oblation is ordained [to be offered to the god under this name]." By "hymn" Durga may only mean part of a hymn.
and as by the time when these works were written, his dignity had become enhanced in general estimation, he is declared to be the greatest of the twelve.

Mahābhārata, i. 2,519, 2,522 ff.—Marichiḥ Kaśyapaḥ putraḥ Kaśyapāḥ tu imāḥ prajāḥ | prajānjire mahābhāgāḥ Daksha-kanvāḥ trayodaśa | . . . 2,522. Ādityāṁ dvādaśādityāṁ sambhātāḥ bhuvanēśvarāḥ | ye rājan nāmaṁ tāṁs te kṛtyayishyāmi Bhārata | Dhātā Mitra-ryamā Śakro Varuṇas tv Aṃśaḥ eva cha | Bhago Vivasvān Pūṣāḥ cha Savitā daśamas tathā | ekādaśas tathā Tvastṛā dvādaśo Viṣṇur ucyate | jaghanyajas tu sarveśhāṁ Ādityānāṁ gunādhikāḥ |

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

Mahābhārata, i. 2,598.—Marichiḥ Kaśyapaḥ putraḥ Kaśyapasya Surāsurāḥ | jagnjire nripa-sārdāla lokānāṁ prabhavas tu saḥ | . . . . 2,600. Dvādaśāvāditeḥ putraḥ Śakra-mukhyāḥ narādhipa | teṣāṁ avaraṇo Viṣṇur yatrā lokāḥ pratishthitāḥ |

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

Mahābhārata, iii. 7,092 ff.—Aṃśo Bhagaścha Mitraścha Varuṇaścha jaleśvarāḥ | tathā Dhātā ryamā chaiva Jayanto Bhāskaras tathā | Tvastṛā Pūṣāḥ tatnāvendro dvādaśo Viṣṇur ucyate | ity ete dvādaśādityāḥ Kaśyapēyāḥ iti śrutīḥ |

"Aṃśa, Bhaga, Mitra, Varuṇa, lord of the waters, Dhātṛi, Aryaman, Jayānta, Bhāskara, Tvastṛi, Pūshan, Indra, and Viṣṇu, who is called

116 In the hymn to the sun, Mahābh. iii. 166 ff., it is said that that Luminary, dividing himself twelfefold, became the twelve Ādityas (krite dvādaśadhā 'tmanām dvādaśādityatāṁ gataḥ).
the twelfth: these are the twelve Ādityas, the sons of Kaśyapa, according to tradition (or the Veda, śruti)."

Mahābhārata, v. 3,501 ff.—Akhayaś chāvyayaś chaiva Brahmā loka-pitāmahaḥ | tathaiva bhagavantau tau Nara-Nārāyaṇaḥ riśi | Ādityānām hi sarveshām Vishnu ekaḥ sanātanaḥ | ajayayaḥ chaivyayaḥ chaiva śāsutaḥ prabhur śvarakah | nimittā-maraṇāḥ cāntya chandra-sūrya-mahī-jalam | Vāyur Agnis tathā "kāsam grahās tārā-ganās tathā | te cha kshayaṁte jagato hita lokā-trayaṁ sadaḥ | kshayaṁ gachhanti vai sarve sriyante cha punah punah | mūhurta-maraṇāṁ te anye manushāḥ mriga-pakṣinaḥ |

"Brahmā, the parent of the world, is undecaying and imperishable; and so too are the venerable Rishis, Nara, and Nārāyaṇa. Vishnu alone of all the Ādityas is eternal, invincible, imperishable, everlasting, potent, the lord. Other beings perish on some occasion, [as at the end of a Kalpa],—117 the moon, the sun, the earth, water,118 air, fire, the ether, the planets, and the stars. At the dissolution of the universe, all these invariably abandon the three worlds, and perish, and are created again and again. Other [creatures], men, beasts, and birds, die after a brief interval (mūhurta)."


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

117 I suppose nimitta-maraṇāḥ is to be understood practically in this sense.—See Wilson’s Vishnu Purāṇa, Dr. Hall’s ed. i. 113; v. 186, and note. Nārāyaṇa, in his commentary on the Mahābhārata, explains the phrase thus: Nimittam pralayādi-nimittam maragāṁ nāśo yeshāṁ te nimitta-maraṇāḥ |

118 Water and ether are said in the Rāmāyaṇa to have preceded Brahmā.—See above, p. 33. See also the order of creation described in the S’atapatha Brahmana, and in Manu, in section ii., chapter i., above.
nowned deities called Tushitas; who, being assembled together, said to each other in the Chākshusha Manvantara, when the Vaivasvata Manvantara was approaching, ‘Come quickly, deities, let us enter into Aditi, and be born in the [next] Manvantara: this will be for our welfare.’ Having thus spoken in the Chākshusha Manvantara, they were all born from Kaśyapa, son of Marichi, and Aditi, daughter of Daksha. In this way Vishṇu and Sakra (Indra) were again born, and Aryaman, Dhātri, Tvāṣṭṛi, Pūshan, Vivasvat, Savitṛi, Mitra, Varuṇa, Anśa, and the energetic Bhaga: these are known as the twelve Ādityas. Those who formerly in the Chākshusha Manvantara were called the Tushitas, are known as the twelve Ādityas in the Vaivasvata Manvantara.”

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

The following is another passage from the Harivansā, verses 11,548 ff.: 

Ādityāṁ jaṁīre rājann Ādityāḥ Kaśyapād atha | Indro Vishṇur Bhagas Tvasṭā Varuno ’ṁśo ’ryamā Raviḥ | Pāṣa Mitraścha varado Manuḥ Parjanyaḥ eva cha | ity ete dvādaśādityāḥ varishtiḥ ān tridivaukasaḥ |

“From Kaśyapa and Aditi were born the Ādityas, Indra, Vishṇu, Bhaga, Tvāṣṭṛi, Varuṇa, Anśa, Aryaman, Ravi (the Sun), Pūshan, Mitra, the bestower of boons, Manu, and Parjanya,—these are the twelve Ādityas, most eminent celestials.”

In the same work, verses 12,456 f., we read: 

Āryamā Varuṇo Mitrāḥ Pāśa Dhātā Purandaraḥ | Tvasṭā Bhago ’ṁśaḥ Savitā Parjanyaścheti visrutāḥ | Ādityāṁ jaṁīre devāḥ Kaśyapāl loka-bhāvanāḥ |

“The gods, creators of the worlds, known as Aryaman, Varuṇa, Mitra, Pūshan, Dhātri, Purandara (Indra), Tvāṣṭṛi, Bhaga, Anśa, Savitṛi, and Parjanya, were sprung from Kaśyapa and Aditi.”

Only eleven names occur in this list: that of Vishṇu is omitted.

The next is another legend on the same subject from the same work. Here quite a different origin is assigned to the Ādityas, who are said to have sprung from the face of Vivasvat or Mārtanda, the Sun.

Harivansā, 589 ff.—Tato nirbhāsitaṁ rūpaṁ tejasaḥ saṁhatena vai | kāntāt kāntataram adhikam śubhe tadda | mukhe nirvartitaṁ rūpaṁ tasya devasya gopateḥ | tataḥ-prabhṛiti devasya mukham āsīt tu lohitam | mukha-rāgantu yat pārvam Mārtandaśaya mukha-chyatam | Ādityāḥ dvādaśāiveha sambhūtāḥ mukha-sambhavaḥ | Dhātā ’ryamā cha
Mitraścha Varuṇo 'ṁśo Bhagas tathā | Indro Vivasvān Pūṣā cha
Parjanyo daśāmas tathā | tatas Tvaśṭrā tato Viśnuḥ ajaghanyo jaghan-
yagaḥ | harṣam lebhe tato deve ṛṣistvā "dītyān svā-deha-jān | “Then
his appearance, illuminated with concentrated lustre, shone forth more
brilliantly, fairer than the fairest to behold. This appearance was
produced in the face of that god, the lord of rays. Henceforward
the face of the god was red. From the previous colour of the face
which fell from the countenance of Mārtanda were produced twelve
face-born Ādityas: Dhātri, Aryaman, Mitra, Varuṇa, Anśa, Bhaga,
Indra, Vivasvat, Pūshan, Parjanya the tenth, then Tvaśṭrī, then
Viśnu not the least, though the last born. The god then rejoiced,
beholding the Ādityas, sprung from his own body.”

This story is not only in opposition to the ordinary account of the
Ādityas being sons of Aditi, but it contradicts itself. Vivasvat is one
of the Ādityas, who is produced from Vivasvat; and Tvaśṭrī was
already existing, and playing a part in the former part of the legend.
(See Langlois’s note 7, p. 50 of his French version of the Harivansha.)
The Viṣṇu Purāṇa tells the same story about Vivasvat, but says
nothing of the birth of the Ādityas. (See Wilson’s translation, Dr.
Hall’s ed., iii. 20 f.)

Bhāgavata Purāṇa, vi. 6, 24 f.—Sṛṅu nāmāṁ lokānāṁ mātrināṁ
śāmkarāṇi cha | atha Kaśyapa-patrināṁ yat-prasātam īdāṁ jagat | 
Aditir Dītir ityādi | . . . 36 f. Athātaḥ śrūyatāṁ vamso yo ’diter 
anupūrvasaḥ | yatra Nārāyaṇo deve svāṁsenāvataraś viṁśah | Vivasvān
Aryamā Pūṣā Tvaśṭrā 'tha Savitṛa Bhagaḥ | Dhitā Viṇḍāṭa Varuṇo
Mitrāḥ Sakraḥ Urukramah |

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

Sect. IV.—Stories regarding Viṣṇu from the Sātaphatha Brāhmaṇa,
the Taittirīya Āranyaka, the Panchaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa, the Rāmāyaṇa,
the Mahābhārata, and the Purāṇas.

The following story from the Sātaphatha Brāhmaṇa (in which
Viṣṇu is represented as a dwarf, and as having, under the form of
sacrifice, conquered the whole earth), with others of the same tenor, contains the germ of the story of the Dwarf Incarnation:

Satapatha Brähmana, i. 2, 5, 1 ff.—Devāscha vai Asurāscha ubhaye prājāpatyāḥ paspridhih | tato devāḥ anuvyam iva āsuḥ | atha ha Asurāḥ menire ‘asmākam eva idāṁ khalu bhuvanam’ iti | 2. Te ha uchur ‘hanta imām prāthivīṁ vibhajāmahai tāṁ vibhajya upajīvāma’ iti | tāṁ aukṣhnaṁ charmaḥiḥ paścāt prāncho vibhajamānāh abhiyuh | 3. Tad vai devāḥ sūṣrurur “vibhajante ha vai imāṁ Asurāḥ prāthivim preta tad eshy-imo yatra imām Asurāḥ vibhajante | ke tataḥ syāma yad asyai na bhajemahi” iti | te yajnam iva Vishnum puraskṛitya iyuḥ | 4. Te ha uchuḥ “anu no ‘syāṁ prāthivyāṁ abhajata astv eva no ‘py asyām bhāgaḥ” iti | te ‘sūrāḥ asūyantaḥ iva uchur ‘yāva eva eha Vishnur abhiṣeṣte távad vo ādayaḥ” iti | 5. Vāmano ha Vishnur āsa | tad devāḥ na jahtīre “mahad vai no’dur ye no yajna-sammitam adur” iti | 6. Te prānāhāṁ Vishnūṁ nipāyāṁ chhandobhir abhītaḥ parigrihiḥ “gāyabrenā tvā chhandasā parigrihiṁ” iti daksinatās | “traiṣṭubhena tvā chhandasā parigrihiṁ” iti paścāt | “jāgatena tvā chhandasā parigrihiṁ” iti uttaraḥ | 7. Taṁ chhandobhir abhītaḥ parigrihiḥ agnim purastāt samādhiyā tena archantaḥ sāmyantāḥ chenūḥ | tena imāṁ sarvāṁ prāthivīṁ samavindanta | tad yad evaṁ imāṁ sarvāṁ samavindanta tasmād vedir nāma | tasmād ̄ahur ‘yāvaḥ veda tāvati prāthīv’ iti | etayā hi imāṁ sarvāṁ samavindanta | evaṁ ha vai imāṁ sarvāṁ sapatnāṁ samavirvikte nibrhajaty asyai sapatnāṁ yaḥ evam etad veda | 8. So’yāṁ Vishnur glānas chhandobhir itaḥ parigrihitā ‘gnih purastād na apakramaṇām āsa | sa tataḥ eva oshadhināṁ mūlāṁ upa mumloca | 9. Te ha devāḥ uchuḥ “kva na Vishnur abhūt kva na yajno bhūd” iti | te ha uchuḥ “chhandobhir itaḥ parigrihitā ‘gnih purastād na apakramaṇam asty ata eva avichhata” iti taṁ khanantaḥ iva anvishus taṁ tryangulō ‘nnavindaṁ tasmāt tryangulā vedtiḥ syāt | tad ğı ha api Pāṇchis tryangulām eva saumasya adharasya vedīṁ chakre | 10. Tad ń tathā na kuryād ityādi |

“The gods and Asuras, who were both sprung from Prajāpati, strove together. Then the gods were, as it were, worsted, and the Asuras thought, ‘This world is now certainly ours.’ 2. Then they spake, ‘Come, let us divide this earth, and having divided it, let us subsist thereon.’ They accordingly went on dividing it with ox-hides from west to east. 3. The gods heard of it, [and] said, ‘The Asuras are dividing this earth; come, we shall go to the spot where they are
VISHNU GAINED THE WHOLE EARTH FROM THE ASURAS. 123

dividing it. Who shall we become (i.e. what shall become of us), if we do not share in it?" Placing at their head Vīṣṇu, the sacrifice, they proceeded [thither], 4. and said, 'Put us with yourselves in possession of this earth; let us also have a share in it.' The Asuras, grudging as it were, answered, 'We give you as much as this Vīṣṇu can lie upon.' 5. Now, Vīṣṇu was a dwarf. The gods did not reject that offer; [but said among themselves], 'They have given us much, [these Asuras], who have given us what is co-extensive with sacrifice.' 6. Then having placed Vīṣṇu to the east, they surrounded him with metres; [saying], on the south side, 'I surround thee with the Gāyatrī metre;' on the west, 'I surround thee with the Trishūtbh metre;' on the north, 'I surround thee with the Jagati metre.' 7. Having thus surrounded him with metres, they placed Agni (fire) on the east, and thus they went on worshipping and toiling. By this means they acquired the whole of this earth; and since by this means they acquired (samavindanta) it all, therefore [the place of sacrifice] is called vedi (from the root vid, 'to acquire'). Hence men say, 'as great as is the altar, so great is the earth;' for by it (the altar) they acquired the whole of this [earth]. Thus he who so understands this, appropriates all this [earth] from rivals, dispossesses from it rivals. 8. Then this Vīṣṇu, being wearied, surrounded by metres, with Agni to the east, did not advance; but then hid himself among the roots of plants. 9. The gods then exclaimed, 'What has become of Vīṣṇu? what has become of the sacrifice?' They said, 'Surrounded by metres, with Agni to the east, he does not advance; search for him here.' So digging, as it were, they searched for, and found him at a depth of three fingers; therefore let the altar [have a trench] three fingers deep; therefore, also, Pāṇchikā 120 made an altar of this description for the soma sacrifice. 10. But let no one do so," etc.

The next story from the same work relates how Vīṣṇu became pre-eminent among the gods, and how he lost his head. Here also he is identified with sacrifice:

119 Compare with this story the similar one quoted above in the note on R. V. vi. 69, 8 (p. 84 f.) from the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, 6, 15.
120 Pāṇchikā soma-yāgasyai vediṁ tryaṅgula-khātāṁ eva mene! "Pāṇchi thought that the altar for the soma sacrifice also should have a trench three fingers deep." (Commentary.) Pāṇchi is again mentioned in the S'arapatha Brāhmaṇa, ii. 1, 4, 27 (p. 143), along with Āṣuri and Mādhuki, where the commentator speaks of them as three munis (Āṣuri-prabhṛtāyas trayo munayāḥ). See Weber's Ind. Stud. i. 192, 434.
Satapatha Brähmana, xiv. 1, 1, 1 ff.—Devāḥ ha vai satraṁ nishedur Agnir Indraḥ Somo Makho Vishnur viśe-devāḥ anyatra eva Aṣvībhyaḥ | 2. Teshām Kurukṣhetraṁ devayajanan āsa | tasmād āhūḥ “Kurukṣhetraṁ devānāṁ devayajanam” iti | tasmād yatra kva cha Kurukṣhe- 
trasya nigachhati tad eva manyate “idāṁ devayajanam” iti tad hi deva- 
nāṁ devayajanan | 3. Te āsata | “śriyāṁ gachhema yaśaḥ syāma annādaḥ syāma” iti tatho eva ime satram āsate “śriyāṁ gachhema yaśaḥ syāma annādaḥ syāma” iti | 4. Te ha uchur “yo naḥ śramena tapasa śraddhayā yajnena āhūṭibhir yajnasya udṛcham pūrvo 'vagachhāt sa naḥ śreshṭho 'sat tad u naḥ sarvēṣaṁ saja” iti “tathā” iti | 5. Tad Vishnuḥ prathamāḥ prāpa | sa devānāṁ śreshṭho bhavat tasmād āhur “Vishnuḥ devānāṁ śreshṭhaḥ” iti | 6. Sa yaḥ sa Vishnuḥ yajnaḥ sa | sa yaḥ sa yajno 'sau sa Ādityaḥ | tad ha idāṁ yaśo Vishnuḥ na śaśāka saṁyantum | tad idāṁ apya etarhi na eva saraḥ iva yaśaḥ śaknoti saṁyantum | 7. Sa tispi-dhanvam iti “ādāya apachakrāma | sa dhanur-ārtya śiraḥ upastabhya tasthau | tam devāḥ anabhidhrśnaṁvantaḥ saṁantam pariniyaviśanta | 8. Tāḥ ha vamryaḥ āchur | imāḥ vai vamryo yaḥ upadikāḥ | “yo 'syā yaṁ apyadyāt kim asmai prayaccheta” iti “ānādyam asmai prayacchema api dhanvamm apo 'dhigachhet tathā asmai sarvam annādyam prayacchema” iti | 9. Tasya upaparaśritya 
byām opijakshus tasyaṁ chhinayāṁ dhanur-ārtyauvishphurantyau 
Vishnuḥ śiraḥ prachichhidatuh | 10. Tad ghrināḥ iti popata | tat paitivā 'sau Ādityaʾbhavat | atha itarat prāṇ eva prāṝiṣyata | tad yad ghrināḥ ity apataḥ tasmād gharmaḥ | atha yat prāṝiṣyata tasmād prayargyāḥ | 11. Te devāḥ abruvan “maḥāṁ vata no vīro 'pādi” iti tasmād mahāvīraḥ | tasya yo raso vyaksharat tam pāṇibhiḥ samamriṇus tasmāt samrāṭ | 12. Taṁ devāḥ abhyāṣīṣyantat ity vrittīṁ vetyaś-
manāṁ evam | tam Indraḥ prathamāḥ prāpa | tam anvasyam anuṇyapadyata | tam paryagriṃhat tam parigrihyā yaṁ yaśo 'bhavad yad idāṁ Indro yaśaḥ | yaśo ha bhavati ya evaṁ veda | 13. Sa u eva makhaḥ sa 
Vishnuḥ | tataḥ Indro makhavan abhavat | makhavan ha vai tam 
Mughaḥaṁ ity āchakshate parokshaṁ paroksha-kāmāḥ hi devāḥ | 14.

121 This word occurs also in S'atap. Br. xi. 1, 5, 10; in Taitt. S. i. 8, 19, 1, and Taitt. Br. ii. 7, 9, 2, in all which places it is explained by the Comm. tisrībibhir isḥubhir yuktāṁ (or sakītāṁ) dhanva (or dhanuv).
122 This, according to Böhtlingk and Roth, is the correct reading, in place of abhinirīṣyantat, given in Weber's edition. See a parallel passage, S'atap. Br. iv. 1, 3, 5.
Tabhyo vamribhō ymnādyam prayachhan | āpo vai sarvam annaṁ tābhīr
hi idam abhikṣyam iva adanti | yad idam kimvaḍanti | 15. Atha
imaṁ Vishnuḥ yajnam tredhā vyabhajanta | . . . . tena apasīrṣya
yajnena deva archantaḥ śrāmyaṇtaḥ cheruḥ |

"The gods, Agni, Indra, Soma, Vishnu, Makha, and all the [other]
deities, excepting the Āśvins, were present at a sacrifice. 2. Kuru-
kshetra was the place of their divine worship. Hence, men say that
Kurukshetra is the country where the gods sacrifice. Consequently,
to whatever part of Kurukshetra a man goes, he looks upon it as a place
for divine worship, since it was the spot where the gods worshipped.
3. They were [there. They said], ‘May we attain prosperity, become
famous, and eat food.’ And in the very same way these [men] attend
a sacrifice [saying], ‘May we attain prosperity, become famous, and
eat food.’ 4. Then [the gods] said, ‘Whoever among us, through
toil, austerity, faith, sacrifice, and oblations, first comprehends the
issue of the sacrifice, let him be the most eminent of us: this [shall be]
common to us all.’ [To this they consented, saying], ‘Be it so.’ 5.
Vishnu first attained that [proposed object]. He became the most
eminent of the gods: wherefore men say, ‘Vishnu is the most eminent
of the gods.’ 6. He who is this Vishnu is sacrifice; he who [is] this
sacrifice is the Āditya. Vishnu could not control [his love of] this fame.
And the same is the case now, that every one cannot control [his love of]
fame. 7. Taking his bow and three arrows, he departed. He stood,
resting his head on the end of his [bended] bow. Being unable to over-
come him, the gods sat down all around him. 8. Then the ants said to
them (now the ants were the same as upadīkās—another name for ants),
‘What will you give to him who gnaws the bowstring?’ [The gods re-
plied], ‘We will give him the enjoyment of food, and he shall find waters
even in the desert; so shall we give him every enjoyment of food.’ 9.
[The ants, then], approaching, gnawed his bowstring. When that was
cut, the ends of the bow, starting asunder, cut off the head of Vishnu.
10. It fell, making a sound (ghṛṅ). That having fallen, became that
Āditya. Then the rest of him became extended towards the east.
Since the head fell with the sound of ghṛṅ, hence ghurma, ‘the

123 It seems as if there were a play of words here, the word yasāḥ, "fame," having reference to the words sa yah sa Vishnuḥ, etc., sa yah sa yajnuḥ, etc. "He who [is] this Vishnu," etc. "He who [is] this sacrifice," etc.
sacrificial kettle," received its name]; and since he became extended, (prāvṛtiyāta), the pravargya [received its appellation]. 11. The gods then said, 'A great hero (mahān vīraḥ) of ours has fallen.' Hence arose the name of mahāvīra (a sacrificial vessel). They wiped (sammamprījuḥ) with their hands the fluid (blood) which flowed from him. Hence arose the name of samrāṭ. 12. The gods rushed towards him (Vishṇu), as men about to obtain property do. Indra first reached him. He came into contact with him limb by limb. He embraced him. Having embraced him, he became this fame, which Indra is. He who so knows this becomes fame. 13. That Vishṇu was indeed Makha. Hence Indra became Makhavat (the possessor or associate of Makha). He is Makhavat: they call him Mahagvavat esoterically; for the gods love what is esoteric. 14. They (the gods) gave food to those ants. All food is water; for with water men, as it were, moisten the food which they eat: as the common saying is. 15. Then they divided into three portions this Vishṇu, the sacrifice. . . . . With that headless sacrifice (see above), the gods went on worshipping and toiling.'

I am indebted to Professor Weber for the next two passages; the first from the Taittirîya Āranyaka, and the second from the Pancha-

124 A long account is given of the gharma, pravargya, and mahāvīra in Katyāyana's S'rauta Sūtras, xxvi.

125 In regard to this word I quote the explanation of Böhtlingk and Roth, s. v. 2 c: "This is the name of a malign mythical being, as is to be conjectured from the following passages, R. V. x. 171, 2: tvam Mahasya dadvataḥ śiro avas tvaccha bharaḥ | (Thou hast smitten off the head, the skin, of the furious Makha); ix. 101, 13, āpa śvāna arūḍhasaṁ vata Makhaṁ va Bhīgavat [‘Drive away the niggardly dog, as the Bhrigus did Makha’]. Herewith is to be connected the mention made of Makha’s head in sacrificial formulae, Vāj. Sanhitā, 37, 3: devī dyāvā-prithivī Makhasya vāṃ adya śiro rādhyaśaṁ devayajane prithivyaḥ | . . . . 4. Devyo vamrīyo bhūtsaṁ prathamaśaḥ makhasya vo ‘dyā śiro rādhyaśaṁ devayajane prithivyāḥ | (‘O divine heaven and earth, may I rightly prepare for you to-day the head of Makha, on the part of the earth where the gods sacrificed. . . . 4. O divine ants, firstborn of created things, may I rightly prepare for you the head of Makha on the part of the earth where the gods sacrificed’); ibid. 11, 57; Taitt, S. i. 1, 8, 1; iii. 2, 4, 1, nanu ‘śnaye Makhaghave | Makhasya mā yaśo ‘ryād ity āhavaniyam upatiṣṭhate | dājno vā vai makhaḥ (‘Adoration to Agni, the slayer of Makha. May the fame of Makha come to me. So (saying), he stands by the āhavaniya-fire. Makha is sacrifice’), etc.

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

Taittiriya Āraṇyaka, v. i. 1.7—1. Devāḥ vai satram āsata riddhī-parimitam yaśaskāmāḥ | te 'brūvan "yan naḥ prathamaṁ yaṣaḥ righat sarveshāṁ nas tat suh aśaḥ" iti | teshāṁ kurukshetram vedir āsit | tasya Khāṇḍava daksinārdhaṁ āsit Tārghnam uttarārdhaṁ Pariṇāj jaghaṁrādho Māravāḥ utkaraḥ | 2. Teshām Mākahāṁ Vaishnavāṁ yaṣaḥ ārchat | tad nyakamayaṁ | teta apākrāmat | tāṁ devāḥ anvāyan yaśo 'varurutsamānaḥ | tasya anvāgatasya savyād dhanur aṭiyata daksinād ishavaḥ | tasmād ishudhanvam punya-janma yajna-janma hi | 3. Tam ekaṁ santam bahavo na abhyadhrīśnuvan | tasmād ekaṁ ishudhanvam.127 viram bahavo 'nīshudhantvāḥ na abhīdhrīśnuvantī | so 'smayata "ekam mā santam bahavo na abhyadharshishur" iti | tasya sishmīyānasya tejo 'pākrāmat | tad devaḥ oṣadhiśu nyamṛjāḥ | te śyāmākaḥ abhavan | smayākāḥ vai nāma etc. | 4. Tat smayākānāṁ smayākatvam | tasmād dikṣhitena apigrikhyā smetavyāṁ tejaso dhrityai | sa dhanuḥ pratiskabhya atishṭhat | tāṁ upadikāḥ abrūvan | "varaṁ vrīṇāmahai | ataḥ vaḥ ānasmāṁ āndhayāma | yatra kva cha khanāma tad apo 'bhītrimādaṁ" iti | tasmād upadikāḥ yatra kva cha khanānti tad apo 'bhītrimānti | 5. Vāreśrītam hy āsāṁ | tasya jyāṁ apyādan | tasya dhanur vipravamānaṁ śīrha udavartayat | tad dyāvāprithivī anuprāvartata | yat pravartata tat pravargyasya pravargyātvam | yad ghrāṁ ity apatat tad gharmanya gharmanvam | mahato vīryam apayat iti tad mahāvīrasya mahāvīratvam | 6. Yad asyāḥ samabharams tat samrōjāḥ samrāṭtvam | tāṁ strīmāṁ devatās tṛdāḥ vyajaṁhata | Agniḥ prātahaṁvam Indro mādhyaṁnanm savanam Viśvedvāṁ triṣṭīya-savanam | teta apasīrshyā yajnena yajmānāṁ na āsīsdo 'vārunḍhata na suvargaṁ lokam abhyajayan | te devāḥ Āśvināva-abrūvan | 7. "Bhishajau vai sthāḥ | idāṁ yajnasya śīrha pratiḥhattam" iti | tāv abrātaṁ "varaṁ vrīṇāvahai grahaṁ eva nāv utrāpi grihyāṁ" iti | tāḥhyāṁ etam āśvinam agriṅḥan | tāv etad yajnasya śīrha pratyādhatāṁ yat pravargyāḥ | teta saśīrshyā yajnena yajmānāṁ aha āsīsdo 'rundhata | abhi suvargaṁ lokam ajayan | yat pravargyam praviṅkti yajnasya eva tach chhīraḥ pratiṇḍhati | teta saśīrshyā yajnena yajmānāno eva āsīsdo 'rundho 'bhī suvargaṁ lokāṁ jayati | tasmād esha āśvinā-pravaryāḥ eva yat pravargyāḥ |
VISHNU'S HEAD REPLACED BY THE ASVINS.

"The gods, desirous of glory, were attending a sacrifice complete in every respect. They said, 'Whatever glory first comes to us, that shall be common to us all.' Kurukshetra was their altar. Khāṇḍava was its southern, Tūrg Başna its northern, and Paṇah its hinder section. The Marus were the earth dug from it. 2. Glory came to Makha Vaishṇava among their number. This glory he eagerly desired; with it he departed. The gods followed him, seeking to obtain [this] glory. From the left [hand] of him while thus followed, a bow was produced, and from his right hand arrows. Hence a bow and arrows have a holy origin, for they are sprung from sacrifice. 3. Though many, they could not overcome him, though he was only one. Therefore many men without bows and arrows cannot overcome one hero who has a bow and arrows. He smiled, 'Though they are many, they have not overcome me who am only one.' Strength departed from him as he continued to smile. This the gods put upon the plants. They became śyāmaka grain. For they are smilers (smanyākāḥ). 4. Hence this grain derives its name. Wherefore a person who has been consecrated should smile with [his mouth] shut, that he may retain his strength. He stood leaning on his bow. The ants said [to the gods], 'Let us choose a boon; and after that we shall subject him to you. Wherever we dig, let us open up water.' Hence wherever ants dig, they open up water. 5. For this was the boon which they chose. They knewed his (Vishnu's) bowstring. His bow, starting asunder, hurled his head upwards. It travelled through heaven and earth. From its so travelling (prāvartata), the pravargya derives its name. From its falling with the sound of ghrām, gharma obtained its name. Strength (vīrya) fell from the mighty one (mahatāḥ): hence the mahāvīra got its name. 6. As they gathered it (samabhāran) from this [earth], a samrāt obtains his appellation. The gods divided him when prostrate, into three parts; Agni [took] the morning oblation; Indra the midday oblation, and the Viśvedevas the third oblation. Sacrificing with this headless sacrifice, they (the gods), neither obtained blessings, nor conquered heaven. 7. The gods said to the Aśvins, 'Ye two are physicians, replace this head of the sacrifice.' They said, 'Let us ask a boon, let our graha (libation of Soma) be offered here also.' [The gods accordingly] recognized this Aśvina [libation] for them. [The Aśvins] replaced this head of the sacrifice, which is
the pravargya. Sacrificing with this sacrifice with a head, they obtained blessings, they conquered heaven. When one offers the pravargya, then he replaces the head of the sacrifice. Sacrificing with this sacrifice with a head, a man obtains blessings, and conquers heaven. Hence this pravargya is principally efficacious through texts addressed to the Aśvins."

Panchaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa, vii. 5, 6._—Devaḥ vai yaśaskamāḥ satram āsata Agnir Indro Vāyur Makhas te 'bruvaṇ ‘yan no yaśāḥ rīchhūt tan naḥ saha asad’ iti | teṣām Makaṁ yāśaḥ ārghat | tad ādāya aparākrāmat | tad asya pra saha ādītsanta tam paryayatanta | sa dhanuḥ pratiṣṭhābya atishaḥ tasya dhanur-ārtnir ārēhvā patītvā śiro 'ehhinat sa pravargya 'bhavat | yajno vai Makaḥ | yat pravargyaṃ pravriniṃti yajnasya eva taḥ ehiraḥ pratidadhīti |

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

The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa has these two passages relating to Vishṇu, 1, 1: _Agnir vai devānām avamo | Vishṇuh paramas | tadantareṇa sarvāh anyāh devatah._ "Agni is the lowest, Vishṇu the highest, among the gods; between them both are placed all the other deities." In his Anc. Sansk. Lit., p. 390, note, Prof. Müller remarks that "this passage proves nothing as to the relative dignity of Agni and Vishṇu."

Again, 1, 30, on quoting R. V. 1, 156, 4, the Aitareya says: _Vishṇur vai devānāṃ dvārapāh | sa eva asmai etad dvāram viśrutī._ "Vishṇu is the door-keeper of the gods; he opens for him this door." The Tatt. Br. iii. 1, 5, 7, has the following: _Vishṇur vai akāmayata pūnyam blokāṃ śṛṇviya na mā pāpi kīrttir āgachhet._ "Vishṇu desired, ‘May I hear a holy verse; may no ill renown reach me.’" The Tatt. S. iii. 4, 5, 1, says: _Rudrāḥ paśūnām Tvasṭā rāpānām Vishṇuh paurutā-

\[123\] Compare the close of the story about the Aśvins quoted from the Sūtapaṭha Brāhmaṇa, iv. 1, 6, 1 ff., in the fifth volume of this work, pp. 230 ff.
nām Haruto gaṇānām adhipatayah. "Rudra is the lord of beasts, Tvasṛtrī of forms, Vishnū of mountains, the Maruts of hosts."

The following passage from the Rāmāyaṇa gives the legend of the Dwarf incarnation in its later form:

"Rāmāyaṇa (Schlegel's ed.), i. 31, 2 ff.—2. Iha Rāma mahābhāho Vishnur deva-namaskṛitaḥ | tapaḥ-charaṇa-yogārtham ucṣa sa mahātaṇpah


18. Labāhvā cha trīṇ kramaṇ Vishnuḥ kṛtvā rūpam athādbhutan |
tribhīḥ kramaṁ tadā lokān ājahāra tri-vikramaḥ | 19. Ekena hi padā
kritvam prīthivim so 'dhyatīṣṭhata | dviityenācyayam vyoma dyārā
tritīyena Rāghava | 20. Tuṁ chāsuram Bāliṁ kṛtvā pāta-la-tala-
vāsān | traṅkāya-rājyaṁ Indrāya dādav uddhṛitya kaṇṭakam |

The readings of this passage, as given in the Bombay edition 130 i.
29, 2 ff., differ occasionally from those of Schlegel's. I subjoin them
here: 2. Iha Rāma mahābāho Vishnu deva-namaskritah | varṣaṁ
tubāhiṁje tathā yuga-satāṁ cā | 3 | tapaṁ-çarana-yogārthat vāśa
sumahātapāḥ | [verses 3b and 4a correspond,—with only the difference
of hy atra for atra,—with verse 3 of Schlegel's edition] 4b | caturas
eva kāle tu rājā Vairochanir Bāliḥ | 5 | nirjitya daivata-gaṇan sendrān
saha-marud-gaṇan | करयामासा tad-rājyaṁ trishu lokeshu visrutāḥ | 6 |
yajnaṁ cakāra 131 sumahān asuendra mahābalaḥ | Bales tu yajamānasya
devāḥ sagni-purogamāḥ | samāganya svayaṁ chaiva Vishnuṁ ucbur
ihāśrame | 7 | "Balir Vairochanir Vishno yajate yajnam uttaman |

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

131 In his note on this passage, the commentator discusses the question how Bāli
could sacrifice to the gods, since he was at enmity with Indra and the rest of them:
Nayu "asurasya Baler deva-deviśo yādāyanupapattir yuga-tarpāṇya-devaṁbhāvū
dIndrādīnāṁ tad-dveṣyatevāt | naccha labā-mātṛāṁ devaṁ iti yuktam artha-vāda-
prāmāṇyaṁ devaṁbhāya vighraha-vat trayṣā uṭṭa-ra-māyāṁyāṁ siddhāṁśūtatevād" iti
chet | na | karma-deva-ājāna-deva bhedena devānāṁ devaṁbhāya | tatra yo karmaṇā
devaṁ prāptas te karma-devaḥ | ājāna-devas tu yajna-maṅgārya-bhūtah maṅgāya
nitya+sambādaḥ karma-deveśyaḥ prācīnāḥ eva | tat-karma-deveśāṁ dveṣyatevāpy
ājāna-devānāṁ yajne tarpaye ne dōshāḥ | viṣṇa-kaṁca-suṇāpyāpy atra karma-devāḥ eva
yajnādyahikārābhāvo ṣvāpyājāna-devānāṁ eva sva-yakṛtya-devaṁbhāvośāḥ
karma-devānām tu asti eva | atāh eva Indrādīnāṁ yajnādi-śraṇām na anupannam |

"But is there not an absurdity in the idea of sacrifice, etc., being celebrated by
Bali, the enemy of the gods, from there being no deities who could be gratified by it,
since Indra and the rest of them were the objects of his hostility? And it is not
correct to say that a god is a mere name, for in the Uttara Mārṣeṣu the corporeality
of the deities is established on the authority of the Arthāvadas (illustrative passages
of the Vedas). [See the passage of Sankara's Commentary on the Brahma or Vedānta
Sūtras, i. 3, 28, quoted in the third vol. of this work, pp. 99 ff., especially p. 102 at
the foot.] If this objection be urged, then I reply, that the case is not so; for the
gods are of two kinds, work-gods, and those who are gods from their birth. (See the
fifth vol. of this work, p. 17, f. note 26, and the S'atap. Br. xiv, 7, 1, 34.) Of these
two kinds, the gods who have become such by works of merit are 'work-gods.' But
it is those who are gods from their birth that are the objects of the sacrificial formulas,
and eternally connected with those formulas; and they are more ancient than the
'work-gods.' Even if the 'work-gods' be objects of hostility, no exception can be
taken to the supposition that the gods by birth may be gratified by sacrifice. And in

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


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

Viśvāmitra speaks: "2. In this place, O large-armed Rāma, Viṣṇu, the great ascetic, revered by the gods, dwelt for the purpose of practising austerity, and contemplation. 3. This, Rāma, was the former hermitage of the magnanimous dwarf, renowned as the 'Hermitage of the Perfect,' where the great ascetic was perfected. 4. Formerly, Bali, the son of Virochana, after conquering the chief of the gods (Indra) enjoyed the empire of the three worlds, intoxicated with the increase of his power. 5. When Bali was then celebrating a sacrifice, Indra and the other gods, disturbed with apprehension, addressed Viṣṇu in this hermitage. 6. 'That mighty Bali, son of Virochana, O Viṣṇu, is now performing sacrifice,—he who grants the desires of all creatures, the prosperous lord of the Asuras. 7. Whatever suppliants wait upon him from whatever quarter, he bestows on them in a proper manner all whatever, of any sort of thing, [they wish]. 8. Do thou, O Viṣṇu, assuming a magical state for the benefit of the deities, take the shape of a dwarf, and bring about our highest welfare.' [9. At this period, O Rāma, the divine Kaśyapa, luminous as fire, glowing, as it were, with splendour, attended by the goddess Aditi, (10) having completed an act of austerity which had lasted for a thousand years of the gods, celebrated [thus] the praises of the boon-bestowing Madhusūdana: 11. 'Through intense austerity I behold thee, the supreme Spirit, whose essence is austerity, who art a congeries of austerity, the impersonation of austerity, who art rich in austerity. 12. In thy body, lord, I behold this whole universe; thou art unbeginning and ineffable; to thee I have resorted as my refuge.' 13. Then Hari, gratified, spake to Kaśyapa, whose taint of sin had been purged away: 'Ask a boon; may good attend thee; thou art regarded by me as deserving a boon.' 14. Hearing these words of his, Kaśyapa, son of Marichi, replied: 'Sinless lord, become the son of Aditi and myself. 15. Slayer of the Asuras, become the younger brother of Śakra (Indra). Thou oughtest to succour the gods who are oppressed with grief.' 16. Viṣṇu, of mighty energy, was accordingly born of Aditi, shaded by an umbrella, in the form of a mendicant, resplendent with a drinking gourd, and a lock of hair on the crown of his head.] 17. Thus addressed by the deities, Viṣṇu took the form of a dwarf, and approaching the son of Virochana,
begged three of his own paces. 18. Having obtained three paces, the thrice-stepping Vishnu assumed a miraculous form, and with three paces took possession of the worlds. For with one step he occupied the whole earth, with a second the eternal atmosphere, and with a third the sky, O Rāghava. Having then assigned to the Asura Bali an abode in Pātāla (the infernal region), he gave the empire of the three worlds to Indra, after removing his enemy.”

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

2. “In this place, O great-armed Rāma, Vishnu, the great ascetic, reverenced by the gods, dwelt very many years and hundreds of yugas, (3) for the purpose of practising austerity and contemplation. [Verses 3b and 4a are almost identical with the reading of the other edition.] 4b. But at this very period the renowned King Bali, son of Virochana, (5) having conquered the hosts of the deities, including Indra and the Maruts, ruled in their stead over the three worlds. 6. This very great and potent lord of the Asuras celebrated a sacrifice. While he was doing so, the gods, headed by Agni, assembled, and addressed Vishnu in this hermitage. 7. ‘Bali, the son of Virochana, O Vishnu, is celebrating a grand sacrifice. Let his rite remain incomplete; and let our object be attained. [Verses 8–15a correspond very nearly with 7–14a of the other edition.] 15b–16b. O boon-bestowing, holy, deity, be well pleased, and bestow the boon which Aditi, the gods, and I solicit. [Verses 16b and 17 agree with 14b and 15 of the other ed.] 18a. This by thy favour shall be called Siddhāśrama (the hermitage where the work was accomplished). The work being accomplished, depart hence, O king of the gods.’ 19. Then the glorious Vishnu was born of Aditi. Assuming the form of a dwarf, he approached the son of Virochana. 20. Then having begged for three paces of ground, and having occupied the earth, he, desiring the worlds, devoted to the good of all creatures, having stalked over the worlds, (21) restored them to Mahendra (great Indra), having overcome Bali by his might. This glorious being made the three worlds again subject to Sakra (Indra).” (See note 39 above.)

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

“2. This, Rāma, is the former hermitage of the magnificent dwarf,
called the ‘Hermitage of the Perfect,’ \(^{131}\) where the illustrious Vishnu was perfected, (3) when performing a great act of austerity in the form of a dwarf, [at the time] when the empire of the three worlds had been taken away from Indra by Bali. [Verses 4–6 correspond word for word with those of Schlegel’s edition.] 7. ‘Now thou shouldst go in the form of a dwarf, and beg three paces, O large-armed. 8. For, proud of his valour and strength, after his victory over the lord of the world (Indra), he, when supplicated, will certainly give these three paces to thee [appearing] in the form of a dwarf. 9. For that lord of the Asuras fulfils the desires of all those persons who supplicate him for their accomplishment. 10. Thou, lord of the world, oughtest to give us back the empire of the three worlds which has been taken away from us, after thou hast conquered it by three vast strides. 11. This which is called Siddhāśrama (the hermitage where the work was fulfilled), \(^{131}\) shall be [a place] where this work is fulfilled, when this work has been accomplished by thee, O possessor of real might.’ Thus addressed by the deities, Vishnu assumed the form of a dwarf, and approaching the son of Virochana, begged for three paces.” (The rest corresponds with Schlegel’s edition, except, as above stated, in the omission of verses 9–16 there given.)

The following are two brief notices of the dwarf incarnation from the Mahābhārata:


After referring to his Boar, and Man-lion incarnations, Vishnu says to Nārada: “The great Asura Bali, the strong son of Virochana, shall be indestructible by all beings, including gods, Asuras, and Rākshasas. He shall oust Sakra (Indra) from his kingdom. When the three worlds have been taken by Bali, and the lord of Sachi (Indra) has been put to flight, I shall be born in the form of the twelve Adityas, the

\(^{131}\) The participle siddha means both “perfect” and “accomplished.”
son of Kaśyapa and Aditi. I will then restore his empire to Sakra of boundless energy; will reinstate the gods in their several positions; will place Bali in Pātāla, the eminent Dānava Bali, indestructible by all the gods.”

Mahābhārata, Vanaparva, vv. 484 ff.—**Aditer api putratvam etya Yādava-nandana | tvam Vishnu iti vibrhyatah Indrād avaro vihuh | śiśur bhūtvā divam khancha prithivincha parantapa | tribhir vikramanaḥ Kuśa krāntavān asi tejasā | samprāpya divam akāśam āditya-sadane sthitāḥ | atyārohaścha bhūtātman bhāskaraṁ sveta tejasā | prādurbhāva- sahasreshu teshu teshu tvayā vibho | adhara-ruchayah Kuśa nihataḥ sataśo' surāḥ | “And thou, Kuśa, of the Yādava race, having become the son of Aditi, and being called Vishnu, the younger brother of Indra, the all-pervading, becoming a child, O vexer of thy foes, hast by thy energy traversed the sky, the atmosphere, and the earth, in three strides. Having attained to the sky and the ether, and occupied the abode of the Ādityas, thou, O soul of all beings, hast overpassed the sun by thine own lustre. In these thousands of thy manifestations, O all-pervading Kuśa, thou hast slain hundreds of Asuras who delighted in iniquity.”

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

Vish. Pur. iii, 1 (p. 265 of Wilson’s translation; vol. iii., p. 18, of Dr. Hall’s ed.).—**Manvantaro tu samprāpte tathā Vaivasvate dvija | vāmanhaśa Kaśyapād Vishnu Ādityaṁ sambabhava ha | Tribhīṣ kramair imān lokān jītvā yena mahātmanā | Purandarāya trailokyam dattaṁ nihataṁ kaṇṭakam | “So when the Vaivasvata manvantara had arrived, Vishnu was born as a dwarf, the son of Aditi and Kaśyapa. By this great being, after he had conquered these worlds by three paces, the three worlds were given to Purandara (Indra), his enemy being destroyed.”

The story of Vishnu’s incarnation as a dwarf is told in a greatly developed form in the fifteenth and following sections of the eighth Book of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa. As the whole narrative is too long to be quoted here in extenso, I shall give an abstract of the contents of these sections, translating in full some of those portions which appear the most important. The story commences thus:

122 See Lassen’s Indian Antiquities, vol. i., p. 480, note, and p. 779 f. and note (pp. 587, and 921 of the second edition).
Bhāgavata Purāṇa, viii. 15, 1.—Baleḥ pada-trayam bhūmeḥ kasmād Harir ayāchate | bhūteśvarāḥ kripaṇa-val labdārtho ’pi babandha tam ।
2. Etad veditum ichhāmo mahat kautūhalaṁ hi naḥ | yajñeśvarasya pūrṇasya bandhanaṁ chāpy anāgarah ।

The king asks: “Why did Hari, the lord of creatures, ask, like a poor man, three paces of land from Bali? and why, when he had obtained his object, did he bind him? 2. This we desire to know; and we have a great curiosity;—and also why an innocent being was bound by the perfect lord of sacrifice?” The sage Sūka replies (verses 3 ff.) that after Bali had been deprived of life by Indra, he was restored by the Brāhmans of the race of Bhṛigu, who consecrated him for supreme dominion, and celebrated for him a Viśvajit sacrifice, which had the virtue of enabling him to conquer all his enemies. He then sets out (verse 11), attended by a host of Daityas, to attack the capital of Indra, which is described with all its splendours and attractions. When Bali had invested the city (verse 23), Indra inquires of his spiritual preceptor how it is that his enemy has acquired this tremendous power, which appears altogether irresistible.

The preceptor replies (verses 15, 28 ff.): Jānāmi Mahavan satror unnater asya kāraṇam | sishyāyopabhirataṁ tejo Bhṛigubhir brähma-vādibhiḥ ।
29. Bhaved-vidho bhavān vā’pi varjayeśvaram Harim | nāsyā saktaḥ puraḥ sthātum kṛtāntasya yathā janāḥ ।
30. Tasmād nilayam (=adarśanam, 133 Comm.) utsrijya yujam sarve trivishāyanam | yāta kālam pratikshanto yataḥ satrō viparyayāḥ ।
31. Esha viprabaladarkaḥ sampraty ārjita-vikramaḥ | teshām evāvamānena sānu bandho vinankshyati ।

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

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

(The prophecy here uttered in regard to the fall of Bali as a result of his disregard of the Brahmans will hereafter be found to be fulfilled. See below, sect. 20, vv. 14 ff., p. 145.)

Following the advice of their preceptor, Indra and the other gods abandoned heaven, and Bali took possession of the celestial capital, when the Bhrigus celebrated for him a hundred aśvamedhas (or horse-sacrifices).

The sixteenth section opens with an account of the distress of Aditi, the mother of the gods, at the discomfiture of her sons by the Daityas. She receives a visit from her husband the Prajāpati Kaśyapa, who makes various conjectures about the cause of her apparent unhappiness, of which (verse 15 f.) he receives an explanation. He then replies:


18. "Being thus entreated by Aditi, Kaśyapa (Kaśyapa) answers her, as it was smiling, 'O, the power of Vishnu's illusion! this world is bound by affection. 19. Where is this elemental body, which is not soul? and where is soul, which is superior to matter? (i.e. how great is the superiority of soul to the body!) Who are the husband, or the sons, or other relatives, of any person? (i.e. there are no such things

134 For an explanation of this word see above, p. 15, note 43. Here it stands for Kaśyapa.
135 Compare for this idiom the Rāghuvaṁśa, i. 2: Kva sūrya-prabhavo vaṁśaḥ kva chāmpa-vishayā matiḥ | "Where is the race descended from the Sun, and where is my mind of which the (proper) objects are so small?" i.e. the disproportion between the two things is great.
136 This sentiment appears to be here intended as orthodox: but similar observations, when made in the Rāmāyaṇa (Schlegel's and Bombay editions), ii. 108, 3 f., are spoken of as dharmāṇa, which the scholar in the Bombay edition interprets as = dharmo-mūrga-vidhāṇa lokāyatikā-matāvalambanam, i.e., "opposed to righteousness, and derived from the tenets of the Lokāyatikas." The words there are: kah kasya purusho bairdhāḥ kim āpyaih rasya kena kehit | eko hi jagate jantur ca ca eva vivanāyati | 4 | tasmiṁ mātā pitaḥ eti Rāma saṁjñeta yo naraḥ | unmuttuṁ iha sa jayeto niṣti kaścid ki kasyachiti | 3. "What person is the relation of any (other)? what affinity has any one with another? For a creature is born alone, and perishes alone. 4. Whosoever,
ACCORDING TO THE BHĀGAVATA PURĀṆA.

as real relations); delusion alone creates them. 20. Betake thyself to Purusha, the divine Janārdana, who dwells in the heart of all creatures, Vāsudeva, the preceptor of the world. 21. Hari, who compassionates the afflicted, will fulfil thy desires: devotion to the lord, and that alone, is never fruitless; such is my judgment.

Aditi then asks how she is to worship Vishṇu in such a way as to obtain her desire, and receives from Kaśyapa an account (extending to the end of the section) of the milk ceremonial (payo-vrata) which she is to perform.

She accordingly celebrates the prescribed rite (sect. 17 ff.), when Hari, the primeval Purusha, appears to her in yellow vesture, with four arms, bearing his shell, discus, and club. She implores his succour, and receives an assurance that he has been gratified by her service, which shall not remain unfruitful. He goes on to say:


"Worshipped by thee with the milk ceremonial for the deliverance of thy offspring, and lauded according to my attributes, I shall, with a portion of myself, become thy son, and deliver thy children, presiding over the austerity of Mārīcha (Kaśyapa). 19. Wait, virtuous female, upon thy husband, the sinless Prajāpati, meditating on me, who in therefore, is attached to any person, (thinking ‘this is my) father or mother,’ is mad. No one is anything to any other.” The word ṛṣyam in verse 3, which I have rendered by “affinity,” according to the Vedic sense of the term, is explained by the commentator as =prāṛṣyam, “to be obtained.” The clause, according to him, would thus mean: “What is to be obtained by any one person from any other?” The word may here, however, perhaps have the Vedic sense, although it is unusual, if not elsewhere unknown, in modern Sanskrit. Gorresio’s edition, ii. 116, 12, has kṛṣyam instead of ṛṣyam, thus making the meaning to be, “What has any one person to do with any other?”
this form abide within him. 20. This must not in any way be disclosed by thee to any one, even though thou art asked. The secrets of the gods, O goddess, issue in good [only] when they are kept concealed.' 21. When the deity had said so much, he disappeared on the spot. Aditi, having obtained the [boon], so hard to obtain, that Hari, the lord, should be born of her, waited on her husband with the greatest devotion, like one who had obtained her object. 22. Kaśyapa with certain intuition understood by the power of contemplation that a portion of Hari had entered into him. 23. With contemplative mind, he impregnated Aditi with the generative fluid which he had accumulated by long austerity, as the wind forces fire into wood."

We have already seen that Vishṇu, in his character as one of the Ādityas, also, was the son of Kaśyapa and Aditi (see above, p. 118 ff.). The connexion with the old legend is therefore preserved here, as well as in the story given in the Bombay edition of the Rāmāyaṇa, above, pp. 132 and 134.

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

(Sect. 18, v. 12).—Yat tad vapur bhūti-vibhūshanāyudhair avyakta-chīd vyaktaṁ adhārayaḥ Hariḥ | babhūva tenaiva sa vāmāno baṭṭuḥ sampāṭyator dīva-gatir yathā nataḥ | "With that body which Hari, the invisible spirit, had assumed, and which was manifested by splendour, by its ornaments, and by weapons,—with that same body, he, whose ways are supernatural, became, while [his parents] were looking on, a dwarfish Brahmanical student, as an actor [changes his character]."

He afterwards went to attend the aśvamedha sacrifices celebrated for Bali by the Bhṛgus on the banks of the river Narmadā.127 Bali welcomes the young Brahman dwarf with respect, offers him a seat, and washes his feet. The narrative then proceeds:

(Sect. 18, v. 28 ff.)—Tat-pāda-saucchaṁ jana-kalashāpahāṁ sa dharma-viś mūrdhny adhāt sumangalam | yad deva-devo Girīśaḥ chandra-maulir dādhāra mūrdhnā parayā cha bhaktyā | 29. Baliḥ uvācha | svāgataṁ te namas tubhyam brahman kiṁ karavāma te | brahmarmśīgaṁ tapaḥ sākṣhād manye to ārya vapur-dharam | . . . . 32. Yad yad bāto vānchhāsi tat pratichha me tvām arthinam vipra-suttānukāyaṁ | gāṁ

127 It is to be noticed that the scene of this sacrifice is on earth, though Bali, as we were told above, had taken possession of Indra’s heaven.
FORM OF A DWARFISH BRAHMAN STUDENT. 141

kāñcānanaṁ guṇavad dhāma mṛisṭaṁ tathā 'nna-peyam uṣa vā viprā-
kanyām | grāmāṁ samṛiddhāṁs turaṅgān gujān vā rathāṁs tathā 'rhattama
sampratitthā | 28. "Acquainted with duty, he placed upon his head
the auspicious water with which the Brahman's feet had been washed,
which removes the sins of men, and which Giriśa (Siva), the god of
gods, who wears the moon for a frontal ornament, bore on his head,
with supreme devotion. 29. Bali said: 'Welcome to thee, reverence
to thee, Brahman, what can we do for thee? honourable man, I regard
thee as the visible, impersonated austerity of Brahman-sages. . . . .
32. Ask of me, student, whatever thou desirest; son of a Brahman, I
conclude that thou art a suppliant; ask, most venerable youth, a cow,
pure gold, an embellished house, food and drink, or a Brahman's
daughter, flourishing villages, horses, or elephants, and carriages."

In section nineteenth the dwarf answers Bali in a speech compli-
mentary to himself and his ancestors, and craftily, with a hypocritical
pretence of moderation not very creditable to a god, ends with the
seemingly modest demand of three paces of ground:

(Sect. 19, v. 16 ff.)—Tasmāt tvatō mahīṁ īshad vriṅge 'hāṁ varadar-
shāhāt | padāni trīṇi dāityendra sammitāṁ pada mama | 17. Nānyat
te kāmaye rājaṁ vadāṇyaṁ jagadīśvarat | nainaḥ prāpnoti vai viḍvān
yāvad-artha-pratigrahāḥ | 18. Balīr uvācha | Ako Brāhmaṇa-dāyāda
vāchas te vṛīḍa-sammatāḥ | tvam bālo bāliṣa-matiḥ svārtham pra-
ty abudho yathā | 19. Māṁ vachobhiḥ samādādhyā lokānam ekam
śvaram | pada-trayaṁ vriṅge yo 'buddhimān dvīpa-dāsāham | 20.
Na pumāṁ māṁ upravarājya bhāyo yāchitum arhati | tasmād vṛitti-
karim bhūmiṁ bato kānam pratitthā ma | 21. Śrī-bhagavān uvācha |
yāvanto vishayāḥ preskṣhās trilokyāṁ ajitendriyām | na śanuvante te
sarve pratipārayitum nṛpa | 22. Tṛibhīḥ kramair asantukaṁ dvīpenāpi
na pūryate | nava-varsha-sametena saptadaṁpa-varekhayaḥ | . . . .
27. Tasmāt trīṇi padāny eva vriṅge tvad varudarshāhāt | etāvataiva
siddho 'ham vittaṁ yāvat prayojanam | 28. Śukaṁ uvācha | ity uktāṁ
sa hasam āha vānekkhitam pratigrihyatām | vāmanāya mahīṁ dātuṁ
jagrāha jala-bhājanam |

"Wherefore I ask from thee, the chief of the bountiful, a small por-
tion of ground, three paces, lord of the Dāityas, measured by my step.
17. I desire nothing more from thee, the generous lord of the world.
A wise man incurs no sin when he asks [only] as much as he needs.
18. Bali answered: ‘Thy words, son of a Brahman, are such as seem
an old man. Thou art a youth, with the mind of a stripling, and like
one ignorant regarding his own interest. 19. He is not wise who, having
by words reverenced me, the sole lord of the worlds, asks me, the bestower
of continents, for three paces of ground. 20. It is not fit that a man
should come to me and make repeated requests: wherefore freely ask me
for ground sufficient for thy subsistence.’ 21. The deity replied: ‘All
the desirable objects in the three worlds cannot, O king, satisfy the man
whose senses are unsubdued. 22. He who is not contented with three
paces of ground will not be satiated even with a continent, and its nine
divisions (varshas), since he will desire the gift of the seven con-
tinents.\textsuperscript{138} . . . 27. Wherefore I desire from thee, who art the chief
of the bountiful, only three paces of ground. With so much as suffices
for my maintenance I am complete.’ 28. Being thus addressed, Bali
said, smiling, ‘take what thou desirest;’ and with the view of giving
the land to the dwarf, he took a vessel of water.”

Ušanas,\textsuperscript{139} however, Bali’s priest and preceptor, recognizing Vishṇu
in the dwarf, and knowing the god’s designs, here interposes, and
warns the monarch against granting the ground solicited:

(Seṭ. 19, v. 29 ff.)—

\textit{Vishṇave kṣhām pradāsyantam Uṣanā asure-
śvaram | jānanē chiktrhitam Vishṇoḥ sīshyam prāha vidāṁ varaḥ | 30.
Sukrāchāryaḥ uvācha | Esha Vairochane sākshād bhagavān Vishṇur
avyayaḥ | Kaśyapaḥ Aditer jāto devānāṁ kārya-sūdhakaḥ | 31. Pratīśrutaṁ
tvayaitasmai yad anartham ajānataḥ | na sādhū manye daityānāṁ mahāṁ
upagato 'nayaḥ | 32. Esha te sthānam aśvaryaṁ śriyaṁ tojo yasaḥ
śrutam | dāsyaty āchhiddya Śakrāya māyā-māṇavako Hariḥ | 33. Tribhūḥ
kramaṁ imāṁ lokān viśva-kāyaḥ kramīśyaṁ | sarvasvaṁ Vishṇave dattāṁ
mūḍha varṣitasya katham | 34. Kramaṁ gāṁ padaikena dvitiyena
dvāṁ vibhoḥ | khaṁ cha kāyena mahātā tārtyasya kuto gatiḥ | 35. Nīsh-
thām te narake manye hy apradātuṁ pratīśrutam | pratīśrutasya yo
'nīṣaḥ pratīpaḍayitum bhavān | 36. Na tad dānam prabāṁsanti yena
vṛttir vipādyate | dānam yajnas tapaṁ karma loka vṛttimato yataḥ | 37.
Dharmāya yaśase rthāya kāmāya svajanāya cha | panchadhā vibhaṇjan
vittam tāmānātra cha modate | 38. Aṭrāpi bahuvraḥ gairam śṛiṇu me

\textsuperscript{138} See the first volume of this work, pp. 489 ff. for an account of these continents
and varshas.

\textsuperscript{139} See the second volume of this work, p. 386, note 65.
COMPLYING WITH THE DWARF’S REQUEST. 143

’sura-sattama | satyam om iti yat proktaṁ yan nety āhānritaṁ hi tat |
39. Satyam yushpa-phalaṁ vidyād ātma-vriksaṁya jivataḥ | vriksha
‘jivati tan na syād anritam mūlam ātmanaḥ | 40. Tad yathā vrikshaḥ
unmūlaḥ sushyaty udvartate ‘chirāt | evaṁ nashānritaṁ sadyaḥ ātma
śushyed na saṁsayaḥ | 41. Parāg riktaṁ apūraṁ vai akṣaraṁ yat
tad “om” iti | yat kinchiḥ “om” iti brūyāt tena rūṣyeta vai pumān |
42. Bhikshave sarvam om kurvan nālaṁ kāmena chātmane | athaitat
pūrṇam abhyātmaṁ yach cha nety anritaṁ vachaḥ | 43. Sarvam nety
anritaṁ brūyāt sa dushkāriṁ śvasan mūtaiḥ | strīśu narma-vivāhe cha
vrtyt-artho praṇa-sankaṭaḥ | go-brāhmaṇārthe hiṁsāyāṁ nānritaṁ syāj
jagupsitaṁ |

29. “Uśanas, chief of the wise, knowing Vishṇu’s intention, thus
addresses his pupil, the chief of the Asuras, who was about to give the
earth to that deity: 30. ‘This, O son of Virochana, is manifestly the
divine, undecaying Vishṇu himself, born of Kaśyapa and Aditi, [to be]
the fulfiller of the purposes of the gods. 31. That ill-advised
promise which thou, unwittingly, hast made to him, is not, I con-
sider, to the advantage of the Daityas;—a great error has been com-
mitted. 32. This illusory dwarf, having bereft thee of thy place,
dominion, prosperity, splendour, renown, and sacred knowledge, will
give them to Sakra. 33. He whose body is the universe, will traverse
these worlds in three strides; fool, where shalt thou abide, when thou
hast given all thy possessions to Vishṇu? 34. Where shall there be
room for the third pace of the all-pervading being when he has
traversed the earth with one pace, the sky with a second, and
[occupied] the heaven with his vast body? 35. I think that thy
abode shall be in hell, when thou art unable to give all that thou hast
promised, since thou shalt not be master (so as to bestow it) of what
thou hast engaged to give. 36. Men do not approve that gift by
which [the donor’s] livelihood is ruined: for [it is understood] in the
world that gifts, sacrifices, asceticities, ceremonies, are only performed
by those who have the means. 37. The man who divides his pro-
erty into five parts destined severally for purposes of religion, renown,
personal interest, pleasure and family support, is happy in this world
as well as in the next.140 38. Hear from me, most excellent of the

140 The drift of verses 38 ff., which are founded upon a passage of the Veda quoted
by the commentator, is thus explained by him: Nanu tārhi pratiśrutya “na” iti
Asuras, what has been sung on this subject by teachers of the Rigveda: to say "yes" is to be true; to say "no" is to be false. 39. Know that truth is celebrated as the flower and fruit of that tree, one's self, while it is alive; but this cannot be the case unless the tree lives; [therefore, when it tends to our preservation], falsehood is the root of one's self. 40.

katham anṛitaṁ vācyam | tatra āha sārdīhaṁ śaḍbhīḥ | atrūpi satyaṁriṣta-yavanasthāyaṁ bhavrika-śrutīḥ hi prathamam "om' iti satyaṁ 'na' iti anṛtam" ity udina satyaṁritayer lakṣaṇa-pūrvekāṁ stuti-mindābhyaṁ satyaṁ vihitam anṛtam āha niskādaṁ amantaraṁ āha "pariṣv vai etad vikram aksaram" itiṣādinā satye doshāṁ anṛte cha guṇo uktāṁ "tasmāt kāle eva dadyāti kāle na dadyāt tat satyaṁrite withunīkaret" ity upasannikareṇa vṛtta-saṅkṣaḍīśe anṛtam apy anṛṇātām tam imāṁ śrutī-arthāṁ darśayān āha | "But the objection arises, how, after promising, can a man say 'no,' and thus be guilty of falsehood? To this he replies in six and a half verses. Here, with a view to fixing the rules regarding truth and falsehood, after having first of all stated the characteristic marks of each, according to these words of the Rigvedic doctors, 'yes' is truth, and 'no' is falsehood, etc., and having by praise and blame shown that truth is enjoined and falsehood forbidden, he cites the clause, 'this word denotes removal and evacuation,' etc., to indicate the faults of truth and the virtues of falsehood; and lastly, after quoting the words, 'he combines truth and falsehood by saying "let a man give and withhold on the proper occasions,' he sums up by deciding that falsehood is permitted when necessary for the sake of subsistence, and in straits, etc. Propounding this doctrine of scripture, he says, etc."

The words of the passage here referred to, from a Bāhurīca-Sruti (Rigveda Brāhmaṇa or Upanishad, which is unknown to me), as quoted by the commentator in his notes on verses 40, 41, and 42 of this passage, are as follows: "Om' iti satyaṁ "na' iti anṛtam | tad etat pushpaṁ phalam vāchu yath yat satyaṁ | sa ha śitvā yaśasvi kuṭa-sūrya-kirtit bhavatī | pushpaṁ hi phalaṁ vāchāḥ satyaṁ vaddati | atha etad mūlaṁ vāchu yath anṛtam | tad yathā vṛkṣaṁ ātramūlaḥ śūkyati sa udvartate evam eva anṛitaṁ caddanā ātramūlaḥ āṁśānaṁ karoti sa śūkyati sa udvartate | tasmāt anṛtaṁ na vaddā dayeta tv evaṇa | [anena tv anṛtena = "dayeta" sankaṣṭeḥ āṁśānaṁ rakṣade iti śrutī-arthāḥ | Comm. | parāvai etad vikramam yath etad "om" iti | tad yathā kinccha "om" iti āha atra eva asmai tād richyate | sa yat sarvaṁ "om" kuryād richyād āṁśānaṁ sa kāmēbhyaḥ nālaṁ syat | Atha etat pūryam abhātyānāṁ yath "na" iti | sa yat sarvaṁ "na" iti brūyāt pāpikā sva kirtir jñāta | sa anena tatra eva hanyāt | Tasmāt kāle eva dadyāt kāle na dadyāt tat satyaṁriṣte withunīkaret |

""Yes' (om) is true, 'no' is false. Truth is the flower, and the fruit, of speech. He shall be lord, famous, of excellent renown: for he utters truth, the flower, and the fruit, of speech. Again, falsehood is the root of speech. Just as a tree, the root of which is exposed, dries up, and falls, so a man, uttering a falsehood, exposes his own roots, dries up, and falls. Wherefore let no man utter falsehood, but let him protect himself by it." [Such is the sense assigned to dayeta tv evaṇa by the commentator, who adds "in straits."]

"This word, 'yes,' denotes removal and emptiness. Therefore by every 'yes' which is uttered, emptiness is occasioned. The man who says always 'yes' will empty himself, and not have sufficient for his wishes. Again, the word 'no' denotes fulness in one's own interest. He who says always 'no' will acquire an evil reputation, which will straightway destroy him. Wherefore he combines truth and falsehood by [the rule] let a man give and withhold at the proper times."
Wherefore, as a tree, when uprooted, dries up and falls, so too we ourselves, if we abandon falsehood, shall undoubtedly become dried up. 41. The word “yes” denotes removal, evacuation, and emptiness; whenever, then, any person says “yes,” he will be emptied out. 42. By continually saying “yes” to an applicant, a man does not retain enough to satisfy his own desires; whilst a false “no” preserves our full property for ourselves. 43. The man whose every “no” is false, is infamous, and dead even while he breathes. But falsehood is not blamable when addressed to women, or in jest, or in reference to a marriage, or for subsistence, or when life is in danger, or on behalf of cows and Brāhmans, or when one is exposed to violence.”

Bali, however, refuses (sect. 20, vv. 2 ff.) to break his promise, whatever consequences to himself may result. He is thereupon cursed by his preceptor for his disobedience:


14. “The preceptor, impelled by fate, cursed his disciple, thus devoid of faith and disobedient, yet wise and true to his promise; [saying], 15. ‘Though thou regardest thyself as extremely learned, thou art ignorant and stubborn in thy contempt of us: but thou who transgressest my commandment, shalt soon fall from thy prosperous state.’ 16. Though thus cursed by his preceptor, this great [monarch], who would not depart from truth, gave this [earth] to the dwarf, after making an obeisance and pouring water [on his hand]. 17. Then his wife Vindhyāvali, wearing a necklace of pearls, approaching, brought a golden vessel filled with water for ablation. 18. Next the offerer of the sacrifice, after himself washing with delight the blessed feet [of the Brahman], bore upon his head the world-purifying water which had been so employed.”

This magnanimous act of Bali is applauded by the celestials, and

[142] Avanejanāṁ apāṁ | Comm.
rewarded by them with a shower of flowers, and by strains of music. Immediately, however, the body of the dwarf begins to expand:

(Sect. 20, v. 21.)—Tad vāmanam rūpam avardhatādhdhutaṁ Hari- anantaśya guṇa-trayātmakam | bhūḥ khaṁ diśo dyaur vivarāh payodhayas tiryag-nri-devāḥ rishayo yad āsata | “That dwarfish body of the infinite Hari, consisting of the three qualities, increased miraculously, [that body] in which were comprehended the earth, the air, the points of the compass, the sky, the abysses, the oceans, brutes, men, gods and rishis.”

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

(Sect. 20, v. 33.)—Kṣitim padaikenā Baler vihakrame nabhāḥ sārīrena diśāccha bāhubhīḥ | padaṁ dvitiyam kramatas trivihṣataṁ na vai triśṭyāya tadiyam aśva api | urukramasyāṅghrīr upary upary atho mahār- janābhyām tapasaḥ paraṁ gataḥ | “He traversed the earth of Bali with one pace; and [occupied] the air with his body and the points of the compass with his arms. His second pace, as he strode, [filled] the heaven; and not even the minutest fraction of it remained for a third pace. The foot of the wide-striding deity rose upwards and upwards, and then reached beyond the Mahar-, Jana-, and Tapo-lokas.”

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

(Sect. 21, vv. 8 ff.)—Jāmbavan riksha-rājas tu bheri-sabdair mano- javaḥ | vijayaṁ dīkhau sarvasu mahotsavam aghoshayat | 9. Māhin sarvām kriṭām dīrśtvā tri-pada-vyāja-yāchnayā | uchau svabhaur asuraḥ dīkhitaśātyamaryasthitāḥ | 10. Na vai ayam brahma-bandhur Viṣṇur māyāṁiva varah | donations- departing from the goddesses and worshipping the god, Hari, with the three qualities, the air, the sky, and the ocean, he traversed the earth of Bali with one pace; and [occupied] the air with his body and the points of the compass with his arms. His second pace, as he strode, [filled] the heaven; and not even the minutest fraction of it remained for a third pace. The foot of the wide-striding deity rose upwards and upwards, and then reached beyond the Mahar-, Jana-, and Tapo-lokas.”

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

(Sect. 21, vv. 8 ff.)—Jāmbavan riksha-rājas tu bheri-sabdair manojavaḥ | vijayaṁ dīkhau sarvasu mahotsavam aghoshayat | 9. Māhin sarvām kriṭām dīrśtvā tri-pada-vyāja-yāchnayā | uchau svabhaur asuraḥ dīkhitaśātyamaryasthitāḥ | 10. Na vai ayam brahma-bandhur Viṣṇur māyāṁiva varah | "Jambavat, king of the bears, swift as thought, proclaimed this

143 See Wilson’s Vishnu Purāṇa (p. 48, note, and p. 213 = pp. 98, vol. i., and 226, vol. ii., of Dr. Hall’s ed.) for an account of these Lokas.
victory, the occasion of great festivity, with sound of kettledrums, in all the regions. 9. Beholding the whole earth taken from their master when consecrated for sacrifice, by an artful request for three paces of ground, the Asuras, greatly incensed, exclaimed: 10. 'This is certainly not a petty Brahman, but Vishnū, the chief of magicians; disguised under the form of a twice-born man, he seeks to accomplish the purposes of the gods. 11. By this enemy, in the form of a suppliant student, has been taken all the property of our master, who had laid down his sceptre on the sacrificial grass. 12. Untruth cannot be uttered by one who is always devoted to truth—especially when he is consecrated,—by one who is pious and compassionate. 13. Wherefore it is our duty to slay him (the dwarf), and obey our master:'—so saying, the Asuras, followers of Bali, seized their weapons. 14. Against the wish of Bali, they all ran, infuriate, pikes and axes in hand, to slay the dwarf.'

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


144 It will be observed that here the dwarf is still represented as having that shape, though he had been above described as assuming a superhuman form and filling all the worlds. Yet though he is spoken of as a Brahman dwarf, he is said to have had followers who easily defeated the Asuras of Bali.

145 The reading given of this line is that of Burnouf's edition. The Bombay edition has instead of it: pratiṣrutiyaśādānena yo 'rthenaḥ vīprālamabhate | "who deceives a suppliant by not giving him what had been promised."
Bali sent to the infernal regions.

labdho dadāmīti tvayā 'haṁ chaḍhya-mānīnā | tad-vyalika-phalam bhunksha naṁ nirayaṁ katichit samāḥ । 26. "Then Virūṭ (Garuḍa), the son of Tārkshya, knowing the purpose of the lord, bound Bali with the bonds of Varuṇa146 at the sacrifice on the day of the Soma libation. 27. A great lamentation arose in all the quarters of the two worlds (heaven and earth), when the Lord of the Asuras was seized by the puissant Viṣṇu. 28. Him bound with the bonds of Varuṇa, whose prosperity was destroyed, but whose understanding was firm, and whose renown was vast, the divine dwarf thus addressed: 29. 'Asura, three paces of ground were given to me by thee: with two paces the entire world has been traversed: find a place for the third. 30. This world of thine extends as far as that [sun] warms with his beams, as far as the moon shines with the stars, as far as Parjanya rains. 31. With one pace I traversed the region of the earth, and [occupied] the air and regions with my body; and whilst thou wast looking on, I [traversed] the sky with a second [pace, filling] thy possessions with myself. 32. As thou hast not given what was promised, it is my pleasure that thou shalt dwell in the infernal regions; enter therefore thither, with the approbation of thy preceptor. 33. That man's desires are frustrated, and he falls downward, far from heaven, who, after promising to a Brahman, does not deliver to him what he had solicited. 34. I have been deluded by thee, thinking thyself wealthy, when thou saidst 'I give.' Endure the infernal regions for some years as the penalty of that deceit.'"

Bali answers as follows (sect. 22):

(Sect. 22, v. 2).—Yady uttama-śloka bhavān mameritaṁ vacho vyalikaṁ sura-varya manyato | karomy ritaṁ tad na bhavet pralambhanam pādaṁ tritiyaṁ kuru śrīnī me nijam । 3. Bibhemi nāhaṁ nirayāt pada-choyuto na pāsa-bandhād vyasanād duratyayat | naivārtha-krichhrād bhavato vinigrāhāt asādhu-vādād bhrīśam udvijē yathā ।

2. "If, renowned chief of the gods, thou considerest the word which I uttered to be deceitful, I now make it good,—and here there can be no deception,—place thy third step on my head. 3. Fallen from my position, I fear not the infernal regions, nor binding in bonds, nor mis-

146 See Manu, viii. 82; ix. 308. In R. V. vii. 65, 3, Mitra and Varuṇa are said to be bhāri-pāśaṁ avṛtayeṣa seti | "barriers against falsehood, furnished with many nooses."—See Roth's article on the principal gods of the Aryan nations, "Journal of the German Oriental Society," vol. vi. p. 73, and the fifth volume of this work, pp. 57, 65.
fortune difficult to escape, nor loss of wealth, nor thy restraint, so much as I am afflicted by a bad name."

He then goes on to express his sense of his conqueror’s superiority, and submission to his fate. He is now visited and consoled by his grandfather Prāhrāda. His wife Vindhyāvali nexts worships Viṣṇu; and then Brahmā intercedes in behalf of the Asura monarch. Viṣṇu, after making some general reflections, replies as follows:


28. "This chief of the Dānavas and Daityas, and enhancer of their renown, has conquered unconquerable Delusion: though dispirited, he is not bewildered. 29. Having lost his prosperity, fallen from his place, cast down and bound by his enemies, abandoned by his relations, involved in suffering, 30. reprehended and cursed by his preceptor, still, faithful to his obligation, he has not abandoned truth. [Though] duty has been inculcated by me in a deceitful fashion, this truthful being does not swerve from it. 31. He has [therefore] been elevated by me to a position to which even the immortals with difficulty attain: he shall be the Indra, supported by me, of the Śāvarṇi Manvantara. 32. Meanwhile let him occupy Sutala, formed by Viṣvakarman, where, by my will; neither mental nor bodily pains, nor fatigue, nor weariness, nor discomfiture, nor diseases afflict the inhabitants."

(Sect. 23, v. 2).—Bali replies thus: Aho prayāmūya kritaḥ samud- yamaḥ prapanna-bhaktārtha-vidhau samāhitaḥ | yal lokapaśais te dana- graho 'marair alabha-pūrve 'pasade 'sure 'rpitaḥ | 3. Sukha uvācha | ity uktvā Harim ānamya Brahmānaḥ sa-Bhavaḥ tataḥ | viveṣa Sutaḥ pṛito Balir muktaḥ sahāsuraḥ | 2. "O, even the effort made to adore

147 If we should read dharmam instead of dharmāḥ, the sense would be: "Though deceitfully addressed by me, he does not abandon duty."
thee succeeds in effecting the object of the devout man who seeks thee; seeing that thy favour, such as has not been before attained by the immortal guardians of the worlds, has been bestowed on me, a degraded Asura.’ 3. Having thus spoken, and bowed down to Hari, to Brahma, and to Bhava (Siva), Bali, being released, entered Sutala with joy, along with the Asuras.” Vishnu now addresses Usanas, the priest of Bali:

(Sect. 23, v. 13).—Athauho sanasam rajan Harir Naraayano ’ntike | aijnam ritvijam madhye sadasi brahma-vadinam | 14. Brahman santanu sishyasya karma-ohhidraṁ vitanvataḥ | yat tat karnasu vaishamyam brahma-drishtaṁ samam bhavet | 15. Sukraḥ uvāca | Kutas tat-karma-vaishamyam yasya karmeśvaro bhavān | yajñese yajnapurusah sarva-bhāvena pūjitaḥ | 16. Mantratas tantrataṁ ohhidraṁ deśa-kālaṁva-vastuṇaḥ | sarvaṁ karoti nisvihidram anusanīrtanaṁ tava | 17. Tathāpi vadato bhūman karishyamy anuṣūsanam | etach ohreyah param puṁsaṁ yat tavijnānupālanam | 18. Sukraḥ uvāca | abhinandya Harer ājnām Usanā bhayavan iti | yajna-ohhidraṁ samādhatta Baler viprarshibhiḥ saha | 19. Evam Baler mahīm rājan bhikshitvā vāmano Hariḥ | dadau bhūtre Mahendrāya tridivaṁ yat parait hritam | 13. ‘Hari Nārāyaṇa then approaching Usanas sitting among the priests, in an assembly of expounders of the Veda, thus addressed him: 14. ‘Brahman, rectify the irregularities of thy pupil in performing the ceremonial: whatever fault there is in any rite is removed if it be seen by a Brahman.’ 15. Sukra (Usanas) replied: ‘How can there be any irregularity in that ceremony of which thou art the lord, the lord of sacrifice, the sacrificial Man, adored in every aspect? 16. Whatever defects there may be in respect of texts, of order, of place, of time, of persons, or of materials,—the mere celebration of thee obliterates them all. 17. Nevertheless, great being, I shall fulfill the injunction which thou utterest: this is the highest happiness of men, to obey thy commands.’ 18. Having assented to the order of Hari, the divine Usanas, with the Brahman-rishis, rectified the irregularities of Bali’s sacrifice. 19. Having in this manner begged the earth from Bali, the dwarf Hari gave [back] to his brother Mahendra the heaven which had been taken from him by his enemies.”

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

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

(Sect. 23, v. 20).—Prajāpati-patir Brahma devarshi-pitri-bhūmipaiḥ| Daksha-Bhrigu-Aṅgira-mukhyaiḥ Kumāreṇa Bhavena cha | 21. Kaṣyapa-pasyāditeḥ prityai sarva-bhūta-bhavaya cha | lokānām loka-pālānām akarod vāmanam patim | 22. Vedānām sarva-devānām dharmasya yaṣuṣaḥ śriyāḥ | mangalānām vratānāncha kalpaṁ svargāpavargayoḥ | 23. Upen-draṁ kalpayānchakre patim sarva-vibhūtaye | tadā sarvāṇi bhūtāni bhrīṣam mumudire nṛpa | 20. “Brahmā, the lord of the Prajāpatīs, together with the gods, rishis, pitrīs, with Dakṣa, Bhrigu, Angiras, and other lords of the earth, with Kumāra, and Bhava, 21. with a view to the gratification of Kaṣyapa and Aditi, and the good of all creatures, made the Dwarf master of the worlds and of the guardians of the worlds. 22, 23. He made Upendra (Vishṇu) master of the Vedas, of all the gods, of righteousness, renown, prosperity, blessings, and ceremonies, and lord of heaven and final liberation, in order that he might have command of all things. Then all creatures rejoiced exceedingly.”

The section concludes with the verse I have already quoted above (p. 72) in glorification of Vishṇu, followed by a statement of the benefits resulting from hearing the story of the Dwarf incarnation.

This incarnation is also briefly related in the Agni Purāṇa, iv. 5b–11, and is either referred to, or narrated more or less diffusely, in the Harivaṃśa, verses 2725; 4159; 4166; 12195–12204; and 12900–14390. In the last-mentioned verses the story is told at length, with the various conflicts between the gods and Asuras by which it had been preceded. The incarnation itself and its results are related in vv. 14089–14390. Sections 231–233 of the Matsya Purāṇa are devoted to the same subject. 149 I give an abstract of the 47th section, in which Vishṇu’s incarnations are enumerated. 150 It is here stated that it was in consequence of a curse pronounced by Bhrigu (as we shall

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149 See Prof. Aufrecht’s Catalogue, p. 426. The Matsya Purāṇa has been lithographed and published at Bombay, with a Mahārattī explanation; but the portion containing the sections in question has not yet reached me.

150 In verse 9 it is said that Kaśyapa was a portion of Brahmā, and Aditi of the Earth (Brahmaṇaḥ Kaśyapas te aṁśaḥ Prithivīyaṁ te Aditis tathā).
see further on) that Vishnu assumed most of these forms (v. 37). There were twelve conflicts between the gods and Asuras (vv. 39–52).

It is related (vv. 58 ff.) that on one occasion when Prahrada had been overcome, and Indra had gained the empire of the three worlds, Sukra, the priest of the Asuras, left them and went to the gods. They, however, entreated him not to desert them, when he reassured them by the promise of his support (vv. 60 ff.). They were nevertheless attacked by the gods, and again resorted to Sukra; when their assailants left them. Sukra then referred to their former discomfitures, counselled them to wait for a favourable turn of fortune, and declared his intention to resort to Mahadeva and obtain certain sacred texts which would insure their victory (vv. 65 ff.). They then promised to the gods to desist from hostilities and betake themselves to austerities (vv. 73 ff.). Sukra accordingly went to Mahadeva and asked for texts more powerful than those possessed by Brihaspati, the priest of the gods; when the deity directed him to perform a painful rite, imbibing the smoke of chaff (kansa-dhuma) with his head downward for a thousand years. This he agreed to do (vv. 78 ff.). Hearing of this, and taking advantage of the defenceless state of the Asuras, the gods went to attack them. The Asuras remonstrated, and in the absence of Sukra, resorted to his mother for help, and were reassured by her (vv. 83 ff.). The gods, however, followed, and assailed them, when the goddess (Sukra’s mother—her name is not given), by her magical power, rendered Indra helpless, and then the other gods took to flight (vv. 91 ff.). Vishnu, however, now interposed, and desired Indra to enter into him (Vishnu). This provoked the goddess, who threatened to burn them up. Indra called upon Vishnu to slay her before she could carry her threat into effect. Vishnu, though hesitating to kill a female, cut off her head with his weapon (vv. 95 ff.). Vishnu was hereupon doomed by a curse of Sukra to be born seven times in the world of men; and in consequence of this he appears for

150* Compare Tandya Mahabhishma, vii. 5, 20: Usanah vai Kavya ‘suruhyun purushitah astit | tanu devah kamaduhubhir (kama-dugdhubhir gobhik | Comm.) upamanih ratriyatra | tasnae etany ausahani prayaehvan | kamaduhubhih vai ausanahin | “Usanah Kavya was the priest of the Asuras. The gods invited him with milk cows. They gave him these Ausana texts. Ausana texts are milk cows.”

151 I have, to thank Prof. Aufrecht for pointing out an explanation of this phrase given by the commentator on the Kautilyshastra of the Skanda Pur. 16, 2, viz. Kasyah khanditwas tandulatushas tajanyah dinham |
the good of the world when unrighteousness prevails: 152 (vv. 102

\textit{tathā viśrṣṭvā stri-badham ghoraṁ chukrodha Bhṛguṁ śvarāḥ | tato

bhūsaptō Bhṛguṁ Vaiṣṇuḥ bhāryā-badha tadā | 103 | yasmāt te jñāto
dharmam abadhyā stri nishūdita | tasmāt tvam vamp satākriteva mānuṣhesvā-
papatsyas | 104 | tatas tenābhiśāṇena nashṭo dharme punah punah | lokasya cha hitarthāya jayate mānuṣhesvī ēhā). Sukra then sprinkled

his mother with water, and restored her to life, an act and result

which were applauded by all creatures (vv. 105 ff.). Indra now, with

the intention of counteracting Sukra’s austerities, sent his daughter

Jayantī to the saint to wait upon and soothe him by her assiduous

and affectionate attentions and services, till the conclusion of his

painful performances (vv. 111 ff.). She found him in the act of being

thrown down into the pit of fire by the Yakscha who had prepared it,

and drinking in the smoke of the chaff, with his head downward, and

though enfeebled, yet tranquilly meditating on the form of Mahādeva

(vv. 116 ff. \textit{tathā viśrṣṭvā tu pibantaṁ sa kaṇḍāhumam vṛgyamukham |

yakṣena pātyamānaṁ cha kūṇḍa-dhārṇaṁ pūtitaṁ | viśrṣṭvā cha tam

pātyamānaṁ devi Kāyam avasthitam | svarāpa-dhyāna-sāmyantaṁ
durbalam bhūtim āsthitam); lauded him with endearing language, and

rubbed his limbs with her gentle touch (v. 118). At the conclusion

of his austere rite, continued for a thousand years, Mahādeva applauded

him as the only person who had ever performed it; and granted him a

variety of boons, including superiority to the gods. Sukra lauded the

god in a hymn of 41 stanzas, consisting of an enumeration of his

attributes (vv. 119 ff.). Mahādeva, gratified, touched the saint with

his hand, granted him a vision of his form, and then disappeared

(v. 167). Sukra then noticed Jayantī standing beside him, expressed

\footnote{152 I have not elsewhere met with an explanation of Vaiṣṇu’s incursions so dishonourable to the god. Yet even here he is said to be born for the good of mankind when righteousness has declined, with a view to its restoration—a singular result of a curse! Compare the passage from the Bhagavadgītā given above, p. 53, and vv. 7 and 8 of the 4th sect. of the same work: \textit{Yādā yadā hi dharmanasā śāśvīr bhavati

Bhārata | abhyutthānam adharmanasā tadā “tinām ēriyām āhām | paritṛṣṇāyā

sādhārahāṁ vināśya cha dushyatiṁ | dharman-samsthāpanārthāyāṁ sambhavāmi yuge

yuge | “Whenever righteousness declines, and unrighteousness arises, then I create myself. For the deliverance of the good and the destruction of the wicked, I am born in every Yuga.” See also the 32nd verse of the hymn to Vaiṣṇu in the 10th

Canto of the Rāghuvaṁśa: \textit{Anuvāptam avaptaṇaṁ na te kineha vīrṇyate | lokān

nugrahaṁ evaiko heṭu te janaṁ-karmayoh | “Thou hast nothing unobtainied to

obtain. Kindness to men is the only cause of thy birth and of thy action.”}
himself gratified by her devoted attentions, asked her what she wished, and promised to bestow it. She replied that he, in virtue of his transcendent knowledge, should know what she wished. Her desire was, he said, to live in his company for ten years. This he granted, and took her home and married her. They lived together, rendered invisible to all eyes by his magical power, for ten years (vv. 168 ff.).

The Asuras, however, learning the success of their preceptor’s austerities, came to his abode, but failed to see him. Bṛhaspati, the preceptor of the gods, knowing that Sukra would be occupied with Jayantī for ten years, at the instigation of Indra, took advantage of this circumstance to assume his form, and summoning the Asuras, passed himself off to them as their spiritual guide, and offered to act as their teacher, an offer which they gladly accepted (vv. 177 ff.). As the fruit of Sukra’s ten years’ cohabitation with Jayantī, a daughter, Devayānī, was born. Sukra then resolved to visit his pupils, and informed Jayantī of this intention, the fulfilment of which she admitted to be a duty, and said she would not stand in the way of its performance. He accordingly went and found that the Asuras had been deluded by Bṛhaspati, who had assumed his (Sukra’s) form. He told them that he was Sukra; and when they were bewildered by the sight of the two sages identical in appearance, he repeated that he was their genuine preceptor, and that the other was Bṛhaspati, and demanded that they should forsake the latter, and follow him. They, however, were unable to distinguish between the two; and Bṛhaspati asseverated that he was the genuine Sukra, and that the other was Bṛhaspati. The Asuras, considering that the person who had taught them for ten years was their real preceptor, made obeisance to him, and angrily rejected the claim of Sukra to be their Guru. They were in consequence doomed by the curse of the incensed sage (Sukra) to lose their senses and incur defeat (vv. 183 ff.). Satisfied with this result, Bṛhaspati reassumed his own proper form, and disappeared. Seeing that they had been deluded, the Asuras, headed by Prahrāḍa, followed Sukra, and appeared before him with downcast looks. Though at first angry, he was at length pacified by their entreaties, reassured them by saying that they would regain their senses and gain one victory over the gods, though after that they should have to descend to the infernal regions, the period of their dominion de-
declared by Brahmā having then expired. In the Sāvarṇi Manvantara, however, they were destined to regain supremacy, and Bali, grandson of Prahrāda, would become lord of the worlds. Another boon was destined for Prahrāda, which Brahmā had forbidden Sukra to reveal (vv. 201 ff.). Elated by this prediction of their future ascendancy, the Asuras desired to anticipate the time of its realization, and challenged the gods to battle. A combat ensued, which lasted for a thousand years, at the end of which the Asuras were victorious. The gods then took counsel together, and invited Saṅda and Marka153 (who are mentioned in verse 39, and appear to be the pupils of Bṛhaspati alluded to in v. 221) to abandon the Asuras, and aid them (the gods) in their sacrifice. If they succeeded in obtaining this aid, they were confident they should overcome the Asuras. Saṅda and Marka accepted the invitation, and the gods conquered the Asuras; who, being forsaken by these two priests, and undergoing the consequences of Sukra’s curse, were expelled by their adversaries from the upper world, and entered the infernal regions [226. Yajnenopāh-vayāmas tau tato jeshyāmahe 'surān | tadopāmantrayan devaḥ Saṅdāmarkau tu tav ubhau | 227. yajne chāhuya tau proktau “tyajetām asurān dvijau | vayaṁ yuvām bhajishyāmah saha jītvā tu dānavaṁ” | 228. evam kṛitābhisdhī tau Saṅdāmarkau surās tathā | tato devaḥ jayam prāpur dānavaḥ cha parājitāḥ | 229. Saṅdāmarka-parityaktāḥ dānavaḥ hy abalās tathā | evam dātyāḥ purā Kāvyā-śāpenābhīhatas tadā | 230. Kāvyā-śāpābhīhatas te nirādhārāṣa cha sarvasaḥ | nirasyamāṇāḥ devaiś cha viviśus te rasātatan | ] (vv. 223 ff.). In consequence of Sukra’s curse, which operated periodically, Vishnu was born time after time, (see above, p. 152), after a decline of righteousness, which he re-established, destroying the Asuras. For Brahmā had decreed that all those Asuras who should be disobedient to Prahrāda154 should be slain by men (231. tataḥ-prabhṛiti śāpena Bhṛigor naimittikena tu | 232. jaynej punah punar Vishnu dharma praśithīs prabhūḥ | kurvan dharma-vyavasthānam asurāṇam prañāsanam | 233. Prahrādasya nideśe tu na sthāsyanty asurās cha ye | manushya-badhyās te sarve BrahmaVyā-harat prabhūḥ | Vishnu’s incarnations are then enumerated (verses

153 See the fifth volume of this work, p. 230, note.
154 Regarding Prahrāda, or Prahlāda, see Wilson’s Vishnu Purāṇa, Dr. Hall’s ed., vol. ii., pp. 30–68.
234–245) viz. (1) a portion of him sprung from Dharma, (2) the Nara-sinha, or Man-lion, and (3) the Dwarf, incarnations, which are called the celestial manifestations, the remaining seven being the human incarnations caused by Sakra’s curse (v. 238. Etās tisraḥ smritās tasya divyaḥ sambhātayo dvijāḥ | mānushaḥ sapta yānyās (sic.) tu śāpajās tāḥ nibodhata). These seven are (4) the Dattātreyā, (5) Māndhātri, (6) Paraśūrāma, (7) Rāma, (8) Vedavyāsa, (9) Buddha, (10) Kalki, incarnations. (Eight instead of seven are obtained if, with the Mahratti expounder, we understand the beginning of verse 243 to refer to Krishṇa.) The Bhāgavata Purāṇa gives twenty-two incarnations (i. 3, 1 ff.) viz.: Those in the forms of (1) Purusha, (2) Varāha or the Boar, (3) Nārada, (4) Nara and Nārāyaṇa, (5) Kapila, (6) Dattātreyā, (7) Yajña or Sacrifice, (8) Rishabha, (9) Prithu, (10) Matsya or the Fish, (11) Kūrma or the Tortoise, (12 and 13), Dhanvantari, (14) Narasinha or the Man-lion, (15) Vāmana or the Dwarf, (16) Paraśūrāma, (17) Vedavyāsa, (18) Rāma, (19 and 20) Balarāma and Krishṇa, (21) Buddha, and (22) Kalki. These last two are represented as future. But the incarnations of Vishnu are innumerable, like the rivulets flowing from an inexhaustible lake. Rishis, Manus, gods, sons of Manus, Prajāpatiś are all portions of him (verse 26. Avatārāḥ hy asankheyaḥ Hareḥ sattva-nidher dvijāḥ | yathā vidāsinaḥ kalyāḥ sarasaḥ syuh sahasrasaḥ | 27. rishayo manavo devaḥ manu-putrāḥ mahavijayaḥ | kalāḥ sarve Harer eva saprajāpatayas tathā).

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

From the passages adduced in the preceding pages, it is clear that Vishnu is not regarded as the supreme god either in the Rig-veda, or in the Brāhmaṇas. In these ancient works he is considered only as one of the gods, and not as superior to the rest. It is also manifest from the passage I have cited from the Nirukta (xii. 19) in p. 64 that neither Yāska himself, nor Śākapūṇi and Aunavaśā, the ancient interpreters of the Veda, whose opinions he quotes, assigned to Vishnu any higher rank than they did to the other members of the Indian Pantheon. From another text of the Nirukta (vii. 5) which I have cited in p. 66, it appears that the old expounders of the Veda regarded the deities worshipped in the Veda as mainly represented by three gods
of primary consequence, and that of these Vishyus is not one. As the passage from which this latter extract was made is of great interest and importance, I shall quote it here at length:

Nir. 7, 4.—Tad ye 'naddishṭa-devatāh mantras tesas devatoparikshā | yad-devataḥ sa yajno va yajniṃgam va wad-devataḥ bhavanti | atha anyatra yajnāt prajāpatyaḥ iti yajnikāḥ | nārāśamsaḥ iti nairuktāḥ | api vā sa kāma-devataḥ syat prāyo-devataḥ va | asti hy āchāro bahulaṃ loko deva-devatayaṃ atithi-devatayaṃ pitri-devatayaṃ | yajna-daivato mantrāḥ iti | api hy devataḥ devata-vat stūyante | yathā 'sva-prabhṛītya osadhi-parītyān āthāpy aśītau dvandvāni | sa na manyeta agantūn āva arthan devatanām pratyaksha-drisyam etad bhavati | mahābhāgyād devatāyāḥ ekāḥ ātmā bahudhā stūyate | ekṣaya ātmano 'nve devāḥ pratyangāni bhavanti | api cha sattvānām prakṛiti-bhūmabhih rishayaḥ stūvanti ity āhū | prakṛiti-sārvanāmāyaḥ cha itaretara-jannāno bhavanti itaretara-prakṛitayaḥ karma-jannānaḥ ātmā-jannānaḥ | ātmā eva esām ratho bhavaty ātmā 'svāḥ ātmā 'yudham ātmā ātmā varṣam ātmā vayasya | 5. Tisrāḥ eva devatāḥ iti nairuktāḥ Agnī prithivī-sthāno Vāyuvr Indro va 'ntariksha-sthānaḥ Śuryo dya-sthānaḥ | tāsam mahābhāgyād ekākṣayaḥ api bahūni nāmadheyāni bhavanti | api vā karma-prithaktvād yathā hota 'dhvurya brahmaṇa udgāta ity api ekṣaya sataḥ | api vā prithag eva syuḥ | prithag hi stutayo bhavanti tathā 'bhīdhānāni | yatho etat-"karma-prithaktvād" iti bahuḥ 'pi vibhajya karmaṇi kuryaḥ | tatra saṁsthānaikataṃ saṁbhojākataṃ ca upakṣhitaram | yathā prithivyān maṇushyāḥ paśavo devāḥ iti sthānaikataṃ | saṁbhojākataṃ cha ādityate yathā prithivyāḥ Parjanyaena ca Vāyav-Ādityābhyaṃ ca saṁbhoga 'gninā cha itarasya lokasya | tatra etat nara-raṣṭram āva | 6. Ātha ākāra-chintanaṃ devatānām | purusā-vidhāḥ syur ity ekam | chetanāvad-vaḍ hi stutayo bhavanti tathā 'bhīdhānāni | athāpi paursa-vidhikair anagriḥ saṁstāyante | "rishvā te Indra sthavirasya bāhū" (R. V. vi. 47, 8); "yat sangribhūḥ mahagavan kāsir it te" (R. V. iii. 30, 5) | athāpi paursa-vidhikair dravya-saṁyogaiḥ | "ā dvābhūḥi hariḥbhāṃ Indra yāhi" (R. V. ii. 18, 4); "kalyāṇīr jayā suraṃ grīhe te" (R. V. iii. 53, 6) athāpi paursa-vidhikaiḥ karmabhīḥ | "addhi Indra pibha cha prasthitasya" (R. V. x. 116, 2); "āśrutkarma śrudhī havam" (R. V. i. 10, 9) | 7. Apursa-vidhāḥ syur ity aparam | api tu yad ādityate purusā-vidhāṃ tat | yathā 'gnir vāyur ādityāḥ prithivī chandramāḥ iti | yatho etat "chetanāvad-vaḍ hi stutayo bhavanti" ity achetanāny
apy evaṁ stūyante yathā 'ksa-prabhūtīṇy oshadhī-parayanṭāni | yatho etat "paurusha-vidhikāra angaṁ saṁstūyante" ity achetaneshv apy etat bhavati | "abhi krandaṇti haritēbhīr āsabhīr" iti grāva-stutiḥ | yatho etat "paurusha-vidhikār dravya-saṁyogār" ity etad api tāḍrīsām eva | "sukhaṁ rathaṁ yuyuṣye sindhur āśvinam" iti nādi-stutiḥ | yatho etat "paurusha-vidhikāk karmabhīr" ity etad api tāḍrīsām eva | "hotuś cīt pūrvo havir adyam āṣata" iti grāva-stutiḥ eva | api cha ubhaya-vidhāḥ syuḥ | api vā pauruṣa-vidhānām eva saṁāṁ karmātmānaḥ ete syuḥ | yathā yajna yajamānasya | esha cha ākhyāṇa-somayaḥ | 8. Tisraḥ eva devataḥ ity uktam purastāt | tāsāṁ bhakti-sādachāryam vyākhyāyaṁ āravabhāṣyate | atha etāṁ Agni-bhaktīni ayanā lokāḥ prātaḥ-savānaṁ vasanto gāyatri trivṛt-stomā rathantaṁ sāma ye cha deva-gaṇaḥ saṁmānntaḥ prathame sthāne 'gnāya prithviś īla iti striyaḥ | atha asya karma vāhanaṁ ca hāvihāṃ āvahanāṁ cha devatānāṁ yach cha kinchid dārśhti-viśhayikam Agni-karma eva tat | atha asya saṁstaviṣaḥ devaḥ Indraḥ Soma Varuṇaḥ Parjanyaḥ ritavaḥ | Āgna-Vaśī搞vāṁ havir na tu rik saṁstāvī daśatayishu vidyate | atha apy Āgna-Paushnāṁ havir na tu saṁstāvah | tatra etaṁ vidhākei-stutīm richam udāharanti (R. V. x. 17, 3) 9. "Pūṣaḥ tvā ītaḥ chhayavaturo pra vidvāna naśaṭapāṣur bhuvanasya gopaḥ | sa tvā etebhīḥ pariṣadat pitribhyo Āgnir devebhīyaḥ suvidāriṣṭēbhīyaḥ" | "Pūṣaḥ tvā ītaḥ prachyavaturo vidvāna naśaṭapāṣur bhuvanasya gopaḥ" ity esha hi sarveshām bhūtānum gopāyita Ādityaḥ | "sa tvā etebhīḥ pari dadat pitribhyah" iti sāṁśāyikas tritīyaḥ pādaḥ | Pūṣaḥ purastāt tasya anvāśeṣaṁ ity ekam Āgnir upariṣṭāt tasya prākṛtānaḥ ity aparām | "Āgnir devebhīyaḥ suvidāriṣṭēbhīyaḥ" | suvidātraṁ dhanaṁ bhavati vindate vā ekopasargād dadāte vā syād devyupasargāt | 10. Atha etāṁ Indra-bhaktīni antarikṣa-loko mādyānāṁ savanāṁ grishmas triṣṭup panchadaśa-stomā bṛihat-sāma ye cha deva-gaṇaḥ saṁmānntaḥ madhyame sthāne yāsca striyaḥ | atha asya karma raṣānaprādānaṁ Vṛitra-vadho yaḥ ca kā ca bala-kritir Indra-karma eva tat | atha asya saṁstaviṣaḥ devaḥ Āgniḥ Soma Varuṇaḥ Pūṣaḥ Bṛihaspatiḥ Brahmānapatiḥ Parvataḥ Kutso Vīṣṇu-Vāyuḥ | atha api Mitra Varuṇena saṁstūyate | Pūṣnā Rudrēna cha Somaḥ | Āgninā cha Pūṣaḥ | Vātena cha Parjanyāḥ | 11. Atha etāṁ Āditya-bhaktīni asau lokas tritīya-savanāṁ varṣāḥ jagati sampadaśa-stomā vairūpāṁ sāma ye cha deva-gaṇaḥ saṁmānntaḥ uttāme sthāne yāsca striyaḥ | atha asya karma raṣādānaṁ rāṃśhibhiḥ ca raśādāraṇaṁ yach cha kinchit pravahitam
SEVENTH SECTION OF THE NIRUKTA.

Aditya-karma eva tat Chandramasā Vāyunā Sāṅvatsarena iti saṁstavaḥ 
etegov eva sthāna-vyūheshv rītu-chhandaḥ-stoma-prīṣṭhaṣya bhakti-śesam 
anukalyāya | śarad-anushṭub-ekaviṁśa-stomo vairājaṁ sāma iti prithivy- 
āyatanāni | hemantaḥ panktis trijaya-stomaḥ śākeśaram sāma ity antarī- 
kshāyatanāni | śisiro 'tīcchhandās trayas-trīṁśa-stomo raivatam sāma 
iti dyu-bhaktiṁ |

4. "We shall now inquire who are the deities in those hymns in 
which no deity is indicated. They are addressed to the god to whom 
the sacrifice or part of a sacrifice [in which they are employed] is 
offered. The hymns which are unconnected with a sacrifice are, accord-
ing to the ritualists (yājnīkāḥ), addressed to Prājāpati; according to 
the etymologists (naṁrūktāḥ), they are spoken in praise of men.155 
Or in such cases the deity may be an optional one, or a class of 
deities: 156 for it is a very prevalent practice to [classify rites] as 
those which have a god, a guest, or a progenitor, respectively, for their 
deity. In reference to what has been said that hymns are sacrificial, 
and addressed to a god, [it is to be remarked that] beings other than 
gods are lauded as gods, as e.g. the objects beginning with horses and 
ending with herbs (see Nighāṇṭu, 5, 3, and Nir. ix. 1–28), and also 
the eight pairs (see Nighāṇṭu, 5, 3, and Nir. ix. 35 ff.). But let him 
[the student] not regard any matters relating to the gods as if they 
were accidental: this may be clearly seen. Owing to the greatness 
of the deity, the one Soul is lauded in many ways. The different 
gods are members of the one Soul. And [the learned] say that the 
rishis address their hymns according to the multiplicities of natures 
in the [celestial] existences; and [further] from the universality of 
their nature [these existences] are produced from each other, and 
possess the natures of each other (compare Nir. xi. 23, quoted above, 
p. 13); they are produced from works; they are produced from soul. 
It is soul that, is their car, soul their steeds, soul their weapon, soul 
their arrows, soul is a god's all.

155 Professor Roth refers to Nir. ix. 9, where the word nārāśaṁsa is thus defined: 
Yena naraḥ praśasyante sa nārāśaṁsa mantraḥ | "A hymn in which men are eulogized 
is a nārāśaṁsa hymn." As an instance of this kind of hymn Yāśaka quotes R. V. i. 
126, 1.

156 This is the sense assigned to prāyo-devatā by Roth, Illustrations of Nirukta, p. 
102, see note 1 there: but may not the word mean a being who has something of the 
character of a god?
5. "There are three deities according to the etymologists (nairuktāḥ), viz. Agni, whose place is on earth, Vāyu, or Indra,¹⁵⁷ whose place is in the atmosphere, and Sūrya (the Sun), whose place is in the sky. These [deities] receive many designations in consequence of their greatness, or from the diversity of their functions, as [the appellations of] hotṛi, adhvaryu, brahman, and udgātṛi, are applied to one and the same person. Or the gods in question may all be distinct, for the praises addressed to them, and also their appellations, are distinct. As [regards the view that] this [diversity of appellation] arises from difference of function [and not from distinctness of personality, it may be objected that] a plurality of individuals also may each fulfil their separate allotted functions. In this latter case, a community of locality, and of possession, must be remarked. Thus men, beasts, and gods, occupy the earth; here is community of place. Community of possession, too, is seen in such instances as that of the joint occupation of the earth both by Parjanya, and by Vāyu, and Āditya, and of the rest of the world by [Vāyu, Āditya, and] Agni. Here the case is like that of a kingdom and its inhabitants (i.e. the one realm is occupied by different classes of persons).

6. "We have now to consider the forms of the gods. One [mode of representation in the hymns makes] them resemble men: for they are praised and addressed as intelligent beings. They are also celebrated with members such as those of men. Thus R. V. vi. 47, 8: 'Huge, O Indra, are the arms of thee who art strong'; iii. 30, 5, 'when thou didst grasp the two worlds, they were but as a handful to thee.' They are also [celebrated] with the accompaniment of material objects such as those belonging to men. Thus it is said, R. V. ii. 18, 4, 'Come, Indra, with thy two tawny steeds'; iii. 53, 6, 'A handsome wife and pleasure are in thy house.' And further, they are celebrated with functions of a similar character to the human. Thus R. V. x. 116, 2, 'Eat, O Indra, and drink from the bowl;' R. V. i. 10, 9, 'Thou whose ears hear us, listen to our invocation.'

7. "Another [mode of representation makes them] unlike men. But further, that which is seen [of them] is unlike what is human, as Fire, Air, Sun, Earth, Moon. As [regards the assertion] that 'they are

¹⁵⁷ Compare Taitt. Sānu., vi. 6, 8, 3: Indra-Vāyu hi sayujau | "For Indra and Vāyu are closely united."
praised as intelligent beings,'—it is also true that senseless things are in like manner praised, as the objects beginning with dice and ending with herbs (Nigh. 5, 3; Nir. 3, 7 ff.). Again, as regards the remark that the gods are 'celebrated with members such as those of men,'—the same thing is done in the case of senseless objects, as stones are celebrated in the words, 'They cry with their ruddy mouths' (R. V. x. 94, 2). Further, the same is the case as regards the remark that the gods are [celebrated] 'with the accompaniment of material objects such as those possessed by men;' for a river is praised in the words, 'The Sindhu has yoked his beautiful car drawn by steeds' (R. V. x. 75, 9). And the same thing applies to the remark that the gods are described with 'functions similar to those of men;' for stones are lauded in the words, 'Even before the priests they have eaten food of melted butter' (R. V. x. 94, 2). Or the gods may be described under both forms (either as having, or as not having, a human form). Or, again, when they are described as similar to men, this may be merely in their character of actors in a particular function, as sacrifice is only the [temporary] act of the man who offers it. This is the condition of all narrations.

8. "It has been declared above (par. 5) that there are three deities. We shall now declare the various objects which are associated with their provinces. Now these which follow are connected with Agni's domain: viz. this world, the morning oblation, spring, the gāyatrī metre, the trīrṣū stoma, the rathantara sāma, the classes of gods who in the Nighaṅṭu are enumerated in the first sphere, with the goddesses Agnayī, Priṭhivī, and Ilā. Then Agni's function is to carry away the oblations, and to bring the gods: and whatever has reference to things visible is the work of Agni. Then the deities who are lauded along with him are Indra, Soma, Varuṇa, Parjanya, and the seasons. There is an oblation made to Agni and Vishṇu in common; but in the ten books [of the R. V.] there is no rich which praises these two gods together. There is also an oblation made to Agni and Pūshān in

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128 The commentator Durga (as I learn from Prof. Roth's note, Illust. of Nir. p. 104) refers this observation to the Mahābhārata, and adduces, as illustrations of the remark in the text, the appearances of the Earth in the form of a woman to request a Brahman to relieve her of her load, and of Agni in the form of a Brahman to ask aid from Vasudeva and Arjuna respecting the Khāṇḍava wood, and in the form of a man, and of fire, to burn the wood in question. See Williams's Indian Epic Poetry, p. 101; and the Vanaparvan, verses 8079 ff.
common, but no conjoint laudation. Here the following verse containing separate praise [of these two gods] is quoted, viz. R. V. x. 17, 3: 9. ‘May Pushan, the wise, the preserver of the world, he who loses none of his cattle, convey thee away hence: may he deliver thee to these fathers; and may Agni [entrust thee] to the gracious gods.’ The words, ‘May Pushan, the wise, etc.,’ refer to the Sun, who is the protector of all creatures. The sense of the third quarter of the verse beginning, ‘May he deliver thee, etc.,’ is dubious: on the one hand it may be a repetition of the reference to Pushan, who had been named before; or, on the other hand, it may be a celebration of Agni, who is mentioned afterwards. Suvidatra (from which suvidatriyebhyaḥ in the fourth clause, ‘May Agni,’ etc., comes) means ‘wealth,’ and is either derived from vid, ‘to find,’ with one preposition (su), or from da, ‘to give,’ with two prepositions (su and vi).

10. ‘The following are the objects connected with Indra’s domain: viz. the atmosphere, the midday oblation, summer, the trishṭubh metre, the panchadasa stoma, the brihat sama, the classes of gods and the females who are enumerated in the second sphere. Indra’s function is to bestow moisture, to slay Vṛṣtra: and all exertions of force are the work of Indra. The deities lauded along with him are Agni, Soma, Varuṇa, Pushan, Brahaspati, Brahmaṇaspati, Parvata, Kutsa, Vishnu, and Vāyu. Further, Mitra is lauded along with Varuṇa, Soma with Pushan and Rudra, Pushan with Agni, and Parjanya with Váta.

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

[The student] is to class the remaining seasons, metres, stomas; and prishṭhas (particular sama formulas) under [one or other of] the [three] spheres above mentioned. Autumn, the anushtubh metre, the ekavinsa stoma, and the vairaja sama, belong to the sphere of earth. The early winter, the pankti metre, the triṇava stoma, and the sākvara sama, belong to the atmospheric sphere. The later winter, the ati-
chhandas metre, the trayastrinsâ stoma, and the raivata sâma, are connected with the celestial sphere."

It will be observed that in the preceding classification of the gods, the principal places are assigned to Agni, Vâyu, or Indra, and Sûrya, who appear therefore to have been regarded in the time of Yâska as the triad of deities in whom the supreme spirit was especially revealed. Vishńu is only alluded to as one of the divinities who were worshipped conjointly with Indra; and Rudra is only mentioned as worshipped along with Soma. If we may judge from his silence regarding it, the conjunction of Brahmâ, Vishńu and Rudra as the triple manifestation of the deity (trimûrti) would appear to have been unknown to Yâska.

It is true that his object in the passage I have cited, as well as in other parts of his work, is to classify the Vedic deities; and it may be urged that the Puranic mythology (of which the trimûrti of Brahmâ, Vishńu and Siva is a part) might have grown up along with the Vedic. It may, however, be objected to this view, that if Yâska had been cognizant of any other than the Vedic mythology (at least if he had attached any authority to any other), he would not have failed to make some reference to the latter, and would have endeavoured to blend and reconcile it with the former. As we find no attempt of this kind in his work, we may perhaps conclude, either that the Puranic mythology had no existence in his day, or that he regarded it as undeserving of any attention.

The following passages from the Brihaddevatâ, in which the views of Yâska are repeated, are derived from Weber's Ind. Stud. i. 113 f.:

Brihaddevatâ, i. 13.—Bhavad-bhûta [sya bha] vyasya jangama-sthavar-asya cha | asyaiko sûryam evaikam prabhavam pralayaîm viduî | asataś cha sataś chaiva yonir esha Prajâpatî | yad aksharâm cha vâchyaîm (?) cha yathaiva Brahma sâsvatam | kriyâsiha hi trîdhâ "tmânam eshu lokeshu tishthâtî | Ibid. i. 14 . . . tisraî evaî devatâ | etâsâm eva mahanîyad nâmâyatam vidhîyate | tach cha sthâna-vibhâgena tatra tatreho ârîyate | i. 13: “Some consider Sûrya (the Sun) to be the only cause of the production and destruction of this [universe], present, past, and future, moving and stationary. And this lord of creatures (Prajâpati) is the source of non-entity and entity, which is undecaying and describable (?) like

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

From the passage cited above (p. 30 f.) from Manu, it appears that the word Nārāyaṇa is there applied to Brahmā, and that no mention whatever is made of Vishnū, as concerned in the creation. In fact Vishnū is only once mentioned 161 by Manu, viz. in the following verse xii. 121:

\[ \text{Manasīndum ċiśaḥ śrotre krānte Vishnun bale Haram | vāchy Agnīm } \]
\[ \text{Mitrām utsurge praajane cha Prajāpatin | "[He may contemplate] in } \]
\[ \text{his mind the Moon (Indu), in his hearing the regions, in his stepping } \]
\[ \text{Vishnū, in his strength Hara, in his voice Agni, in excretion Mitra, } \]
\[ \text{and in procreation Prajāpati." Vishnū is not spoken of here as in any } \]
\[ \text{way superior to the other gods with whom he is associated. } \]

In the text quoted above (p. 33) from the older recension of the Rāmāyaṇa too, it is Brahmā who is spoken of not only as the creator, but also as the god who raised up the earth from the bottom of the ocean.

Again, those texts of the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas (see above, pp. 118 ff.) where Vishnū is described as one of the twelve Ādityas, confirm the conclusion that he must have been originally looked upon as a deity of no more elevated rank than the other sons of Aditi; and the circumstance that he is in some of those passages distinguished from the rest of the gods by epithets expressive of some higher characteristics is easily explicable, as I have already remarked, by the supposition that those passages have been composed or modified at a period when his superiority had come to be recognized.

In some of the earlier passages of the Rāmāyaṇa also, where Vishnū is introduced, though he is treated as a deity of higher rank than Indra and others (with whom he had been originally, at most, on a footing of equality), yet he is not designated by the same sort of epithets which are applied to him in the Vishnū and Bhāgavata Purāṇas, and in some parts of the Mahābhārata, and other portions of the Rāmāyaṇa itself (unless we suppose these to be later interpolations), or identified with the supreme deity, as in these first-named works. In proof of this I adduce the following passage from the Rāmāyaṇa, i. 14, 1 ff. (Schlegel's

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

Rāmāyāna, i. 14, 1 ff.—

Medhāvi tu tato dhīyatvā sa kinchid idam uttaram | labdha-sanjnas 162 tatas taṁ tu veda-juo nripam abrāsit | 2 | ishiṁ to 'nyāṁ. 163 karishyāmi putriyām putra-kāraṇāt | atharvasirasi proktair mantraḥ siddhāṁ vidhānaṁ | 3 | tatoḥ prachakrame kartum ishiṁ kāma-samṛddhaye | tasya rājno hitānceshi Vībhāṣaka-suto vaśi | 4 | tatra devaḥ sa-gandharvāḥ Siddhāṣaṅa muniḥśa saha | bhāga- pratigrahārthāṁ vai pūrvam eva samāgataḥ | 5 | Brahmapa sureśvaraḥ Sthāṅsu tathā Nārāyaṇaḥ prabhūḥ | Indraḥ cha bhagavān sākṣaḥ Marud-gana-vṛtases tathā | 6 | aśvamedhe mahāyajne rājnas tasya mahatmanāḥ | tatra bhāgarthino devān agraṇāṃ so 'bhayaḥkata | 7 | ayaṁ rājā Daśarathāḥ putrāḥ taptacāṁs taṅgaḥ | ishtaṁ aśvamedhena bharataḥ śraddhayā 'nvitāḥ | 8 | ishiṁ cha putra-kāmo 'nyāṁ punaḥ kartun samudychaḥ | tād asya putra-kāmaśa prasadāṁ kartum arhaṇaḥ | 9 | abhiyāche cha vaḥ sarvān aṣṭaṁ kṣaṭāḥ pritaḥkriṣṭāḥ | bhaveyur asya catvāraḥ putrās traiokyā-visnurāḥ | 10 | te tathety abravam devaḥ rishi-putrāḥ kṣaṭāḥ | mānaniyo 'si no vipra rājā chaiva viśeshatāḥ | 11 | prāpsyaṁ paramaṁ kāmaṁ etayeṣṭyaṁ näruddhipaḥ | ity uktvā

162 Labdha-sanjnaḥ samādhy-utthitaḥ | Comm. in Bombay ed.
163 Bombay ed. reads te 'ham for te 'nyāṁ.

The Bomb. ed. here reads 3. Tatoḥ prākramad ishiṁ tām putriyām putra-kāraṇāt | jujhāv agnam cha tejasā mantra-drīṣṭena karmāṇaḥ | 4 | tato dévā sa-gandharvāḥ siddhāḥ cha paramarshayāḥ | bhāva- [qu. bhāga] pratigrahārthāṁ vai nunavatāḥ yathāvibhād | 5 | tāk sametya yathānyāyanā tamāṁ sadasiva devataḥ | abravam loka-kartarāṁ Brahmāṇaṁ vahamāṁ totaḥ | 6 | Bhagavāṁ te 't-praṇāṇaṁ Rāvaṇa nūna rākṣasaḥ | sarvāṁ no bādhata vīryāt 'sāstitun taṁ na 'taknumaḥ | “He then began that sacrifice for the sake of obtaining a son; and the glorious (rishi) cast an oblivion into the fire, accompanied by the prescribed recitation of texts. 4. Then the gods, Gandharvas, Siddhas, and great Rishis were gathered together in due form to receive their portion. 5. Having duly assembled in that abode, the deities spake thus to Brahmapa, the creator of the world: 6. ‘Lord, owing to thy favour a Rākṣasa named Ravaṇa distresses us all by his power, and we cannot subdue him.’” What follows corresponds in the main with the readings of Schlegel’s text.

This text, it will be noticed, differs in several points from Schlegel’s [and from Gorresio’s] in (a) not stating the gods to have been already present at the preceding sacrifice of the aśvamedha; (b) in not naming Brahmapa, Sthāṅsu (Mahādeva), and Nārāyaṇa (Vīṣṇu) as being of the number; or (c) having been supplicated by the rishi on behalf of king Daśaratha; and (d) in proceeding at once to represent the gods as invoking Brahmapa’s aid, as the other two texts do further on. The Bombay text may be the most original, and the verses there omitted may be later additions, as they do not fit in very well into the sequel. Compare note 166 below. This, however, would not prove that the whole section was not a prior interpolation. See further on.
'ntarhitāḥ devas tataḥ S'akra-purogamāḥ | 12 | tāḥ sametya yathānyāyaṁ
tasmin sadasi devataḥ | abruvan loka-kartāram Brāhmaṇaṁ vachtenaṁ
tataḥ | 13 | tvat-pradīṣṭha-varo Brahman Rāvaṇo nāma rākshasah |
sarvan no dāhate darpād maharṣīṁś cha tapo-ratān | 14 | tvayā hy asya 
varo datāḥ pritenā bhagavan purā | deva-dānava-yakṣānaṁ abadhyo 'sīti 
kā♠ataḥ | 15 | mānayantaśoḥa te vākyam sarvam asya sahāmahe | sa 
badhayati lokāṁś tin vinīṁśan rākṣasāśvaraḥ | . . . . 19. Taḥ mahād 
no bhayam tasmād rākṣasadhi ṣhara-darśanaṁ | badhārthaṁ taṣya bhagavann 
upayāṁ kartuṁ arhasi | evam uktaḥ suraiḥ sarvaiś chintaydvā tato 
'bṛvatī | hantāyaṁ vihitā tasya badhōṣya durātmahāḥ | tena "ganḍh-
ara-va-yakṣānaṁ deva-dānava-rakṣasam | abadhyah syāṁ" iti proktam 
tathaty uktaḥ cha taḥ mayā | avajnaya tu taḥ rakṣo manushān nānva-
kirttayaḥ | tasmāt sa mānushāḥ badhyo mrityur nānyo 'syā viṣayate | etacch 
chhrutvā priyaṁ vākyam Brāhmaṇaṁ samudāhritam | devaḥ S'akra-purogaṁ 
(te harṣhitāḥ sarvato bhavay | etasmin antare Vishnu upayāto mahā-
dyutiḥ | śaṅkha-chakra-gada-pāṇiḥ pīṭa-vāsāḥ jagat-patiḥ | Vainateyaṁ 
sanārūhya bhāskaras to padyaṁ yathā | topa-haṭaka-keyūro vandyaṁañāḥ 
suṛottamaiḥ | taṁ abruvaṇ surāḥ svare sambhīṣṭutya saṃnātaḥ | 
aṛtānām asi lokānām ārti-hā Madhusūdana | yāchāmahe 'tas tvam 
ārīṛaḥ saṅgamaṁ no bhavāchyuta | brūta kīṁ karavānti Vishnuṁ taṁ 
abravīd vachaḥ | iti tasya vachaḥ śrutvā punar ichchū idāṁ surāḥ | rājā 
Daśaratho nāma taptavaṁ sumahat tapaḥ | ishtavāṁś chāsvamedhena 
prajā-kāmaḥ sa chāprajāḥ | asman-niyogat tvam Vishnu tvaya puratvam 
apnuhi | tvaya bhāryeṣu tīrishe Hu-D'Śri-Kṛtya-upamāṣu cha | Vishnu 
purataṃśa agaḥha kṛtvā "tīmaṁ chaturvīḍham | tatra tvam mānusho 
bhāṣvā pravṛddhāḥ lokakāntakam | abadhyam daivatār Vishnu samare 
jaḥi Rāvaṇam | . . . . 34. Tvaṁ gatiḥ paramā deva sarveshāṁ naḥ 
parantapa | badhāya devaśatrūnāṁ nṛnāṁ loko manaḥ kuru | sa niyuktas 
tutih devaiḥ sākṣaḥ Nārāyaṇaḥ prabhuh | taṁ svācha iti yādi |

"Then that sage, skilled in the Veda, having meditated for a little on this answer, having regained his consciousness [which had been suspended during his state of meditation], said to the king: 'I shall perform for thee another sacrifice, celebrated according to rule with the texts enjoined in the Atharva-sūtras, to obtain for thee a son.' The self-subdued son of Vibhāṇḍaka, desiring the king's welfare, then began to perform the sacrifice for the attainment of his desire. The gods, with the Gandharvas, Siddhas, and Munis, had previously come
thither to receive their portions [of the sacrifice], both Brahmā, lord of the deities, Sthānu (Mahādeva), the lord Nārāyaṇa 165 (Vishṇu), and the divine Indra in visible presence, surrounded by the host of Maruts. He (Rishyasringa thus) supplicated the gods who had come, desiring their shares, to the great āṣvamedha sacrifice [described in the preceding section] of that high-souled king: 'This King Daśaratha, desiring a son, has performed austerity, and inspired with faith, has worshipped you with an āṣvamedha. Longing for a son, he is also prepared to celebrate another sacrifice. Ye ought, therefore, to show favour to him, who is anxious for a son; and with joined hands, I entreat you all on his behalf. Let him have four sons, renowned in the three worlds.' The gods said to the rishi's son [standing] with joined hands, 'So be it. Thou, Brahmān, art deserving of honour from us, and so especially is the king. The lord of men shall obtain the highest object of his desire by means of this sacrifice.' Having thus spoken, the gods, headed by Sakra (Indra), then disappeared.

"Having duly assembled in that abode, 166 these gods then addressed a word to Brahmā, the creator of the world: 'A Rākshasa named Rāvana, having obtained a boon from thee, O Brahmā, in his pride harasses us all, and the great rishis devoted to austerity. For, O lord, a boon was formerly granted to him freely by thee when well-pleased, viz. 'Thou shalt be indestructible by gods, Dānavas or Yakshas.' Obedient to thy words, we endure everything at his hands. This lord of the Rākshasas vexes the three worlds by his acts of cruelty... 19. We are therefore in great fear of this Rākshasa of horrible aspect.

165 Here it will be observed that Vishṇu, like the other gods, comes for his share.
166 This verse does not combine well with what precedes. See the last note but one (164). Why should the gods disappear in order to reassemble, so far as appears, in the same place (tasmin sadasi)? See the text of the Bombay ed., as quoted in note 164, verses 4 and 5. Gorresio's edition connects the disappearance and reappearance of the gods thus, i. 14, 116 ff.: ity uktvā 'ntarhitah devās tataḥ S'akra-puroga-māḥ | 12 | tām dr̥ṣṭvā vishvad dīkṣān kriyāmanām mahas śiḥnā | upetya loka-kartārām Prajñapati idām vachah | 13 | ucbh prāñjalayo bhūtvā Brahmāyaṁ varedaṁ tatha | 116: "Having thus spoken, the gods, headed by S'akra, vanished thence.
12. Beholding that initiatory ceremony being duly performed by the great rishi, they approached with joined hands the lord of creatures, the boon-bestowing Brahmā, and spoke as follows," etc. It may also be noticed that Nārāyaṇa (Vishṇu) is mentioned both in Schlegel's ed. and in Gorresio's (v. 4) as having been one of the gods who were present. If the gods who reappeared were the same as those who disappeared, why was not he among them? But he is said to have arrived afterwards.
Thou, lord, oughtest to imagine some device for his slaughter.' Being thus addressed by all the deities, [Brahmā], after reflection, thus spoke to them: 'O, this device has been imagined [by me] for the slaughter of that malignant being. 'Let me be indestructible by Gandharvas, Yakshas, gods, Dānavas and Rākshasas;' such was his request, to which I replied, 'Be it so.' But despising men, the Rākshasa made no mention of them. He must therefore be slain by a man: no other death is possible for him.' Having heard this acceptable word spoken by Brahmā, the gods, headed by Sakra, were altogether delighted. In the mean time the glorious Vishṇu arrived, bearing in his hand the shell, discus, and club, in yellow garments, lord of the world, mounted on Garuḍa, like the Sun on a cloud, with an armlet of refined gold, adored by the chief of the deities. After lauding him with prostrations, all the gods said: 'Thou, Madhusūdana, art he who removes the affliction of the afflicted worlds. Wherefore we, distressed, beseech thee be our refuge, O Achyuta (Unfalling).’ Vishṇu said to them, 'Tell me what I shall do.' Hearing this answer of his, the gods again said: 'A king named Daśaratha has performed great austerity, and celebrated an aśvamedha sacrifice, desirous of offspring, for he is childless. Do thou, Vishṇu, according to our appointment, take upon thee his sonship. Making thyself fourfold, do thou become the offspring of his three wives who resemble Hṛi, Sṛi, and Kṛiti (Modesty, Prosperity, and Renown). Having then become man, do thou slay in battle Rāvana, the powerful enemy of the worlds, who is indestructible by the gods. . . . 34. Thou, god, vexer of thy foes, art the highest refuge of us all; resolve to destroy in the world of men the enemies of the deities.' The manifested lord Nārāyaṇa, being thus appointed by the gods," replies by asking for further explanations in regard to the occasion which demanded his intervention. This explanation the gods give and say, that he alone of all the celestials can kill the wicked one (tvatto hi nānyaṁ tam pāpaṁ śakto hantuṁ divavakṣaṁ). Vishṇu, then, "the lord of the gods" (deveśa), "the most excellent of the immortals" (tridaśa-pungava), "adored by all the worlds" (sarva-loka-namaskṛta), reassures the deities, promises to slay Rāvana, and to reign on earth for eleven thousand years.

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

“It is true that in the Epic poems Rāma and Kṛishṇa appear as incarnations of Viṣṇu, but they at the same time come before us as human heroes, and these two characters (the divine and the human) are so far from being inseparably blended together, that both of these heroes are for the most part exhibited in no other light than other highly gifted men,—acting according to human motives and taking no advantage of their divine superiority. It is only in certain sections which have been added for the purpose of enforcing their divine character that they take the character of Viṣṇu. It is impossible to read either of these two poems with attention, without being reminded of the later interpolation of such sections as ascribe a divine character to the heroes, and of the unskillful manner in which these passages are often introduced, and without observing how loosely they are connected with the rest of the narrative, and how unnecessary they are for its progress.”

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

\[167\] In the Preface to his Viṣṇu Purāṇa, p. ix., 4to. ed. (=p. xv. of Dr. Hall’s ed.), Professor Wilson had previously made some observations of the same tenor: “But the ascription to individual and personal deities of the attributes of the one universal and spiritual Supreme Being, is an indication of a later date than the Vedas certainly, and apparently also than the Rāmāyāṇa, where Rāma, although an incarnation of Viṣṇu, commonly appears in his human character alone. There is something of the kind in the Mahābhārata in respect to Kṛishṇa, especially in the philosophical episode known as the Bhagavad Gītā. In other places the divine nature of Kṛishṇa is less decidedly affirmed; in some it is disputed or denied; and in most of the situations in which he is exhibited in action, it is as a prince and warrior, not as a divinity. He exercises no superhuman faculties in the defence of himself, or his friends, or in the defeat and destruction of his foes. The Mahābhārata, however, is evidently a work of various periods, and requires to be read throughout carefully and critically before its weight as an authority can be accurately appreciated.” Professor Goldstücker, too, observes in the Preface to his Mānava Kalpa Sūtra, p. xxxi.: “It is of course impossible for me to treat here, as it were incidentally, not merely of the question concerning the age of the Mahābhārata, but the relative ages of the various portions of this work, since it must be evident to every one who has read it, that it is, in its present shape, a collection of literary products belonging to widely distant periods of Hindu literature.”
particularly: “As regards the Rāmāyaṇa, Mr. von Schlegel has often observed to me that the chapters in which Rāma is conceived of as an incarnation of Vishṇu, might be entirely omitted without injuring the connexion of the story. In fact, at the point where the incarnation of Vishṇu in the four sons of Dasaratha is described (Rām. i. 14 ff.), the proper great sacrifice is already concluded, and the priests have all been presented with gifts at its close, when the new sacrifice is commenced, at which the gods appear, then withdraw, and now for the first time propose to Vishṇu to become incarnate. If this had been an original portion of the story, the gods would certainly have considered the matter sooner, and the ceremonial of sacrifice would have proceeded without interruption. In the same book, ch. 74, 75, a scene with the earlier [or Paraśu-] Rāma is suddenly interpolated, in order that he may be made to declare the new Rāma to be Vishṇu.”

An examination of the earlier portions of the Rāmāyaṇa seems to confirm the opinion of Lassen that the 14th and following sections which describe the miraculous births of Rāma and his brothers as incarnations of Vishṇu, are additions interpolated at a later date in the original poem. It appears from various passages which I shall cite from the 8th and following sections, that the āsvamedha or horse-sacrifice, a rite of great importance and dignity, was instituted for the express purpose of procuring progeny for Daśaratha. But if this be so, what necessity was there for celebrating the fresh ceremony, alluded to at the beginning of section 14 as a “putrīya īṣṭī,” for the same purpose? The passages to which I allude are the following:

Rām. i. 8, 1 ff. (=Bombay ed. i. 8, 1; Gorresio's ed. i. 8, 1).—Tasya te evam-prabhāvasya dhārmikasya mahātmanaḥ | sutārtham tapyamūnasya nāsid vaṁśa-karaḥ sutah | tasya chintayat buddhir utpannayam mahāmaṭeḥ | sutārtham vājī-mēdhena kimarthāṁ na yajāmy āham | suṁśchitāṁ maṭiṁ kritvā yashtaye vasūḥhadhipaḥ | “But a son to prolong his race was not born to this king so mighty, and righteous, and great, though he performed intense austerity for that purpose. As this wise man reflected, the idea arose in his mind, ‘why do I not celebrate a horse-sacrifice to obtain a son?’ Having then formed this fixed opinion that he ought to sacrifice, the king, etc.”

Again, in sect. 11, 1 (=Bombay ed. i. 12, 1; Gorresio's ed. i. 11, 1), it is said: Atha kāte vyatikrānte śīśre tadanantaram | vasanta-samaye
Regarding the Birth of Rama, with Remarks.

prāpte rājā yāṣṭum mano dādhe | tataḥ prasādyā śirasā tāṁ vīprāṁ
deva-vāchām | yajñāya varayāmāsa santāṇārthāṁ kulasya vai |
"Then, when the winter had passed, and the spring had arrived, the
king set his mind upon sacrificing. Having then propitiated, by
[bowing] his head, that Brahman of divine splendour, he solicited him
to [perform] a sacrifice for the prolongation of his race."

Then, after calling his spiritual advisers, Vāmadeva, Jāvāli, Vasishṭha,
etc., he says to them (v. 8 = v. 86 Bomb. ed.; v. 11, Gorr.):
Mama tātopyamānasya putrārthāṁ nāsti vai sukhām | tadhāṁ haya-medhena
yajeyam iti me matīṅ | tad-arthāṁ yāṣṭum iṣchāmi haya-pūrveṇa
karmaṇā | "I get no satisfaction, though I perform intense austerity
for a son. It is therefore my resolution to celebrate a sacrifice in
which a horse is the first victim."

We are again told (v. 20):

Tataṁ sa gatāṁ tāṁ patnīr narendro hṛidayangamāḥ | uvācha dīkṣāṁ
viśata yaksye ṛam suta-kāraṇāt | "Then going to his beloved wives,
the king said to them, 'Enter upon a course of consecration; I am
about to sacrifice for a son.'"

And at the beginning of the 12th section (=Bomb. ed. 13th; Gorr.
12th) it is said: Punāḥ prāpte vasante tu pūrṇaḥ saṁvatsaro 'bhavat |
prasavārthām gato yāṣṭum haya-medhena vīryavān | "Then, when the
spring arrived, a year had elapsed, and the heroic king went to cele-
brate a horse-sacrifice for the sake of offspring."

Preparations are then made for the sacrifice (sect. 12), and it is duly
celebrated (sect. 13). The queen, Kauśalya, "through desire of a son,"
remains in close contact with the slaughtered horse for one night
(13, 36 [=Bomb. ed. i. 14, 34; Gorr. i. 12, 34]: Patātriṇā tatā
sāradhāṁ sūṣṭhitena cha ohetasā | avasād rajāṁ ekāṁ Kauśalyā
putra-kāmyayā), and the other two queens beside her (v. 37).

The conclusion of the sacrifice is thus recorded at the end of section
13, vv. 54 ff. (=Bomb. ed. 14, 586; Gorr. 13, 45).

166 See Wilson's translation of the R. V., vol. ii., Introd., p. xiii.; the Vajasaneyi
Saṁhitā, xxiii. 20 ff., and commentary; S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, pp. 990 ff.; Kātyāyana
Sūtras, p. 973; and Mahābhārata, xiv. 2645. On the word patātriṇā, "winged,"
applied to the horse, the commentator in the Bombay ed., in loco, remarks: Purā
āṣṭāṁ putrāḥ santi iti prasidhyāva evaṁvādaḥ | patātriṇā garuḍa-vegata ity
anye | "This is said because it is well known that horses formerly had wings. Others
say the meaning of the word is, 'having the speed of Garuḍa' (the fabled bird)."
Dakṣiṇāḥ parigrāhyātha śuprīta-mānasaḥ dvijāḥ | uchur Daśaratāṁ ṭatra kāmanāṁ dhyāyeti vai tadā | tuto 'brahma Rishyāśringaṁ rājā Daśa-
ratas tadā | kulasya vardhanaṁ tat tu kartum arhasi suvrata | tathāt
sa cha rājānam uśeha dvija-sattamaḥ | bhavishyanti sutā rājaṁś chat-
vāras te kuldevaḥāḥ | “Having received the gifts with great gratification, 
the Brahmas then said to Daśaratha, ‘Think of the object you desire.’ 
The king then said to Rishyāśringa, ‘Thou outhest, saint, to effect that 
increase of my race.’ The most excellent of Brahmas replied, ‘So be 
it; king, there shall be to thee four sons, the continuators of thy race.’”

We are then told at the beginning of section 14, as above quoted 
(p. 165), that Rishyāśringa, after thinking over the preceding reply, 
offers to celebrate another sacrifice with texts from the Atharva-siras, 
in order to procure offspring for the king; and proceeds accordingly to 
do so, though, in striking contrast to the particular description given 
of the aśvamedha, no details of this additional ceremony are supplied. 
We are then told (verse 4) that the gods had previously come to the 
aśvamedha sacrifice, to obtain their shares of the oblations, and that 
Rishyāśringa now tells them that the king had performed austerity in 
order to obtain offspring, that he had also celebrated an aśvamedha 
sacrifice, and was now about to perform another rite. The necessity 
for this second sacrifice does not appear; it seems strange that a cere-
mony of such importance as the aśvamedha should be insufficient; 
there appears to be no reason why the gods should not have been told 
at first, on that occasion, that the king was anxious for a son, since 
that was the very object for which the first sacrifice was offered; and 
that this communication should have been reserved till the commence-
ment of the second sacrifice.

In section 15 (=Bombay ed. 15, 31 ff. and 16; Gorr. 15) we are 
told that Viṣṇu, considering how he shall fulfill his promise to the 
gods, makes himself fourfold, and chooses Daśaratha for his human 
parent. He then, after respectfully addressing Brahmā, disappears 
from heaven, and when Daśaratha is offering the second sacrifice for 
progeny, the god issues forth from the fire in the form of a glorious 
being, calling himself a son of Prajāpatī (prājāpatyaṁ naram), and 
bearing a large vessel full of nectar. This nectar he desires Daśa-
ratha to administer to his wives, who would then bear sons. Viṣṇu 
then, after receiving the king’s homage, disappears.
Daśaratha gives the half of the potion to Kaúśalyā, and a fourth each to Sumitrā and Kaikeyī. They all in consequence become pregnant.

Section 16 (=Bombay ed. 17; Gorresio, 20) begins thus: *Puratvatam tu gate Vishṇau rājan tasya mahātmanah | uvācha devān āhāya Svayambhūr bhagavān īdam | “When Vishṇu had entered into the relation of sonship to that great king, the divine Svayambhū (Brahmā) summoned the gods, and said to them.” These words must either be said by way of anticipation, for the birth of Daśaratha’s sons is not related till we come to section 19; or the section must be misplaced, or interpolated. The commentator in the Bombay ed. explains gate by gantum upākrānte, “had begun to enter.” In Gorresio’s ed. this section is placed as the 20th. The section proceeds to describe the creation of the monkeys, who were to be the allies of Rāma.

The conclusion of the āsvamedha sacrifice and the departure of the gods are again alluded to at the commencement of sect. 17 (Schlegel’s ed.) in these words: 1. *Samāpte tu kratau tasmin vājimeścī mahātmanah | havirbhaṅgūn avāpyeshtān jagmūr devāḥ yathāgatam | 2 | rishayaścha mahātmanāḥ pratijagmuḥ svapājitāḥ | rājānaḥ chaiva ye tatra kratav āsan samāgataḥ | 1. “When that horse-sacrifice of the great king had been completed, the gods, having received the desired shares of the oblations, departed as they had come. 2. The great rishis, too, after being duly honoured, and the kings who had come to the sacrifice, returned.” Here we have another indication that the sections intervening between the 13th and the 17th form a later interpolation. With the commencement of this 17th section of Schlegel’s ed., the opening verses of Gorresio’s 16th section, and of the 18th section of the Bombay ed., coincide. The last-mentioned recension, however, from which I proceed to quote some verses, touches very briefly on the dismissal of the kings who had come to the sacrifice, and of Rishyāśṛinga, and proceeds to the birth of Rāma and his brothers, whilst the other two texts enlarge on the former topics, and do not arrive at the last subject before their 19th section. Sect. 18 of the Bombay ed. begins thus:

1 | Nivritte tu kratau tasmin āhāya mahātmanah | pratigrihyāmarah bhāgūn pratijagmur yathāgatam | 2 | samāpta-dikṣā-niyamānāt | patni-gana-samanvitaḥ | praviveśa purūrāja sa-bhritya-bala-vāhanaḥ
3 | yathārham pūjitās tena rājñā cha prithivīvārah | muditāḥ prayayur
desān prayaṇyam muni-pungavam | 4 | śrīmatāṁ gachhatāṁ teshāṁ svagrihāṇi purūt tataḥ | balāni rājñāṁ śubhrāṇi prahriṣṭāṁ cakāśire | 5 |
gatesu prithivīvāse rāja Daśarathaḥ punaḥ | praviveśa purīṁ śrīmān
puraskṛitya deśijottamān | 6 | Śāntayā prayayau sārtham Rishyaśringaḥ
supūjitāḥ | anugamyamāno rājñā cha sānuṣīṭaṛṇā dāhīmataḥ | 7 | Evaṁ
visṛjya tān sarvān rājā sampūrṇa-mānasāḥ | uvāsa sukhitas tatra
putrotptāṁ vichintayan | 8 | tato yajne samāpte tu rītānāṁ shat
samatayayuh | tataḥ cha dvādaśe māse ityādi | 1. "When that horse-
sacrifice of the great king had come to an end, the immortals,
after receiving their shares, returned as they had come. 2. The
ceremony of consecration being concluded, the king with his wives,
servants, army, and chariots, entered into the city. 3. The princes,
too, after being duly honoured by the king, and having made
obeisance to the most excellent man, departed with joy to their
several countries. 4. The hosts of these glorious monarchs, as they
set out from the city for their homes, shone brilliant and delighted.
5. When they had gone, King Daśaratha again entered the city,
preceded by the Brahmins. 6. Rishyaśringa, receiving homage,
set out with (his wife) Śāntā, followed by the wise king and his
attendants. 7. Having dismissed all these (visitors), the king, with
satisfied mind, dwelt in happiness, meditating on the birth of his sons.
8. Then six seasons elapsed after the sacrifice had been completed;
and in the twelfth month," etc. [The sequel of this passage,
together with the parallel verses of Gorresio's edition, will be found
in the Appendix.]

Schlegel's ed., as I have already noticed, does not reach the same
point of the narrative till its 19th section, which begins by relating
the birth of Daśaratha's sons, twelve months after the conclusion of
the sacrifice, by which no doubt the horse sacrifice is intended (tato
yajne samāpte tu rītānāṁ shat samatayayuh | tataścha dvādaśe māse
ityādi). After specifying the month, day, and planetary influences
under which Rāma was born, the writer proceeds: . . . Jagannāthaṁ
sarva-loka-namasākṛitim | Kaśyapa 'janayad Rāmaṁ divya-lakshana-
saṁyutam | Kaśyapa śūṣubhe tena putreṇāmita-tejasā | yathā 'dhipena
devānām Aditir Vajrapāṇinā | [*ūnavaya sa hi lokānāṁ Rāvaṇasya
badhāya cha | Vishnuḥ viryārdhato yajne Rāmo rājiva-lochanaḥ | Bharato
Regarding Rāma's Birth, with Remarks.

nāman Kaikēyyāṁ jagne satya-prākramah | sakshad Viṣṇuḥ chaturbhūgah
sarvaḥ samudito guṇaiḥ | athā Lakṣmaṇa-Satruṅghau Sumitrā 'janayat
sutaḥ | dṛṣṭha-bhakti mahotsāhau Viṣṇuḥ ardha-samaneitau | ] pushyajātas tu Bharato mīna-lagne prasanna-dhīḥ | sārpe jātatu tu Saumitrī
kulāre 'bhyaḍite rava

"Kausalyā bore Rāma, the lord of the universe, adored by all worlds, distinguished by divine marks. Kausalyā derived lustre from that son of boundless might, as Āditi did from the Thunderer, the lord of the gods. [^{4}For the lotus-eyed Rāma was produced from the half of Viṣṇu's virile power, for the good of the world and the slaughter of Rāvaṇa. Bharata, of genuine valour, was born of Kaikēyī, manifest as the fourth part of Viṣṇu, endowed with all virtues. Then Sumitrā brought forth two sons, of strong devotion and great energy, Lakṣmaṇa and Satruṅgha, possessing (each) the half (of the fourth part) of Viṣṇu.] Now Bharata, of clear understanding, was born under Pushya (the eighth lunar mansion), under the sign of the fishes; while the sons of Sumitrā were born under the [ninth] lunar mansion of the serpents, when the sun had entered into Cancer."

If the supposition of Schlegel and Lassen that the 14th, 15th, and 16th sections are interpolated, be correct, it is quite conceivable that the verses of the section before us describing Daśaratha's sons as portions of Viṣṇu, which I have marked with an asterisk and included in brackets, may also have been interpolated, as they can be spared without detriment to the connexion; and if they are retained, the births of Bharata, Lakṣmaṇa, and Satruṅgha, are related twice. In that case the epithets "lord of the universe," and "adored by all worlds," which occur in the first of the verses I have quoted, may have been afterwards substituted for some of a less magnificent character which stood there before. And, in fact, if Rāma was originally regarded as an incarnation of Viṣṇu, it does not appear so suitable to compare his birth to that of Indra (in that case a personage of less dignity than Viṣṇu), as is done in one of the verses which I presume to be ancient, and genuine.

The following is a summary of the episode of the apparition of Paraśurāma referred to above by Prof. Lassen in p. 170. When King Daśaratha was returning to his capital, after taking leave of Jānaka, the King of Mithilā, whose daughter Sītā had just been married to
Rāma (Rāmāyaṇa, Schleg. i. 74=Bombay ed. i. 74, and Gorresio's ed. i. 76), he was alarmed by the ill-omened sounds uttered by certain birds, which however were counteracted, as the sage Vasishṭha assured the king, by the auspicious sign of his being perambulated by the wild animals of the forest. The alarming event indicated was the arrival of Paraśurāma, preceded by a hurricane which shook the earth and prostrated the trees, and by thick darkness which veiled the sun. He was fearful to behold, brilliant as fire, and bore his axe and a bow on his shoulder. Being received with honour, which he accepted, he proceeded to say to Rāma, the son of Daśaratha (in section 75), that he had heard of his prowess in breaking the bow produced by Janaka (Rām. i. 67), and had brought another which he asked Rāma to bend, and to fit an arrow on the string; and if he succeeded in doing so, he (Paraśurāma) would offer to engage with him in single combat. Daśaratha is rendered anxious by this speech, and adopts a suppliant tone towards Paraśurāma, but the latter again addresses Rāma, and says that the bow he had broken was Siva's, but the one he himself had now brought was Vishṇu's. Two celestial bows, he proceeds, were made by Viṣvakarman, of which one was given by the gods to Mahādeva, the other to Vishṇu. The narrative then proceeds (14 ff.):

conquer the other. Siva’s bow of dreadful power was then relaxed, and the three-eyed Mahādeva was arrested by a muttering. These two eminent deities being entreated by the assembled gods, rishis, and Chāraṇas, then became pacified. Seeing that the bow of Siva had been relaxed by the prowess of Vishṇu, the gods and rishis esteemed Vishṇu to be superior. 169 Then the illustrious Rudra, incensed, gave the bow and arrows into the hand of the royal rishi Devarāta [who dwelt] among the Videhas. But this, Rāma, is the bow of Vishṇu, which vanquishes hostile cities. Vishṇu gave this excellent deposit to Ṛichuka, the descendant of Bhṛigu.” From him it came to Jamadagni, father of Pāraśurāma. After referring to his father’s murder by Arjuna, 170 and his own subsequent history, Pāraśurāma repeats that he had heard of Rāma’s prowess in breaking the other bow, and again asks him to bend Vishṇu’s; and in the event of his succeeding, again offers to fight him. Rāma replies (section 76) that though his warlike qualities are contemned by his rival, he will give him a proof of his powers. He then snatches, in anger, the bow from the hand of Pāraśurāma, bends it, fits an arrow on the string; and tells his challenger that he will not shoot at him because he is a Brāhmaṇ, and for the sake of his kinsman Viśvāmitra; but will either destroy his superhuman capacity of movement, or deprive him of the blessed abodes he has acquired by austerity. The gods now arrive to be witnesses of the scene. Pāraśurāma becomes disheartened and powerless, and humbly entreats that he may not be deprived of his faculty of movement (lest he should be incapacitated from fulfilling his promise to Kaśyapa to leave the earth every night), but consents that his blissful abodes may be destroyed. He then goes on, v. 17 (Schlegel’s and Bombay editions—sect. 77, 49 ff. of Gorresio):

Akhayaṁ Madhuhantāraṁ jānāmi tvāṁ maṁśvaram (or sreṣṭvaram) |
 dhanusho ’syā parāmarṣat svasti te ’stu parantapa | 18 | eko sura-ganāḥ
 sarve nirikshante samāgataḥ | tvāṁ apratīna-karmāgam apratidvandvam
dhāve | 19 | na cheyam mama Kākutsthā vrīḍā bhavitum arhati | tvayaṁ
trailokyava-nāthena yad aham vimukhikriṇah | 17. “By the bending of

169 The orthodox commentator (in the Bombay edition) will not allow this to be taken absolutely. He says: Vastutam tvu prakṛita-yuddhe Vishṇor ādhiṣṭya-darśanat Tripura-badhā Sivasya ādhiṣṭya-darśanat tayoḥ sānya-grahaṇam iti tāṭparyam. “In reality, as we find that Vishṇu is the stronger in the fight before us, whilst Siva is stronger in the slaughter of Tripura, the result is that their equality must be assumed.”

170 See the first volume of this work, second edition, pp. 449 ff.

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this bow I recognize thee to be the imperishable slayer of Madhu, the great Lord (or lord of the Gods): hail, vanquisher of thy foes! 18. All these assembled gods behold thee who art unequalled in action, unrivalled in fight. 19. It need be no cause of shame to me that I have been humbled by thee who art the lord of the three worlds.” Rāma then shoots the arrow, and destroys Paraśurāma’s abodes.

In whatever light the author of these lines may really have looked upon Vishṇu, whether as identical with the supreme Spirit or not, the passage itself contains no epithet or expression which necessitates such an interpretation. At the same time it is to be observed that the Vishṇu Purāṇa (see Wilson’s trans. pp. 594 ff. 4to. ed.—pp. 114 ff. vol. v. of Dr. Hall’s ed.), the Harivaṃśa (sections 183 and 184), and the Bhāgavata Purāṇa (x., 64th and previous sections), which indubitably regard Vishṇu as the supreme Deity, also relate a combat between him and Mahādeva. There is no doubt, however, that the 119th section of the Yuddha Kāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa, which I now proceed to quote from the text of the edition published some years ago at Bombay, distinctly speaks of Rāma as an incarnation of the supreme Spirit. This Bombay text, though it follows the Devanāgarī recension of Upper India, does not, in this section, differ materially, except in the arrangement of the verses, from that of Gorresio. I should judge, from the nature of the epithets which are here applied to Vishṇu, that this chapter, as it now stands, could not have formed part of the original Rāmāyaṇa. In the preceding portion of the poem it had been related that Sītā, after being recovered by Rāma on the defeat and death of Rāvana, had been suspected of unchastity by her husband, and had in consequence entered the fire. The 119th section then goes on thus:

Yuddha-Kāṇḍa, sect. 119, 1 ff.—Tato hi durmanah Rāmaḥ śrutivaivaḥ vudatāṁ girah | dadhyau mukhartaṁ dharmātmā vāshpa-vyākula-loohanaḥ | tato Vaiśravano rājā Yamaḥ cha pitriḥīḥ saha | Sahasrākṣaḥ cha, deveśo Varuṇaścha jaleśvaraḥ | saḥ ardha-nayanaḥ śrīmān Mahādevo vrishadevaḥ | kartā sarvasya lokasya Brahmā brahma-vidām varah | 111 sa cha rājā Daśāratho vimānenāntarikṣha-gaḥ | abhyājagāma taṁ desaṁ deva-rājasa-śama-dyutiḥ | eto sarve samagamyā vimānaṁ sārya-sannibhaiḥ | āgaṁya nāgarin Lankām abhijagīnus cha Rāghavam | tataḥ sa-hastābharaṇān pragrhiyā vipulān bhujān | abruvaṇ śrīdāsa-śreṣṭhaḥ Rāghavam prānjalīṁ

111 This verse is found in Gorresio’s edition only, not in that of Bombay.
KANDA OF THE RĀMAṆĀ WITH REMARKS.

sitātā sargasāta lokasāya śreshṭho jñānavidām vipadhaḥ | upekshanā sitaṃ patantim havyāvahaḥ | kathaṃ deva-gaṇa-śreshṭham ātmānaṃ nāvabuddhyase | Rīta-dhāmā Vasuḥ pūrvaṃ Vasūnām cha Prajāpatiḥ | tvam trayāṇām hi lokānām adikartā svayam prabhuh | Rudrāṇām ashtamo Rudraḥ Sādhyaṇām api panchamaḥ | Asvinuḥ chāpi te karnau chanḍadātyaya cha chakṣuḥṣaḥ | ante chādu cha bhūtānāṁ dṛśyasi tvam paramaṇaḥ | upekshanā cha Vaidehiḥ mūnushaḥ pṛakriti yathā | ity ukto lokālais taśvām lokasāya Rāghavaḥ | abṛvita tridāsa-śreṣṭhān Rāma dharmabhṛtāṃ vartaḥ | ātmānaṃ mūnushaṃ manye Rāmaḥ Daśarathāt-

mamaṃ | so'ham yaśoḥa yataḥ chaḥāṁ bhagavāṁ tad bravi tu me | iti bhrva-

naṃ Kākutsthaḥ Brahmā brahma-vidām vartaḥ | abṛvita śṛṇu me vākyam satyaṃ satya-parākramaḥ bhavān Nārāyaṇaḥ devaḥ śrīmāṁ chakrādyudhaḥ prabhuh | eka-śṛṇgo vārhas tvam bhūta-bhavya-sapatna-jīt akṣharam Brahma satyaṃ cha madhye chaṅte cha Rāghavaḥ | lokānāṁ tvam paro dharmo Vishvaksenaḥ chaturbhujāḥ | Sārnga-dhavā Hṛīṣīkeśaḥ puruṣaḥ puruṣottamaḥ | ajataḥ khadga-dhūrij Vishnuḥ Kṛiṣhnaḥ chaiva vrihadalāḥ | Senānir grāmāṇaḥ sityas tvam buddhis tvam kṣamā damaḥ | prabhavā
cāpyayaḥ cha tvam Upendro Madhusūdanaḥ | Indra-karma Mahendras tvam padmanābhaḥ ranānta-kriṭ | sarayaṃ sarayaṃ cha tvam aher dīvyāḥ maharābhaḥ | sahasra-śṛṇgo vedātmā sata-śīraḥ maharābhaḥ | tvam trayāṇām hi lokānām ādi-kartā svayam prabhuh | siddhānām api sādh-
yānām āśrayaḥ chāṣi pūrvaḥ | tvam yajnas tvam vashakāras tvam oṃkāraḥ parāt paraḥ | prabhavāṁ nidhanaṁ vā te na viduḥ ko bhavān iti | dṛśyāṃ sarva-bhūteshaḥ brahmaṇesu cha gosuḥ cha | dīkṣu sarcasu gagan parvatesu nadisha cha | sahasra-charaṇaḥ śrīmāṁ sata-śīraḥ sahara-drik | tvam dhārayasi bhūtāṇi vasudhāṁ cha sa-parvatām | ante prithivyaiḥ saṅgā dṛśyab tvam maharāghaḥ | trīn lokān dhārayan Rāma
deva-gandharva-dānavaṇ | aham te hridayaṁ Rāma jihe devi Sarasvatī | devaḥ romanii gātresu Bahmaṇa nirmitaḥ prabho | nimeshās te smṛti
ratrīr unmesho divasas tathā | saṃśkarās te 'bhavan vedāḥ naitaad aśi
tvayā vinā | jagat sarvāṁ sarīraṁ to sthairyam te vasudhā-talam | Agniḥ
copaḥ prasādas te Somāḥ śrīvatālaṇkhaṇa | tvayā lokās trayāḥ krāntaḥ purā svair vikramais triṣṭiḥ | Mahendraṛa cha kṛto rajā Balim buddhe

dudarunam | [172 yata paraṁ śṛyate jyotir yat paraṁ śṛyate tameḥ | yatr paraṁ paraśa chaiva paramāmeti kathyaḥ | paramākhyam paraṁ yaḥ cha tvam eva parītyase | shty-utpatti-vināśaṇām tvam āhuh paraṁaṁ

172 These two verses occur in Gorresio’s edition only, not in that of Bombay.
"Then the righteous Rāma, dejected, on hearing the words of those who thus spoke, meditated for a moment, with his eyes disturbed by tears. Then King Kuvera, and Yama with the Pitṛis, and Indra, lord of the gods, and Varuṇa, lord of the waters, and the glorious three-eyed Mahādeva, whose ensign is a bull, and Brahmā, the creator of the whole world, the most eminent of the knowers of the Veda; [and that King Daśaratha, moving in the air on a celestial car, arrived in that region, equal in lustre to the king of the gods]; these all having come on cars brilliant as the sun, and arrived in the city of Lankā, came near to Rāghava (Rāma). Then these most eminent gods, holding the large arms of Rāma, adorned with armlets, addressed him as he stood with joined hands: 'How dost thou, the maker of the whole universe, the most eminent of the wise, the pervading, disregard Sītā's throwing herself into the fire? How dost thou not perceive thyself to be the chief of the host of the gods? [Thou wast] formerly the Vasu Ritadhāman, and the Prajāpati of the Vasus. Thou art the primal maker of the three worlds, the self-dependent lord, the eighth Rudra of the Rudras, and the fifth of the Śādhyas. The Āsvinś are thine ears, the Moon and Sun thine eyes. Thou, vexer of thy foes, art seen in the end and at the beginning of created things. And yet thou disregarest Sītā like a common man.' Being thus addressed by these guardians of the world, Rāma, the lord of the world, chief of the supporters of righteousness, said to the most eminent gods, 'I regard myself as a man,' Rāma, son of Daśaratha; do you, divine being, tell me who and whence I am.' Brahmā, chief of the knowers of the

173 In the parts of the Mahābhārata where Krishna is identified with the supreme Deity, he is always represented as perfectly conscious of his true character. The commentator explains away this eleventh verse in the following manner: Attha Brahmanugrahād eva Brahma-vidyāmusmukhyasya śruti-ādi-siddhatayā tad-aumukhyasya "ātmānāṁ naśabudhaye" iti Brahmāgatvā kriyateṣ taj-jijñāsva iva śvēyānāṁ svasvarūpa-bodhānāya Brahmāmāṁ gurum ajñāh iva upāsā ity āha "ātmānāṁ" iti. "As it is established by the Veda, etc., that the aspiration after the science of Brahma comes only from the grace of Brahmā, and since Brahmā had just prompted that aspiration by the words 'how dost thou not perceive thyself?' Rāma, assuming the appearance of a desire to know, with the view of explaining his nature to his (worshippers), applies to Brahmā, as an ignorant student to his teacher, and says, 'I regard myself,' etc."
Veda, replied to Kākutstha (Rāma) thus speaking: 'Hear my true word, O being of genuine power. Thou art the god, the glorious lord, Nārāyaṇa, armed with the discus. Thou art the one-horned boar, the conqueror of thy foes, past and future, the true, imperishable Brahma, both in the middle and end. Thou art the supreme righteousness of the worlds, Vishvakṣena, the four-armed; the bearer of the bow, Sārnga, Hṛiṣīkeśa (lord of the senses), Purusha (the male), the highest of Purushas, the unconquered, sword-wielding, Vīṣṇu, and Kṛiṣṇa of mighty force, the general, the leader, the true. Thou art intelligence, thou art patience, and self-restraint. Thou art the source of being and cause of destruction, Upendra (the younger Indra), and Madhusūdana. Thou art Mahendra (the elder Indra) fulfilling the function of Indra, he from whose navel springs a lotus, the ender of battles. The great divine rishis call thee the refuge, the resort of suppliants. Thou art the thousand-horned, composed of the Veda, the hundred-headed, the mighty. Thou art the primal maker of the three worlds, the self-dependent lord, and the refuge of the Siddhas and Śādhyas, O thou primevally born. Thou art sacrifice, thou art the vashaṭkāra, and the oṁkāra, higher than the highest. Men know not who thou art, the source of being, or the destroyer. Thou art seen in all creatures, in Brahmans and in cows, in all the regions, in the mountains and rivers, thousand-footed, glorious, hundred-headed, thousand-eyed. Thou sustainest creatures, and the earth with its mountains; thou art seen, Rāma, at the extremity of the earth, in the waters, a mighty serpent supporting the three worlds, gods, Gandharvas, and Dānavas. I am thy heart, Rāma, the goddess Sarasvati is thy tongue. The gods have been made by Brahmā the hairs on thy limbs. The night is called the closing, and the day the opening, of thine eyes. The Vedas are thy thoughts. This [universe] exists not without thee. The whole world is thy body; the earth is thy stability. Agni is thine anger, Soma is thy pleasure, O thou whose mark is the Śrīvatsa. By thee

174 If this means, as it seems to do, Kṛiṣṇa, the son of Devakī, it must, if not an anachronism, be intended as prophetic. The commentator, both here and further on, makes it mean merely the "black-coloured" (kṛṣṇas tad-varṇaḥ).

175 The commentator explains saṁskārāḥ thus: Saṁskriyante bodhyante ebhir lokāḥ iti saṁskārāḥ pravṛtti-miśrīti-vyavasthā-bodhakāḥ | "Saṁskāras are the things by which people are instructed, the things which prescribe the rules of acting and forbearing to act." But this cannot well be the sense here.
the three worlds were traversed of yore with thy three paces, and Mahendra was made king after thou hadst bound the terrible Bali. [*That which is known as the chiefest light, that which is known as the chiefest darkness, that which is higher than the highest,—thou art called the highest Soul. It is thou who art hymned as that which is called the highest, and [is] the highest. Men call thee the highest source of continuance, production, and destruction.] Sitā is Lakṣmi,\textsuperscript{178} and thou art Viṣṇu, the divine Kṛishṇa, the lord of creatures, who hast entered a mortal body for the slaughter of Rāvāṇa,' etc.

In the same way as Viṣṇu is associated with Rāma in the Rāmāyaṇa, so is he connected with Kṛishṇa in the Mahābhārata, the Viṣṇu, Bhāgavata, and Brahma-vaiśvānara, Purāṇas, and other Viṣṇuva works of a later date. In the two first-named Purāṇas, though Kṛishṇa is sometimes spoken of as a partial incarnation of Viṣṇu (see the passage from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, x. 33, 27, quoted above, p. 50, and another from the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, which will be adduced below), he is generally regarded as a perfect manifestation of that deity, who, again, is identified with the supreme Spirit. In the Mahābhārata—which, as we have seen, contains a vast collection of heterogeneous materials originating in different ages, and embodying the opinions of various sects—we shall find that Kṛishṇa is diversely represented in different parts of the work. I have already (p. 169) quoted some remarks of Professors Wilson and Lassen on this subject. According to these authors Kṛishṇa, in so far as he is introduced as an actor in the events of the poem, is generally made to play a merely human part, and to manifest no superhuman power in succouring friends, or overcoming enemies; while, as Professor Wilson remarks, his divine character is frequently disputed. In the Chhāndogya Upanishad he is spoken of simply as the son of Devakī. In various parts of the Mahābhārata he is described as rendering homage to Mahādeva, and as receiving from him boons of various kinds. In many passages he is identified with the rishi Nārāyaṇa, while his friend Arjuna appears as one with the rishi Nara, the inseparable companion of the former. In these various passages, however, Kṛishṇa is by no means regarded in general as an ordinary mortal. He receives various divine weapons from Mahādeva; in his

\textsuperscript{178} In regard to Lakṣmi and Sīrī, see the fifth volume of this work, pp. 348 f.
character as the rishi Nārāyaṇa, he lives through successive ages, and displays superhuman faculties. Even while acting as the ally of the Pāṇḍus, he destroys Śiśupāla supernaturally with his discus. And in numerous passages he is identified in the clearest manner with Viṣṇu, who again, as I have said, is commonly assumed to be one with the supreme Spirit. I shall now proceed to adduce a variety of passages illustrative of these various assertions.

I. The following short passage from the Chhāndogya Upanishad (pp. 220 ff. of the Bibl. Ind.) is, I believe, the oldest text yet known in which Kṛishṇa the son of Devaki is mentioned. It is extremely unfortunate that it is so brief; that it leaves us without any particulars of a personage about whom we should have been glad to possess the fullest details, who in after-times became so famous as to obtain the honour of deification,—except the meagre information that he was the son of Devaki, the pupil of a teacher named Ghora, and that he was so enthusiastically devoted to the pursuit of mystical lore as to become indifferent to everything else:

_Tad ha etad Ghoraḥ Āṅgirasah Kṛishṇaya Devaki-putrāya uktvā uvācha api pūṣah eva sa babhāva so 'nta-velāyām etat-trayam pratipadyeta "akṣhitam asy achyutam asi prāṇa-saṁśītam asī" iti | "Ghora, the descendant of Āṅgiras, having declared this [the preceding mystical lore] to Kṛishṇa the son of Devaki, said to him that [which, when he heard], he became free from thirst [i.e. desire], viz.: 'let a man at the time of his death have recourse to these three texts, 'Thou art the undecaying, thou art the imperishable, thou art the subtle principle of breath.'"

I quote some of the commentator's remarks on this important text:

_Tad ha etad yajna-dārśanaṁ Ghoro nāmataḥ Āṅgiraso gotataḥ Kṛishṇaya Devaki-putrāya śishyāya uktvā uvācha | tadv "stat trayam" ityādi vyavahitena sambandhah | sa cha etad dārśanaṁ tratuva api pūṣah eva anyābhya vidyābhvah babhāva | ittham cha viśishṭa iyaṁ vidyā yat Kṛishṇasya Devaki-putrasya anyāṁ vidyāṁ prati triḍ-vichhedā-kari iti purusha-yajna-vidyāṁ stauti | Ghoraḥ Āṅgirasaḥ Kṛishṇaya uktvā imāṁ vidyāṁ kīm uvācha iti tad aha | sa evam yathokta-yajna-vid anta-velāyām maraṇa-kāle etan-mantra-trayam pratipadyeta jape ity arthaḥ |

177 I am not aware whether Ghora is mentioned in connexion with Kṛishṇa in any other work.
prāṇa-saṃśītam prāṇasya saṃśītāṁ samyak tanukritancha sūkhmaṁ tat tvam asi. . . | "A person, Ghora by name, and an Āngirasa by family, having declared this doctrine of sacrifice to Krīṣṇa the son of Devaki, his pupil, then said, etc. The connexion of the last word 'said,' is with the words which occur some way below, 'these three,' etc. And having heard this doctrine, he became free from desire for any other kinds of knowledge. In this manner he praises this knowledge of the Purusha-sacrifice by saying that it was so distinguished that it destroyed all thirst in Krīṣṇa, the son of Devaki, for any other knowledge. He now tells us what Ghora Āngirasa said after declaring this knowledge to Krīṣṇa. It was this: 'Let him who knows the aforesaid sacrifice, at the time of his death have recourse to, mutter, these three texts; . . . prāṇa-saṃśītam means, 'thou art the very minute, and subtile principle of breath.'"

II. I shall next quote some passages of the Mahābhārata in which Krīṣṇa is represented as rendering homage to Mahādeva, and consequently, to all appearance, as acknowledging his own inferiority to that deity. It is related in the Vana-parvan (vv. 1513–1656), in a passage which I shall quote further on, that Arjuna goes to supplicate Mahādeva for celestial weapons, and obtains from him the Pāśupata.

At a later stage of the poem (Droṇa-parvan, v. 2838) Arjuna is advised by Krīṣṇa to apply again to Mahādeva for the same Pāśupata weapon, as if the author (if indeed he is the same by whom the earlier passage was written) had forgotten that he had already got it. Arjuna, it appears, had vowed (vv. 2681 ff.) to slay Jayadratha on the following day, though all the inferior deities should stand forward as his protectors. Subsequently, however, he becomes dejected, reflecting that the enemy's leaders would do their utmost to preserve Jayadratha, and that he would thus be unable to fulfil his promise (vv. 2830 ff.). Krīṣṇa hereupon advises Arjuna to supplicate Mahādeva for the Pāśupata weapon with which that god himself had formerly destroyed all the Daityas, and with which he (Arjuna) would be able to slay Jayadratha on the morrow (vv. 2838 ff.). Arjuna and Krīṣṇa then arrive with the speed of the wind, at the mountain on the summit of which Mahādeva abode, where they obtain a vision of that deity, with Pārvatī and his attendant Bhūtas (demons). On seeing him Vāsudeva (Krīṣṇa) bows down to the earth:
Mahābhārata, Droṇa-parvan, vv. 2862 ff.—Vāsudevas tu taṁ ārīṣṭṭvā jagāma śivasā kṣhitim | Pārthena saha dārmātmā grīṇaṁ brahma sanātanaṁ | lokādiṁ víśva-karmāṇam ajam ɪśaṇam avyayam | manasaḥ para-māṁ yoniṁ khaṁ vāyuṁ jyotishāṁ nīdhim | srasṭṭāram vāridhāraṇāṁ bhuvaśca prakṛtim parām | dēva-dānava-yakṣāṁ mānava-nāṁcā sādhanam | yogānāṁcā param brahma triptam brahma-vidāṁ nīdhim | charācharasya srasṭṭāram prayāhāram pratyāhāram eva cha | kāla-kopam mahāmānaṁ śakra-sūrya-gunodayam | vavande taṁ tadā Kṛṣṇo vāṁ-mano buddhi-karmabhiḥ | yam propadyanti vidvāṁsāṁ sākṣmādhyātmam-padaśiṇāḥ | taṁ ajatā kāraṇātmaṁ jagmatuḥ śarānam Bhavan | Arjunaḥ chāpi taṁ devam bhūyo bhūyo ṭpy avandata | jnātva taṁ saśa-bhutādīm bhūta-bhavya-bhavodbhavam | tataḥ tav āgatau ārīṣṭvā Nara-Nārāyaṇāv ubhau | suprasanna-manaḥ S'arvaḥ provācha prahasanm iva | āgatau vāṁ nara-kṛṣṭhāv uttishṭhetāṁ gata-klamau | kincha vāṁ īpsitaṁ virau manasaḥ kshipram uchyatām | yena kāryaṁ samprāptau yuvāṁ tat sādha-yām kim | vriyātām atmanaḥ śroyas tat saśām pradaśāmi vāṁ |

"The righteous Vāsudeva (Kṛṣṇa) then, together with the son of Prthā (Arjuna), reciting the eternal Veda, bowed his head to the ground, beholding him, the source of the worlds, the maker of the universe, the unborn, the imperishable lord, the supreme source of mind, the sky, the wind, the abode of the luminaries, the creator of the oceans, the supreme substance of the earth, the framer of gods, Dānavas, Yakshas, and men, the supreme Brahma of meditative systems, the satisfied, the treasure of those who know Brahma, the creator of the world, and also its destroyer, the great impersonated destructive Wrath, the original of the attributes of Indra and Sūrya. Kṛṣṇa then reverenced him with voice, mind, understanding, and act.178

Those two [heroes] had recourse to Bhava (Mahādeva) as their refuge,—to him whom the wise, desiring the subtle spiritual abode, attain,—to him the unborn cause. Arjuna, too, again and again reverenced that deity, knowing him to be the beginning of all beings, the source of the past, the future, and the present. Beholding those two, Nara and Nārāyaṇa,

178 In a passage from the Sāntiparvan, vv. 13152 ff., which I shall quote further on, Kṛṣṇa explains away the worship which here and elsewhere he is said to have rendered to Mahādeva, by saying that it was done for the sake of example to others, and was in reality offered to himself, Mahādeva being one of his manifestations, and, in fact, one with him. But no hint is given of this here.
arrived, S'arva (Mahādeva), then greatly gratified, said, as if smiling: ‘Welcome, most eminent of men, rise up freed from fatigue, and tell me quickly, heroes, what your mind desires. Shall I accomplish for you the object for which you have come? Choose what is most for your welfare. I will give you all.’”

Krishṇa and Arjuna then recite a hymn in honour of Mahādeva, in the course of which he is designated as the “soul of all things, the creator of all things, and the pervader of all things” (viśvätmano viśva-srīje viśvam āvṛitya tishṭhate). Arjuna now, after reverencing both Krishṇa and Mahādeva, asks the latter for the celestial weapon. They are thereupon sent by Mahādeva to a lake where he says he had formerly deposited his bow and arrows. They there saw two serpents, one of which was vomiting flames, and approached them, bowing to Mahādeva and uttering the Satarudriya.179 Through the power of Mahādeva, the serpents change their shape and become a bow and arrow (v. 2899), which Krishṇa and Arjuna bring to Mahādeva. Eventually Arjuna receives as a boon from Mahādeva the Pāśupata weapon, with the power of fulfilling his engagement to slay Jayadratha (vv. 2906 ff.); after which they both return to their camp.

In the Sauptika-parvan, 312 f., Mahādeva, smiling, as it were (hasannīva), says to Aśvatthāma: Satya-sauchārjava-tyāgais tapasā niyamena cha | kṣhāntyā matyā cha āvṛityā cha buddhyā cha vachasā tathā | 313. Yathāvad aham ārddhaḥ Krishnena kliśta-karmaṇaḥ | tasmād iṣṭatamah Krishnād anyo mama na viyadte | “I have been duly worshipped by Krishṇa, the energetic in action, with truth, purity, honesty, liberality, austerity, ceremonies, patience, wisdom, self-control, understanding and words: wherefore no one is dearer to me than Krishṇa.” (See Prof. Monier Williams’s analysis of this book in his “Indian Epic Poetry,” pp. 121 ff.)

In a later part of the same book (vv. 765 ff.) Krishṇa thus celebrates the greatness of Mahādeva: Nūnam sa deva-devānm iśvareśvaram avyayam | jagāma īrānām Dronir ekas tenādadhūḥ bahūn | 766 | prasanno hi Mahādevo dadyād amaratām api | viśyam cha girīśa dadyād yenendram api sātyet | 767 | vedāham hi Mahādevam tatvena Bharatarśabhā | yāni chāṣya purāṇāḥ karmānī vividhānī cha | 768 | ādir

179 A long hymn from the Yajur-veda, which will be quoted further on in the chapter on Rudra.
esha hi bhūtānām madhyam antaḥ cha Bhārata \ vihēṣṭate jagat chedaṁ sarvam asyaiva karmāṇaḥ | 765. “Aśvatthāman resort to the imperishable lord of lords of the gods of gods as his refuge; and through him he, though but one, slew many. 766. For Mahādeva, if pleased, can bestow even immortality, and prowess whereby any one may overcome even Indra himself. 767. I perfectly know Mahādeva, and his various works of old. 768. For he is the beginning, middle, and end of (all) creatures; and this entire world moves through his agency.”

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

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


180 The MS. of the Mahābhārata in the library of the Roy. As. Soc reads amāt.
"I am unable to declare the attributes of the wise Mahādeva, who is
an all-pervading god, yet is nowhere seen, who is the creator and the
lord of Brahmā, Vishnu,181 and Indra, whom the gods, from Brahmā to
the Piśāchas, worship, who transcends material natures as well as spirit
(yoga), and possessing an insight into truth, who is the supreme,
imperishable Brahma, that which is both non-existent, and at once
existent and non-existent. Having agitated matter and spirit by his
power, this god of gods and lord of creatures (Prajāpati) thence created
Brahmā. What human being like me, who has been subject to gesta-
tion in the womb, and to birth, and is liable to decay and death, can
declare the attributes of Bhava, the supreme lord,—[who can do this]
except Nārāyaṇa, the bearer of the shell, the discus, and the club?
This Vishnu, wise, eminent in qualities, very hard to overcome,
with divine insight, of mighty power, beholds182 [him] with the
eye of contemplation. Through his devotion to Rudra, the world
is pervaded by the mighty Krīṣṇa. Having then propitiated that
deity (Mahādeva) at Badari, he (Krīṣṇa) obtained from the golden-
eyed Maheśvara the quality of being in all worlds more dear than
wealth. This Mādhava (Krīṣṇa) performed austerity for a full
thousand years, propitiating Śiva, the god who bestows boons, and
the preceptor of the world. But in every mundane period (yuga) Maheś-
vara has been propitiated by Krīṣṇa, and has been gratified by the
eminent devotion of that great personage. This unshaken Hari
(Krīṣṇa), [when seeking] for offspring, has beheld distinctly of what
character is the glory of that great parent of the world. Than him
I behold none higher. This large-armed [Krīṣṇa] is able to recount
fully the names of the god of gods, to describe the qualities of the
divine [being], and the real might of Maheśvara in all its extent."

Krīṣṇa then calls upon Krīṣṇa, whom he designates as Vishnu,

181 Professor Aufrecht (Catalogue, p. 54a, note) quotes the following verse from
the 55th chapter of the Vāyu Purāṇa, as spoken by Mahādeva: Ayam me dakshino
bāhūr Brahmā loka-pitāmahah | vāmo bāhū cha me Vishṇur nityam yuddhesah
nirjitaḥ | "Brahmā, the parent of the universe, is my right arm, and Vishnu is my
left arm, always overcome in battles." Must not the correct reading here be yuddhesah
amirjitaḥ, "unconquered in battles"?

182 The printed text reads vikṣayate, "is beheld," but the sense seems to require
vikṣhate, "beholds."
and as the divine teacher of gods and Asuras (surāsura-gūro deva Viśhn), to celebrate Mahādeva’s greatness. Kṛishṇa accordingly says (vv. 610 ff.):

Na gatiḥ karmāṇāṁ śakyā vettum īśasya tattvataḥ | Hiranyagarbhā- 
pramukhāḥ devaḥ sendrāḥ maharshayaḥ | na vidur īśasya bhavanam
Ādityāḥ sūkṣma-ārśinaḥ | sa katham nara-mātreṇa śayoj jñātum satīṁ

gatiḥ | tasyāham āsura-ghnasya kāṁśchid bhagavato guṇāṁ |

dharām
kirtayishyāmi vrataśaya [vrataśaya?] yathātāham | “The course of

the deeds of Īśa (Mahādeva) cannot be really known. He whose essence

neither the gods headed by Hiranyagarbha, nor the great rishis with

Indra, nor the Ādityas, the perceivers of the minutest objects,

understand,—how can he, the refuge of saints, be known by any mere man?

I shall declare to you exactly some of the attributes of that divine

slayer of the Asuras, of the lord of religious ceremonies.”

Kṛishṇa then relates how he had formerly seen Mahādeva. It appears

that his wife Jāmbavati (v. 616), daughter of the king of the monkeys

(kapindra-putri, v. 629), had come to him desirous of a son; she says

(vv. 619 f.):

Na hi te 'prāpyam astiha triśu lokeshu kineha | lokān śrijas tvam

aparan ichhan Yadu-kulodvaha | tvayā dvādaśa-varshāni vratishūhena

śuchyatā | arādhya pasūbhantarām Rukminiṁ janītāḥ sūtāḥ | “For

there is nothing in these three worlds unattainable by thee (Kṛishṇa).

Thou, scion of the race of Yadu, couldst create other worlds. By

thee, after twelve years’ fasting and mortification, and worship of

the nourisher of beasts (Mahādeva), sons were begotten on Rukmini

(another of his wives).”

Kṛishṇa promises to bring about the accomplishment of Jāmbavatī’s

wishes. The story proceeds that he was then conveyed by the celestial

bird Gauraḍa to the Himalaya (v. 632), where he sees the delightful

hermitage of the saint Upamanyu, which is described at length (vv.

634–652). Kṛishṇa enters, and is reverentially saluted by Upamanyu

183 He is, however, called king of the bears in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa.—See Wilson’s

translation, p. 427 f. (vol. iv., pp. 76 and 79 of Dr. Hall’s ed.)

184 Compare what is said of Viśvāmitra in the first volume of this work, p. 404.

185 This ‘twelve years’ austerity performed before for the sake of progeny is alluded

to further on in the Anuśāsana-parvan, v. 6397, and the birth of a son is mentioned,

v. 6889. As Kṛishṇa is represented in that passage in a higher character than he is

in the one before us, it will be more appropriately quoted further on.

186 One of the features of the hermitage is thus depicted in v. 651: Kiṣṇanti sar-
(v. 655), who tells him that after propitiating Mahādeva by austerities, he shall obtain a son equal to himself (v. 658). The saint then goes on to celebrate the greatness of Mahādeva, who, he said, had given boons to various beings, and to Viṣṇu his discus (vv. 662 ff.):

_Hiranyakaśipur yo 'bhūd dānave Meru-kampanaḥ | tena sarvāmarāś-varyaṁ S'arvāt prāptaṁ samārbudam | tasyaiva putra-pravaro Mandaro nāma viśrutaḥ | Mahādeva-varāḥ chhakrāṁ varshārbudam ayodbhayat | Viṣṇoś chakrancha tad ghorāṁ vajraṁ Ākhaṇḍalasya cha | śīrṇam purā 'bhavat tāta Grahasyāngeshu Keśava | yat tad bhagavatā pūramaṁ tattvaṁ chakrāṁ tavānagha jalamatra-charaṁ hatva dailyaneha balaravitaṁ | utpađitaṁ Viṣhānikena diptaṁ jvalana-sannibham | dattam bhagavatā tubhyāṁ durdarśhaṁ tejasā 'dbhutam | na śakyaṁ drasūṭum anyena varjāyitaṁ Paśūkān | Sudarśanam bhavaty evam Bhavoktaṁ tadā tu tat | Sudarśanam tadā tasya loka nāma pratishṭhitam | taj jīrṇam abhavat tāta Grahasyāngeshu Keśava Grahasyātibalasyānge varadattasaḥ dhīmataḥ | na sāstraṇi vaḥṣanti ange chakram vajra-satāṇy api | ardamanāscha vibudhā Graheṇa subaliyasā | Siva-datta-varāṇ jaghunr asureñdrān Surāḥ bhṛṣāṁ |

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

pair nakulāṁ nṛgair vyāghṛścha mitra-vat | prabhāvād dipta-tapasūṁ samiharkshād mahātmanām | "Weasels sport in a friendly fashion with serpents," [the two kinds of creatures being deadly foes], "and tigers with deer, through the power of those saints of brilliant austerity, from the proximity of those mighty ones."—Compare Isaiah xi. 6 f.: "The wolf also shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid," etc.

187 In v. 655 the appellation _punḍarīkāksa_, "lotus-eyed," and in v. 659, that of _adhokshaja_, are applied to _Krīṣṇa_.

188 This word occurs in Rigveda, viii. 17, 12, and the words are quoted in the Nirukta, iii. 10: Ākhaṇḍalā pra hūyase | "O Ākhaṇḍala, or destroyer, thou art invoked." It is rendered "shatterer," "destroyer," in Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, s.v.
by Mahādeva. 189 Bestowed upon thee by the god, resistless, and wonderful in its potency, it could not be looked upon by any other than Pinākin (the bearer of the bow, i.e. Mahādeva). It then received from Bhava (Mahādeva) the name of Sudarśana, and by that name it is celebrated in the world. That discus was shattered against the limbs of Graha. On the body of the wise and very powerful Graha, who had received a boon, no weapons, not even the discus, or a thousand thunderbolts, produce any effect. The gods being harassed by the most mighty Graha, slew on many occasions the Asuras who had received boons from Śiva. 190

After telling that many other persons had obtained boons by worshipping Mahādeva, the saint Upamanyu relates a story about himself, how his mother, after smelling him on the head (mūrdhany āghrāya) had fully declared to him the greatness of this deity (vv. 724 ff.). In addition to the more general attributes assigned to the god, the following are some characteristics of a more special description (some of them sufficiently horrible or disgusting), as detailed with admiration by this female devotee. He assumes many forms of gods (as Brahmā, Vishṇu, Indra, Rudra), and of men, of goblins, demons, barbarians, tame and wild beasts, birds, reptiles, fishes, with many varieties of human disguises, etc. (v. 731 ff.). He is the soul of all the worlds, all-pervading, residing in the heart of all creatures, knowing all desires (v. 742 f.). He carries a discus, a trident, a club, a sword, an axe (v. 745). He has a girdle of serpents, earrings of serpents, a sacrificial cord of serpents, and an outer garment of serpents' skins (v. 746). He laughs, sings, dances charmingly, and plays various musical instruments (v. 747). He leaps, gapes, weeps, makes others weep; speaks like a madman or a drunkard, as well as in sweet tones (v. 748). He laughs terrifically (v. 749). He is both visible and invisible, on the altar, on the sacrificial post, in the fire, a boy, an old man, a youth (v. 751). He dallies with the daughters and the wives of the rishis, with erect hair, obscene appearance, 190 naked, with excited look (v. 752: kṛīdāte

189 In an account of Krishṇa’s exploits in the Droga-parvan, however, it is said (v. 402) that the chakra was obtained by worshipping Agni: Khāṇḍeve Pūrtha-māhitas toshayitū Hūtāśanam | Āgneyam astrām durvārśahāṁ chakrāṁ lehe mahābalaḥ | In the same passage (v. 401) he is said to have obtained his shell (sankha) by conquering Panchajana in the infernal regions.

rishi-kanyābhīr rishi-patnībhīr eva cha | ārdhaka-keśo mahāsepho nagnō vikrita-lochanāḥ |). He is one-faced, two-faced, three-faced, many-faced.

Such is the deity, of whom, after hearing this description, Upamanyu becomes a constant devotee, and whom he gratifies by long austerities, standing for a thousand years on the tip of his left toe, during the first hundred years of which period he lives on fruits, the second hundred on withered leaves, the third hundred on water, and the remaining seven hundred on air (v. 758 ff.). Mahādeva at length appears to him in the form of Indra, and offers him his choice of a boon. Upamanyu, however, is indifferent about Indra, and declares that he cares nothing about any other god than Mahādeva, and will accept no boon, however great, at the hand of any other, adding many passionate expressions of devotion to this deity. And a further occasion being offered by a question of Indra, the saint again proceeds to expatiate in a passage of some length on the attributes of his favourite god (vv. 784–829), of which I shall only quote the following lines (v. 822 ff.):

Hetubhir vā kim anyais tair Īṣaḥ kāraṇa-kāraṇam | na śuṣrūma yaḥ anyasya lingam abhyarchyate suraiḥ | kasyānyasya suraiḥ sarvāra lingam muktva Mahēsvaram | archyate rchita-pūrvaḥ vā brūhi yādy asti te kṛutiḥ | yasya Brahma cha Vishnuḥ cha tvam chāpi saha daivataiḥ | archayethāḥ sada lingam tasmāḥ cWBhreshṭhatamo hi saḥ | na padmānāh na chakrānāh na vajrānāh yataḥ prajāḥ | lingānāḥ cha bhagānāḥ cha tasmād Mahēsvarī prajāḥ | Devyāḥ kāraṇa-rupa-bhāva-janitaḥ sarvāḥ bhagānāḥ sterīyo lingenāpi Harasya sarva-purushāḥ pratyaksha-chin- nīkritaḥ | yo 'nyat kāraṇam iśvarāt pravadato devyā cha yad nānkitam trailokye sacherāchara sa tu pumān vāhyo bhaved durmatiḥ | puṁlingam sarvam Īśanaḥ stri-lingam viddhi chāpy Unām | dvābhyaṁ tanubhyāṁ vyāptaṁ hi charācharam idāṁ jagat | "Íśa (Mahādeva) the Cause of causes for any other reasons? We have not heard that the linga (male organ) of any other person is worshipped by the gods. Declare, if thou hast heard, what other being's linga except that of Mahēśvara is now worshipped, or has formerly been worshipped, by the gods? He whose linga Brahmā and Vishnu, and thou (Indra), with the deities, continually worship, is therefore the most eminent. Since children bear neither the mark of the lotus (Brahmā's), nor of the discus (Vishnu's), nor of the thunderbolt (Indra's), but are marked with the male and the
female organs,—therefore offspring is derived from Maheśvara. All women produced from the nature of Devī as their cause, are marked with the female organ, and all males are manifestly marked with the linga of Hara. He who asserts any other cause than Īśvara (Mahādeva) or [affirms] that there is any [female] not marked by Devī in the three worlds, including all things movable or immovable, let that fool be thrust out. Know everything which is male to be Īśana, and all that is female to be Umā; for this whole world, movable and immovable, is pervaded by [these] two bodies.”

The saint is at length gratified by the appearance of Mahādeva himself with his spouse Pārvatī (vv. 837–841 f.); and a long description of the vision is given. Brahmā and Vishnū stand on Mahādeva’s right and left, and celebrate his praises (v. 869 f.):

Savya-dēṣe tu devasya Brahmā loka-pitāmahaḥ | divyāṁ vimānam āsthāya hamsa-yuktam manojavaṃ | vāma-pārśva-gataḥ chāpi tathā Nārāyaṇaḥ sthitāḥ | Vainateyaṃ samāruhya sākṣha-chakra-gadā-dharaḥ |

875 f. Astuwan vividhāḥ stotraiv Mahādevaṁ surās tādā | Brahmā Bhavaṃ tādā ‘stauśhīdṛ rathantaram udārayan | jyeshṭha-sāmnā cha deva-śaṁ jagaṇ Nārāyaṇaḥ tādā | griṇan brahma paraṁ Sakraḥ satarudriyam uttamam |

Brahmā Nārāyaṇaḥ chaiva devarājaścha Kauśikaḥ | aśobhanta mahātmāno nityas trayaḥ trayaḥ ivāgnyayaḥ | 869. “On the left (right?) of the god was Brahmā, patriarch of the world, standing on a celestial car, drawn by swans, and fleet as thought. On the left was Nārāyaṇa (Vishnū) mounted on Garuḍa, bearing a shell, discus and club. . . .

875. The gods then lauded Mahādeva with various hymns. Brahmā celebrated him, reciting the Rathantara, while Nārāyaṇa hymned the god of gods with the Jyeshṭha sāman, and Indra, uttering that most eminent prayer, the excellent Satarudriya. Brahmā, Nārāyaṇa, and the king of the gods (Indra), the son of Kuśika,131 the three mighty deities, shone like the three fires.”

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

131 The epithet of Kauśika is given to Indra in R. V. i. 10, 11. See the first vol. of this work, pp. 347 f.
sheds tears of joy, falls on his knees, makes repeated prostrations, and after acknowledging with gratitude the god's condescension in granting him this vision, proceeds to say (vv. 839 ff.):

_Sa esha bhagavān devaḥ sarva-sattvādir avayaḥ | sarva-tattva-vidhāna-
_jnaḥ pradhāna-purushāḥ paraḥ | yo 'spijat daksinād angād Brahmānām
_loka-sambhavam | vāma-pārśvat tathā Vishnuḥ loka-rakṣārtham Īśvaraḥ |
yugānte chaiva samprāpte Rudram Īśo 'spijat prabhur ity ādi_ | "This
is the glorious god, the beginning of all existences, undecaying, who
knows the formation of all principles, who is Pradhāna and Purusha
(or the principal Purusha), the supreme; who, the lord, created from
his right side Brahmā, the originator of the worlds, and from his left
side Vishnu, for the preservation of the universe; and when the end
of the age (yuga) had arrived, the mighty lord created Rudra," etc.

Upamanyu concludes by asking these boons, viz. that his devotion to
the god may be perpetual, that he may know the past, the present, and
the future, that he may always eat food cooked with milk (ksñirauḍana)
with his relations, and that they may ever enjoy the near presence
(sānnidhyā) of Mahādeva in their hermitage (vv. 945 ff.). The god
bestows all these and many other blessings, and disappears (vv. 949 ff.).

Having heard all this account from Upamanyu, Krishṇa expresses a
desire that the god may vouchsafe to him a similar vision and the like
favour. Upamanyu promises that Mahādeva shall appear to Krishṇa
in six months, and bestow on him twenty-four boons, and pays him
the compliment of saying that any of the gods would consider it as a
highly laudable act to have an interview with such a pious, innocent,
and devout person as he (Krishṇa) is (vv. 964 ff.). Krishṇa is then
consecrated by the Brahman (973 ff.). Equipped with a staff, shaved,
clothed with rags, anointed with ghee, and provided with a girdle, living
for one month on fruits, for four more on water, standing on one foot,
with his arms aloft, he at length obtained a glorious vision of Mahādeva
and his wife (v. 978), whom all the gods were worshipping, and
among them Indra, Vishnu (the delight of his mother Aditi), and
Brahmā, all uttering the rathantara sāma (Satakratuḥ cha bhagavān
Vishnuḥ chāditi-nandanaḥ | Brahmā rathantaram sāma trayanti Bha-
vāntike). Krishṇa then describes the effect of this vision on himself
(vv. 997 ff.):

_Purastād dhishṭitāḥ Sarvo mamāsit tridāsēvāraḥ | purastād dhishṭhi-
_
taṁ dṛiṣṭvā mamebānanaḥ Bhārata | sa-Prajāpati-S'akrāntāṁ jagad
mām abhyudaikahata | ikṣitiṁ cha Mahādevaṁ na me śaktir abhūt tada |
tato mām abraviṁ dvaṁḥ "paśya Krishṇa vadasva cha | tayā [tvayā?] 
hy ārādhitaḥ chāhāṁ satośa the sahasraśaḥ | tvat-samo nāsti me kaśchī
triyu lokeshu vai priyah" | ātīrāṁ vānti deve devi prītā hy Umā 'bhavāt |
tato 'ham abhum Sanātuṁ svaṁ Bhrāmādibhiḥ suraiṁ | “Before we
stood Sarva, the lord of the gods. Beholding Īśāna standing before me
the world from Prajāpati to Sakra (Indra) gazed upon me. I had no
power to look on Mahādeva. The god then said to me, ‘Behold,
Krishṇa, and speak. I have been adored by thee hundreds and
thousands of times. There is no one in the three worlds so dear to me
as thou.’ The god having been reverenced by obeisance, the goddess
Umā was gratified. I then said to Sthānu (Mahādeva), who had been
praised by Brahmā and the rest of the gods,” etc.

Krishṇa proceeds to laud Mahādeva (vv. 1002–1018) as the supreme
Deity. Mahādeva then says (v. 1023): Vidmaḥ Krishṇa parāṁ bhaṅkim
asmāsu tava satruhan | vriyātām atmanāḥ śreyāḥ prītiḥ hi tvayi me paraḥ |
eṣṭhāvāṣṭau varān Krishṇa dātāṣmi tava sattama | brūhi Yādava-
sārdula yān ichhāsi sudurlabhān | “We know, Krishṇa, slayer of foes,
thy eminent devotion to us. Choose what is most advantageous to thee,
for my love for thee is extreme. Choose eight boons; I will give them
to thee, most excellent being. Specify, chief of the Yadus, those boons
which are most difficult to obtain which thou desirest.” Krishṇa
then asks these eight boons: (1) steadfastness in righteousness, (2)
the destruction of his foes in battle, (3) eminent renown, (4) the
greatest strength, (5) abstraction (yoga), (6) amiability (priyatvaḥ),
(7) close proximity to Mahādeva, and (8) a hundred hundreds of sons,—
all of which were accordingly granted by Mahādeva. Umā next offers
him his choice of eight more boons, and he selects (1) the goodwill
of the Brahmans, (2) the favour of his father, (3) a hundred sons, (4)
eminent enjoyment, (5) the affection of his tribe, (6) the favour of his
mother, (7) tranquillity of mind, and (8) ability. These boons are
granted by the goddess, who superadds sixteen thousand wives whose
affection he should retain, and several other blessings. Mahādeva and
his spouse then disappear, and Krishṇa relates to Upamanyu all that
has happened (v. 1034). That sage then goes on to tell him a story
about a rishi called Taṇḍi, who had formerly worshipped Mahādeva,
in the Kṛita age, and praised him in a long hymn (which is given vv. 1049–1108) as the supreme Deity whom even Brahmā, Indra, and Viśnū did not perfectly know, vv. 1052 (Brahmā Satakraturs Viṣṇur viśvedevāḥ maharṣhayāḥ | na vidus tvāṁ tu tatvena kuto vetyāmaha vayam). These words appear to have been especially gratifying to the god (vv. 1105 ff.). Taṇḍi had then come to Upamanyu’s hermitage, and recited to him the eleven thousand mystical names of Mahādeva, which Upamanyu repeated to Kṛṣṇa (vv. 1144 ff.). This hymn, existing in the heart of Brahmā, was, we are told (vv. 1287 ff.), declared by that deity to Indra, by him to Mṛityu (Death), by him to the Rudras, and from them it came to Taṇḍi, etc.

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

Aṣubhāḥ pāpakarmāṇo yo narāḥ kalushikritāḥ | Īśānaṁ na prapadyante tamo-rājas-ārītaḥ | Īśvaraṁ samprapadyante dvijāḥ bhāvita-bhāvanāḥ | sarvathā vartamāno ’pi yo bhaktāḥ paramesāvare | sadriṣo rāya-vāsānāṁ munīnāṁ bhāvitaḥmanāṁ | Brahmatvāṁ Keśavatvāṁ cha Śakra-tvāṁ vā suraḥ saha | trailokyasyādhipatyaṁ vā tushṭo Rudrah pra-yachhati ityādi | “Those sinful men who are soiled by unhallowed (deeds) do not seek Īśāna, living under the dark and passionate qualities. Brahmans who have meditated on the cause [of all things] seek Īśvara. The man who is devoted to Maheśvara—whatever mode of life he follows—is equal to those contemplative munis who dwell in the forests. Rudra, when he is gratified, bestows the rank of Brahmā, or of Keśava (Keśava is a name of Kṛṣṇa), or of Indra, or the supreme lordship of the three worlds, including the deities.”

In a later part of the Anuśāsana-parvan, 7402 ff., Kṛṣṇa relates to Yudhishṭhira the benefits which had resulted to himself from his patient submission to the caprices and freaks of the irritable Brahman Durvāsas (an incarnation of Śiva, as it is stated below; see page 204), who, among other tricks, had yoked Kṛṣṇa’s wife Rukmīṇī to his car, and had wounded her with a goad, while drawing him on the road, and as a reward of Kṛṣṇa’s patient endurance of all this annoyance, had offered him his choice of boons, and had promised to Rukmīṇī that she should be eminently renowned in the world, and the most distinguished of the sixteen thousand wives of Kṛṣṇa, whom she should worship. The Brahman then disappeared, and Kṛṣṇa per-
formed an Upānśu rite, i.e. muttered prayers, with his wife. Then entering his house he found that all the articles which Durvāsas had broken or burned, were replaced.

Yudhishtīra then says to Kṛṣṇa (vv. 7458 ff.): Durvāsasah prasādāt te yat tada Madhusudana | avāptam iha vijnānaṃ tan me vyākhyaṃ arhasi | mahābhāgyanah yat tasya nāmāni cha mahātmanaḥ | tattvato jñātum ichhāmi sarvam matimatām vara | Vāsudevaḥ uvācha | Hanta te kirtayishyāmi namaskṛtya Kapardine | yad avāptam mayā rājan śreya yath chārjitaṁ yaśaḥ | prayataḥ prātar utthāya yaad adhiye viśāmpate | prānjaliḥ satarudrīyaṁ tan me nigadataḥ śriyu | Prajāpatis tat sasrīje tapaso 'nte mahātapaḥ | S'ankaras tv asrijat tāta prajāḥ sthāvara-jan- gamāḥ | nāsti kinchit param bhūtam Mahādevād viśāmpate | iha trisho api lokeshu bhūtānaṃ pravaro hi saḥ | na chaivutsahate sthātuṁ kinchid agrah mahātmanaḥ | na hi bhūtāṁ samaṅ tena trishu lokesu vidyate | gandhenāpi hi sangrāme tasya kṛuddhasya śatravāḥ | visanjanāḥ hata-bhū- yishṭāḥ ve pante cha patanti cha | ghoraṁcha ninadāṁ tasya Parjanya- ninadopam | śrutvā visṛyed hṛidayaṁ devānāṁ api samyuge | yamścha ghoṛṇa rūpeṇa paśyet kṛuddhaḥ pināka-dhrik | na surāḥ nāsurāḥ loke na gandharvāḥ na pannagāḥ | kupte sukham edhante tasminn api guḥāgataḥ | Prajāpates tu Dakshasya yajato vitate kratau | viyādha kupito yajnāṁ nirbhayas te abhavat tadā | dhanuṣāḥ vāṃśāṃ utsrijya saghoshāṁ vināṇāda cha | tena śarma kutaḥ śāntiṁ vishādāṁ lebhire surāḥ | viḍāhe cha sahasa yajne kupite cha Mahēśvaraḥ | tena jyā-tala-ghoṣhena sarve lokāḥ samākulaḥ | bahīvur avaśāḥ Pārtha visheḍuḥ cha surāsūrāḥ | āpaś chukshubhīre chaiva chakampe cha vasūndharā | vyadraṇa girīryaḥ cāpi dyauḥ paphāla ca sarvasaḥ | anāhena tanaś ca lokāḥ pravītiḥ na chakṣiṣe | pranāśaḥ jyo- tishām bhūṣ ca saha sūryena Bhārata | bhrīsam bhītās tataḥ śaṅtiṁ chakrūḥ svastayānāṁ ca | rishayaḥ sarva-bhūtānāṁ ātmanāḥ ca hitaśīṇaḥ | tataḥ so bhāyāravaṇaḥ devān Raudra raudra-parākramaḥ | Bhagasya nayane kṛuddhaḥ prahāreṇa vyāśatayat | Pūṣhānam chaḥ bhrī- dudrāva pādena cha rūshānviṭaḥ | puroḍāsam bhakshayato daśanāṁ ca cha vyāśātayat | tataḥ pranemur devās te vepamānaḥ tu S'ankaram | punāḥ cha sandāde Raudro dīptāṁ suṣiṣitaṁ saram | Rudrasya viκramaṁ dīrṣṭvā bhītāḥ devāḥ sahaṃrahbhīḥ | tataḥ prasādayāmasuḥ sarve te vibuddhatamāḥ | jeṣu cha satarudrīyaṁ devāḥ kratvā 'njaliṁ tadā | saṃstāyaṇānaḥ tridaśaṁ prasāda Mahēśvaraḥ | Rudrasya bhāgaṁ yajne ca viśiṣṭāṁ te tv akalpayan | bhayena tridaśaṁ rājan sarasm ca pra-
he is angry, even though they hide themselves. When the Prajāpati Daksha was sacrificing, and his ceremonial was arranged, Mahādeva in his wrath pierced the sacrifice, and was then devoid of fear, and discharging an arrow with his bow, he uttered a loud shout. The gods received from this no pleasure or tranquillity, but rather dejection. And forthwith, the sacrifice being pierced, and Maheśvara being incensed, all the worlds were disturbed at the sound of his bowstring; both gods and Asuras became helpless and cast down; the waters were troubled, and the earth shook; the mountains were dissolved; the sky was rent in all directions; enveloped in thick darkness, the worlds did not shine, and the light of the luminaries and of the sun was quenched. Being greatly alarmed, the rishis then sought to appease Mahādeva, and recited texts to avert his anger, seeking their own welfare, and that of all creatures. Rudra of dreadful power then ran up to the gods, and, in his rage, knocked out the eyes of Bhaga with a blow, and, incensed, assaulted Pūshan with his foot, and knocked out his teeth, as he was eating the puroḍāsa offering.¹²⁴ The gods

¹²⁴ For the older story about Bhaga and Pūshan, see Indische Studien, ii. 306 f.; and Taittelriya Sanhitā, ii. 6, 8, 3 f., partially quoted in the fifth vol. of this work, p. 476, note on p. 178, line 6. The entire passage is as follows: Devāh vai yajñād Rudram antar āyam sa yajnam avidhyat | taṁ devāh abhisamagachhanta “kalpatāṁ nāḥ idam” iti | te ‘bruan “sviśṭaṁ vai nāḥ idam bhavishyati yad imāṁ rūdhayiṣhyaṁ” iti | tat sviśṭakrītah sviśṭakṛtvam | tasya aviddhāṁ nirakṛtyam

(4) yasena sarvacchā | tasmād yova-mātram avadyet | yaj jyāyo ‘vadṛyaḥ repayet tad yajnasya | yad upa cha striṇyād abhi cha ghāravat saḥ havayataḥ śaṁśevyai kuryat | avadāya abhyārāyaati | dvīḥ sampadyate | dviṁ satyānām | pratishṭhitayā | yat tirsākham atihared anabhiśviddhāṁ yajnasya abhividyet | agraṇa pariharati śṛṇthena eva pariharati | tat Pūṣya paryaharan tat (5) Pūṣaṁ grāśya dato ‘rūṇat | tasmāt Pūṣaṁ prapishṭa-bhāgaḥ | adantakhi | taṁ devāh abruvan “vi vai ayam ārdhi | aprāśtiṅyā vai ayam abhūḍ” iti | taṁ Brihaspataye paryaharan | so ‘bhibed Brihas- patoḥ “itthāṁ rūva sya ārtīm arishyati” iti | sa etam mantram apāsyat | “The gods excluded Rudra” [in the form of Sviśṭakrī Agni, Comm.] “from the sacrifice. He pierced the sacrifice [with an arrow]. The gods came together to him, [and said,] ‘Let this [rite] of ours be [again] rectified.’ They [i.e. certain wise gods, according to the Commentator] said, ‘If we propitiate him, this [rite] of ours will be well sacrificed (sviśṭaṁ).’ It is from this that the Sviśṭakrī insures the due performance of the rite.” [According to Professor Weber, Ind. Stud., ix. 217, the sviśṭakrī is the portion of the sacrifice destined for Agni Sviśṭakrī.] “They cut off the part which had been pierced to the extent of a barleycorn. 4. Wherefore let the adhivayu priest cut off [the pṛaśitā portion] only to the extent of a barleycorn. If he cut off more than this, he will break that off from the sacrifice. If he should both spread [ghee] underneath and sprinkle [ghee] above, he would cause the obligation to become swollen on both sides. He is therefore, after cutting off [the pṛaśitā], only to
trembling then made obeisance to Sankara, and he again fitted on the string the glittering, well-whetted arrow. Beholding the prowess of Rudra, the gods, with the rishis, terrified, propitiated him, and with sprinkle [ghee] above it. To do this twice is proper [for the sacrificer has two feet], in order that it may succeed. If he hands [the brähman’s share] to him across [the altar], he will pierce that part of the sacrifice which is uninjured; whereas if he reaches it to him in front, he does so in the proper direction. They handed that [portion] to Pūshan. Eating it, he broke his teeth. Wherefore Pūshan has a portion of ground meal offered to him; for he is toothless. The gods said of him, ‘he has come to grief; he has become unfit for the prāśstra.’ They handed it to Brhaspati. He was afraid, saying, ‘In this way shall one incur misfortune.’ He saw this text,” etc.

I am indebted to Professor Weber for a German translation of this passage, which has enabled me to correct and improve my own. He remarks that the reason why the prāśstra broke Pūshan’s teeth was, that it was ‘Rudriya’ (see the passage from the S’atap. Br., i. 7, 4, 15. f., adduced at the end of a following quotation), i.e. the portion of the oblation struck by Rudra’s shot. This effect of it must be obviated by the use of a text. Professor Weber thinks that arugat (followed by tasmāt), in the above passage, must stand for arugak (though the root ṛuj is nowhere else conjugated in the seventh conjugation), and compares Taitt. S., vii. 4, 9, 1, aśra ṛuṣīhyām for asrīg (see Ind. Stud., viii. 54, note); Kaus. 39, nyat for nyak; sammaad-aya for samyaag-āyāt, Dhammap. verse 57; saṃśārībhīṣ from saṃśārip, Taitt. Br., i. 8, 1, 1; naddhyat from napp, R. V., x. 60, 6; addhīḥ, addhyāḥ from ap; saṃyat te, Taitt. S., i. 2, 7, 1 (compare Weber’s Indische Streifen, i. 127, note 5).

The S’atap. Br. i. 7, 4, 5, refers to the same story in the sequel of a passage which has already been given above, p. 45. The continuation is as follows: 5 | Te ha uchur “upafanita yathā idām na amunā asat kanniha ha āhuter yathā idām suyād” iti | 6 | te ha uchur “Bhagyā enad dakshinataḥ asināya pariharata | tad Bhagah prāśishyat tad yathā āhutam eva bhaviṣyati” iti | tad Bhagaya dakshinataḥ asināya paryājhruh | tad Bhago ‘vekshahbhrake | tasya akshinī nīrādadāha | tathā in nīnātm tad āsa | tasmād āhur “anado Bhagah” iti | 7 | te ha uchur “no no atra aśamat | Pūshhe enat pariharata” iti | tat Pūshhe paryājhruh | tat Pūshha prāśa | tasya dato nirjagāhāna | tathā in nīnātm tad āsa | tasmād āhur “adantakaḥ Pūshha” iti | tasmād yam Pūshhe charuṃ kurvanti prapīṭhānām eva kurvanti yathā adantakāya evam | 5 “They said, ‘Take care that this may not be lost; but that it may be less than the oblation.’ 6. They said, ‘Present it to Bhaga, sitting on the right side; he will eat it; that shall be as if we were offered.’ They presented it to Bhaga sitting on the right side; he looked at it; it burned his eyes. That truly happened so. Therefore they say, ‘Bhaga is blind.’ 7. They said, ‘Let it not be so tranquilized. Present it to Pūshan.’ Pūshan ate it; it knocked out his teeth. That verily so happened. Wherefore they say, ‘Pūshan is toothless.’ Hence the cooked oblation they present to Pūshan is of ground materials.”

In the sequel of this passage it is said, i. 7, 4, 9: Sa yat prāśiram avadyati yad eva atra uddhāhin yajnasya yad Rudriyānah tad eva etad nirmāṇe (bahiḥ kuroti niśkaraḥ, Comm.) | “The prāśirātra which he cuts off, the part of the sacrifice which was pierced, which is connected with Rudra,—that he separates.” And further on, i. 7, 4, 15: Sat prāśirati | “Agnis tvā āgyena prāśirati” iti | na vai Agniḥ kinehāna pinasti | tathā u ha enam etad na himmasti | 16 | tad na dadhis khādet | “na idaṃ idāṃ Rudriyaḥ yada himmād” iti | tasmād na dadhis khādet | 16. “He eats that,
joined hands, muttered the Satarudriya. Being thus lauded by the gods, Maheśvara became pleased; and they apportioned to him a distinguished share in the sacrifice, and, through fear, resorted to him as [saying], ‘I eat thee with Agni’s mouth.’ Nothing destroys Agni. So this does not destroy him. 16. Let no one eat it with his teeth, [thinking], ‘Lest this, which is connected with Rudra, destroy my teeth.’ Wherefore let no one eat it with his teeth.”

The following is a passage from the preceding section of the same Brāhmaṇa: i. 7, 3, 1: Yajnena vai devaḥ divam upodakrāman | atha yo ’yam devaḥ paśūnām īśhe sa iha ahiyata | tamād vāstavyaḥ tīy ōhuḥ vāstānu hi tad ahiyata 2 | sa yena eva devaḥ divam upodakrāmaṃ tena u eva achantaḥ śrāvyantaś cheruḥ | atha yo ’yam devaḥ paśūnām īśhe yaḥ iha ahiyata (3) sa aikhiyata “aha asya ha antaryanty u mā yaṣnād” iti | so ’nūchehakrāma | sa aiyāyata uttarataḥ uptaṃ pede | sa esha svīsthakritāh kālaḥ | 4 | te devaḥ abrwayan “mā vīrakṣhīr” iti | “te vai mā yaṣṇād mā nartgata ṣaḥum me kālpayata” iti | “tathā” iti | sa samābhirhat sa na aṣyant sa na karchana ahiyat | 5 | te devaḥ abrwayan “yavanti no haviṃśi gṛiḥīṇy abhūsen sāreṣhāṃ teshāṃ hutaṃ upeyānta yathā ‘smai ṣaḥum kalpa- yāna” iti | 6 | te ‘dhvaryum abrwayan “yatōpurvāh haviṃsy abhijhāraya | ekas- mai avadāṇya punar āpyāyaya | ayātyāyāni kuru tataḥ ekaikam avadāṇam avadyata” iti | 7 | so ‘dhvaryur yatōpurvāh haviṃsy abhijhāraya ekasmai avadā- nāya punar āpyāyaya ayātyāyāmy akarat tataḥ ekaikam avadāṇam avadyat | 1. “By sacrifice the gods ascended to the sky. Now the god who rules over cattle was excluded here. Hence men call him Vastarya; for he was excluded [by remaining] on the sacrificial ground (vāstu).” 2. The gods went on worshipping and toiling with that whereby they had ascended to the sky. Now the god who rules over cattle, and was here excluded, (3) perceived that the other gods were excluding him from the sacrifice. He followed them, and rose up on the north with... This is the time of the Svishṭakrit. 4. The gods said to him, ‘Do not disturb (the sacrifice).’ [He rejoined,] ‘Do not exclude me from the sacrifice; give me an oblation.’ They agreed. He kept together, and did not scatter, the materials of the sacrifice, or injure anything. 5. The gods said, ‘Take notice of all the offerings which have been presented, that we may form an oblation for him.’ 6. They said to the Adhavurya, ‘Sprinkle the oblations in order with butter; and again replenish each fragment. Make them fresh; then cut off each part.’ 7. The Adhavurya accordingly sprinkled the oblations in order with butter, replenished each fragment, made them fresh, and divided all the parts from each other.”

The Bhāgavata Purāṇa, referred to by Böhtlingk and Roth, s. v. Bhaga and Pushan, has the following verses on these gods: iv. 6, 20 | Bhagasya netre bhagavāṇ pūttaśa rūṣhā bhūvi | ujaśhāra sadastha kṣhāya yaḥ śaṃtanam aśūṣchat | 21 | Pūṣhṇaḥ chāpsyāyad dantīṃ Kālingasya yathā Balaḥ | Sarpyānāne garimayi yo’hasad darīyam dataḥ | “The god (Mahādeva) in the assembly plucked out the eyes of Bhaga, whom in his rage he had felled to the ground, because with his eye he had made a sign to [Daksha] who was cursing [Mahādeva].” 21. And he knocked out the teeth of Pushan (as Bala had done to the king of Kalinga), because, when the great god was being cursed, he had laughed, showing his teeth.” vi. 6, 41 | Pūṣhā ‘nopat- yaḥ pisktādo bhagā-rantar bhavat purū | yo’ sau Dakṣāya kūptiṇā yahūna viśṛṣṭa- dveṣah | “Pushan formerly became childless, an eater of ground food, toothless, because he had laughed with his teeth disclosed at [Mahādeva], who was incensed against Daksha.”
their refuge. He then became pleased and rectified the sacrifice, and whatever was removed he restored to life as it had been before.

"There were in the sky three cities of the valorous Asuras, one of iron, another of silver, and a third of gold, which Maghavan (Indra) could not demolish, with all his weapons. Then all the great gods, distressed, went to the great Rudra as their refuge, and said to him, after they were assembled: 'Rudra, there shall be victims devoted to thee in all the sacrifices. Bestower of honour, destroy the Daityas with their cities, and deliver the worlds.' He, being thus addressed, said, 'So be it;' and making Vishnu his arrow, Agni its barb, Yama, the son of Vivasvat, its feather, all the Vedas his bow, and the excellent Sāvitrī (the Gāyatrī) his bowstring, and having appointed Brahmā his charioteer, he in due time pierced through these cities with a three-jointed three-barbed arrow, of the colour of the sun, and in fierceness like the fire which burns up the world. These Asuras with their cities were there burnt up by Rudra. Again, beholding him a child in the lap, with five locks, Umā, desiring to know, said, 'Who is

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195 See the second vol. of this work, pp. 378 ff., and the Kārṇa-parvan of the M.Bh. vv. 1402 ff. below.

196 See the story from the Kārṇa-parvan, cited below, vv. 1515 ff.

197 For the older forms of this story, see the second vol. of this work, pp. 380–384.

Like an ascetic, according to Bühl and Roth, s. v. panchāśikha.

399. Or, is the proper reading jīnāsāmānā, and the sense this: "Umā said to [the gods] who were inquiring, 'Who is this?'" There is a parallel passage in the Drona-parvan, v. 9575, which throws some light on the one before us: Purāṇi dayahavantaṁ tāṁ devi yātā pravikṣhitum | bālam ankañatāṁ kṛtvā svayam panaḥśikham punaḥ | Umā jīnāsāmānā vai "ko' yam" ity abraśvī surūṇa | aṣṭasata cha Sākraṣa vaiṣreṇa praharishyataḥ | bāhuṁ savajrāṁ tāṁ tasya kruddhaśāstambhayat prabhuh | prahasya bhagavavāṁs tūrṇam sarva-lokśvaro vibhuh | tataḥ sauśtambhita-bhujāḥ N'akro deva-gaṅgair vṛtāḥ | jagāma sa-suras tūrṇam Brahmān prabhuh ayavyam | te tam praṃayya śīraśa prucuh prāñjalayā tadā | himapy ankañatam Brahmān Pārvatyaḥ bhūtām adhutam | bāla-rūpa-dharāṁ driśīva nāśmūḥbhir abhivīdītaḥ | tasmāt tvām praśaṁ tvaṁ ikhāno nirjītaḥ gena vai vayam | ayudhyatā hi bālēna vīyā sa-purandarāḥ | "The goddess (Umā) went to see him when he had burnt the cities, having again placed the child with five locks in her lap. She told the gods, who inquired [should we read, jīnāsāmānā? though none of the printed copies read so] 'Who is this?' And the divine lord, master of all the worlds, all-pervading, with a smile, instantly paralyzed the arm and thunderbolt of Indra, who showed ill-will, and in his anger was about to smite with the thunderbolt. Indra, his arm having been paralyzed, immediately went with the gods to Brahmā, the imperishable lord; and bowing with their heads, with joined hands, they said: 'O Brahmā, we have seen in the lap of Pārvati, a wonderful being bearing the form of a child; and we have not saluted him. Wherefore do we desire to ask thee who is the child by whom we, including Indra, have been conquered, as if in play, and without any fight.'"
this? And when Indra, envious, was about to smite him (the child) with the thunderbolt, he stayed the thunderbolt, and paralyzed that arm resembling a club. None of the gods, including Prajāpāti, understood the lord of the worlds, [existing] in that most mighty deity [in the form of an infant]. Then the divine Brahmā, meditating on that being of boundless glory, and knowing that he was supreme, adored the lord of Umā. Then these gods propitiated Umā and Rudra; and the arm of the slayer of hosts became as before. And again, Mahādeva, becoming a powerful Brahman, by name Durvāśas, dwelt a long time in my city Dvāravatī. He practised very many perversities in my house, which, though difficult to support, I, through generosity, endured. He is Rudra, he is Śiva, he is Agni, he is Śarva, the all-conquering; he is Indra, he is Vāyu, he is the Āśvins, he is the lightning, he is the moon, he is Īśāna, he is Śūrya, he is Varuṇa, he is time, he is Death the ender, he is darkness, and night, and the days, he is the months, and the half months, and the seasons, the morning and evening twilight, and the year. He is Dhātri, and Vidhātri, Viśvakarman, the all-knowing, the constellations, the planets, the regions [or quarters], and intermediate regions or [points of the compass]; universal-formed, immeasurable in essence, divine, of undecaying splendour. He is simple, twofold, manifold, a thousand-fold, and a hundred-thousand-fold. Such is Mahādeva, the vast, the divine unborn being; his qualities cannot be declared in a hundred years.” Krīṣṇa proceeds uninterruptedly at the beginning of a new section: “Large-armed Yudhīṣṭhira, understand from me the greatness of the glorious, multiform, many-named Rudra. They call Mahādeva Agni, Śtāṇu, Maheśvara, One-eyed, Tryambaka, the universal-formed, and Śiva. Brahmans versed in the Veda know two bodies of this god, one awful, one auspicious; and these two bodies again have many forms. The dire and awful body is fire, lightning, the sun. The auspicious and beautiful body is virtue, water, and the moon. The half of his essence is fire, and the moon is called the [other] half. The one, which is his auspicious body, practises chastity: while the other, which is his most dreadful body, destroys the world. From his being lord (tīvra) and great (mahat), he is called Maheśvara. Since he consumes, since

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

In the Bhûshma-parvan (vv. 793 ff.) Krîṣṇa is introduced as recom-
mending Arjuna to worship the goddess Durgâ:

Sanjayaḥ uvācha | Dhûrtarâśthram balaṁ drîṣṭvā yuddhāya sa-
mupasthitam | Arjunasya hitârthâya Krîṣṇo vachanam abravît | Sî-
 bhagavan uvâcha | Sûchir bhûtvâ mahûbâho sangrâmâhimmukhe sthitaḥ |
parâjyaya satrûnâm Durgâ-stotram udîrâya | Sanjayaḥ uvâcha | evam
uktâ 'rjunaḥ sankhya Vûsudevaṇa dhîmatâ | avatîrya rathât Pârthâḥ
stotram âha kritânjaliḥ |

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

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

Yudhishthîra having resolved to perform the Râjasûya sacrifice (Sabhâ-
parvan, v. 1211), is joined by Krîṣṇa, who is designated as Hari, the
rishi, the ancient, identified with the Veda, invisible to those who
know him, the highest of things moving and stationary, the source
and destroyer of all things, the lord of the past, the future, and the
present (v. 1213: Athaivam bruvatâm evam teshâm abhyâyayau Hûriḥ |
rishiḥ purâno vedâtmâ 'driśyaḥ chaiva vijñâtâm | jagatas tathushâm
śreshṭhâḥ prabhavaś châyayaś (châyayaś?) cha ha | bhûta-bhavya-
bhavan-nâlhaḥ Keśavaḥ keśi-sûdanaḥ). Numerous kings assembled to
witness the celebration (vv. 1260 ff.). On this occasion Bhīṣma proposed that, apart from the customary presents bestowed on all the kings, Krīṣṇa should be singled out as the most eminent of the chiefs to receive gifts indicative of his superiority (vv. 1333 ff.).

Sabhā-parvan, 1333 ff.:—Eṣaḥ hy esahām samastānāṁ tejo-bala-parākramaṁ | madhye tapann ivābhātī jyotishām iva bhāskaraḥ | asūryam iva sūryenā nirvātāḥ iva vayunā 203 | bhāṣitaṁ hāditaṁ chaiva Krīṣṇenedaṁ saha hi naḥ | tasmā Bhīṣmābhyanujñātāḥ Sahadevāḥ pratāpavān | upajahre 'tha vidhivād Vārṣheṇyāyārghyam uttaman | pratijagṛāha tat Krīṣṇaṁ śāstra-dīśṭena karmanā | Sīśupālaṁ tu tāṁ pūjam Vasudeva na chakshane ।“For he, by his energy, force and valour, appears shining in the midst of all these princes, like the sun among the luminaries. This assembly of ours is enlightened and gladdened by Krīṣṇa, as a sunless place is by the sun, and a windless spot is by the wind. Commissioned by Bhīṣma, the majestic Sahadeva then presented in due, form to Vārṣheṇya (Krīṣṇa) a most excellent offering, which the latter received with the act prescribed by the śāstra. But Sīśupāla could not endure that honour shown to Vasudeva.”

Sīśupāla then proceeds to state at length a variety of objections to what had been done (vv. 1338 ff.). He urges that Krīṣṇa was a “transgressor of the injunctions of law (smṛiti), a contemptible and ill-instructed person” (v. 1340: Ayam cha smṛity-atikrānto hy apageyo ’Ipa-daśaṁaḥ); that he was not a king, or a person venerable from age, his father Vasudeva being still alive (v. 1343: Athaeva manyaśe Krīṣṇaṁ sthāviraṁ Kuru-punāva | Vasudeva sthitē vṛddhe katham arhati tat-sutaḥ ।); that in other respects he was inferior to other chiefs present, and that he had unjustly killed Jarāsandha (v. 1360, compare verses 1474 ff.); and taunts him with being greatly elated with the undeserved honour that had been paid him, like a dog devouing in a secret place the leavings of an obligation which he has discovered (v. 1364: Ayuktām ātmanāḥ pūjam tvam punar bahu manyaśe | havishāḥ prāpya nisyanām prāśita śeva nirjane ।.) 202 Having

201 This line had previously occurred as part of verse 1218 of the same Parvan.
202 Similarly we read in Sīśupāla’s speech on the same occasion as given in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, x. 74, 84: "Gopālaḥ kula-pātransaḥ | yathā kālaḥ purodāsāṁ saperṣyām katham arhati । "How does this cowherd, the vilest of his race, deserve homage, any more than a crow deserves to eat an obligation?" The commentator thus gives what he calls the “real sense” of these words: “Gopālaḥ"
thus vented his indignation, Śiśupāla leaves the assembly, followed by Yudhishthira, who endeavours to soothe him. Bhishma then defends Krisha’s claims to the honour which he had received (vv. 1377 ff.):

Na hi kevalam asmākam ayam archyatamo ‘chyutah | trayānām api lokānām archanīyo mahābhujah | Krishnena hi jītāḥ yuddhe bahavaḥ kshatriyarshabhāḥ | jagat sarvaṁ cha Vārshneye nikhilena pratisthētīma
tasmāt satv api vṛiddhēshu Krishnām archāmi netarān | . . . . 1382.
Na kevalām vayāṁ kāmāḥ Čhedī-rāja Janārdanam | na sambandham puraśkritya kriyārthaṁ vā kathancana | archāmahe ‘rchitaṁ sadbhir bhūvi bhūta-sukhāvaḥam | Yaśāḥ sauryāṁ jayaṁ chāyaṁ vijayārohaṁ prayujmahe | na cha kāśchid śāṃsaṁabhīḥ subhālo ’py aparikshitāḥ | guṇair vṛiddhān atikramya Harir archyatamo mataḥ | jnāna-vṛiddho dvijātināṁ kshatriyānāṁ balādhikāḥ | “1377: This unfailing being (Achyuta) is not only deserving of the utmost worship from us, but, large of arm, he is also to be worshipped by the three worlds. For many eminent Kṣhatriyas have been conquered by Krishṇa: and the whole world rests upon Vārśnye. Wherefore, even though there be aged men [present], I worship Krishṇa, and not the others. . . . . 1382: It is not therefore from interested motives, king of the Chedis, nor in consequence of our connexion, nor for the sake of anything he has done for us, that we worship Janārdana, who is worshipped by the good on earth, and who promotes the happiness of creatures. But knowing his renown, heroism, and victories, we offer him our worship. Nor is there here any mere youth whom we have never tried. Hari, surpassing the aged in his virtues, is regarded by us as most worthy
of worship. In knowledge he excels Brahmans, and in force Kshatriyas."

1886: Pujyatayancha Govinde hetu dvav api samsthitau | vedavedanga-vijnanam bala n chapy adhikam tathaa | nirgrha loke hi ko 'nyo 'sti vishn-tah Kesaavad rite | danam daksyaam srutam sauryam hrih kirtir buddhir uutama | sahantrapi srir dhritis tushitha puishitha niyata 'chutya | tam imaam loka-sampannam acharyah yitaan gurum | arghyan architam archa rahaam sarve saikshantum arhatha | ritvig gurur vivaha cha snatako nirjatihi priyah | sarvam etad Hrishikesas tasmad abhyarchito 'chutyaah | Kriyaha eva hi lokanam utpattir api chapyayaah | Kriyasaaya hi kriiveeswam idam bhutaam characharam | esha prakritir avyaktata kartaa chaiva sanatanah | paraa cha sarva-bhutebhyaa tasmad pujyatamo 'chutyaah | Buddhira mano mahad vayus tejo 'mbhaah kham mahi cha yah | chaturvidhaa cha yad bhutaam sarvaam Kriyaha pratishhtatah | . . . .

1896: Sa-devakeshu lokeshu bhagavan Kesaavo mukham | aayam tu purusho balaah Sisuupaloh na budhyate | sarvatra sarvadaa Kriyahaam tasmad evam prabhaahatah | yo hi dharmam eeeechu yaaatam utkrishtam matimaa narah | so vai pasyeed yathaa dharmam na tathaa Cheedi-radd ayam | sa-vriddha-baleshu athavaa parthishah maahahmasu | ko narah manyaate Kriyahaam ko vah py eena na pujayaat | athaanaam dushkritaam pujaam Sisuupaloh vyavasyati | dushkritayaa yathanyayaam tathaa 'yamaa karthat arhataa |

"There are two reasons why Govinda is worthy of honour: his knowledge of the Vedas and Vedangas, and his superior strength. For who in the world of men is distinguished except Kesava? Generosity, ability, sacred learning, heroism, modesty, eminent renown, intelligence, humility, splendour, endurance, cheerfulness and joyousness, exist continually in Achyuta. You ought all to tolerate this teacher arisen in the world (or successful in the world), this father, preceptor, venerable, honoured, deserving of honour. Priest, preceptor, marriageable man, householder, king, beloved,—Hrishikesa is all this, and therefore he has been honoured. It is Kriyaha who is the origin and the destruction of the worlds: all this universe, movable and immovable, has come into being through (or for the sake of) Kriyaha. He is un-

203 The grounds urged for honouring Kriyaha in this and the following verses are of a different character from those in the preceding lines, which do not ascribe to him any qualities of a superhuman character; whilst the succeeding ones do. It is quite possible that the whole of this description of his qualities may not be of one age, but may contain interpolations subsequently introduced."
distinguishable matter (prakṛiti), and he is the eternal maker, transcending all beings: hence Achyuta is most worthy of honour. Intellect, mind, the great one (mahat), air, fire, water, sky, and earth—whatever fourfold being exists—all depends upon Krishṇa. . . . . 1396. The divine Keśava is chief among the worlds including the gods. But this foolish man, Śisūpāla, does not know that Krishṇa [is] everywhere and always—and hence he speaks thus. For this king of the Chedis does not regard righteousness in the same way as an intelligent man who can distinguish eminent righteousness. Who is there, whether among old or young, or among mighty kings, who will not regard Krishṇa as honourable, or who will not reverence him? Śisūpāla treats this honour as unduly paid. But it having been unduly paid, he should act as is befitting.”

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

1433. Śisūpālaḥ uvāca | vibhishikābhīr bahuvibhīr bhīshayan sarvapārthivān | na vyapatrapase kasmād vīriddhāḥ san kula-pāṁsanaḥ | yuktam etat trītyāyām prakṛitau varatā tvayā | vaktum dharmad apetārthaṁ tvam hi sarva-kurūttamaḥ | nāvi naun iva sambaddhā yathā 'ndho vā 'ndham anviyāt | tathā bhūtāḥ hi Kauravyāḥ yesām Bhīshama tvam agraṇiḥ | Pātanā-ghāta-pārāṇāi karmāṇi asya viśeṣataḥ | tvayā kirtayaṁ 'smākam bhīyath pravyathitam manaḥ | avaliptasya mūrkhasya Keśavaṁ stotum iñcchataḥ | katham Bhīshma na te jihvā satādeyaṁ viṣṭrīyate | yatra kutsā prayaṅkavyā Bhīshama bālatair naṁraṁ | tam imaṁ jnāna-vīriddhāṁ san go'paṁ samstotum iñcchasi | yady anena hata bālye śakuniś chītram atra kim | tava vā 'śva-vrīshabhaṁ Bhīshama yau na yuddha-viśāradāu | chetanā-rāhaṁ kāśṭhaṁ yady anena nipātītam | pādena śakatam Bhīshama tatra kim kṛitum adbhutam | valmika-mātraṁ saptāhīṁ yady anena dhṛito 'chalal | tadā Govardhano Bhīshama na tach chītram matam mama | bhuktam etena bāhv annaṁ kṛiṅgata naga-mūrdhāni | iti te Bhīshama śrīvivānāṁ paraṁ vismayam āgatāḥ | yasyā chānena dharma-jnaṁ bhuktam annam bāliyasaḥ | sa chānena hataḥ Kaṁsāḥ ity etan na mahādbhutam | na te śrutam idam Bhīshama nunāṁ kathayatiṁ satām | yad vakṣhya tvām adharma-jnaṁ vākyavām Kuru-kulādham | strīṣhu gosho na śastrāṇi pātayed brāhmaṇeshu cha | yasya chānānāṁ bhujīta yasya cha śyāt pratiśrayaḥ | iti santo 'nuśāsantī sajjanaṁ dharmaṁ sadaḥ | Bhīṣma loke hi tat sarvāṁ vitattāṁ tvayi dṛiṣyate | jnāna-vīriddhāṁ cha

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Sīṣūpāla’s deprecation of Kṛṣṇa.

vṛddhāṁ cha bhūyāṁśaṁ Kośavam mama | ajānataḥ ivākhyāsi saṁstuvan
Kauravādhama | go-ghnaḥ stri-ghnaḥ cha san Bhīshma tvad-vākyād yadi
pūjyate | evam-bhūtaś cha yo Bhīshma kathaṁ saṁstavam arhati |

1451. Nūnām prakritir esū ṣe jahanyā nātra saṁsahā | ataḥ pāpiyasā
chaishām Pāṇḍavāṅām apīṣhyante | yeshām archyatamaḥ Kṛṣṇasu tvah
cha yeshām pradāraśakah | dharmavāṁs tvam adharma-jaṁ satām mārgād
vastraputah | ityādi |

Sīṣūpāla answers Bhīshma: “How is it that thou, disgracing thy
race, art not ashamed, old man as thou art, to terrify all the kings with
many alarms? It is very fitting [forsooth] that thou who art now
existing in the third condition,204 shouldst utter things contrary to
righteousness, seeing thou art the most eminent of all the Kurus’!
For as a boat is tied to a boat, or as one blind man follows another,
so is it with the Kurus of whom thou, Bhīshma, art the leader.
Our minds have frequently been vexed by thee when detailing his
(Kṛṣṇa’s) slaughter of Pūtana205 and other feats. How is it,
Bhīshma, that thy tongue, thou proud fool, is not split into a hundred
pieces, when thou seekest to magnify Kośava? Thou who art ripe in
knowledge, art eager to eulogize the cowherd who ought to be vilified
even by the silliest of men! If in his childhood he slew Śakuni,206 or
the horse and bull, who had no skill in fighting, what is the wonder?
If a waggon, an inanimate piece of wood, was upset by him with his
foot,207 what wonderful thing did he do? If the mountain Govardhana,
a mere ant-hill, was held up by him for seven days,208 I do not regard
that as anything remarkable. Hearing that when playing on the hill-

204 The commentator explains this phrase as follows: Dve prakṛiti pariṇāminyau
māyā tasyaṁ chit-prativīnaḥ cha | tritoṁ prakṛiti tu etad-ubhayādiṣyādiṣh-
sthānāṁ nirvīshām vastu | tatra vartīta vartamāne, etc. “Two conditions are
changeable, viz. (1) illusion (māyā) and (2) the reflected image of thought (chit-
prativimba) in it. The third condition is the basis of the erroneous ascription of
the other two, substance without distinction,” etc. I am indebted to Dr. R. Rost
for an important suggestion regarding the combination of two of the words in this
sentence. Dr. Rost informs me that in the text one MS. reads kurūttamaḥ and
another sarvāṁ kurūttama.

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

206 See the Udyoga-parvan 4409, where Pūtana and Śakuni (there spelt with a
long ı) are mentioned together as having been slain by Kṛṣṇa in childhood.

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

208 See Vishṇu Purāṇa, p. 525 (vol. iv., p. 316, of Dr. Hall’s ed.).
top, he had eaten a great quantity of food, these people were very much astonished. And it is no great miracle, O Bhīṣma, thou judge of duty, that he slew Kansa, the powerful king whose food he had eaten. Hast thou not heard virtuous men declaring this which I shall tell thee, who art ignorant of duty, Bhīṣma, thou basest of the tribe of Kurus? 'Let no one smite with his weapons women,\textsuperscript{209} cattle, or Brahmans, or him whose food he eats, or on whom he is dependent.' Such is the instruction which good and virtuous men always give to a virtuous [pupil]. All this, Bhīṣma, is seen by all to be falsified in thee. Thou, basest of the Kurus, eulogizing, speakest of Keśava as old in knowledge, and mature, and superior, as if I did not know him. If he, being a slayer of cattle, and of women, is, according to thy word, to be reverenced,—how, Bhīṣma, can such a person merit encomium? . . . . 1451. Certainly this nature of thine is base, of this there is no doubt; and hence [the nature] of these Pāṇḍavas also is shown to be most wicked,—[these Pāṇḍavas] to whom Kṛṣṇa is an object of the highest honour, and of whom thou art the virtuous preceptor,—thou, who art ignorant of duty, and hast gone astray from the path of good men!''

This speech excites the wrath of Bhīmasena (v: 1482), who, however, is restrained by Bhīṣma from assaulting Śiśupāla, though the latter is anxious to fight him. Bhīṣma then goes on (1494 ff.) to give Bhīmasena an account of Śiśupāla's infancy and early history. He had, it seems, been born with three eyes and four arms; and his parents, alarmed at his portentous appearance, were disposed to cast him out, but were prevented by a voice from the sky, which declared to them that the time fated for his death had not yet arrived. In answer to his mother's inquiry, the voice informed her that her son was doomed to die by the hands of the person who should take him into his lap, and by so doing should occasion his two superfluous arms to drop off, and his third eye to disappear. A part of this prediction was fulfilled when Kṛṣṇa came and took him into his lap, and the infant got rid of his superfluous members.\textsuperscript{210} On seeing this, his

\textsuperscript{209} See above, pp. 152 f.

\textsuperscript{210} On this story of Śiśupāla Lassen remarks (Indian Antiquities, i. p. 674 first ed.; p. 822 second ed.): "Śiśupāla in this case represents Śīva, and the conflict of the Śīva-worship with that of Viṣṇu: for he was born with three eyes and four arms, and the legend attributes the falling off of his two superfluous arms and the dis-
mother begged a boon from Kṛṣṇa, viz. that he would forgive Śiśupāla's offences. Kṛṣṇa promises to pardon a hundred. Bhīṣma then proceeds (v. 1518 ff.):


“Thus this wicked king Śiśupāla, slow of understanding, proud of the boon conferred by Govinda, challenges thee, O hero. This does not show wisdom in the lord of the Chedis, that he challenges thee who art Achyuta. For this is the fixed opinion of Kṛṣṇa, the sustainer of the world, ‘What king on earth, O Bhīmasena, ought to-day to revile me, deprived by destiny of his reason, like this degrazier of his race?’ For this large-armed (Śiśupāla) is certainly [an emanation of] the strength, and a portion, of Hari, which the pervading [deity] wishes to draw back again [into himself]; in consequence of which, O chief of the Kurus, this foolish king of the Chedis grows loudly, like a tiger, disregarding us all.”

Śiśupāla here breaks in angrily (v. 1524 ff.), and asks why Kṛṣṇa should be so praised to the exclusion of all other warlike kings. Bhīṣma replies (1551), that he values not a straw all the other chiefs who were present. On hearing this, some of them became greatly incensed; and some cried out that Bhīṣma should be killed or burned. Bhīṣma replied that they might slay or burn him if they pleased, but that Kṛṣṇa, the object of his reverence, would survive, and that appearance of his frontal eye to the look and embrace of Kṛṣṇa. This story is of especial importance for the purpose of determining the periods to which the different parts of the Mahābhārata belong. Kṛṣṇa’s deification belongs to the period after Buddha. In the attack upon Jarāśandha he is still exhibited principally as a hero, acts upon human motives, and performes actions unworthy of a god: but there are evident beginnings of his deification.” The same author adds in a note on the same page (p. 823, second ed.): “Śiśupāla is probably an earlier name of Śiva, who is called ‘Paśupati,’ or lord, protector, of beasts. ‘Śiśu’ denotes the young of men and beasts, and ‘pāla’ protector. He had a second name ‘Sunthia’ (Sabhāp. v. 1410), which no doubt was the proper one.”
any one who was desirous to incur speedy destruction should challenge him to fight. Śīṣūpāla hereupon challenges Kṛṣṇa; and the narrative proceeds:

(Verse 1561 ff.): Tātāḥ śrutavaṁ Bṛihsmasya Chedi-rañga vrthu-vikramaḥ | yuyutṣur Vāsudevena Vāṣudevam uvācha ha | ahvayo tvāṁ raṇam gachha maya sārdham Janārdana | yāvād adya niḥammi tvāṁ sahitam sarva-Pāṇḍavaḥ | saha tvayā hi me badhyah sarvathā Kṛṣṇa Pāṇḍavaḥ | nripatin samatikramya yair arājā tvam architaḥ | ye tvāṁ dāsam arājānam bālīd archanti durmatim | anarham arha-vat Kṛṣṇa badhyas te iti me matiḥ | ity uktvā rāja-bārdalaḥ [s?] tathau garjann amarshanaḥ | evam ukte tataḥ Kṛṣṇo mrīdu-purvaṁ idāma vachāḥ | uvācha pārthivān sarvān sa samakṣham cha Pāṇḍavaṁ | esha naḥ satrur atyantam pārthivāḥ Śāvatati-sutaḥ | Śāvatatānāṁ niśrṣamātmā na hiti 'napakāriṇām | Pragjyotisha-puram yatāṁ asmān jñātāṁ niśrṣamā-krīt | 'adāhā Devarākāṁ esha svastyāḥ san narādhipāḥ | kṛde-to Bhoja-rājasya esha Raivatake girāv | hatvā baddhāv cha tāṁ sarvān upāyat svā-purām purā | avināmedhe hayam madhyam utsriṣṭahkaraṁ�ṛṣipīta[r] | pitur mo yajna-vighnārtham aharat pāpa-nīṣchayaḥ | Śavrān pratiyātānoha Bhāhror esha tapasviṁ | bhāryam abhyakaraṁ mahād akāmā [m?] tāṁ ito gatam | esha māyā-pratichhannahā Kārūsrāthe tapasvinīṁ | jahāra Bhadrāṁ Vaisālīm māṭulasya niśrṣamā-vaṭ | pitri-svasuḥ kriye duḥkham samahād marṣhayāṁ aham | ēṣhīyā hīdam sarva-rañjānāṁ sannidhāv adya vartate | paśyanti hi bhaavanaṁ ṛtvaṁ saha maya ativa vyatikramam | kriṇāṁ tu paroksham me yānī tāni nibodhata | imaṁ tv asya na saṁsāryam kṣantam adya vyatikramam | avalepād baddhārhasya samagre rāja-maṇḍale | Rukminīyāṁ asya maṇḍhasya prārthanaḥ "sid mumūrshataḥ | na cha tāṁ prāptavān maṇḍhāḥ śudraṁ vedāṣṭātman eva | evam-ādi tataḥ sarve sahitāṁ te narādhipāḥ | Vāsudeva- vachāḥ śrutvā Chedi-rajaṁ vyagharhayan | tasya tad-vacanāṁ śrutvā Śīṣūpālaḥ pratāpavaṁ | jahāsa svanavaddhāsāṁ vākyam chedaṁ uvācha ha | mat-purāvaṁ Rukminīṁ Kṛṣṇaṁ saṁsattu pariṁśati | viṣeshtataḥ pārthiveṣhuh vriḍāṁ na kurushe katham | manyamāna hi kaḥ saṣṭu purusaṁ pariṁśitaḥ | anya-purvaṁ striyaṁ jatu taad-ānyo Madhuśudana | kshama va yadi te śraddhā ma va Kṛṣṇa maṇa kshama | krudhdhā va 'pi prasannād va kīṁ me tvatto bhavishyati | tathā bruvaṁ evāya bhagavān Madhuśudanāḥ | manasa 'chintayāḥ chakrāṁ dāitya-garva−nisūdanam | etūsminn eva kāle tu ḍhakre hasta-gate sati | uvācha bhagavān ucohārīr vākyāṁ vāya-visāradār | śirvantaṁ me mahipālāḥ yenaitat
Duryodhana, the son of Dhṛitarāṣṭra, and the principal leader of the Kurus, is represented as manifesting a similar disbelief of Krīṣṇa’s divine character, or at least as maintaining a proud and contumacious resistance to his claims. In the Udyoga-parvan (vv. 2527 ff.), Sanjaya unfolds the divine nature ofKrīṣṇa, “who,” he says, “being distinct in nature, and self-subdued, is able, by a thought, to subject to himself the earth, the air, and the heaven” (प्रिथिविनाहंतरिक्षचं दयाम चावा पुरुषोत्तमाः | मनसा विशिष्टाम् नयात् अत्मा-वसाम् वासि)\footnote{Sanjaya's narrative continues from here on.}

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


but as his thoughts were “constantly engrossed by the supreme being,” Sīśupāla became united with him after death; for the lord gives “to those to whom he is favourable whatever they desire,” and “bestows a heavenly and exalted station even upon those whom he slays in his displeasure.” This is further explained in the next section, where we are told that Krīṣṇa as an object of hatred was ever present to Sīśupāla’s thoughts, and that he was constantly uttering his names, and though this was done disrespectfully and in malediction, yet he at last beheld the deity in his true character when he was being slain by him, and that then all his passion and hatred ceased, and his sins were consumed by his divine adversary, with whom he became united. The attempt of Sīśupāla’s brother, king of the Sālavas (whose capital was Saubha), to revenge his death, his assault on Dvārakā, his desire to slay Krīṣṇa, and the destruction which he thereby drew upon himself, are narrated in the Vana-parvan, vv. 615–890.
ASSERTS KRISHNA'S DIVINE CHARACTER.

uvācha | Gāvalgana 'tra kā bhaktir yā te nityaṁ Janārđana | yathā tvam
abhijānāsi triyugam Madhusūdanam | Sanjayā uvācha | māyāṁ na
seve bhadraṁ te na vrīthā dharmam āhāre | śuddha-bhāvaṁ gato bhaktyā
śāstrād vedmi Janārđanam | Dhṛtarāśṭraḥ uvācha | Durvodhana Hṛishi-
keśam prapadyava Janārđanam | āpto naḥ Sanjayas tāta saraṇaṁ gachha
Kesavam | Durvodhanaḥ uvācha | Bhagavān Devakī-putro lokāṁ śe
nihanishyati | pravadann Arjune sakhyāṁ nāhaṁ gachha 'dyā Kesavam |
2529. "On the one side the whole world, on the other Janārđana,—in
his essence Janārđana exceeds the whole world. He could by a thought
reduce this world to ashes; but the whole world could not reduce him to
ashes. Since he is truth, righteousness, modesty, rectitude,—therefore
is he Govinda; since he is Krishṇa, he is therefore victory. The chief
of males (or spirits), Janārđana, the soul of beings, imparts activity to
the earth, air, and sky, as if in sport. He having made for the Pāṇḍavas
a sacrifice, deluding, as it were, the world, wishes to burn up thy
(Dhṛtarāśṭra's) infatuated and unrighteous sons. The divine Kesava
by his own abstraction (yoga) makes the circles of time, of the world,
and of the ages (yugas), continually to revolve. This divine being
alone is lord of time, of death, and of things movable and im-
movable,—this I tell thee as a truth. Hari, the great contemplator,
though the lord of the whole world, undertakes to perform works, like
a poor peasant seeking gain. He deceives the world by this display of
delusion whereby the men who seek him are bewildered. Dhṛtarāśṭra
said: How dost thou know Madhava, the great lord of the whole
world? and how is it that I do not know him?—tell me that, Sanjaya.
Sanjaya answered: Hear, O king, thou hast not knowledge; but to me
knowledge is not wanting. He who is devoid of knowledge, and sunk
in darkness, does not recognize Kesava. By knowledge I recognize
Madhusūdana, who exists in the three ages (yugas), the maker, the
unmade, the god, the source of beings, and the cause of their de-
siruction. Dhṛtarāśṭra asks: O Gāvalgaṇi (Sanjaya), what is this
devotion of thine to Janārđana, whereby thou recognizest him to exist
in the three Yugas? Sanjaya answers: I do not pursue a delusion,
bless thee, nor do I vainly practise righteousness. Having by devotion
attained to purity, I know Janārđana from the scripture (śāstra).
Dhṛtarāśṭra said: Durvodhana, do thou seek HṛishiKeśa, Janārđana:
Sanjaya is to us an authoritative teacher: resort to Kesava as thy
refuge. Duryodhana said: If the divine son of Devakī should destroy the worlds, I should not, declaring friendship for Arjuna, resort today to Keśava.”

Duryodhana is hereupon reproved by his father and mother for his pride, self-will, and ambition, and is told by the latter that “when he has received his death-blow from Bhīmasena, he will remember the words of his father (nihato Bhīmasenaṃ smartaśi vachanam pituh).” After some further conversation, Dhrītarāṣṭra asks to be further instructed about Krishṇa, when Sanjaya proceeds as follows (vv. 2560 ff.):

Sanjayaḥ uvācha | śrutam me Vāsudevasya nāmu-nirvachanaṁ śubham | yāvat tatrābhijāne ‘ham aprameyo hi Keśavaḥ | vasanāt sarva-bhūtānāṁ vasutevaḥ deva-yonītaḥ | Vāsudevas tato vedyo vihaftvād Vishnuḥ uchyate | maunād dhīyāḥ cha yogācca viddhi Bhārata Mahāvam | sarva-tattvamayatvāḥ cha Mahākuḥ Mahāhusūdanāḥ | krishir bhū-vāccaḥ saśo daśaḥ niṣrīti-vāccaḥ | Vīshnus tad-bhāva-yogācchēhi Krishṇo bhavati Satvataḥ | pundeśikam paraṁ dhāma nityam akshayam avyayam | tad-kāvāt Pundeśikākṣo dasyu-trāṣāj Janārdanaḥ | yatāḥ satave na chhavate yaḥ ca satvāte na hi yate | satvataḥ Satvatas tasmād ārsha-bhād Vrīshabhokṣaṇaḥ | na jāyute janitrā ’yam Ajas tasmād anikajit | devanāṁ eva-prakāsatevaḥ damād Dāmodaro vibhūḥ | harṣat sukhāti sukhāśvayād Vrīshihkeśatvaṃ aṣṭute | bāhubhyām rodāsi bibhrad mahābāhur iti smṛitaḥ | adho na kṣhiyate jātu yasmād tasmād adhokṣaṇaḥ | naranāṁ ayaṇāḥ chāpi tato Nārāyaṇāḥ smṛtaḥ | pūraṇāt sadaṇāḥ chāpi tato ’sau Purushottamaḥ | asataḥ cha sataḥ chaiva sarvasya prabhavāpayāt | sarvasya cha sado jñānāḥ Sarvam etam prachakṣate | satye pratishtitāḥ Krishṇaḥ satyam atra pratisṭhitaḥ | satyāt satyancha Govindas tasmāt Satyo ’pi nāmataḥ | Vishṇu viṣkramanād devo jayanaḥ Jīshnu uchyate | sāsvatavād Anantaśca Govind ovedanād gavāṃ | atattvam kurute tatvam tena mohayate prajāḥ | evaṁvidho dharma-nityo bhagavān Mahāhusūdanaḥ | āgantu hi mahābāhur anṛṣaṁśyārtham achyutaḥ |

“Sanjaya says: Thou hast heard from me the auspicious explanation of Vāsudeva’s names, as far as I understand the subject; for Keśava is immeasurable. He is to be known as Vāsudeva from his dwelling (vasana) in all beings, from his issuing as a Vasu from a divine womb. From his greatness (vrihatva) he is called Vishnu. From his silence, (mauna) contemplation, and abstraction, do thou know him to be Mahāvam. From his possessing the nature of all principles, he is
SANJAYA EXPLAINS KRISHNA'S NAMES.

Madhuhan, and Madhusūdana. The word kṛishi denotes 'earth,' and 
ṇa denotes 'cessation'; Vishṇu, from containing the nature of these 
things, is Kṛishṇa, the Sāttvata. Pundarīka means the highest abode, 
 eternal, unchangeable, undecaying: from his having that character he 
is Pundarīkākṣha. From terrifying the Dasyus he is Janārdana. In-
asmuch as he does not fall from, or fail in, existence (sattva), therefore, 
from his existence, he is Sāttvata, and from his excellence (arshabhat) 
he is Vṛishabhakṣaṇa. As he is not generated by a father, he is 
Aja (the unborn), the victorious in battle. From the self-illumination 
of the gods, and from self-restraint (dama), the mighty being is Dāmo-
dara. He obtains his character as Hṛishikesa from joy (harsha), 
pleasure, and the ease with which he rules. Sustaining the two 
worlds with his arms, he is called Mahābāhu (great-armed). Since he 
ever sinks downwards (adho na kṣiṣyate) he is Adhokshaja. From 
movement among men (nārāyām ayanat) he is called Nārāyaṇa. 
From filling (pūrṇaṁ) and from abiding (sadanat) he is Purushottama. 
Since he is the source and the destruction of everything (sarvasya) 
both non-existent and existent, and since he always knows all, they 
call him Sarva. Kṛishṇa is based on truth (satye), and truth is based 
on him, and Govinda is truer than truth, therefore he is also called Satya. 
The god is called Vishṇu from striding (vikramanāt), Jīṣṇu from 
conquering (jayanat), Ananta from his eternity, and Govinda from 
the possession of cattle (vedanād gavām). He makes the reality an 
unreality, and so deludes creatures. Of such a character, constant

213 Perhaps the true reading is nārāyām, "waters," as in the text of Manu, cited
above, p. 31.

214 Another explanation of this name is given in Śaṅkha-parvan, v. 13228 f.: 
Nārāyaṁ cha dhanarāyaṁ pūrvaṁ avindaṁ vai gūpṭagām | Govindaḥ iti tenāhain devair 
vāgyāhir abhīṣṭhaṁ | "And since I discovered the earth which had formerly been 
destroyed, and had sunk into the abys, I was therefore lauded by the gods with 
praises as Govinda." And in the following verse, occurring in the description of 
the ocean, in the Ādi-parvan, v. 1216, the word Govinda is thus interpreted: 
Gām 
vindatā bhagavatā Govindevanāmītasya | varāha-rūpiṇa chāntar vikṣobhita-jalāvalam | 
"[That ocean] which was rendered turbid when its waters were agitated within by 
the divine Govinda of illimitable power, who in the form of a boar found the earth 
[beneath its surface]." I notice in the same passage another verse (1215), which 
seems to show that, at the period when it was written, the Hindūs were acquainted 
with the cause of the tides, or at least with the influence of the moon upon the 
ocean: Chandrā-vṛiddhi-kṣaya-vaśād udṛṣṭtiori-samākulaṁ | "[The ocean] tossed 
with waves which rise in obedience to the waxing and waning of the moon."
in righteousness, is the divine Madhusūdana. For the great-armed Achyuta (or unfalling deity) will come for the sake of innocence."

The following is another illustration of Duryodhana’s enmity to Krishṇa, and of his scepticism in regard to the supernatural character of that personage, at the same time that it shows the writer’s faith in the divine nature of his hero. It is related in the Udyoga-parvan that Krishṇa went to the Kurus, with the intention of mediating between them and the Pāṇḍus. While he was with them, Duryodhana plotted to confine him (v. 4368), but Vidura warns the plotter that his attempt would be vain, owing to the divine power of Krishṇa. On the conclusion of Vidura’s speech, Krishṇa addresses himself to Duryodhana (4418 ff.):

Vidureṇaivam uktas tu Keśavaḥ satru-pūga-hā | Duryodhanaṁ Dhār- 

tarūṣṭram abhyabhāshata viryavān | eso 'ham iti yad mohād manyaśe 
māṁ Suyodhana | paribhāya suduruddhe grahitum māṁ chikīrshasi | 

thaiva Pāṇḍavāḥ sarve tathāvāndhaka-vrīṣṇayaḥ | ihādityāscha Rudrāś 

cha Vasavaḥ ca saharshibhiḥ | evam ukteā jahāsochāhiḥ Keśavaḥ para-

vīra-hā | tasya saṁsmayataḥ S’aurer vidyud-rūpāḥ mahātmanaḥ | angush-

ṭha-mātrāś tridaśāḥ mumuchāḥ pāvakārīṣhāḥ | aya Brahmā latāṣa-stho 

Rudro vakshasi chābhavat | loka-pālaḥ bhujetv āsann Agnir āsyād ajā- 
yata | Ādityāś chaiva Sādhyāḥ cha Vasavo 'tāśvināv api | Marutaḥ cha 

saḥendreṇa Viśve devaś tathāiva cha | babhūvas chaika215-rūpāṇi Yaka-

Gandharva-Rakṣasām | prāduṣāstām tathā dorbhyāṁ Sankarṣaṇa-

Dhananjayau | dakshīne 'thārjuno dhanvī hali Rāmaḥ cha savyataḥ | 

Bhīma Yudhisthirāsa chaiva Mādrī-putrau cha prīshṭataḥ | Andhakaḥ 

Vṛṣṇayaḥ chaiva Pradyumna-pramukhāḥ tataḥ | agro babhūvah Krish-

ṇasya samudyata-mahāyuddhāḥ | sāṅkha-chakra-gadā-śakti-śāṅgā-lān-

nandakāḥ | adrisyantyodhātā eva sarva-praharaṇāni cha | nānā-bāhushu 

Krishnasyā dīpyamāṇāni sarvaśāḥ | ityādi.

"Being thus addressed, the heroic Keśava, slayer of hostile bands, thus addressed Duryodhana, son of Dhṛtarāṣṭra: ‘Since, Suyodhana, thou, in thy delusion, regardest me as if I were alone, and, O fool, seekest to overcome and confine me, [know that] here are all the Pāṇḍavas, the Andhakas, and the Vṛṣṇis, as well as the Ādityas, Rudras, and Vasus, together with the rishis.’ Having thus spoken, Keśava, slayer of hostile heroes, laughed aloud. As the mighty de-
descendant of Śūra [Krishṇa] smiled, the gods, wearing the appearance of lightning, of the size of a thumb, and luminous as fire, issued forth from him. Brahmā occupied his forehead, Rudra was produced on his chest, the guardians of the world appeared on his arms, and Agni sprang from his mouth. The Ādityas, too, and the Śādhyas, Vasus, Aśvins, Maruts, and all the gods along with Indra were produced, and also the forms of the Yakshas, Gandharvas, and Rākshasas. Sankarśana and Dhananjaya also were manifested from his arms, Arjuna armed with a bow from his right, and Rāma holding a plough from his left, Yudhishṭhīra and Bhima, the sons of Mādrī, from his back. Next Andhakas and Viśṇis, headed by Pradyumna, arose on his front, with their weapons ready. A shell, discus, club, spear, bow, plough, and sword, were seen prepared, and all weapons, gleaming in every form on the different arms of Krishṇa."

In the next passage, taken from the Kārṇa-parvan also, Duryodhana, and other warriors on his side, put themselves on the same level as Krishṇa (except in one place, vv. 1625 ff.). It is there related (vv. 1265 ff.) that Kārṇa promised to Duryodhana to encounter and slay Arjuna, or be slain by him. Kārṇa says, however, that in some respects he is inferior to Arjuna; as, for instance, in not having such a charioteer as Arjuna had in Govinda (Krishṇa) (v. 1302: Sūrathīs tasya Govindo mama tādṛś na vidyate); while in other respects he regards himself as having the advantage (v. 1304). As, then, Krishṇa, creator of the world, preserves the car of Arjuna (Krishṇaḥ c'ha svasṭā jagato rathaṁ tam abhirakshati216), if, in like manner, Salya, king of the Madras, the ornament of the battle-field, who is equal to Sauri (Krishṇa) and, as well as Dāśārha, (Krishṇa) who knows a horse's heart, is skilled in horses, will act as his charioteer, Kārṇa thinks the victory of Duryodhana's side will be certain (v. 1308: Ayāṁ tu sadṛśah S'au'reḥ S'alayaḥ samiti-sobhanaḥ | sārathyāṁ yadi me kuryāḥ dhruvas te vijayo bhavet | . . . 1311 : Enam abhyadhikaḥ Pārthāt bhavisyāmi guñāir aham | S'alayo 'py abhyadhikaḥ Krishṇād Arjunād api chāpy aham | yathā 'śva-hṛidayaṁ veda Dāśārhaḥ para-
vīra-hā | tathā S'alya 'pi jānīte haya-juanāṁ mahārathaḥ |) Duryodhana then goes to Salya, and asks him to act as charioteer to Karna, saying that he (Salya) was equal to Krishṇa, that there was no other person who could drive Karna but himself; and that Brahmā had fulfilled the same office to Mahādeva (v. 1328 f.: Sārathyam rathināṁ śreshṭhā pranayāt kartum arhasi | tvayi yantari Rādhayo vidvisho me vijeshyate | abhishūnāṁ hi Karnaṁya grahitā 'nyo na vidyate | rite hi tvāṁ mahābhāga Vāsudeva-samāṁ yudhi | sa pahi sarvathā Karnaṁ yathā Bṛahma Mahēśvaram []). Salya, however, is very much offended (v. 1354 f.) that a person of his dignity should be asked to undertake the office of charioteer, and boasts that he is superior to Karna, and could alone destroy their enemies. He points to his thick arms, which would smite like a thunderbolt, and asserts that he could by his own strength cleave asunder the earth, scatter the mountains, and dry up the seas (v. 1361: Paśya pīnau mama bhujaṃ vajra-samāḥanopamaṃ | . . 1363: Dārayeyam mahāṁ kritanāṁ vikiryaṁ cha parvatēn | Sōshayeyāṁ samudrāṁ cha tejasā svena pārthiva |). He will not brook to undertake the inferior office of driving a person who is his own inferior217 (v. 1365: Kasmād yunakshi sārathye nīchasyādhirathe rane | na mām adhuri rājendra niyoktuṁ tvam ihārhasi | na hi pāpiyasaḥ śreyān bhūtvā preshyatvam utsake |). He threatens, in consequence of the insult thus offered to him, to go home (v. 1375); and accordingly rises and goes, but is followed by Duryodhana, who endeavours to soothe him by saying that he did not regard Karna as superior to him (v. 1379: Na Karnaḥ 'bhuhādikas tvattaḥ), but considered Karna to be superior to Arjuna; while the world regarded him (Salya) as superior to Krishṇa, whom he excelled in strength, as well as in knowledge of horses and their dispositions, (v. 1384: Manye chābhuhādikāṁ S'alya guṇāṁ Karṇaṁ Dhananjayat | bhavantaṁ Vāsudevāḥ cha loko 'yam iti manyate | Karnaḥ hy abhuhādikāḥ Pārthaḥ astraśva eva nararshabha | bhavān abhuhādikāḥ Krishṇād aśva-jāne bale tathaḥ yathā śvaḥrīdayaṁ veda Vasu- devo mahāmanāṁ | dviguṇāṁ tvāṁ tathā vetai Madrārājeśvarātmajā |). Salya is flattered by his being reckoned superior to Krishṇa, and agrees to act as charioteer to Karna, vv. 1387 ff.: Yad mām bravīḷi Gūndhāra

217 He regarded Karna as what he was generally supposed to be, a Sūta, or charioteer, by caste (sūta-purāṇa, v. 1374).
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madhye sainyasya Kaurava | viśiṣṭtāṁ Devakīputrāt pritimāṁ asmy aham tvayi | esāṁ sārathyam atiṣṭhāṁ Rādheyasya yaśasvīnāḥ | yudhyataṁ Pāṇḍavāgryena yathā tvāṁ vīra manyass | samayaś cha hi me vīra kaścid Vaiśīkhanam prati | utṣirjeyanāṁ yathā-śraddhām aham vāche 'syā sannidhou | Sanjayāṁ uvācha | tathēti rājan putras te saha Kṛṣṇeṇa Bharata | abraviḍ Madra-rājasya mātum Bharata-sattama | “I am pleased with thee, Kaurava, since in the midst of the army thou declarest me to be superior to the son of Devaki. I undertake to be charioteer to the renowned Kṛṣṇa when he fights with the chief of the Pāṇḍavas, as thou, hero, thinkest [I ought to do]. And now that I have entered into a certain agreement with Kṛṣṇa, let me candidly excuse to him the words I have used.” Sanjaya proceeded: “Thy son (i.e., Duryodhana) having assented, declared to Kṛṣṇa the resolution of the king of the Madras (Salya).”

Though he had thus gained his point, by persuading Salya to act as charioteer to Kṛṣṇa, Duryodhana is nevertheless represented as proceeding, in the next three sections, the 33rd–35th, vv. 1391 ff., (which, for reasons to be afterwards assigned, I regard as probably interpolated,) to repeat to Salya an ancient story, telling how Brahmā had formerly done duty as charioteer to Mahādeva in a war between the gods and Asuras. In this war the gods, it is related, were at first the victors (1394). The three sons of the Asura Tāraka thereupon performed severe austerities, which induced Brahmā to grant them a boon (1397). They asked that they might become indestructible by any being whatever, which, however, Brahmā declined to grant, as immortality, he said, was not an universal attribute (1399). They then asked that they should occupy three castles, and from thence move about the earth at will, and that after a thousand years these three castles should become united, and that they themselves should only be destructible by the deity who should be able to overthrow the castles with a single arrow (1402 ff.: Vayan purāṇi trīṇy eva samāsthaya mahīm imām | vicharishyāmo loko 'smīn . . . . tato vṛsha-sahasre tu sameshyānaḥ parāśparam | ekībhāvāṁ gamish-yanti purāṇy etāṁ chānaṅgaḥ | samāgalantī chaitāṇi yo hanyād bhagavāṁs tada | ekoṣaṁāt deva-varaḥ sa no mṛityur bhavishyati |). Brahmā granted this boon, and the Asura Maya built them three castles, one of gold, in heaven; a second of silver, in the air; and a third of black iron, on
earth \(^{21a}\) (1406 ff.), which the three Asura kings above mentioned severally occupied, and where innumerable hosts of formidable demons were collected. Maya, by his magical power, gave them everything that any of them wished (1415): and Hari, the son of Tārakāksha, obtained as a boon from Brahmā that there should be a pond within their castle, into which, when any Asuras slain in battle were thrown, they should be resuscitated and become stronger than ever (1418 ff.). Armed with all these powers, the Asuras harassed the worlds, putting to flight the celestial hosts, and destroying the gardens of the gods, and the hermitages of the rishis (1421 ff.). Indra attacked the castles of the Asuras with his thunderbolts, but without effect (1427). He then went with the other gods to consult Brahmā about the means of overthrowing the titans (1429 ff.). Brahmā replied that the castles could only be destroyed by a single arrow, and that this could only be effected by Mahādeva (1434), to whom they should apply. The deities, then, headed by Brahmā himself, went to supplicate Mahādeva, who gives security amid alarms, the soul of all things, by whom the universe is pervaded, who, through particular austerities, knows the “yoga” and the “sāṅkhya” of himself, (or of spirit,) and whose spirit is always in subjection,—(they went to supplicate him) practising rites of austerity, repeating the eternal Veda, and uttering awful or fierce hymns, (1437 ff.: \(\text{Tapa-niyamam āsthāya griñjanto brahma śaśvatam}\) . . . . tuṣṭwunur vāgbhir ugraḥbhir bhayesv abhaya-daṁ ṇṛīpa | sarvātmānam mahātmānāṁ yenāptāṁ sarvam ātmanā | tapo-viśeṣhāṁ vividhāṁ yogāṁ yo veda chaṭmanaṁ | yaḥ sāṅkhyaṁ atmano vetti yasya chaṭmā vaśe' sadā \). They beheld Mahādeva, to whom a variety of other honorific epithets are applied, such as “the essence of all beings, the unborn, the lord of the world” (1442: \(\text{sarva-bhūtamayaṁ dṛiṣṭvā tam ajāṁ jagataṁ paṭim\)}. Mahādeva received them smiling, and invites them to state their wishes (1444). They then recite a number of his epithets (1445 ff.), and Brahmā replies on their behalf (1455 ff.) that he himself, who had obtained from Mahādeva his rank of Prajāpati, had bestowed a boon on the Dānavas, that they had in consequence transgressed all bounds, and that now there was no one but Mahādeva who could destroy them,—which he was therefore implored to do. Mahādeva answers (1459) that he himself alone could not

\(^{21a}\) See above p. 203; and the 2nd vol. of this work, pp. 378 ff.
destroy them, as they were strong, but that, with the aid of half his strength, they themselves would be able to conquer their enemies. They answered that they could not sustain half of his strength (vibharm tava téjo 'rdaṁ na sakshyāmaḥ), but proposed that he should undertake the work, aided by half of their strength. To this Mahādeva consented, and became stronger than all the gods, and was thenceforward called Mahādeva, or “thौ great god,” (ardham ādāya sarvesham tejasā 'bhyaḍhiko 'bhavat | sa tu devo balaṇāsīt sarvebhyaḥ balavatāraḥ | Mahādevaḥ iti khyātas tataḥ prabhṛiti Sankaraḥ). Mahādeva then (1468) desired the gods to provide him with a bow and arrows, and a chariot. The gods promised to provide a chariot which should be composed of all the forms of the universe (1469: mūrthīḥ sarvaḥ samādhaya trialokyasya tatas tataḥ | rathaṁ te kalpaṁishyāmaḥ). The composition of the car, formed by Viśvakarman and the gods, is then described at great length (vv. 1471–1492). Viṣṇu, Soma, and Agnī became different parts of Mahādeva’s bow and arrow; the earth became his chariot, the mountain Mandarā its axle; and the great river, the regions, the constellations, the Kṛita age, the serpent Vaśuki, the Himālaya and Vindhya mountains, plantś, the sun and moon, day and night, various goddesses, duty, truth, the vāshaṭkāra, the gāyatrī, etc., formed portions of the car, or of its appurtenances. Mahādeva’s weapons and equipments are then specified (1495 ff.). At verse 1503 it is repeated that “Viṣṇu, Agni, and Soma formed his arrow; for all the world,” it is added, “is formed of Agni and Soma, and is said to be composed of Viṣṇu, and Viṣṇu is the soul of Mahādeva of boundless power. Hence they could not abide the bow, or the contact of the bowstring of Hara. In that arrow the terrible god, dark-blue, and dusky in hue, clad in an antelope’s skin, hurled forth the fire of wrath, of fierce fury, intolerable, and sprung from the rage of Bhṛigu and Angiras. . . . 1507. He is the constant preserver of virtuous, and destroyer of wicked, men. The divine Sthāgu (Mahādeva) shines forth distinguished by these inherent qualities, which are destructive, fearful in power, fearful in form, and rapid as thought. This whole universe, movable and immovable, existing contained in his members, shone forth, wonderful to behold.” (Ishuḥ chāpy abhavaḥ Viṣṇur Jvalanaḥ Somaḥ eva cha | Agnî-Somaṁ jagat kṛitena Viṣṇuvaṁ chochyate jagat | Viṣṇuḥ chātāṁ bhagavato

Can these words be a Viṣṇuva addition to the passage?
Bhavasyāmita-tejasah | tasmād dhanur īṣā-sāṃsparsaṁ na vishehur
Harasya te | tasmin śare tiguna-manyum munochāśāhyam Īśvaraḥ | Bhṛigu-Aṅgira-manyu-bhavaṁ krodhāgnim ati-dussaham | sa nīla-lohito
dhūmraḥ kṛttivāsāḥ bhayankaraḥ | . . . 1507: Nityāṁ trātā cha
hantā cha dharmādharmāśrītān narān | pramāthībhir bhīma-balair bhīma-
rāpair manojavaiḥ | vibhāti bhagavān Śtāṇus tāhir evātma-guṇair vṛitāḥ |
tasyāṁcā nāmāśritya sthitāṁ viśvam idaṁ jagat | jangamājangamaṁ
rājan śuṣubhe 'dāhuta-darsanam |

Taking the arrow produced from Soma, Viṣṇu, and Agni, Mahādeva
mounted the car which had been made for him (1510 ff.). He then
smilingly asked (1515) who was to be his charioteer. The gods
answered that any one whom he should appoint would undertake that
office. He then said that the god who was greater than he (mattah
śresṭhataro hi yaḥ) should be made his charioteer. The gods next
went to Brahmā, and asked him to appoint one (1520), expressing an
opinion that he himself was the only person who was fit for the
office (1526). Brahmā consented (1530 ff.). Mahādeva is again re-
presented as mounting the car, with the arrow produced from Viṣṇu,
Soma, and Agni in his hand (1535). He then sets out, and arrives
at the triple castle of the Asuras (1551), when some of the Asuras are
destroyed by the roaring of his bull (1553), and others come forth to
battle. Mahādeva becomes insensate with rage. The three worlds
tremble. The chariot begins to sink from the agitation of Soma,
Agni, and Viṣṇu in the arrow, when it is being fitted on the string,
and from the movement of Brahmā and Mahādeva. Viṣṇu then
issues from a portion of the arrow (1556), takes the form of a bull,
and raises up the chariot. Mahādeva again fits his arrow on the string
(1562), and discharges it against the triple castle (1567), which falls to
the ground, while the Asuras are burnt up and thrown by Mahādeva
into the western ocean. The gods praise Mahādeva and depart (1572).

Duryodhana now (1575 ff.) makes his application of this legend by
exhorting Salya to follow Brahmā’s example, and act as charioteer to

220 In vv. 1545 ff. it is said that the rishis praised Mahādeva, and increased his
strength (rīshhayas tatra devāṁ stuvanto bahubhīṁ stovāṁ | tejas chāśmai vardha-
yanto rājinaṁ āsan punaḥ punaḥ). This is a pure Vedic touch, the same power of
imparting strength to the gods by their praises being occasionally asserted of the bards
in the Rig-veda. See the fifth volume of this work, p. 91. In most of the texts
there cited, however, it is perhaps only meant that the gods were gratified by the
praises addressed to them.
DURYODHANA REQUESTS S'ALYA TO BE KṚΝΑ’S CHARIOTEER. 227

Kṛṇa. Salya, he adds, is superior to Kṛṣṇa, Kṛṇa, and Arjuna, and as Kṛṇa resembled Mahādeva in fighting, so Salya resembled Brahmā in guiding [a chariot], etc. To supply additional motives for compliance, he then (1581 ff.) goes on to tell Salya another story about Paraśurāma performing austerity to propitiate Mahādeva and obtain celestial arms. Mahādeva appears to him, and tells him he shall obtain arms when he has qualified himself by purification to receive them. Paraśurāma renews his austerities and religious ceremonies (1591), and is at length appointed by Mahādeva to slay the Daityas who had been harassing the gods (1599). He successfully accomplishes this task (1806), and receives celestial arms from Mahādeva. Paraśurāma had, as Duryodhana goes on to say, taught the divine science of archery to Kṛṇa (1613), which proves that Kṛṇa is free from sin; and Kṛṇa is not, as Duryodhana believes, a Sūta or charioteer by birth, but a son of one of the gods, born in a Kshatriya family. For how could a doe give birth to a tiger resembling the sun (katham āditya-saḍpiśam mṛgī vyāghram janishyati | 1617)? Duryodhana then recurs to the legend of Brahmā becoming Mahādeva’s charioteer, and renews his exhortation to Salya to perform the same office to Kṛṇa. Salya appears now to waver in his determination, formerly expressed, to comply with Duryodhana’s request, as he replies (1625) that he himself had often heard this story before; and that Kṛṣṇa also had no doubt heard of it, as he knows the future and the past, and that he had for that reason consented to be the charioteer of Arjuna. And, Salya adds, if Kṛṇa should slay Arjuna, Kṛṣṇa would himself fight, and armed with the shell, discus, and club, burn up the whole of Duryodhana’s army, and no prince would be able to stand before him among his opponents when he was incensed, (v. 1629 ff.: Yadi hanyāch eka Kaunteyaṁ Sūta-putraḥ kathancha | dṛśhtvā Pārthāṁ hi nihataṁ svayaṁ yotsyati Kṛṣṇaḥ | sāṅkha-chakra-gadā-pānīr dhakshyate tava vāhinīn | na chāpi tasya kruddhasya 'Vārshneyasya mahātmanah | sthā- syate pratyanikeshu kāchid atra nṛpaṁ tava). Duryodhana in reply expatiates on the eminent prowess of Kṛṇa, and of Salya himself: (1643) Tveṁ salya-bhūtaḥ satrūṇāṁ avishahyaḥ parākrame | tatas tvam uchyate rājan Salyaḥ ity ari-sūdana | tava bāhu-balām prāpya na śekuḥ sarva-Sātētāh | tava bāhu-balad rājan kintu Kṛṣṇo balādhikāh | yathā hi Kṛṣṇena balaṁ dhāryaṁ vai Pāḷgune hate | tathā Kṛṇa-
tanyëbhâve tvây dhârayam mahañ balam | kimarthâm samare saînyaåm
Vásudevo nayârayet (sic) | kimarthâm cha bhavân saînyaåm na hanîshyati
Marîsha | "Thou art a spear (śalya) to [pierce] thine enemies, irresistible in valour: hence, O king, destroyer of thy foes, thou art called Salya.221 Feeling the power of thy arm, all the Sâtvatas could not [resist]. But [it is said that] Kṛishṇa is superior in force to the strength of thy arm. Just as great strength is to be exhibited by Kṛishṇa, if Arjuna were killed; so is great strength to be put forth by thee, if Karna were slain. Why should Kṛishṇa withstand [our] army? and why shouldst not thou slay the [enemy's] host?" Salya then answers (1648 ff.) in nearly the same words222 which had formerly been assigned to him in vv. 1387-9: "I am pleased with thee, bestower of honour, since before the army thou declarest me to be superior to the son of Devaki. I undertake to be charioteer to the renowned Karna," etc. This repetition of the same speech of Salya at the close of the episode regarding Mahâdeva's conquest of the Asuras with Brahmâ for his charioteer, and Paraśurâma's acquisition of celestial weapons, renders it probable, as I have already said, that this episode has been subsequently interpolated. As Salya had already consented, in vv. 1387 ff., to do duty as Karna's charioteer, it was quite unnecessary to detail at great length the legend of Brahmâ and Mahâdeva, which had been already briefly alluded to in verse 1330, and which is merely followed by a renewed expression of Salya's willingness to comply with the request of Karna and Duryodhana.

IV. In various parts of the Mahâbhârata Kṛishṇa and Arjuna are singularly represented as having formerly existed in the persons of two rishi, Nârâyâna and Nara,223 who always lived and acted together. A

221 In verse 1381 the same thing had been said in nearly the same words: Śalyabhūtas tu tatrāṇāṁ yasmāt tvam yuddhi mānanda | tasmāt Śalyo hi te nāma kathyate prithivī-tale | The repetition of this idea is an additional argument in proof of the probable interpolation of the passage between v. 1389 and v. 1648.

222 The only difference of reading in the two passages is, that in the first line of the later passage the words agre saînyaśya mānada, "before the army, conferrer of honour," are substituted for madhya saînyaśya Kaurava, "in the midst of the army, O Kaurava."

223 In the Vâmana-purâṇa, sect. 6, quoted in Prof. Aufrecht's Catalogue, p. 455, it is stated that Dharma with a divine body was the heart-born son of Brahmâ, that his (Dharma's) wife was Ahîsinâ, and that she bore to him Hari and Kṛishṇa, and Nara and Nârâyâna, of whom the two former were devoted to the practice of the Yoga
similar close union exists between the two heroes in the various transactions narrated in the great epic. Their earlier connexion will appear from the following passages\textsuperscript{221} in which, however, these two rishis are always represented as possessed of supernatural or divine powers.

It is related in the Vana-parvan (vv. 461 ff.) that Kṛṣṇa, having gone with other friends of the Pāṇḍus to visit them after they had retired into the forest, expressed great indignation at the way in which they had been treated by Duryodhana and his party. Arjuna (one of the Pāṇḍus), with the view of pacifying Kṛṣṇa, recounts (vv. 471 ff.) his marvellous deeds in former births, his austerities, his slaughter of the Daityas and Dānavas (478), his various forms (480), his three strides as the son of Aditi (484),\textsuperscript{222} and his destruction of various enemies (487 ff.); and then proceeds thus (vv. 496 ff.):

\textit{Yugante sarva-bhūtāni sāṅkhinya Madhusūdana | ṛtu naivātmasāt krito jāgad āṣṭaṃ paraṁ gana | yogāduñ caśa Vārshneya nābhi-padmād ajāyata | Brahmā chara-chara-gurur yasyedaṁ sakalaṁ jagat | taṁ kantum udyatavā ghorau Dānavau Madhu-kaitabhau | tayor vyatikramaṁ dṛishtvā krudhāsya bhavato Hareḥ | lalāṭaj jātavān Sambhūḥ śāla-pāṇis trilochanaḥ | itthāṁ tāv api devasau tvach-chharira-samudbhavau | tvan-miyoga-kaśve etāv iti me Nārada 'bravāvat | tathā Nārāyaṇa purā kṛatuḥhir bhūri-dakshināḥ | ishtāvāṁ tvam mahāsatraṁ Kṛṣṇa Chaitrarathe vane | naivam pārve nāpara vā karishyanti kritāni vā | yāni karmāṇi deva tvam bālaḥ eva mahābalaḥ | kṛitavān Pundarikākha Bala-deva-sahāyayān | Kaiśasa-brhava eci bhārmanār nyavaśah saha | Vaiśam-pāyanah uvāca | evam uktvā mahātmānam utma Kṛṣhṇasya Pāṇḍavaḥ | tāṁśāṁ āśīt tataḥ Pārtham ity uvāca Janārdaṇaḥ | mamaiva tvam tavāvāhāṁ ye mādyas tavaiva te | yas tvāṁ dveshti sa māṁ dveshti tvam anu sa māṁ anu | Naras tvam asi dūrdrascha Harir Nārāyaṇo hā aham | kālo lokam īmam prāptau Nara-Nārāyaṇaṁ rishi | ananyāḥ Pārtha mattas tvāṁ tvattaś chāhaṁ tathaiva cha | nāvayaṁ antaram śakyaṁ veditum Bharatarṣabaḥ |}

\textsuperscript{221} See also the extract from the Drona-parvan, translated above, p. 185.

\textsuperscript{222} See above, p. 136.
vexer of thy foes, having caused all created things to collapse, and by thyself made them subject to thyself, wast the world. At the commencement of the yuga, O Vārshāyana (Krīṣṇa), Brahmā, the chief of things movable and immovable, whose [is] all this world, sprang from the lotus issuing from thy navel. Two horrible Dānavas, Madhu and Kaiṭabha, were ready to slay him. From the forehead of Hari, who became incensed when he saw their transgression, was produced Sambhu (Mahādeva), wielding the trident, and three-eyed. Thus even those two lords of the gòls (Brahmā and Mahādeva) are sprung from thy (Krīṣṇa’s) body, and they execute thy commands,—this Nārada declared to me. So, too, O Krīṣṇa, Nārāyaṇa, thou didst formerly celebrate a great sacrifice in the Chaitraratha forest, with oblations and many gifts. The ancients [have] not [done], nor shall those who are to come do, the deeds which thou didst, Puṇḍarīkāksha, even when a child, mighty in power, accompanied by Baḷadeva. And thou didst dwell with the Brāhmaṇs in the abode of Kailāsa.’ Having thus addressed that great being, the Pāṇḍava (Arjuna, who was) the soul of Krīṣṇa, became silent. Then Janārdana (Krīṣṇa) thus addressed the son of Prīthā: ‘Thou art mine, and I am thine; 226 those who are mine are thine also. He who hates thee hates me; he who loves (lit. follows, or favours) thee loves me. Thou, invincible hero, art Nara, and I am Hari Nārāyaṇa: in due time we came into this world, the rishis Nara and Nārāyaṇa. Thou, son of Prīthā, are not different from me, nor, in like manner, I from thee; no distinction can be conceived between us.’”

Again, it is related in the Vana-parvan that, with the view of obtaining celestial weapons, Arjuna, at the suggestion of Indra (vv. 1513 ff.), went northward, to the top of the Himālaya, to see Mahādeva (vv. 1526 ff.) Arrived there, he performs austerity. The rishis, not knowing his object, are alarmed, and go to tell Mahādeva (vv. 1543 ff.), who assures them that there is no cause for apprehension, as Arjuna cherishes no ambitious designs. Mahādeva then takes his bow and arrows, and assuming the form of a Kirāṭa (barbarous mountaineer), approaches Arjuna (vv. 1551 ff.). At that moment a

226 The mutual attachment of Nara and Nārāyaṇa, or Arjuna and Krīṣṇa, may therefore be quoted as an Indian parallel to the renowned friendships which are already proverbial in the western world, viz. those of David and Jonathan, Pylades and Orestes, Damon and Pythias.
Dānava, in the form of a boar, is meditating an attack upon Arjuna, who prepares to shoot him with his arrows. The Kirāta desires Arjuna to allow him to shoot the Dānava, as he had been the first to take aim; but Arjuna will not consent; and they both shoot together, and kill the boar. Arjuna addresses the Kirāta, and complains that he had acted in an unsportsmanlike manner (na hy esho mrigayā-dharmo yās tvayā 'dya krito mayi), and that he should therefore kill him. The Kirāta replies that he had aimed first, and had killed the Dānava, and would kill Arjuna also. Mahādeva, in the form of the Kirāta, and Arjuna then fight together (vv. 1582 ff.) with a succession of weapons, arrows, swords, trees, stones, etc., till at length Arjuna is squeezed by his opponent, and falls exhausted (v. 1613). He, however, revives, and worships his enemy, falling at his feet. Mahādeva expresses admiration of Arjuna's prowess, and promises to give him an irresistible weapon which he is fit to wield. The narrative then proceeds (vv. 1622 ff.): Tuto devam Mahādevaṁ Giriśaṁ śūlapaṁginam | dadarsa Phālgunas tatra saha devyā mahādyutim | sa jānubhyām mahīṁ gataṁ śīrasā praniṭapya cha | prasādayamāsa Haraṁ Pārthaṁ para-puranjayaḥ | Arjunah uvācha | "Kapardin sarvadevaśa Bhaga-natra-nipātana | deva-deva Mahādeva nila-grīva jaṭa-dhara | kāraṇānancu paramaṁ jāne tvām Tryambakaṁ vibhum | devānānca gatiṁ deva tvāt-praśātam idaṁ jagat | ajeyas tvam tribhīr lokaṁ sa-devāsura-mānuṣeśaṁ | Sīvya Vishnurāpāya Vishnave Sīva-rāpiṇe | Dakshayajna-vindśaya Hari-Rudrāya vai namāḥ | lalāṭakshāya Sārvāya mihumhe sāla-pañaye | pināka-goptrre śūryaya marjaliyaya vedhase | prasādaya tvām bhagavan sarva-bhūta-mahēsvaram | ghoṇeśaṁ jagataṁ sambhūṁ loka-kāraṇa-kāraṇam | pradhāna-puruṣhātitan paraṁ sākṣhmataram Haraṁ |

"Then Phālguna (Arjuna) beheld the god Mahādeva, Giriśa, bearer of the trident, resplendent, together with his goddess. Falling on the ground on his knees, and bowing his head, the son of Prithā, conqueror of hostile cities, propitiated Hara (Mahādeva) in these words: 'God with the spirally-braided hair, lord of all the gods, extinguisher of Bhaga's eyes, god of gods, Mahādeva (the great god), blue-necked, wearer of matted hair, I know thee to be of causes the supreme, Tryambaka, the mighty, the refuge of the gods. From thee this world has been produced. Thou art invincible by the three worlds, including the gods, Asuras, and men. Adoration be to Sīva in the
form of Vishnu, to Vishnu in the form of Siva, to the destroyer of Daksha’s sacrifice, to Hari-Rudra, to him with the frontal eye, to Sarva, the beneficent, the wielder of the trident, the bearer of the bow, the sun, the Marjaliya, the disposer. I propitiate thee, divine lord of all creatures, lord of troops, benefactor of the world, cause of the causes of the world (i.e. ultimate creator of the immediate creators), who transcendest Pradhana and Purusha (matter and spirit), the supreme, most subtle, Hara.’

Mahadeva then embraces Arjuna, and says to him:

1637 ff.—Deva-devaḥ uvaḥaḥ | Naras tevaṃ pūrṇa-deha vai Nārāyaṇa-sahāyavān | Badaryāṁ taptavya ugraṁ tapo varshāyutān bahān | tva-yā vā pāramaḥ tejo Vishnu vā purushottamaṃ | yuvābhyaṃ pūrṇa-saṅgarbhyaḥ tejasā dhāryate jagat | Sākrābhisheke suṣamahā dhanur jalada-niḥsvanam | pragrīhyā dānavaḥ sāstās tvayaṃ Krīṣṇena cha prabhō ityādi | “Thou wast Nara in a former body, and with Nārāyaṇa for thy companion, didst perform dreadful austerity at Badari for many myriads of years. Either in thee is the highest power, or in Vishnu the supreme Purusha. By you twain, the chief of men (or Purushas), through your power, the world is upheld. At the inauguration of Sakra (Indra), the Dānavas were chastised by thee and Krīṣṇa, when thou hadst grasped a great bow resounding like the clouds.”

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

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

Namaskṛtyopajagnus te loka-vriddhaṃ Pitāmaham | parivṛtya cha viśveṣam paryāsata divaukasah | teshām manaḥ cha tejasāhpy adadānāv ivaujasā | pūrva-devaḥ vyatikrāntau Nara-Nārāyaṇaḥ riski | Vrihaspatis

227 This word is explained in Böhtlingk and Roth’s Lexicon as a spot to the right of the altar, where the sacrificial vessels are cleansed. It is mentioned in Śāyana’s commentary on R. V. i. 1, 4: and (as Prof. Aufrecht has pointed out to me) it occurs in the Vāj. Saṁh. v. 32, where the commentator defines it as the place where the (sacrificial) vessels are washed (mārjaliyaḥ | tatra hi pāṭṛyā prakṣhāyānte).
“Doing obeisance, the gods approached the Progenitor, the chief (or ancient) of the worlds; and encompassing, they sat around the lord of all. The two ancient and surpassing gods, the rishis Nara and Nārāyaṇa, deprived them, as it were, of thought and of strength by their splendour. Vṛihaspati inquired of Brahmā, ‘Tell us, O Progenitor, who these two are who do not approach thee.’ Brahmā said: ‘These devotees of mighty strength, burning and shining, who sit pervading
and illuminating the earth and the sky, these are Nara and Nārāyaṇa, who have travelled from world to world, strong by their own austerity, of great dignity and valour. These two have perpetually gladdened the world by their deeds. Know, O Priest, that these, destroyers of their foes, of great intelligence, adored of gods and Gandharvas, have become twain for the destruction of the Asuras.\footnote{The name of a demon. It will occur again below.} Having heard this, Indra, accompanied by all the hosts of gods, headed by Vṛihaspati, went to the place where these two devotees were performing austerity. Alarm having been at that time excited among the celestials by a war between the gods and Asuras, he (Indra) begged of the great Nara and Nārāyaṇa a boon. They replied, 'Choose.' Then Indra said, 'Let us be delivered.' They answered Indra, 'We will do what thou desirest.' And with their assistance Indra conquered the Daityas and Dānavas. Nara, the vexer of foes, having slain in battle the enemies of Indra, thousands and hundreds of Paulomas and Kālakanjas,—he, standing in a whirling chariot, cut off the head of Jambha,\footnote{The name of a demon. It will occur again below.} who was swallowing up Arjuna in battle. He demolished Hiraṇyapura (or the city of gold), on the other side of the ocean, having slain in battle sixty thousand Nivātakavachas. The large-armed Arjuna, conqueror of hostile cities, having, along with Indra, overcome the gods, satiated Jātavedas (Agni,) [with his oblations]. In like manner Nārāyaṇa slew many others. Thus behold those twain arrived—those twain who are of so great strength, Vāsudeva and Arjuna, united together, riders on great cars, Nara and Nārāyaṇa, the deities, the ancient deities, as it is reported, invincible in the world of mortals even by Indra and the other gods and Asuras. This Nārāyaṇa is Kṛishṇa, and Nara is called Phālguna (Arjuna). Nārāyaṇa and Nara are one being, divided into twain. These two through their works pervade the undecaying and perpetual worlds. They are born at different places at the time of battle again and again. Wherefore Nārada said that works are to be performed. All this he (Nārada) who knew the Veda said to the army of the Vṛishṇis. When thou shalt see Keśava (Kṛishṇa) with his shell, discus and club, and Arjuna with the dreadful bow, assuming his arms, these two eternal and glorious beings, of dark complexion, mounted on one car,—then, dear Duryodhana, thou shalt remember my words.' (Compare the same warning given in p. 218.)
It is narrated in another part of the same Udyoga-parvan (vv. 3459–3488) that, in order to persuade the Kuruś to adopt moderate counsels by showing the great power of Ārjuna and Kṛiṣṇa, Parasurāma told them another story about the two rishis Nara and Nārāyaṇa. There was formerly, he says, an universal sovereign named Dambodhāva, who had an overweening conceit of his own prowess. Being told by his independent Brāhmans that there were two ascetics whom he could not match, viz. Nara and Nārāyaṇa, he proceeded with his army to the mountain Gandhamadāna, where he found the emaciated saints, and challenged them to fight. They tried to put him off by saying that they were divested of all earthly passions, and lived in an atmosphere of peace. Dambodhāva, however, insisted on fighting, when Nara took a handful of straws, and defied him. With these arms he neutralized all the arrows of Dambodhāva’s host, and as the straws whitened all the air, and penetrated into the eyes, ears, and noses of the assailants, Dambodhāva was soon forced to fall at Nara’s feet, and sue for peace. Being admonished by his conqueror to be more humble in future, he departed homeward, and ever after led a righteous life.

The next passage on the same subject is from the Droṇa-parvan, vv. 419 ff.:

Ārjunaḥ Keśavasyātmā Kṛiṣṇo’py atmā Kīrīṭināḥ | Ārjuna vyāyo
nityam Kṛiṣṇe kirtiścha sāsavā | sarveśvṛ api cha lokeshu Bibhateur
 aparujītaḥ | prādhānyenaiva bhūyishtham aneṣyāḥ Keśave guṇaḥ | mohad
Duryodhano Kṛiṣṇaṁ yo na vetāśa Keśavam | mohito daiva-yogena
mṛtyu-pāsa-puraskṛitaḥ | na veda Kṛiṣṇaṁ Dāsārham Ārjunaṁ chaiva
Pāṇḍavam | pārva-devau mahātmśanau Nara-Nārāyaṇāv ubhau | ekāt-
māṇau dvīdhā-bhūtau drśyete mānushair bhūvi | manasaḥ ‘pi hi durdharm-
shau senāṁ etāṁ yasyasvinau | nāsayetām thekhhaṁau mānushatvāḥ cha
nehkhataḥ |

“Arjuna is the soul of Keśava (Kṛiṣṇa), and Kṛiṣṇa too is the soul of Kīrīṭin (Arjuna). Victory abides perpetually with Arjuna, and eternal renown with Kṛiṣṇa. And even in all worlds Arjuna is unconquered. Through his pre-eminence there are infinite virtues in abundance in Keśava. [The reason why] Duryodhana, through infatuation, does not know Kṛiṣṇa, is that, deluded by destiny, and involved in the bonds of death, he does not recognize Kṛiṣṇa the
Dāśārha, and Arjuna the Pāṇḍava. The former gods, the two mighty ones, Nara and Nārāyaṇa, though, in reality, one in nature, are by men on earth seen separated into two. These illustrious beings, who are invincible even in imagination, could, if they desired, destroy this army, but from their humanity they do not desire it.”

Again, in the Bhīshma-parvan, vv. 2932 ff., Bhīshma exhorts Dur-yodhana to come to terms with the Pāṇḍavas, who, he says, are invincible, in consequence of Krīṣṇa’s protection. To illustrate Krīṣṇa’s divine greatness, Bhīshma goes on to tell a story of his being celebrated by Brahmā in a hymn (2944 ff.), and entreated to become incarnate in the tribe of the Yadus, for the establishment of righteousness, the destruction of the Daityas, and the preservation of the world (2964 f.). Vishṇu assents to Brahmā’s request, and disappears. Being then asked by the attendant gods and rishis who it was that he had just worshipped, Brahmā replies as follows (2978 ff.):

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\text{Yat tat param bhūvishyaṇca bhavītā yachha yat param | bhūtātmā yaḥ prabhuḥ chaiva Brahma yaḥ cha param padam | tenāsmi kṛita-saṁ-vādāh prasannena surarshabhāḥ | jagato 'nugrahārthāya yāchito me jagat-patiḥ | “mānushāṃ lokam ātishṭha Vāsudevaḥ iti śrutaḥ | asvānām badhārthāya sambhavasya mahītaḥ | saṃgrāme niḥṭaḥ ye te daitya-dānava-rākṣasāḥ | te ime nṛśhu sambhūtāḥ ghora-rūpāḥ mahābalaḥ | teshām badhārtam bhagavān Nāreṇa saḥito bali | mānushām yonim āsthāya cha-vishyasi mahī-tale” | Nara-Nārāyaṇau tau tu puruṣāv rishi-sattamau | ajevau hi rane yau tau santair amarair api | sahitam mānushā loke sambhūtāv amita-duyuḥ | mūḍhās te tau na jānanti Nara-Nārāyaṇaṁ rishi | yasyāḥam atme jo Brahma sarvasya jagataḥ patiḥ | Vāsudevo 'nuneyo vaḥ sarva-loka-mahēśvarāḥ | tathā manuṣhya 'yam iti kaḍāchit sura-sattamaḥ | nāvajneyo mahāvīryaḥ śankha-chakra-gadā-dharaḥ | etat paramakāṁ guhyam etat paramakam padam | etat paramakam Brahma etat paramakāṁ yaśaḥ | etat akṣharamavyaktaṁ etat ohāśvatam eva cha | etat Purusha-sānjo vais giyate jñāyate na cha | etat paramakāṁ tejaḥ etat paramakāṁ sukham | etat paramakāṁ satyaṁ kirtitaṁ Viśvakarmaṇaḥ | tasmāt surasurāḥ sarvāḥ sendraś cāṁita-vikramaḥ | nāvajneyo Vāsudevo mānusha 'yam iti prabho | yaś ca mānusha-mātro 'yam iti brūyāt sa manda-dhiḥ | Hṛishkeśam aevānāt tām āhuḥ purushādha-mam | tāṁ yoginam mahātmānam praviṣṭhāṁ mānushāṁ tānum | yo 'vamanyed Vāsudevaṁ tām āhūs tāmāsaṁ janaḥ | devāṁ charaḥcharatnā-
CELEBRATED IN A HYMN BY BRAHMA.

That being who is supreme, who is to be, who shall continue to be supreme, who is the soul of beings, and the lord, and who is Brahma, the supreme existence,—it is with him, propitious, that I have been conversing, O eminent deities. The lord of the world was entreated by me [in these words] to show favour to the world: 'Do thou, celebrated as Vāsudeva, appear in the world of men: be born on earth for the slaughter of the Asuras. The Daityas, Dānavas, and Rākshasas who have been slain by thee in battle, they are these who have been born among men, horrible in form and great in might. To slay them, thou, the divine and mighty being, accompanied by Nara, having entered a human womb, wilt act upon earth.' Those ancient and most excellent of rishis, Nara and Nārāyaṇa, who are invincible in battle even by the united immortals, and who are of boundless splendour, have been born together in the world of men. Those fools do not know these rishis, Nara and Nārāyaṇa. He of whom I, Brahmā, the master of the whole world, am the son, that Vāsudeva, the lord of all the worlds, is to be propitiated by you. Never, O most excellent deities, is the potent bearer of the shell, the discus, and the club, to be slighted as a mere man. This Being is the highest mystery, this the highest existence, this the highest Brahma, this the highest renown. This Being is the undecaying, the undiscernible, the eternal. This Being which is called Purusha is hymned and is not known. This Being is celebrated by Viśvakarman as the highest power, as the highest joy, and as the highest truth. Wherefore Vāsudeva of boundless might is not to be contended by the deities, including Indra, or by the Asuras, as a [mere] man. Whoever says that he is a mere man is dull of comprehension: from his contempt of Hṛishīkeśa they call such a person the lowest of men. Whoever despises Vāsudeva, that great contemplator who has entered a human body,—men call that person
one full of darkness. Whoever is ignorant of the glorious god whose self is the world, whose mark is the śrīvatsa, from whose navel sprang the lotus,—men call that person a man full of darkness. Despising that great being who wears the diadem and jewel (kaustubha), who relieves his friends from fear, a man is plunged in horrible darkness."  

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

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

"Purā 'ham atmajaḥ Pārtha prathitaḥ karaṇāntare | Dharmasya Kurusūrdūla tato 'ham Dharmajāḥ smṛitaḥ | Nara-Nṛāyanaḥ pūrvam tapas tepatūr avayam | dharma-yanaṁ samarūḍhau parvate Gandhamadage | tat-kūla-samaye chaiva Daksha-yajno babhūva ha | na chaiva kalpayad bhagaṁ Daksha Rudrasya Bhārata | tato Dadhīchī-vachanād Daksha-yajnam apāharaḥ | sarasjarśa śūlaṁ kopena prajvaivātam mukh muniḥ | tach chhūlam bhasmasat kriyāv Daksha-yajnaṁ sa-vistaram | avayoh sahasā 'gocchhad Varādy-āśramam antikat | vegena mahatā Pārtha patad Nṛāyanaorasai | tatas tat-tejasā 'vishtāḥ keśāḥ Nṛāyanaṁ saha | babhūvur munjavarṇas tu tato 'ham munja-keśavān | tachcha śūlaṁ vinirddhātaṁ huṃkāreṇa mahatmanā | jagāma Sankara-karaṁ Nṛāyanaṁ samahatam | atha Rudraḥ upādhāvat tāv rishi tapasā 'nvitaṁ | tataḥ enaṁ samudbhūtaṁ kṣaṭhe jagraha pāṇīna | Nṛāyanaṁ sa visvātmā tenāya ṣiti-kaṇṭhataṁ | atha Rudra-vighātārtham ishīkāṁ Naraḥ uddharaṇa | mantraś ca saṁyuyojāsu so 'bhavat paraśur mahān | kṣiptāṁ ca sahasā tena khaṇḍanam prāptavāṁs tataḥ | tato 'ham [yam?] Khaṇḍaparaśuṁ smṛitaḥ paraśukhaṇḍanāt | ... 13278. tayoṁ saṁlagnayor yuddhe Rudra-Nṛāyanaḥtameṇoḥ | udvignāṁ sahasā kriṣṇāṁ sarva-lokās tataḥ 'bhavan | nāgrīṁnaṁ Pāvakaḥ subhram makhesu suhutaṁ haviḥ |
vedāḥ na pratibhānti sma rishīṇām bhūvitaṁ bāmaṁ | devan rajas tamaś chaiva samāvivīśitaś tāda | vasudhā sanchakampe cha nabhās cha vipāp-hāla ha | nishprabhāṇi cha tejāṁsi Brahmā chaivaśaṇa-chyutāḥ | agaḥ chhoṣham samudraś cha Himavāṁśa cha vyāśīryata | tasmin eva samutpanne nimitte Pāṇḍunandana | Brahmā vṛito deva-gaṇair rishibhiḥ cha mahātmabhīḥ | ājagāmāśubhāṁ desaṁ yatra yuddham avartata | so 'nyai-prāgraha bhūtvā chatur-vaktro nirukta-gaḥ | uvācha vacanaṁ Rudraṁ "lokānām āstu vai śivam | nyasyāyudhāni viśveśa jagato hitakāmyayā | yad aksharam athāvyaktaṁ īsaṁ lokasya bhūvanam | kuta-sthaṁ kartṛi nirdvandvam avarteti cha yaṁ viduḥ | vyakti-bhūva-gata-syāsa ekā mārtir iyaṁ śubhā | Naro Nārāyaṇas chaiva jātāu Dharma-kulodvāha | tapasā mahatā yuktva deva-śreshthau mahā-vratau | aham prasāda-jaśa tasya kutaścit kāraṇāntare | tvam chaiva krodha-jaś tāta pūrva-sarga sanātanaḥ | maya cha sārdaṁ varaṇaṁ vibudhāiḥ cha maharṣhibhiḥ | prasādayāśu lokānāṁ śaṁtir bhavatu mā chiraṁ" | Brahmaṇā tu evam uktas tu Rudraḥ krodhāṅgim utṣrfjan | prasādayāśaḥ tato devaḥ Nārāyaṇam prabhun | saranyam cha jagāmādyam vareṇyaṁ varaṇaṁ prabhun | tato 'tha varaṇa devo jita-krodha jītenāyaḥ | prātimān abhavat tatra Rudreṇa saha sangataḥ | rishibhir Brahmanā chaiva vibudhāiḥ cha supūjitāḥ | uvācha devam Īśānam iśāḥ sa jagato Hariḥ | "yas tvāṁ vetti sa māṁ vetti yas tvāṁ anu sa māṁ anu | nāvayor antaraṁ kīchiḥ mā te bhūd bhūdir anyathā | adya-prabhṛti śrīvatsaṁ śālāṅko me bhavatv ayam | mama pāṇy-ankitaḥ chāpi śruṣṭhas tvam bhavishyasi" | evam laksyām upādyā paraṣpara-kṛitaṁ tāda | sakhyam chaiva śūḻulaṁ kṛtvā Rudreṇa sahitāv riṣhi | tapas tepatūr avya-grau viṣṛjya tridvaukasāh | esha te kathītaḥ Pārtha Nārāyaṇa-jaya mridhe | nāmāni chaiva guhyāni niruktāni cha Bhārata | rishibhiḥ kathitāṁ āṇi sankṛtītāni. te | evam bahū-viḍhāiḥ rūpaṁ charāmīha vasundharam | Brahma-lokaneha Kaunteya golokaneha sanātanaṁ | maya tvāṁ raktshito yuddhe mahāntam prāptavān jayam | yas tu te so 'grato yāti yuddhe sampraty upasthite | taṁ viḍhī Rudraṁ Kaunteya deva-devam kapardinam | kule sa eva kathītaḥ krodha-jeti mayā tava | nihatās tena vai pūrvaṁ hatavān asi yān ripun | aprameya-prabhāvaṁ taṁ deva-devam Umā-patim | namasva devam prayato viṣēṣam Haram aksyām | ityādi |

13265. “Formerly, son of Prithā, most excellent of the Kurus, I was celebrated on another occasion as the son of Dharma: and hence I was
called Dharmaja. In former times Nara and Narayana, mounted on the chariot of righteousness, performed an undecaying penance, on the mountain Gandhamadana. At that conjunction of time, the sacrifice of Daksha took place. Daksha did not then divide any share for Rudra, who in consequence, at the suggestion of Dadhichi, swept away the sacrifice of Daksha, and in his anger launched the trident blazing forth repeatedly. That trident, after reducing to ashes the sacrifice of Daksha with all its appurtenances, suddenly approached our hermitage at Badari, and fell with great impetus on the breast of Narayana. The hair of Narayana, penetrated by its glow, became of the colour of grass (munja): from which I am called Munjaketavat. The trident being repelled by the great being with a yell went back into the hand of Sankara, when struck by Narayana. Rudra then ran up to those austere rishis, when Narayana, the soul of all things, with his hand seized him by the throat, when he had thus sprung up: hence his (Siva's) name of Sitikaqtha. Nara next raised a straw for the slaughter of Rudra, and applied to it sacred texts, whereby it speedily became a huge axe. Hastily hurled by him, the axe (paraṣu) became shattered into fragments (khaṇḍana), from which shattering of the axe, he is called Khaṇḍaparasaṇu." Arjuna here interposes to ask who was victorious in this conflict; when Krishṇa proceeds: 13278. "When Rudra and Narayana had become engaged in battle, all the worlds were instantly distressed; the fire did not receive the shining butter offered in the sacrifice; the vedas were not revealed to the contemplative rishis; [the qualities of] passion and darkness invaded the gods: the earth trembled, the sky became split; the luminaries lost their light; Brahma fell from his seat; the ocean became dried up, and the Himavat wasted. When this prodigy had arisen, Brahma, surrounded by the host of gods, and the magnanimous rishis, came to that disastrous place where the battle was raging. The four-faced god (Brahma), the penetrator of mysteries, with joined hands, addressed these words to Rudra: 'Let the welfare of the worlds be [consulted]; put down thy weapons, lord of all, from goodwill to the universe. This is one auspicious form of him, now in the state of manifestation,—of him whom [sages] know as the undecaying, undiscernible [essence], the lord, the creator of the world, the supreme, the doer, unaffected by pleasure or pain, and not the doer,—[this I say is
one form of him, viz.], Narā and Nārāyaṇa, born in the race of Dharma, distinguished by intense austerity, eminent gods, great devotees. I was once on another occasion born as the offspring of his good pleasure, and in a former creation thou didst spring from his anger, an everlasting [being]. Together with me and the gods and rishis, do thou speedily propitiate this bestower of boons; let the worlds have tranquillity without delay.’ Being thus addressed by Brahmā, Rudra, abandoning the fire of anger, then propitiated the god Nārāyaṇa, the lord; and the god sought as his refuge the primeval, most excellent, boon-bestowing lord. Then the boon-bestowing god, who had conquered anger and overcome his senses, meeting Rudra, became gratified. Being worshipped by the rishis, by Brahmā, and by the gods, Hari, the lord of the world, addressed the god Īśāna (Mahādeva): ‘He who knows thee knows me; he who loves (lit. favours) thee loves me. There is no distinction between us: do not thou entertain any other idea. From this day forward let this śrīvatsa of mine be the mark of the trident: and thou shalt be the śrīkaṇṭha marked upon my hand.’ Having thus created a mark devised by each for the other, and having joined an incomparable friendship with Rudra, the two rishis practised austerity undisturbed, after dismissing the gods. This, son of Prithā, which I have told thee, was the victory of Nārāyaṇa in battle: and [my] mysterious and unexplained names, too,—those which are celebrated by the rishis, have been declared to thee. In this manner do I frequent this earth and the world of Brahmā, and the everlasting Goloka, in manifold forms. By me thou hast been preserved in battle, and hast gained a great victory. But know, son of Kunti, that he who goes before thee in the conflict which has now arrived, is Rudra, the god of gods, with spirally-braided hair. He, Time, has been declared by me to thee to be the offspring of my anger. The enemies whom thou formerly slewest were slain by him. Devoutly reverence him the god of gods, the lord of Umā, of boundless power, Hara, the undecaying lord of all.’

Again, in the Śānti-parvan, Vaiśampāyana tells Janamejaya how Nārada, after returning from Sveta Dvīpa, saw the two saints, Nāra and Nārāyaṇa (v. 13337):

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

“He descended rapidly from the sky to the spacious Badari. There he saw the ancient gods, the two most excellent rishis, performing severe penance, self-sustained, great devotees, in splendour surpassing the sun which illuminates all the worlds, bearing the śrīvatsa mark, adorable, wearing a circle of matted hair, web-footed and web-armed, with the mark of the discus on their feet, broad-chested, long-armed, with four testicles, sixty teeth and eight grinders, with voices sonorous as a host of clouds, with beautiful countenances, broad foreheads, handsome eyebrows, chins, and noses. The heads of those two gods resembled umbrellas. Beholding them, distinguished by such marks, and named the two great males, Nārada rejoicing; and saluted by them in return, welcomed, and questioned in regard to his health, became absorbed in reflection, beholding those highest of persons.” He then recollected to have previously seen them in the Śveta Dvīpa. Nara and Nārāyaṇa next ask him if he had seen in the Śveta Dvīpa the supreme Spirit, their own highest substance (āvayoh prakṛitiḥ parā). He replies that he had; and that now when he beheld them he beheld Him, as they were distinguished by all the same marks, in a manifested form, as Hari possessed in an invisible manner; and that he had on that occasion beheld them at the side of the deity (vv. 13351 ff.: Adyāpi chaṁnam paśyāmi yuvaṁ paśyan saṁātanau| yair lakṣaṇaṁ upetaḥ sa Harir avyakta-rūpa-dhārik| tair lakṣaṇaṁ upetau hi vyakta-rūpa-dharau yuvaṁ| dṛiṣṭau yuvaṁ mayā tatra tasya devasya pārśvataḥ). Some further conversation ensues; and it is then related (v. 13397 f.) that Nārada remained a thousand years of the gods in their hermitage, worshipping the deity, and Nara and Nārāyaṇa.
V. In the following passage (which is commented upon by Lassen in his Indian Antiquities, 1st ed., i. 621 f., and note, p. 622; 2nd ed., pp. 768 ff.) Krishṇa is represented as possessed of extraordinary prowess and superhuman powers; but he is not, unless it be in one or two places, represented as the supreme deity.

To show how little prospect the Kurus had of vanquishing the Pāṇḍus, aided as the latter were by Krishṇa, Dhṛtarāṣṭra gives an account of the exploits of the Yādava chief:

233 His remarks are as follows:—"The history of Krishṇa in the Mahābhārata does not describe his juvenile life with the cowherds, and his numerous adventures with their wives, which at a later period were especially noticed and celebrated. On the other hand, victories over many kings and tribes are attributed to him, which possess no historical value, and are only important in so far as they represent him as a hero, and indicate that the Yādavas waged frequent wars with the tribes of ancient India. In a short enumeration of his feats (the passage quoted in the text) he is named Govinda, or the proprietor of cows, and it said of him that he grew up among the herds. None of the stories regarding him and the cowherds' wives are here mentioned; but another is introduced which describes him as a protector of the herds, inasmuch as he strangled with his arms a Dānava which in the form of a bull slaughtered the cattle. His proper and oldest name as the son of Nanda was probably Govinda. There must also have been stories about him in which he was represented as a leader of cowherds, for according to the Mahābhārata he supplied to Duryodhana (by whom he had been solicited to assist him in the great battle) thousands of cowherds, who are called the gopās of Nārāyaṇa. These take no share in the battle, and are very seldom mentioned.—See Udyoga-parvan, v. 130 ff.; and Dronā-parvan, v. 3255 ff., where the Nārāyaṇas, the cowherds, are spoken of along with the Kāmbojas, etc., as having been conquered by Kṛṣṇa, etc. (Nārāyaṇaḥ cha gopāḥ Kāmbojanānḥa ye ganaḥ | Kṛṣṇena viṣṭeḥ | ) The Nārāyaṇas are also mentioned in the Drona-vyasa, 762 and 759 (see Bühltingk and Roth, s.v.)."

Krishṇa, when applied to by Duryodhana, as well as by Arjuna, for aid in the impending conflict, promises succour to them both, but allows Arjuna the first choice:

Udyoga-parvan, vv. 147 ff.—Mat-saṁhanana-tulyāṇāṁ * gopānāṁ arbudam nāhat Prārāyaṇaḥ iti khyātōḥ sarve saṅgṛāma-yodhiṁ | te vā yudhi durudharmāḥ bha-vante ekasya saṁvīkāḥ | ayudhyamānāḥ saṅgṛāme nyastānto 'ham ekaḥ | ābhīyān anyataram Pārtha yat te hṛdyataram mātāṁ | tad evīṛīśuṁ bhavaun naṁ avṛtyas tevaṁ hi dharmataḥ | "Let one of you either take those invincible soldiers, the great hundred millions of herdmen called Nārāyaṇas, whose bodies are equal to my own, and who are all fighting men; or let him take, on the other hand, myself who do not engage in battle, and have laid aside my weapons. Do thou, son of Prithū, first choose the one of these two things which is most acceptable to thee; for thou art justly entitled to the preference."

Arjuna selects Krishṇa himself, "the unborn Nārāyaṇa, destroyer of his foes, who had been at his will born among men" (Nārāyaṇam amitraścah kāmāj ātama ajāṁ nṛishu), though he was not to fight. Duryodhana chose the army of warriors.

The word saṁhanana occurs also in the Drona-parvan, v. 147.
Droṇa-parvan, 382.—Dhītrāśṭrāḥ uvācha | śrīṇu divyāni karmāṇi
Vāsudevasya Sanjayā | kritavān yāni Govindo yathā nānyāḥ pumān
kvachit | saṁvardhatā gopa-kule bālaṇaiva mahāmhanaḥ | vighyāpitam
balam bāhvas trishu lokeshu Sanjayā | Uchhhaihṛśravas-tulāma-balaṁ vāyu-
vega-samaṁ jave | jaghāna Haya-rajānaṁ Yamunā-vana-vāsinam | Dāna-
vaṁ ghora-karmāṇaṁ gavāṁ mrityum ivotthitam | vrisha-rūpa-dharam
bālye bhujābhyaṁ niyaghāna ha | Pralambhaṁ Narakaṁ Jambham
Pīṭhaṁ vā ṣpi mahāsuraṁ | Muraṁ chāmara-sankāsam abadhit pushka-
rekaṁaṇaḥ | tathā Kaṁso mahātejaṁ Jaraśandhaṁ pālitaḥ | vikramenaiva
Krishnena sapaṇaḥ pātim rane | Sunāma rana-vikrāntaṁ samagraśkha-
hiṁ-patiḥ | Bhaja-rājasya madhya-stho dhṛtā Kaṁsaṁa vyṛyavān
Baladeva-dvitiyena Krishnaṁ ādi-ghātinā | tarasvin samare dagdhāṁ sa-
sainyona Sārṣekena-rāṭ | Dvīvasaṁ nāma viprasvih tathā para-
kopanaḥ | aruddhitasya sadāreṇa ca chāsmai pradadu varān | tathā Gāndhāra-
rājasya sutāṁ virāṁ evayāmiva | nirjitya prīthvī-pālam āvahat pushka-
rekaṁaṇaḥ | amṛthyamanyāṁ rājano yasya jātyaṁ hayāṁ iva | rathe vai-
vāhike yuktāṁ pratodenā kriya-vraṇāḥ | Jaraśandhaṁ mahābāhum upā-
yena Janārādanaḥ | parena ghātayāṁśa samagraśkhaṁhiṁ-patim | Chedi-
rajāneka vikrāntaṁ rāja-senā-patim balī | argha vivadamananachā jaghāna
paśu-vat tadam | Saubhamā dāitya-puraṁ svasthāṁ Sālva-guptaṁ durā-
sadām | samudra-kukshau vikramya pātayāṁśa Mādhavaḥ | . . . . .

V. 400 : Pravīśya mahaṁvaṁ saṁdushaṁ abhisāmvṛitam | jiga-yā Varu-
naṁ sankhya salilambartgatam purā | yuddhi Panchajānaṁ hatva pātal-
tala-vāsinam | panchajāνaṁ Hṛṣiṁkeśo divyāṁ sankhaṁ avāptavān | Khaṁ-
dave Pārtha-sahitaṁ toshayītvā Hutaśanam | āgneyam astroṁ dur-
dharshāṁ chakraṁ lebhe mahābalaṁ | Vainateyaṁ samaruhya trāsayītvā
'amarāvatim | Mahendra-bhuvanād virāḥ pārjātaṁ upānayaṁ | taṣcha-
mashtāvaṁ S'akro jānaṁśa tasya parākramanam | rājāṁ-chūpy ajitaṁ
kanhit Krishneneḥa na śūrma | yachcha tad mahād āścharyamāṁ sabhayāṁ
mama Sanjaya | kritavān Puṇḍarīkākṣaḥ kas tad-anya ihārhati | labāh-
bhāktyā praśanno 'ham adṛkhaṁ Hṛṣiṁhaṁ āṁśavam | tad me svvitiṁ
sarvam pratayaksham iva chāgaṁam | nāntaṁ vikrama-yuktasya buddhyā
yuktasya vā punaḥ | karmāṇa śākyate gantuṁ Hṛṣiṁkeśaṁ Sanjaya | tathā
gadāc cha Sambaśca Pradyunoṁ 'tha Vidūrathakaḥ | . . . . .

410 : Eten 'nye balavantaṁ cha' Vṛṣṇi-śrīvāṁ prahārināḥ | kathanchit
Pāṇḍavāṁkaṁ śrayeyuḥ samare sthitāḥ | āhūtāḥ Vṛṣṇi-vireṇaṁ Keśavana
mahātmānaḥ | tataṁ saṁsayaṁ sarvam bhaved iti matir mama | nāgāyuta-
balo vīraḥ Kailāsa-sīkharopamaḥ | vana-māli hāli Rāmas tatra yatra
Janārdanaḥ | yam āhuḥ sara-pitaram Vasudevāṁ dvijātayaḥ | api eva hy
esā Pāṇḍūnāṁ yotaye 'rthāya Sanjaya | sa yadā tata sanakhyot Pāṇḍu-
vārthāya Sanjaya | na tadā pratisaṁyoddhā bhavītā tasya kaśchana | yadi
smā Kuravaḥ savē jayeyur nāma Pāṇḍuvaṇ | Vārshneyo 'rthāya teshāṁ
vai grīṁhyāt sastram uttamam | tataḥ sarvāṁ naravyāghro hatvā nara-
patim ragn | Kauravāṁś cha mahābāhuḥ Kuntyai dadyāt sa medinim |
java yantā Hrīṣikeśo yoddhā yasya Dhananjayah | rathasya tasya kaḥ
sankhyē īrtyaniko bhaved rathah | na kenachid upāyaṇa Kurūnāṁ drisyate
javaḥ | tasmād me sarvam ācakshva yathā yuddham avartata | 234

“Dhīrārāṣṭra says: Hear, Sanjaya, the divine acts of Kṛṣṇa,
which Govinda performed, such as no other person [ever did]. While
he was growing up as a high-souled boy in the tribe of cowherds,
the force of his arms was rendered famous by him in the three worlds.
He slew the king of the Hayas [horses], dwelling in the woods of the
Yamunā, equal to Ucchaiṣṭhravas (the horse of Indra) in strength,
and to the wind in speed. In his childhood he destroyed with his arms the
Dānava, a doer of direful deeds, who arose, as it were, the Death of
cattle, bearing the form of a bull. The lotus-eyed [hero] slew Pra-
lambha, Narakas, Jambha and Pītha, the great Asura, and Mura,
resembling the immortals. So, too, Kansa, of great force, supported by Jāra-
sandha, was, with his hosts, overthrown in battle by Kṛṣṇa, through
his valour. Sunāman, valiant in fight, the lord of a complete army, the
brother of Kansa, who interposed for the king of the Bhojas, the bold and
heroic prince of the Sūrasenas, was, with his army, burnt up in battle
by Kṛṣṇa, destroyer of his enemies, seconded by Balarāma. And
a Brāhman rishi called Durvāsas, extremely irascible, was worshipped
by him (Kṛṣṇa), together with his wife, and bestowed on him
boons. 235 So, too, the lotus-eyed hero, having conquered the princes,
carried off the daughter of the king of the Gāndhāras at the Swa-
yamvara: 236 and the princes, being unable to endure him, were

234 Towards the close of Dhīrārāṣṭra’s speech the following verse of a proverbial
character occurs:—v. 429: Pakvānāṁ hi badhe Śūta vajrāyante triñāy api | “When
men are ripe for destruction, even straws smite like thunderbolts.”
235 See the Anuśāsana-parvan, vv. 7402 ff., referred to above, p. 196.
236 Lassen, Ind. Alt. i., 622, first edition (p. 769, second edition), note, thinks this
story has probably some foundation in fact, and adds that Nagnajit, king of the
Gāndhāras, is mentioned in the Alt. Br., vii. 34. See Colebrooke’s Essays, i. 46,
and the second volume of this work, p. 353.
yoked like highbred horses to the bridal car, and wounded with the
goad. Janārđana, by a clever device, caused Jarāsandha, the large-
ammed, lord of a complete army, to be slain. This hero also
slaughtered like a beast the king of the Chedis (see above, p. 215),
the valiant lord of a royal army, who quarrelled regarding the offering
[made to Krīṣhṇa]. Assailing Saubha, the self-supporting (i.e. flying)
city of the Daityas, on the shore of the ocean, protected by the Sālva
(king), and difficult to destroy, Mādhava overthrew it." [Then fol-
lows a list of numerous tribes, Angas, Bangas, etc., etc., conquered by
Krīṣhṇa.] . . . . . . v. 400: "Entering of old the ocean,
filled with marine monsters, he overcame in battle Varuṇa, who had
sunk within the waters. Having slain in battle Panchajana dwelling
in Pāṭāla, Hṛishīkeśa obtained the divine shell Pānchajanyas. Having,
along with Pārtha (the son of Prithū, Arjuna), propitiated Agni
in Khāṇḍava, this mighty being acquired the irresistible fiery weapon,
the discus. Mounted on Garuḍa, and terrifying Amarāvatī (the
city of Indra), this hero brought back the pārijāta from the abode of
the elder Indra. And to this Sakra submitted, knowing his prowess.
And we have not heard of any of the kings who has not been con-
quered by Krīṣhṇa. Then who but Puṇḍartikāksha could have per-
formed that very wonderful act which he did in my assembly? Through
the faith which I had attained, I beheld Krīṣhṇa, the lord,
with delight; of all that I was well assured, and I obtained as it
were a distinct vision. No one can by act attain to the limit of
Hṛishīkeśa who is distinguished by valour as well as by wisdom.
And Gada also, and Śamba, and Pradyumna, and Vidūratha, [here
follows a list of other warriors] these, and other powerful martial
heroes of the Vṛishṇi tribe, summoned by the great Vṛishṇi·hero,
Keśava, will join in some way the host of the Pāṇḍavas, and stand
up in the battle. Hence, in my opinion, everything will be doubtful.
Wherever Janārđana is, there is also the hero Rāma, in strength
equal to ten thousand elephants, resembling the summit of Kailāsa,
wearing a garland of wild flowers, and carrying a plough. Or Vāsu-
deva, he whom the Brahmans call the universal father, will fight for

237 See the story as told in the Sabhā-parvan, vv. 848 ff.
238 Compare note 189, p. 191; and see Ādi-parvan, v. 8196, where the story is told.
239 See Wilson's Vṛishṇi Purāṇa, pp. 588 ff. (vol. v., pp. 97 ff., of Dr. Hall's ed.).
the Pāṇḍavas. When he shall arm [for battle] on their behalf, no one shall then stand up to encounter him. Even if all the Kurus were to overcome the Pāṇḍavas, Vārṣṇeya (Krishṇa) would on behalf of the latter seize his pre-eminent weapon; and having then slain all the princes and the Kauravas in battle, this great-armed and tiger-like man (lit. man-tiger) would bestow the earth on Kuntī. What chariot can stand in the conflict against that chariot of which Hṛishikēśa is the driver, and on which Dhananjaya (Arjuna) fights? By no contrivance does the victory of the Kurus appear [to be possible]. Give me therefore a full account of the way in which the battle proceeded."

Then follow the verses which have been already quoted above in p. 235, Arjunaḥ Kṛkavaṇyātma, "Arjuna is the soul of Keśava," etc.

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

Pūrvāṅga māṁ kṛita-jayaṁ kadaśeśe vipraḥ pravāte kāntāya manojnam | kartavyam te dushkaraṁ karma Pārtha yodhavyam te śatrubhiḥ
Savyasāchin | Indro va te harīmān vajra-hastaḥ purastād-yatu samare
'rin vinighnam | Śugriva-yuktena ratheṇa va to pāshchāt Krishnō rakṣahatu
Vāsudevaḥ | vavre chāhaṁ vajra-hastād Mahendra asmin yuddhe Vāsudevaṁ sahāyam | sa me labho dasyu-badhāya Krishṇo manye chaśata
vihiṣtaṁ daivataṁ me | sa bāhubhyāṁ sūgaram uttīrśahed mahodadhiṁ
salasyāprameyaṁ | tejasvināṁ Krishṇaṁ atyanta-sūraṁ yuddhena yo
Vāsudevaṁ jīgīṣhet | giriṁ sa ichhet tu talena bhettum silochayaṁ śvetam atipramāṇam | tasyaiva pāṇiḥ sa-nakaḥ viśtyed na chāpi kinchit sa gires
tu kuryāt | agniṁ samiddhaṁ samayed bhūjābhāyaṁ chandranca sīr-
yancha nivārayeta | hared devanāṁ amritaṁ prasahya yuddhena yo
Vāsudevaṁ jīgīṣhet | yo Rukminiṁ eka-rathena Bhājan utādyā rājaṁ
samare prasahya | uchāḥ bhūryāṁ yasāsā jvalantīṁ yasyāṁ jaṁe Ruk-
miṁeva mahātmā | ayaṁ Gāndhārāṁs tarasā samprahmatāya jīvāṁ putrāṁ
Nagnajītaṁ samagrāṁ | baddham mumocha vinadantam prasahya Sudar-
sanaṁ vai devatānāṁ lālāmam | ayaṁ kāṇṭena jogānaṁ Pāṇḍyaṁ tathā
Kalingān Dantakūrse mamardec | anena dagdāhā varsha-pūgān anāthā
Vārāṇasi nagari sambabhūva | ayaṁ sma yuddhe manyate 'nyair ajeyaṁ
tam Ekalavyaṁ nāma Nishāda-rājam | vegeneva śailam abhihatya Jambhāḥ
śete sa Krishnena hataḥ parāsūḥ | tathagrasenasya sutam sudushton
Vrishny-Andhakānāṁ madhya-gataṁ sabhā-satham | apātayad Baladeva-
dvityo hatva daḍuV chograsenaṁ rājyaṁ | ayaṁ Saubhāṁ yodhayāmāṁa
svastham vībhīṣyam māyāṁ Śālva-rājam | Saubha-devāṁ pratya-
śrīkṛṣṇaṁ sataghnīṁ dorbhyaṁ kaḥ enaṁ visaheta mṛtyuṁ | Prajñotishaṁ
nāma babhūva durgam puraṁ ghoram Asurānāṁ asahyam | mahābalo
Narakas tatra Bhauṁo jaśhādityaṁ maṇi-kundale śubhe | na tam devaḥ
sahā S'akrene śekuḥ samagataḥ yuddhi mṛityor abhitāḥ | dṛṣṭvā cha tam
vikramāṁ Kesavasya balaṁ tathaivastram avarāṇīyam | jānantu 'aya
prakṛitiṁ Kesavasya nyayo jayan dasyu-badhaya Krishnam | sa tat karma
'ya ātisūryacu dushkaram aśvavyavān siddhishu Vasudevaḥ | nirmochane
śaṅke saharāṇī hatva sanchhidyā pāśan sahasā kshurāntān | Murāṁ
hatva vinihatyauha-rakṣo nirmochanaṁ chāpi jagāma virāḥ | tatraiva
tenāya babhiva yuddham mahābalenātipalasya Vīshṇoḥ | śete sa Krishnena
hataḥ parasūr vāteneva mathitaḥ karnikāraḥ | ahritya Kṛṣṇo maṇi-
kuṇḍale to hatva cha Bhaumaṁ! Narakam Murancha | śriyā vṛito yaśasā
taiva vidvān pratyaṣagāmāpratima-prabhāvāḥ | asmai varān adadaṁs
tatra devaḥ dṛṣṭvā bhāmaṁ karma kritaṁ raṇe tat | "śramaḥ cha to
yudhayāmānasya na śyād ākāśo cha to kramaḥ syat | śastraṁ
gātra na cha to kramerran" ity eva Kṛṣṇas cha tataḥ kritārthac |
evaṁ-rūpe Vasudēva 'prameye mahābale guṇa-sampat sadaiva | tam asa-
hyāṁ Vīṣṇum ananta-vīryam aśaṁśate Dhārtarāṣṭro viṣeṣaṁ |

“One, in the forenoon, when I had muttered my prayers, and concluded my ablutions, a Brahman addressed to me these pleasant words:

'Son of Pṛthvī, thou hast a difficult work to do; thou hast to fight with thine enemies, O Savvyasāchin (a name of Arjuna). Shall Indra
with his steeds, and wielding the thunderbolt, go before thee in battle, smiting thy foes, or shall Kṛṣṇa, the son of Vasudeva, with his car, to which Sugrīva (one of Kṛṣṇa’s horses) is yoked, protect thee from behind?’ I elected to have in the combat Vasudeva for an ally, rather than Mahendra, wielding the thunderbolt. Kṛṣṇa was obtained by me as a helper in slaying the Dasyus, and I think that this was effected for me by the gods. That man will try to stretch over the ocean, the immeasurable receptacle of waters, with his arms, who thinks to conquer
in battle the glorious and eminently heroic Kṛiṣṇa. If any one should attempt to split with his hand the white mountain (viz. Kailāsa), a vast pile of rocks, his hand and nails would be worn away, and he could produce no effect upon the mountain. That man would extinguish blazing fire with his arms, would stop the moon and sun, would daringly plunder the ambrosia of the gods, who should think to conquer Vāsudeva in battle,—[Vāsudeva] who having boldly destroyed in battle the Bhoja kings, carried off on the same car with himself Rukmimī his bride, shining in renown, of whom the great Raukiṃjeya was born. He (Kṛiṣṇa) having by his prowess destroyed the Gāndhāras, having conquered all the sons of Nagnajit, forcibly released [king] Sudarśana, renowned even among the gods, who had been bound [by the sons of Nagnajit], and was making an outcry. He slew Pāṇḍya with the fragment of a door, and crushed the Kalingas in Dantakūra. Through him the city of Benares, which had been burnt, and remained for many years defenceless, sprang into existence. He regarded Ekalavya the king of the Nīshādas as invincible by others in battle, [but slew him], having smitten him furiously with a rock. Jambha sleeps, bereft of life by Kṛiṣṇa. Seconded by Baladeva, he also prostrated [Sunāman] the wicked son of Ugrasena standing in the midst of the assembly of the Vṛiṣṇis and Andhakas, and having slain him, gave the kingdom to Ugrasena. He conquered the self-supporting (i.e. flying) [city of] Saubha, and the king of the Śālvas, terrible from his magical powers, and arrested with his arms at the gate of Saubha the weapon Sataghnī: what mortal can assail him? There was an im-

240 One of the commentators says that Sudarśana was a certain king, and explains devatānāṁ latāmam by devatānāṁ madhye praśastam, "approved among the gods." Another commentator says latāmam = śironānīm, "a head-jewel or ornament." The Bhāgavata Purāṇa, x. 34, 8 ff., tells a story of a Vidyādhara also named Sudarśana, who in consequence of a curse had been changed into a serpent, but who renewed his former shape on being touched by Kṛiṣṇa's foot.

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

242 A weapon generally supposed to be a species of firearms, or a rocket, but also described as a stone set round with iron spikes.—Wilson's Dictionary. See also Williams's Sanskrit English Dictionary; s.v., and the end of note 189, page 191, above. A double account is given of the destruction of the flying (kāmaṇya) city of Saubha and of its king in the Vana-parvan. The story is first of all briefly given in vv. 615–635; and afterwards very diffusely in vv. 636–889. Kṛiṣṇa splits the city with his discus Sudarśana (v. 883), and kills the king of the Śālvas himself (v. 885).—See Lassen's Indian Antiquities, p. 615, first ed., p. 761, second ed.
pregnable, formidable, and unassailable castle of the Asuras, called Prágjayotisha. Thither the powerful Naraka son of the Earth had carried off the beautiful jewelled earrings of Aditi. The assembled gods aided by Indra, fearless of death, could not [overcome] him in battle. But perceiving the valour, the strength, and the irresistible weapons of Keśava, and knowing his nature, they appointed him (Krishṇa) to slay the Dasyu. Vāsudeva, possessing divine power in his magical endowments (aśvāyavān siddhishu), undertook that difficult task. Having in the city Nirmochana slain six thousand [Asuras], and having violently cut asunder the nooses sharp as razors, having slain Mura and the Rākshaśa Ogha, he proceeded to Nirmochana. There Vishṇu of surpassing strength had a fight with the powerful foe; who, smitten by Krishṇa, sleeps lifeless, like a karnikāra tree overthrown by the wind. Having captured the jewelled earrings and slain Naraka, son of the Earth, and Mura, the wise Krishṇa of incomparable power, returned surrounded by splendour and renown. Then the gods having seen that terrible work which he had achieved in battle, conferred upon him these boons: ‘Let no fatigue oppress thee, when thou-are fighting; let thy step traverse the sky and the waters; and let no weapons make any impression on thy body.’ With these boons Krishṇa was satisfied. In Vāsudeva, who is of such a character, immeasurable, and of mighty strength, there is always an abundance of virtues. It is this irresistible Vishṇu, of infinite power, whom the son of Dhṛitarāśṭra hopes to overcome.”

243 The story of this demon is told in the Vishṇu Purāṇa.—See Wilson’s translation, pp. 581 ff., or vol. v., pp. 87 ff. of Dr. Hall’s ed.
244 These nooses are also mentioned in the Vishṇu Purāṇa (see Wilson’s translation, as in the last note) and in the Harivamśa, v. 6833. See Longlois’s note to his French translation, p. 521, in which he refers to the Asiatic Researches, vol. xiii., p. 273 ff. In that article an account is given of the Phānsigars or Thugs, who murder their victims by throwing a noose. The writer refers in illustration to the Rāmāyaṇa, i. 29, 9 (Schlegel’s edition), where three kinds of nooses are mentioned, the dharma-pāśa, the kāla-pāśa, and the Vāraṇa-pāśa. In the Vana-parvan, 879, the epithet kṣuṇrānta, sharp as a razor, is applied to Krishṇa’s discus.
245 See verse 4407 of this same parvan; Nirmochane shatvaharsād pāśair baddhāḥ mahāśurāḥ | This line evidently contains an allusion to the same story as is referred to in the text; and from a comparison of both passages I infer that Nirmochana is the name of a place. Böhtlingk and Roth s.v. do not recognize this signification.
246 Pterospermum acerosilium,
It will be noticed that Krishna is here represented as receiving various boons from the gods. It would appear, therefore, as if the author of this passage could not consistently have regarded him as one with the supreme deity.

The following passage from the Vana-parvan describes Krishna as a great devotee, as a performer of sacrifices, as a destroyer of hostile men and demons (referring to some of the legends already alluded to); and also in some places identifies him with the supreme spirit. Krishna, we are told, had gone with some of his clansmen to visit the Pândavas in the forest; and as he showed himself greatly incensed at the conduct of the Kurus, Arjuna, to appease him, related (needlessly, one would think, if he was regarded as the Supreme Deity) his exploits in former births (vv. 471 ff.): Arjunaḥ uvācha | Daśa-varsha-sahasraṇi yatra Śāyangriho muniḥ | vyācharas tvam pūrā Krishnaḥ parvate Gandhamadāne | daśa-varsha-sahasraṇi daśa-varsha-satāṁ cha | puṣhkaresho avasaḥ Krishnaḥ tvam apo bhakshayan pūrā | uryāva-bāhur viśālayāṁ Vadaryam Madhusūdanaḥ | atishthāṁ eka-pādene vayu-bhakṣaḥ | satam samāḥ | avakriṣṭottarāsangāḥ kṛṣṇo dharmani-santāḥ | āstiḥ Krishnaḥ Saravatyaṁ satre dvādaśa-varshikāḥ | Prabhāsam apya athāsādyā tirtham punya-janochitam | tathā Krishnaḥ mahātejāḥ divyaṁ varsha-sahasrikām (sic) | atishthāṁ tvam yathāikena pādene niyama-sthitāḥ | loka-pravṛtti-hetos tvam iti Vyāśo mamūbravite | kṣetra-jaṅghār varta-bhātanām ādār antāḥ cha Keśava | nīdānām tapasāṁ Krishnaḥ yajnas tvāṁ cha sanātanaḥ | nihatya Narakam Bhaumam akṛtya maṇi-kuṇḍale | prathamotpādītaṁ Krishnaḥ medhyam āsavām avārṣijāḥ | kṛitvā tat karma lokānām rishabhāḥ sarva-loka-jīt | abadhitvā tvāṁ raṇe sarvān sametān dāitya-dānāvān | tataḥ sarveśvaratvaṁ cha sampradāya Sāchī-pateḥ | manusheshu mahābāho praśūrāṇāt 'si Keśava | sa tvāṁ Nārāyaṇo bhāteḥ Harir āśīḥ parantapa | Bṛhaṁ Somaḥ cha Śūryaḥ cha Dharmo Dhātā | Yamo 'naitaḥ | Vāyuḥ Vaiśravano Rudraḥ kālāḥ kham prithivi dīṣāḥ | ajaś charāchara-guruḥ vrshṭā tvam purushottama | parāyaṇaṁ devam ārdhaṁ kṛta-bhūra Mahāsūdanaḥ | atajjo bhūri-tejaḥ vai Krishna Chaitratahe vane | sataṁ sata-sahasraṇi svārvasya Janārādana | ekākāsmiṁs tadā yaṁ paripūrṇaṁ bhāgaḥ | . . . . . | Sādītaḥ Muraṇvaḥ pādaḥ | Nisunda-Narakaṁ hatau | kṛitaḥ kṣemaḥ punaḥ pantaḥ puram Prāgyotisham prati | Jārāthyām Aḥvṛitiḥ Krāthaḥ Śīvapālo janaṁ saha | Jarāsanadāḥ cha Śāvyaḥ cha Sataśiṣṭaṁ cha nirjitaḥ | tathā Parpanya-
ghosheṣa ratheṇa-dītya-varchasā | avāpsīr mahīṣām bhojyāṁ rāṇe nirjītya
Rukmiṇīm | Indrayunno hataḥ kopād Yavanaś cha Kaserumāṇ | hataḥ
Saubha-patiḥ Śālvas tvayā Saubham cha pāṭitam | Iryavatāṁ hato
Bhojaḥ Kāravārya-samo yudhiḥ | Gopatis Tālakesuḥ cha tvayā vinihatāv
ubhau | tāṁ cha Bhogavatim puṇyāṁ Rishikāṁ tāṁ Janārāna | Dwārakāṁ utmasāt kriyāv samudrāṁ gamayishyasi | na krodho na cha
mātsaryaṁ nānritam Madhusūdana | tvayi tisṭhati Dāsārha na nṛṣaṁ-
syaṁ kuto 'nṛṣuḥ | āśīnaṁ chaitya-madhye tvāṁ diṣṭamānaṁ sva-tejasā
| āgamyā rishayaḥ sarve 'yāchantābhayaṁ Ačyuteḥ |

Vana-parvan, 471. "Formerly, Krishṇa, thou didst roam for ten
thousand years on the mountain Gandhamādan, where the muni
Śāyāngriha was. Formerly thou didst dwell ten thousand and ten
hundred years in ponds, subsisting upon water. Thou didst stand on
the spacious Badari a hundred years with thy arms aloft, on one foot,
subsisting on air, with thy outer garment thrown off, emaciated, with
thy veins swollen. Going also to Prabhāsa, a sacred spot fit for holy
men, thou stoodest glorious, Krishṇa, for a thousand years of the gods,
on one foot, practising self-restraint, for the benefit of the world,—
this Vyāsa declared to me. Thou, Keśava, art the spirit residing in
men's bodies, the beginning and the end of all existences, the re-
ceptacle of austerities, and the eternal sacrifice. Having slain Naraka,
the son of the Earth, and having carried off the jewelled earrings,
thou didst let loose the first-produced sacrificial horse. Having per-
formed that rite, chief of the worlds, and conqueror of all worlds,
thou didst slay in battle all the assembled Daityas and Dānavas. And
then, having conferred the lordship of the universe on Indra, thou,
O great-armed, didst become manifested among mankind. Thou,
being Nārāyaṇa, wert Hari, O vexer of thy foes. Thou, O Puru-
shottama (or chief of Spirits, or Males), art Brahmā, Soma, Śūrya,
Dharma, Dhātri, Yama, Anala (Fire), Vāyu, Kuvera, Rudra, Time,
Sky, Earth, the Regions, the unborn, the lord of the world, the
creator. Thou, Madhusūdana, Krishṇa, of great glory, didst with
sacrifices worship the supreme, high, god in the forest of Chaitrarathā.
A hundred times a hundred thousands of gold were then severally
told out in full tale at each sacrifice." [Here follow the verses quoted
above, p. 136, beginning Aditer api putratvam, and ending nihatāṁ
śataśo 'surāḥ]. The nooses of Muru were destroyed; Nisunda and
Naraka were slain; the way to the city Pragjyotisha was again rendered safe. On the Jāruthī Āhvriti, Krātha, Siśupāla with his men, Jarāsandha, Śaivya and Satadhanvan were conquered. So, too, having vanquished Rukmin in battle with thy ear, resounding like Parjanya, and gleaming like the sun, thou didst obtain thy queen to be the object of thy love. (See above, p. 215.) Indradyumna was slain by thee in thy wrath, and the Yavana Kaserumat, and Śālva, the lord of Saubha; and Saubha was thrown down. Bhoja, equal to Kārtavirya in battle, was slain by thee on the Iravati, as well as both Gopati and Tālaketu. And having subdued to thyself Dvāraka, thou wilt cause the holy Bhogavatī and the Rishikā to flow to the ocean. Neither anger, nor envy, nor falsehood, nor cruelty, abides in thee, Dāśārha (Kṛishṇa): how then canst thou be deceitful? The rishis came to thee, [Achyuta,] whilst thou wast sitting in the midst of the Chaitya (sacrificial ground), resplendent with thy own brightness, and begged of thee security. [Then follow some lines which have been quoted above, p. 229, beginning Yugante sarva-bhūtāni sankshipya, etc.]

VI. Although, as we have already seen from various passages of the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas, Kṛishṇa is generally identified with Viṣṇu, and Viṣṇu with Brahma, or the supreme deity, yet in a text quoted above (p. 49) from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, x. 33, 27, Kṛishṇa is spoken of as only a partial incarnation of the godhead. The same is the case in another passage in the first section of the same tenth book of the Bhāgavata. The king there says to Sūka that he has heard from him the history of the kings of the solar and lunar races, and among them of Yadu. He then asks the sage to relate the achievements of Viṣṇu, the creator and soul of all things, who became partially incarnate (tatrāmśenāvatīrṇasya Viṣṇor viryāni saṁsa naḥ | avatīrṇa Yador vaṁśe bhagavān bhūta-bhāvanaḥ | kṛitarān yāni viśvātmā tāni no vada vistarāt). Sūka in reply goes on to relate that the earth being afflicted by Daityas in the shape of proud princes, had, in the form of a cow, preferred her complaint to Brahmā, who had consequently gone with the other gods to supplicate the help of Viṣṇu. Brahmā hears a voice in the sky:

248 See the first volume of this work, pp. 450 ff.
Bhāgavata Purāṇa, x. i. 21 ff.—Gīrāṁ sanādhau gaṅgale samārthēṁ
niśamya Vedhās tridaśān uvāca ha | gām paurūśhīm me śriṇuṭāmarāṁ
punar vidhiyatām āsu tathaiva māchirām | purāvaṁ puṁsa (Īśvaraṇa,
Comm.) 'vadhrīto dharā-āvaro bhavadbhir aṁśaṁ Yaduśāpajanyatām |
sa yāvad urvyāṁ bharam īśvarāvaram sva-kāla-śaktyā keśapayāṁ chared
bhūvi- | Vasudeva-grīhe sākṣād bhagavān Purushaḥ paraḥ | janishyate
tat-priyārthāṁ sambhavantu sura-strīyaḥ | Vāsudeva-kalā 'nantaḥ sa-
hasra-vadanaḥ svarāt | agrato bhavitā devo Hareḥ priya-chikārshayaḥ |
Vishnū māya bhagavati yāyaṁ sammohitaṁ jagat | ādiṣṭā praḥbhūnā
'ṁśena kāryārthe sambhavishyati |

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

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

Nripāṇāṁ kathitāḥ sarvo bhavatā vaṁśa-vistarāḥ | Vaṁśānucharitaṁ
chaiva yathāvad anuvartitam | Aṁśāvalāro brahmaṁśa yo 'yaṁ Yadu-
kuloddhavah | Vīṣṇus taṁ vistaraṁhāṁ bṛtotum ichchhāmy aśeṣhataḥ | Chakāra yāṁ karmāṁbhi bhagavān Purushottamaḥ | Aṁśāṁśeñavātirvyāṁ
atra tāṁ mune vada | Parāsaraḥ uvāca | Maitreya śṛṣṭatāṁ
dad yat prīṣṭo 'ham iha tvayā | Vīṣṇoḥ aṁśāṁśa-sambhāti-charitaṁ
jagato hitam |

"You have related to me the complete genealogy of the kings, and
also the entire history of the races. I now wish, divine sage, to hear in
full detail the particulars of the incarnation of a portion of Vīṣṇu
which took place in the tribe of the Yadus. Tell me, Muni, what acts
the divine Purushottama performed when he descended to the earth in a portion of a portion [of himself]. Parāśara replies: 'Hear, Maitreya, that which you have asked me, the history, beneficial to the world, of the birth of a portion of a portion of Vishnu.'

The sage proceeds to relate (see Wilson's Vishnu Purāṇa, pp. 493–497; pp. 249 ff. of the 4th vol. of Dr. Hall's ed.) how the earth had complained to Brahmā and the other gods that the Asura Kālanemi had revived in Kansa, and other demons also had been born as princes; so that she had to bear upon her surface many hosts of strong and haughty Dāitya chiefs wearing celestial forms; and that she could not support the load. (V.P. v. 1. 12. Etasmīn eva kāle tu bhūri-bhāra-vapīditā | jagāma dharaṇī Merau samāje trividvaukasām | . . . . . . . . . . . . . 25 | akshauhinyo hi bahulaḥ divya-mārti-dhriṣṭāṁ surāḥ | mahābalanāṁ ādiplānāṁ dāiyendrāgām manopari | tad-bhūri-bhāra-pīdārī na śaknomy amareśvarāḥ | viśhurtum ātmanā "tāmānā iti vijnāpayāmi vaḥ | kriyataṁ tat mahābhūgaḥ mama bhāravatāraṇam | yathā rasātalāṁ nāhāṁ gachheyam ativihvala).  

Brahmā proposed that they should

249 The Greek writers, too, speak of the earth being burthened, but from a different cause, viz. with the load of men, and that Jupiter brought about the Trojan war for her relief. In the Helena of Euripides, vv. 38 ff., it is said: Πόλεμον γὰρ ευφόρου Ελλήνων χθον Καλ Φριζε δυστήνοισιν, ἵνα γὰρ βροτῶν Πλῆθος τοι κοὐφθεὶς μητέρα χθόνα, Τυθών της θρίσκῃ των κρατιστῶν Ἑλλάδας. "For he brought on a war between the land of the Greeks and the unhappy Phrygians, that he might relieve mother Earth of the crowd and multitude of mortals, and make known the brave man in Greece."

Similarly in the Orestes of the same author, vv. 1639 ff., it is said: 'Εσείς θεός τοῦ τυχός, καλλιστέραμες "Ελλήνες εἰσεν καὶ Φρίζας συνήγαγεν, ταύτας τ' ἔθηκας, ἵνα ἀπαντήσῃς χθονίν, "Τήρησας θητῶν ἀθόρου πληρώματος. "Since the gods by means of her beauty brought the Greeks and Phrygians into conflict, and occasioned deaths, in order that they might remove from the Earth the grievance of being superabundantly replenished with mortals."

And in the Scholia Minor in the Iliad, i. 5 (quoted in Heyne's Homer, Oxford, 1821), we read: 'Ἀλλαὶ δὲ ἀνὰ ἱστορίας τινς ἦσαν ειρήκεναι τὸν "Ομηρον" φασὶ γὰρ τὴν γῆν βαιρούμενην ὑπὸ αὐτῶν πολυπληθέσιας, μιθεμένης αὐτῶν δούσι εὐσεβείας, αἰτήσαι τὸν Δία κοὐφθήναι τοῦ ἁχθους. Τὸν δὲ Δία, πρῶτον μὲν ἄθις ποιήσαι τὸν Θηβαϊκὸν πόλεμον, δὲ αὖ πολλοὶ πάντων ἀπαλύσεις. Βότερον δὲ πάλιν συμβούλης τῷ Μάμφῃ ἐχρήσασα, ὃν δὲ βουλήν Ὀμηρὸς φήσιν. ἕκαθ' οὖς τε τὸν κεφαλωτὸν ἀκατακλυσμὸς πάντας διαφθέρει, τοῦτο τὸ Μάμφῳ καλύσαστος, ὑποθεμένου δὲ αὐτῷ γραμμαί δύο, τὴν Θέτιδον ὀνυγκοῖας, καὶ θησαυρὸς καλὴς γένους, εἴ δὲ αὕρωταρον πόλεμον ἐλληνὶ το καὶ βαρβάροις ἐγκένευο, οὕτω συμβήκῃ κοὐφθήναι τῇ γῆι, πολλῶν ἀναμεθέντων. ἤ δὲ ἱστορία παρὰ Σταυρῶν τὴ τὰ Κύπρα περιοικότητι, εἰπώντι οὕτω: 'Ἡν οὗ μουρί φύλα κατὰ χθόνα πλαζόμενα Βαδούτερνου
resort to Vishnu, "who is the spirit of all, and of whom the universe consists," and "who constantly, for the sake of earth, descends in a very small portion of his essence, to establish righteousness below" (v. 32. sarvadāiva jagatya-arthe sa sarvātmā jagannayaḥ | svalpāṁśena-vatīryorvayo’ṁ dharmasya kurute sthitim). The gods accordingly went to the milky sea, and lauded Vishnu in a long hymn. Vishnu was gratified by their praises, desired them to state their wishes, and assured them that these should be accomplished. Brahma renewed his praises; and we are then told what happened when they were concluded:

58. Evaṁ saṁstāyamānas tu bhagavān paramesvarah | Ujjahārātmanah keśau sita-krishnau mahāmune | Udvācha cha evaṁ etau mat-keśau vasudhā-tele | Avatīrya bhuvō bhāra-kleśa-hāniṁ karishyatalaḥ | Surāśoḥa sakalaḥ svāṁsair avatīrya mahātale

59. Kuryantu yuddham unmaṭaiḥ pūrvotpannair mahāsuraīḥ | Tatāḥ kshayam aśeṣaṁ te Daiteyāḥ dharanī-tele | Prayāsyanti na sandeho mad-ṛik-pāta-vichāṁritāḥ | Vasudevasya yā pati Devākṛ devatapamā | Tasyāyaṁ aṣṭamo garho | mat-keśo bhavitā surāḥ | Avatīrya cha tatrāyaṁ


"Others have declared that Homer used the expression (Δίδε τετελεστο βουλή) 'And the counsel of Zeus was fulfilled') in consequence of a certain history. For they relate that the Earth, being weighed down by the multitude of men, among whom there was no piety, prayed to Zeus to be relieved of the burthen; and he had first caused the Theban war, whereby he destroyed very many. Afterwards he employed Momus as his counsellor, (an act) which Homer calls 'Zeus's consultation.' When he could have destroyed the whole of mankind by his thunderbolts or by deluges, but was dissuaded from doing so by Momus, who suggested two plans, the marriage of Thetis to a mortal, and the generation of a beautiful daughter, in consequence of which two events a war was occasioned between the Greeks and Barbarians,—it thus came to pass that the Earth was lightened, many being slain. The history is found in Stasinus, who composed the Cypria, and who speaks as follows: 'There was a time when myriads of races wandered over the Earth, on the breadth of the deep-bosomed land. But Zeus, beholding, pitied her, and in his wise mind resolved to relieve the all-nurturing Earth of [the load of] men, by exciting the great strife of the Ilian war, in order that by slaughter he might clear away the burthen: and the heroes were slain in the Troaid. And the counsel of Zeus was fulfilled." See also above, p. 215, note 212; and Dronap., 2051 f.

250 Another MS. reads mahātalaṁ.
251 Another MS. reads esha garho 'śhṭanmas tasyaḥ.
252 Another MS. reads tatrāham.
RATNAGARBHA'S REMARKS ON KRISHNA'S INCARNATION. 257

Kālanemiṁ samudbhūtam ityuktvā 'ntardadhe Hariḥ | Adrisyāya tatas tasmai pranipatyā mahāmune | Meru-prishṭham surāḥ jagmur avateruḥ cha bhūtale |

"Being thus lauded, the divine Paramesvara plucked out two of his own hairs, a white and a black, and said to the deities, 'These two hairs of mine, descending to the earth, shall remove her burthen and sufferings. And let all the deities, descending in portions of themselves to the earth, fight against those mad Asuras who were formerly born. Then all these sons of Diti (the Asuras) shall no doubt perish, being annihilated by the glances of my eyes. This my hair, gods, shall become the eighth child of Devaki, the wife of Vasudeva who (Devaki) resembles the goddesses. And this [hair] descending there, shall destroy Kausa, the Kālanemi who has been born." Having thus spoken, Hari disappeared. Having then bowed down to him the unseen, the gods went to the top of Meru, and descended on the earth."

The following are the remarks which Ratnagarbha, one of the commentators on the Vishnu Purāṇa, makes on the first of the preceding passages (p. 254), and which have reference to the sequel also:

"Chakāra" iti | tatra Krishnāvatāre ati-parichhinna-manushyākārālīla-vigrahenāvibhāvād aṁśāṁsena ity uktam upachārāt | nā tu saktihrāsenā Krishnādī-avatāreshv api viśva-rūpa-ārākṣāna-sarvaśavyādy-ukteḥ | Nanu aṁśino 'ṁsoddhāreṇa śakti-ādi-hrāsas tatāt'masyāpi taddaṇkeśya alpa-saktiśvādikāṁ dhānya-rāsāy-ādi-vidbhāgaḥ iva prasajyeta iti ched na | prakāṣā-svarūpe tad-abhāvāt | pradīpasya hi tan-mulaka-dipāntarasya vā upādhi-bhede 'pi śakti-ādi-sāmya-ārāsahā "pūrṇam adāḥ pūrṇam idam pūrṇat pūrṇam udachyate | pūrṇasya pūrṇam adāya pūrṇam evāvaśishyate" iti śruteḥ | "param Brahma narākṛiti gūḍhām param Brahma manushya-līṅgaṁ Krishnas tu bhagavan svayam" ityādi vākyebhyaḥ cha | yas tu "mat-keśau vasudhā-talē" ity-ādāv "ayaṁ Kaṁsaṁ ghūtayita" ity atya keśa-vyapadesaḥ sa Brahmaṇaḥ paripūrṇasya bhū-bhāra-harapāḥ rūpam aṁty-alpa-yantra-sādhyaḥ iti khyāpayaṁ nā tu keśayaḥ Rāma-Krishnātvāṁ vaktum | jaḍayaḥ keśayos tad-dehakshetrajnātuśāvānaḥ tat-kāryaṁ kartum aṣaktatvāt | keśātma-nāyayodbhava-Rāma-Krishṇa-dehāv ādiśya [āvīśya?] bhagavan eva tat kat kariṣhyati iti ched om iti brūmaḥ phalato viśeshāt "krishṇāśṭamyāṁ aham niśi" iti svayam evoktateoḥ cha ity aṁla vistareṇa |
"Purushottama is here figuratively said to have become incarnate with a portion of a portion of himself, because in the Kṛishṇa incarnation he was manifested in a merely sportive body in the very circumscribed form of a man, and not because of any diminution of his power, since even in the Kṛishṇa and other incarnations he is said to have shown himself in every possible form, and to have possessed all divine power, and so forth. But is it not the case that if a portion is taken from a whole composed of parts, there is a decrease of power, etc. [in that whole], and that thus an inferiority of power will attach to the portion relatively to the whole, just as when a heap of grain, or any other such whole, is divided? I answer, No; since such a diminution does not occur in him whose nature is light; for though there is a seeming difference in the individuality of one lamp, and of another lamp derived from it, yet an equality of power is perceived in each; agreeably to the text from the Veda (the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, xiv. 8, 1, p. 1094= Brīh. Āraṇyaka Upan. beginning of adhyāya 7, p. 948 of ed. in Bibliotheca Ind.), 'That is full, and this is full; a full arises out of a full: if a full be taken from a full, a full remains'; and also agreeably to such texts as this, 'The supreme Brahma with the form, and with the characteristics, of a man, is a great mystery; but Kṛishṇa is the lord himself.' And the employment of the term 'hairs' in the words, 'My hairs shall descend to the earth,' and 'This hair shall slay Kansa,' etc., is intended to signify that the task of removing the earth's burthen was such as Brahma in all his plentitude could effect by a very slight instrumentality, and not to assert that the two hairs were identical with [Bala]rāma and Kṛishṇa: for two insensible hairs, not being conscious spirits animating the bodies of those two persons, could not fulfil their task. If it be said that the lord occupying the bodies of Balarāma and Kṛishṇa, which were produced by the magical operation of the hairs, will do so and so, we reply, 'Yes, for there is no difference in the result, and because he himself said, 'I [shall be born] on the

233 See Dr. Roer's translation of this verse, with his explanatory note at p. 247 of the Bibliotheca Indica, vol. ii., part iii. The Commentary on the verse in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, p. 1167 of Weber's edition, may also be consulted. The Atharva-veda has the following verse, x. 8, 29: Pūrṇat pūrṇam udachati pūrṇam pūrṇena sicyate | uṇa tad adya vidyāma yatas tat parishtichyate | "He takes a full from a full: the full is sprinkled with the full: and may we to-day know that from which that is sprinkled."
eighth night of the dark fortnight of the moon.' But there is no occasion for further prolixity." 254

The passage which follows is from another commentary on the same text: 255

Ujjahāra | utpāsitavān | aham bhāvaḥ | mama dūhkaraṁ cheda yush-mābhīḥ sāhāyyam kāryaṁ syāt | na tv etad asti bhū-bhārāpaharanādau mahaty api kārya mat-keśa-mātrasyaiva samarthavād iti | na tu keśa-mātrāvatāraḥ iti mantavyam | "mad-dīk-pāta-vichārṇīlaḥ" "kṛishṇāśātmyām ahām utpatsyāmi" ityāditya sākṣhāt svāvatāratvokteḥ | sita-kṛishṇa-keśoddhārayaṁ ca sōbhārtham eva | "Ujjahāra means that he 'plucked out' the hairs. The sense is as follows: 'It would be a difficult matter if aid had to be rendered to me by you: but the same is not the case in regard to the task, though a great one, of removing the load of the earth, etc., since my hairs alone are equal to it.' But it is not to be supposed that there was nothing beyond an incarnation of the mere hairs; for his own incarnation is distinctly asserted in the words 'annihilated by the glance of my eye,' 'I shall be born on the eighth night of the dark fortnight of the moon,' etc., etc. The mention of his plucking out white and black hairs is for the purpose of ornament." 256

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

Tair eva sārdhāa tu tataḥ sa devo jagāma Nārāyaṇam aprameyam | anantam ayaṁtam ajām purāṇāṁ sanātanaṁ viṣṇum ananta-rūpam | sa chāpi tad vyadādhat sarveva tataḥ sarve sambabhūvur dharānyam | sa chāpi keśau Harir udvācārha sūklam ekam aparauṁ chāpi kriṣṇam | taur chāpi keśau niviṣṭetāṁ Yadūnāṁ kule striyau Devakīṁ Rohiṇīṁ ca | tayor eko Baladevo babhūva yo 'sau śvetas tasya devāya keśaḥ | Kṛishṇo dvitiyāḥ Keśavaṁ sambabhūva keśo yo 'sau varṇataḥ kriṣṇaṁ uktāḥ |

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

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

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

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

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

Agra keśā eva reto-rāpau Pāṇḍavānām eva Rāma-Kṛṣṇayor api prakāraṇa-sangaty-arthaṁ sākṣhād deva-retasaṁ utpattar avaktavyatvāt 237 | ataḥ eva Devakyāṁ Rohinīyāṁca sākṣhāt keśa-praveśāḥ uchyate na tu Vasudeve | tathā sati tu "devāṇāṁ reto varshāṁ varṣhasya retāḥ oshadhayaḥ" ityādi-brauta-pranādyā 'śmad-ādi-vat tayor api vyava-

237 dhāmanā deva-prabhavatvāṁ syat | tathā cha "etan nāṇa-vatārāṇāṁ nīḍānaṁ vijam avayam" iti bhagavatāḥ sākṣhād matsyādy-avatāra-

238 vijatam ucchamānāṁ virudhyeta | apicha keśa-retasor deha-jātve samāne 'pi retaḥ-prabhavatve'vāksrotastvena manushyatvam putrataṁ cha syät| tathā cha "Kṛṣṇas tu bhagavān svayam" iti śrmad-bhagavatokiḥ sangachhate | na cha keśoddhāraṇāṁ Kṛṣṇasyāpy aṁśatvam pratiyate iti vācyam | keśasya dehāvayavatvabhāvāt | tasmād Namuhi-oldhe kartave yathā apām phene vajrasya praveśah evāṁ Devakī-Rohinyor jāthare praveśe kartave keśādevayena dvāra-bhūtena bhagavataḥ kārt-

239 nyena eva avirbhāvah esṭavyah iti yuktam |

"Here the two hairs are of the nature of seed productive of Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa, just as in the case of the Pāṇḍavas, [and this expression is employed] for the sake of conformity to what had preceded, since it is manifest that one cannot speak of production from the seed of a god. For this reason it is distinctly said that the hairs entered into Devakī and Rohiṇī [the mothers], and not into Vasudeva [the father]. But, such being the case, according to the process of derivation described in the Veda, that 'rain is the seed of the gods, and plants are the seed of rain,' etc., these two persons also (Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa) will be mediately the offspring of the deity, just as is the case with ourselves and other beings. And thus—since 'this substance of the different incarnations is an undecaying seed,'—it would be opposed to that

237 The MS. in the E. I. Office Library reads avatva-vaktavyateśāt |

238 I put these words between inverted commas, as they appear to be a metrical quotation, though I am not aware whence it is derived.
declaration to predicate of the deity that he is literally the seed of the fish, and other incarnations. Further, although hairs and seed spring equally from the body, yet in the case of production from seed, humanity and sonship will arise after the manner of the inferior animals. And thus the saying of the Bhāgavata, that ‘Krishṇa is the Lord himself,’ is not contradicted. And it must not be said that from a hair being plucked out, Krishṇa also is shown to be only a portion [of the deity]; for a hair is not a part of the body. Wherefore, just as, when [the demon] Namuchi was to be slain, the thunderbolt [of Indra] entered into the foam of the waters,259 so when an entrance

259 I am indebted to Dr. Aufrecht for pointing out to me the legend to which reference is here made, viz. that mentioned in R.V. viii. 14, 13: *Āparī pherena Namuchēb sīrāḥ Indrādavartayaḥ | visvāḥ yad ajayah sprijḍāḥ | “Thou, Indra, didst strike off the head of Namuchi with the foam of the waters, when thou didst vanquish all opponents.” On this Sāyaṇa tells the following story: *Puruṣa kila Indro ’sūrāṇ jīteḥ Namuchin āsrānum grahitān na sośiṅa | sa ca yudhyāvānas tenaśureṇa jāgrīhe | sa ca grihāṃt Indrām evam avocah “tvām visṛṣyāmi vṛťāv abhi ca sūkh-kenārdreṇa chāyaudyāna yadi māṇ na hīṁsār” iti | sa Indras tena visṛṣiṣṭah samu ahorātrayōḥ sandhau sūkhrādṛ-vilakṣhaṇaṃ pherena tasya sīras chichkeda | ayaṃ artho ’sūyaṃ pratipādya | He Indra āparī pherena vajrijhūtena Namuchēr āsrūnyā sīrāḥ udavartayaḥ | “Formerly Indra having conquered the Asuras, was unable to seize the Asura Namuchi; and fighting, was seized by the Asura: The latter said to Indra, whom he had seized: ‘I release thee if thou wilt not smite me by night, or by day, with a dry or a wet weapon.’ Indra, being released by him, cut off his head at the junction of day and night with foam, which is different both from dry and wet. This purport is set forth in this verse.” See also S’atapatha Brāhmaṇa, xii 7, 3, 1 ff., quoted in the fifth volume of this work, p. 94; and also Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa, i. 7, 1, 6 f.: *Indro Ṛṣtraṁ hatōḥ āsrūna parābhaṣya Namuchin āsrūna na alabhāta | tam S’achyā ’grīhītāt | tuv samālabhetām so ’smūd abhiśunataro ’bhurut | so ’braviḥ “sāndhām sandadhāvahai | atha eva vah (asa?) sraksyānitr | na mā ’sūkheṇa na ārdreṇa kanaḥ na divā na naktam” iti | sa etam āparī pherena asinchiṣṭ | na vai esha śūhko na ārdreṇa | vyakṣalā ādīd anuditaḥ sūryah | na vai etad divā na naktam | tasya etasmin loke āparī pherena sīrāḥ udavartyayat | “Indra, after having slain Vṛtra and defeated the Asuras, could not catch Namuchi, who was one of that race. He (Namuchi) captured him (Indra) with S’aci [or by force]. These two laid each of other. The one (Namuchi) was stronger than the other (Indra). He (Namuchi) said: ‘Let us make an agreement; then I shall let thee go. Promise that thou wilt smite me neither with dry nor wet, neither by day nor by night.’ He (Indra) anointed (the thunderbolt) with this foam of the waters, which was neither dry nor wet. It was twilight,—the sun not risen; neither day nor night. He smote off his head with the foam of the waters.” The story is also told in the Indra-vijaya (published by Holtzmann), vv. 185 ff.; Mahābhārata, Udyoga-parvan, vv. 320 ff. This story of Indra destroying Namuchi with foam is again told in the Mahābhārata, S’alya-parvan (vv. 2434 ff.): *Namuchīr Vāvuvud bhītāḥ sūrya-raśmiṁ samprāśaṇaḥ | tenendrāḥ sakhyam akarot samayavchedam abravit | “na chārdeṇa na sūkhēṇa na
was to be made into the wombs of Devakī and Rohini, the manifestation of the deity in all his plenitude is to be understood as effected through the medium of the two hairs."

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

36. De rece Ṛgvesa Brahmāgaṇaṃ tasya mūrtaṃ chūmūrtam eva oha | kshara-kshara-svarūpe te sarva-bhūtesha avasthite |
37. aksharam paramam Brahma ksharaṁ sarvam idaṁ jagat | 38. eka-deśa-sthitasyaśagner jyotna vistārīṇī yathā | parasya Brahmāgaṇaḥ saktis tathādham akhiṇaṃ jagat |
39. tatrāthāsanna-dāvatvād bahutva-svalpatāmaṇaḥ | jyotnaḥ-bheda 'sti tadhahhaktes tadadu Maitreyāḥ vidyate | 40. Brahma-Vishnu-Sīvāḥ brahman pradhānāḥ Brahma-saktayāḥ | tataḥ oha devāḥ Maitreyāḥ nyānāḥ Yakṣādāyas tataḥ |
41. Tato manushyāḥ pāsavo mṛiga-pakshi- 

sarīrāmāḥ | nyānāḥ nyānatarāḥ chaiva vṛkṣa-gulmādayas tataḥ | tad 

tetad akṣayaṁ nityan jagad muni-varāhikilam | avirbhača-tirobhava-

janma-nāśa-vikalpacat | 42. Sarva-sāktimayo Vishnuḥ svarūpam Brahma-gaṇaḥ param | mūrtaṁ yad yogībhūḥ pūrvaṁ yogārambheshu chintyate |
43. sālamabho mahāyogaḥ savijvo yatra saṁśīthitaḥ | manasy avyakate 

samyag yunijatāṁ ghyate mune | 44. sa paraḥ sarva-sāktinām Brahma-gaṇaḥ 

samanaṁtaraḥ | mūrta-brahma mahābhāga sarva-brahmamayo Hariḥ |
45. tatra sarve maṇḍalam proṭatām oṣṭaḥ chaivakhilaṁ jagat | tato jagat jagat 

tasmin sa jagach chākhilan mune | 46. kshara-ksharamayo Vishnuḥ bhiḥarty 

akhilam iṣvarāḥ | purushāvēkāritamayam bhūṣaṇāstra-svarūpavat |

"rūtraṃ nāpi chāhemi | bhadhrisyāya asura-śreshṭha sakhe satyena te sāpe" | evam sa 

krīdāvī samayaṁ ḍrisṭvāḥ nīhāram iṣvarāḥ | chichheṣaya śiśo vājam apūm phenena 

Vāsavaḥ | tach chhiro Namuche chhinnāṁ prīśhataḥ Śakram anviyāt | bho mitra-

hana pāpeti bruṇyāṁ S'akram antikūt | evam sa śrīnaḥ tena chodyamanāḥ punaḥ 

pūnaḥ | Pitāmahāya santoṣṭaḥ etam arthaṁ nyavedayat | tam abhavīt taka-gurur 

arunāyāṁ yathāviḍhi | isḥvopasṛpiṣa deśendra tīrthe pāpa-bhayāsāhe | "Namuchi 

being afraid of Indra, entered into a ray of the sun. Indra formed a friendship with him, and uttered this agreement: 'I shall neither stay thee with wet nor dry, neither in the night nor in the day; I swear in truth to thee, my friend, thou most eminent of Asuras.' Having made this agreement, the lord Vāsava (Indra), holding a fog, [when it was neither night nor day], cut off his head with the foam of the waters [which was neither wet nor dry]. That head of Namuchi, after being cut off, followed close after Indra, calling out, 'O wicked slayer of thy friend.' Being thus again and again pressed by the head, and being distressed, he [Indra] 

represented the matter to Pitāmah (Brahma). The lord (or teacher) of the world (Brahma) said to him: 'Having sacrificed, touch [the waters] in the Arunā, that sacred spot, which removes sin and fear,' etc.
REGARDING THE DIFFERENT ENERGIES OF BRAHMA. 263

"Of that Brahma there are two conditions, one possessed of form, the other formless. These decaying and undecaying states exist in all creatures. The undecaying is the highest Brahma; the decaying is this entire universe. Just as light is diffused from a fire which is confined to one spot, so is this whole universe the [diffused] energy of the supreme Brahma. And as light shows a difference, greater or less, according to its nearness or distance from the fire, so is there a variation in the energy of Brahma. Brahmā, Vishnu and Siva are his chief energies. The deities are inferior to them; the Yakshas, etc., to the deities; men, cattle, wild animals, birds and reptiles to the Yakshas, etc.; and trees and plants are the lowest of all [these energies]. This entire universe, which, O most excellent Muni, is subject to appearance and disappearance, to production, to destruction, and to change, is yet undecaying and eternal. Vishnu, containing all the energies, is the highest form of Brahma, which, at the commencement of their abstraction is contemplated by Yogins as invested with shape. Directed to him, the great union (mahāyoga) with its basis, and its germs, is produced in the undistracted minds of the devotees. Hari (Vishnu) is the highest and most immediate of all the energies of Brahma, the embodied Brahma, formed of the whole of Brahma. On him this entire universe is woven and interwoven: from him is the world, and the world is in him; and he is the whole universe. Vishnu, the lord, consisting of what is perishable as well as what is imperishable, sustains everything, both Purusha and Prakṛiti, in the form of his ornaments and weapons." [The writer goes on to explain what is meant by the last clause. Vishnu bears or wears Purusha as the Kaustubha gem, Prakṛiti as the Śrīvatsa, etc. See Wilson's translation, vol. ii. p. 94 of Dr. Hull's ed.]

In the earlier part of the same section (Wilson, vol. ii., pp. 86 ff.) it is said that all kings, whether of men, gods, Daityas, Dānavas, or Rākshasas, are portions of Vishnu.

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

_Tava Krishṇa prasādena nayena cha balesa cha | āuddhīya cha Yadu-
śārdula tathā vikramaṇena cha | punaḥ prāptam idam rājyam pitri._
paitāmaham mayā | namas te Puṇḍarikākṣha punaḥ punar arindama
| tvām ekam āhuḥ Purushaṁ tvām āhuḥ Sātvataṁ gatim | nāma-bhis tvām
bahuvidhaṁ stuvanti prayatāṁ devījaḥ | viśvakarman namas te 'stu viśvāt-
man viśvā-sambhava | Viśṇu jīṣṇu Hare Kṛṣṇa Vaikuṇṭha Puru-
shottama | Adityaḥ saptadhā tvāṁ tu purāṇe garbhataṁ gataḥ | Pṛśiṇ-
garbhas tvam evaikas triyugaṁ tvāṁ vastrapady api | Suchisravāḥ Hṛiṣi-
keśa ghrītāchir hasaṁ uchyate | trichakṣhuḥ Sambhu ekas tvam viḥur
Dāmodaro 'pi cha | Varāha 'gnir vṛihadbhānuḥ vṛishabhas Tārkṣhya-
lakṣaṇaḥ | . . . 1514. Yonis tvam asya pralayaścha Kṛṣṇa tvam
evadaṁ srijasi viśvam agro | viśvadhenaṁ tvad-vaše viśvayone namo 'stu
te śārga-chakrāy-pāne |

"By thy favour, Kṛṣṇa, chief of the Yadus, and policy, and
power, and understanding, and valour, I have recovered this kingdom
of my father and grandfathers. Adoration be to thee, lotus-eyed,
subduer of thy foes, again and again. Thee alone men call Purusha:
thee alone they call the refuge of the Śātvats. Devout twice-born
men lend thee by names of various kinds. Glory be to thee, thou
maker of all, thou soul of all, thou source of all, Viṣṇu, conqueror,
Hari, Kṛṣṇa, Vaikuṇṭha, chief of spirits (or males). Of old thou
didst become the sevenfold offspring of Aditi.⁵⁶⁰ Thou alone art Pṛśi-
 nirbha: they also call thee [him who exists in] the three ages
(yugas). Thou art called Suchisravas, Hṛiṣikeya, Ghrītāchir, and
Hansa. Thou alone art the three-eyed Sambhu (Mahādeva) and Dā-
modara; the pervading, the Boar, Agni, Vṛihadbhānu,⁵⁶¹ the Bull, he
whose sign is Tārkṣhya (Guruḍa)." A long list of other titles then
follows, concluding with these words: "Thou art the source and the
destruction of this universe, Kṛṣṇa: it is thou who createst it in the
beginning, and it is all in thy power, thou source of all things: glory
be to thee who wieldest the bow, the discus, and the sword."

A little further on, at vv. 1604 ff., a long hymn of Bhīṣma to
Kṛṣṇa is given, in which the following lines occur:

1609 | Yasmin viśvāṁ bhūtāṁ āśrayante cha viśanta cha | guna-
bhūtāṁ bhūteśe sātre maṇi-gaṇaḥ īva | yasmin nitye tate tantuḥ dṛṣṭhe
śrag īva tiṣṭhāti | sa đasa đad grathitāmaṁ viśvāṁ viśvāṁ viśva-karmaṁ |

⁵⁶⁰ This, I suppose, refers to the Adityas being in the Veda spoken of as only
seven in number. See above, pp. 114 ff.
⁵⁶¹ A name of Agni.

"In whom, the lord of beings, all beings, existing as his qualities, abide and enter, like gems [strung] upon a thread: upon whom, the universal-membered artificer of all things, extended as a strong and eternal thread the universe, existent and non-existent, abides, arranged, like a chaplet; Hari, the thousand-headed, thousand-footed, thousand-eyed, with a thousand arms and diadems, resplendent with a thousand faces, whom they call Nārāyaṇa, the god who transcends all, the minutest of the minute, the vastest of the vast, the greatest of the great, the most eminent of the eminent, whom, true, and true in act, they celebrate in 'vākas,' 'anuvākas,' in 'nīshads,' and in 'upa-nīshads,' and in true 'sāma'-hymns, . . . 1616. the soul of all, the omniscient, the all, the all-knowing, the producer of all, the god whom the goddess Devakī bore to Vasudeva, for the preservation of the terrestrial deity (i.e. the Vedas, Brāhmans and sacrifices, Comm.) as Arāṇi (the wood used for kindling fire), produced the flaming Aγni. . . . . 1622. In whom these worlds flutter, like birds in water," etc.

262 This is the only place in which I have ever met with this word. I am unable to say whether Indian literature contains any such writings as ‘nīshads,’ or whether the term is a purely fictitious one, invented by the author of this passage to denote a principal and original set of writings to which the Upanīshads may have formed, in his idea, a secondary and supplemental class, as the Upapurūṇas do to the Purūṇas. Nilakanṭha, one of the commentators (whether conjecturally, or on good grounds, I cannot say), explains nīshatsu as meaning karmāṅgādy-avabaddha-devatādī-juñāna-vākyeshu, "works treating of the knowledge of the deities, etc., connected with the ceremonial part of the Veda," etc. The Upanīshads "reveal the knowledge of soul alone" (kevalātma-juñāpakā-vākyeshu). Vākas, according to the same authority, "make known ceremonies generally" (simānataḥ karma-prakāśakeshu); while anuvākas are "texts of the Brāhmans, explanatory of the sense of the mantras, or Vedic hymns" (mantrārtha-vivaraga-bhūteshu brahmaṇa-vākyeshu).

263 See the 5th vol. of this work, pp. 208 ff.
In the following passage, also from the Sānti-parvan, Kṛishṇa identifies himself with the supreme Spirit, and represents Brahmā and Mahādeva as having proceeded from him. In it the writer likewise endeavours to explain away the effect of certain texts in other parts of the poem (see above, pp. 185–204), in which Kṛishṇa is related to have worshipped Mahādeva, and which were no doubt felt to be inconsistent with the supreme deity of the former. The difficulty is attempted to be overcome by the explanation that in worshipping Rudra, he was only worshipping himself. In the verses 13133 ff. Arjuna asks Kṛishṇa to interpret the different appellations which had been applied to him in the Vedas and Purāṇas; and this Kṛishṇa accordingly proceeds to do, remarking by the way that Arjuna had been of old declared to be his own half (tvam hi me 'rāhāṁ smṛitāḥ purā). Nārāyaṇa (i.e. Vishṇu), he says, was the source of all things, and from him Brahmā and Śiva were produced; the one from his good pleasure, the other from his anger (13140. Yasya prasādajyo Brahmā Rudraścha krodha-sambhavaḥ). He then goes on (13144): Brāhmaṁ rāṭri-kshaye prāpte tasya hy amita-tejasah | prasādāt prādūrabhatvam padnam padma-nibhekasaha | tato Brahmā samabhavat sa tasyaiva prasādajaya | ahnaḥ kshaye laiṣṭāchcha suto devasya vai tathā | krodhāvishṭasya sanjaje Rudraḥ saṁhāra-kārakaḥ | etau deva vibudhaśreshthau prasāda-krodha-jāv ubhav | tad-ādēśita-panthānāu srishti-saṁhāra-kārakau | nimittamātram tāvatra sarva-prāṇi-vat-pradāvau | kapardī jatilo munḍāḥ smaśāna-grīha-sevakaḥ | ugra-vrata-dhāro Rudro yoṁ parama-dāruṣaḥ | Daksha-kratru-haraschaiva Bhaga-netra-haras tathā | Nārāyaṇātmako jneyaḥ Pāṇḍaveya yuge yuge | tasmin hi pujyamānā vai deva-deva Mahēśvare | sampūjito bhavet Pārtha devo Nārāyaṇaḥ prabhūḥ | aham ātmā hi lokānām viśveshām Pāṇḍu-nandanaḥ | 13152. tasmāt ātmānām evaṁgṛudrō sampujyāmy aham | yady aham nārcharayeṇa vai Īśanāṁ varadāṁ Śivam | ātmānāṁ nārcharayet kaścid iti me bhavvitamanah | mayā pramanāṁ hi kriṇaṁ lokāḥ samanuvartateḥ | pramānāṁ hi pujyāni tatam pujyāyam aham | yas taṁ vetti sa māṁ vetti yo 'nu taṁ sa hi māṁ anu | Rudro Nārāyaṇaḥ chaiva śattvaṁ ekāṁ dvīdhākriṇaṁ | lokāḥ charatī Kaunteya vyakti-sthaṁ sarva-karmasu | na hi me kenachiḥ deyo varāḥ Pāṇḍeve-nandanaḥ | iti sanchintya manasaḥ purāṇam Rudvaṁ śiva-ram | putrārtham āradhitavān aham ātmānam ātmāṇaḥ | na hi Vishṇuḥ

204 See the other passages about their identity, or intimate union, above, pp. 228 ff.
pranamati kasmaichil vibudhaya cha | rite atmam ceti tato Rudram
bhajamy ahum | sabrakhakah sarudrascha sendhrah devah sahasribhitah |
archayanti suv-vershthan devam Narayanam Harim | bhavishyatam
vartatana bhu-tananchaiva Bhurata | sarvesham agrangir Vishnu
sevyah pujya-stha nityasahte ityadi |

"When the end of Brahma's night had arrived, there sprang from the
good pleasure of that being of boundless power a lotus, O thou
whose eyes are like a lotus. From it was produced Brahma, who was
the offspring of his (Vishnu's) good pleasure; and at the end of the
day Rudra the destroyer was born from the forehead of the god when
he was possessed with anger. These two eminent gods, produced [the
one] from his good pleasure, [the other] from his anger,253 have their

253 I quote the following from the Maitri Upanishad, 5th Prapattaka: Tamo vai
idam agn vyasid ekam | tat pare syutat | tat tat pareva vritam visvanatram praytti |
etad rupam eva rajas | tad rajas khala vritam visvanatram praytti | etad vai
sattvasya rupam | tat sattvas eva vritam raja syam prasarat | so 'mu' yam ya
chetan-mitra pravipurushah khetrajna sankalpyavanavajjyibhima-langah |
Prapatty Visuva ity asya prajit utkaha atis tanava |
atha yo ha khala viva asya tamasa 'mu' sau san brahmachariyo yo 'yaum Rudrah |
atha yo ha khala viva asya rajasa 'mu' sau san brahmachariyo yo 'yaum Brahma |
atha yo ha khala viva asya sattvaka 'mu' sau san brahmachariyo yo 'yaum Vishnu |
sa vai esa eka tirhita bhuto shadha ekadaishadha dvadaishadha aparimitadha va udbhuta va udbhuta-dev bhutam bhuteshu cha-
ratat pravishta sa bhutgna adhipitabahubiva | ity asa asta antar bahi cha antar bahi cha |

This passage is translated as follows by Professor Cowell: "Verily this
was at the first darkness alone; it abode in the Supreme; then, being set in motion
by the Supreme, it passes into inequality. This condition becomes activity (vajasa):
this activity, being set in motion, passes into inequality. This becomes the con-
dition of Goodness. This goodness alone was set in motion; and Flavour flowed
forth. This is a portion [of the Soul] which is only measured by the Soul, reflected
in each individual, cognizant of the body, and possessing as its signs volition, ascer-
tainment, and consciousness. Prajapat, Visv——these and the like, before mentioned,
are its forms. As for its darkness-characterized" [tamasah] "portion, that, O
ye students, is the same as Rudra; as for its activity-characterized" [vajasa]
"portion, that, O students, is the same as Brahma; and as for its goodness-char-
acterized" [sattva-kah] "portion, that, O students, is the same as Vishnu. He truly
is one, existing as threefold, as eightfold, as elevenfold, as twelvefold, as infinite fold;
he is manifested everywhere; and, from being thus manifested, he is the Being;
he enters and pervades all beings, he is the lord of beings. Thus he, the Soul, is
within and without, within and without."

In the Varu-purana, sect. 66, as quoted by Professor Aufrecht in his "Catalogus
Codicum Sanscritorum," p. 565, it is declared by Suta that there is but one God,
who assumed three forms (vajasa, sattva-kah, tamasa tanvah) for the creation, preservation,
and destruction of the world. In the Deva-Bhagavata Purana, book i., sect. 4,
v. 46, quoted in the same Catalogue, p. 80a, Naraaka tells Vyasa that Vishnu had once
spoken to Brahma as follows: Srashta tvam palaaka eha-ratri Harah samhura-kuraakah |
courses prescribed by him, [and are] the accomplisher [respectively] of creation and destruction. In this, these bestowers of boons on all creatures are merely instrumental causes. Rudra, with braided hair and matted locks, shaven, the frequenter of cemeteries, the performer of awful rites, the devotee, the very terrible, he who swept away Daksha's sacrifice, and put out Bhaga's eyes, is to be understood by thee to possess in every age the nature of Nārāyaṇa. For when that god of gods Maheśvara is worshipped, then, son of Prithā, the god Nārāyaṇa, the lord, will also be worshipped. I am the soul of all the worlds. 13152. It was therefore myself whom I formerly worshipped as Rudra. If I were not to worshipĪśana, the boon-bestowing Śiva, no one would worship myself [or the Soul]—this is [the reflection made] by me who am contemplative in spirit. An authoritative example is set by me [which] the world follows.266 Authoritative examples are to be revered: hence I reverence him (Śiva). He who knows him knows me; he who loves him loves me.267 Rudra and Nārāyaṇa, one essence, divided into two, operate in the world, in a manifested form, in all acts. Reflecting in my mind that no boon could be conferred upon me by any one, I [yet] adored the ancient Rudra, the lord, [that is] I, with myself adored myself, to obtain a son (see p. 195). For Viṣṇu does not do homage to any god, excepting himself: hence I [in this sense] worship Rudra. The gods, including Brahmā, Rudra, and Indra, together with the rishis, worship the god Nārāyaṇa, Hari, the most eminent of the deities. Viṣṇu the chief of all who shall be, are, or have been, is to be served and worshipped continually.”

In the following passage (Anuśāsana-parvan, vv. 6295 ff.), some

kriṣṭaḥ kesi sa tarkaḥ kriyate veda-pāraṇaḥ | 47 | Jagat-saṁjanane śaktis tvayi vartati rūjasi | sūttvīki mayai Rudre cha tāmāś pari-kirtita | 48 | tvā virahitas te: tu na hy etat karṣe prabhūḥ | nāham pālayitum śaktah samharetuḥ nāpi S'anantar | 49 | tad-adhikāḥ vayam sarve vartāmah satataṁ vidho | 46. “The question by what thou art made the creator, preserver, and Hari the destroyer, is proposed by those who have studied the Vedas. 47. In thee there exists a passionate [or ‘active,’ as Professor Cowell translates rūjasi] energy, [which operates] in the production of the world, in me there is declared to be a pure [sūttvīki], and in Rudra a dark [tāmāś], energy. 48. If we were destitute of these several energies, thou wouldest be unable to create, or I to preserve, or S'ankara to destroy. 49. We are continually dependent upon these our [respective energies].”

266 See above, p. 53, the quotation from the Bhagavad-gīta, iii. 21 ff.
267 Compare a similar sentiment in p. 230.
parts of which may be later interpolations, Krishna is described as performing a ceremony to obtain a son, at the same time that he is represented as the supreme deity. Bhishma, at the request of Yudhishtira, tells him a story illustrative of the glory of Krishna. He states that Krishna had performed a ceremonial (vrata) of twelve years' duration (6397), which many rishis came to witness. In presence of these rishis flame issued from the mouth of Krishna, which set on fire the mountain where he was, and burnt up everything on it; and having done so, came back, and submissively touched his feet. The mountain was afterwards restored to its natural condition. Seeing the rishis astonished at this display, Krishna asks the cause of their surprise. They request that he who is the creator and destroyer of all things will explain to them the phenomenon which they have just witnessed. He replies that this was the power (tejas) of Vishnu which had issued from his mouth. He had come, he informs them, to this mountain to perform a ceremony with the view of obtaining a son like himself (6320); and the soul residing in his body had become fire, and blazed forth, and had gone to see the parent of the world, when Mahadeva had declared that a son should be created for him out of the half of his power (tejas). Krishna next calls on the rishis to tell him any wonders they had seen or heard of in heaven or on earth. The rishis then, after celebrating Krishna's praises, appoint Narada to describe the wonders which had been witnessed by the rishis on the Himalaya mountain, when they had gone thither on a pilgrimage to the holy places. Narada accordingly proceeds to give an account of a long conversation which had taken place between Mahadeva and his wife Uma or Parvati, the daughter of the Himalaya. Mahadeva, it appears, had been performing austerity (tapas, vv. 6340, 6348) on that mountain, where he was surrounded by his attendant demons (Bhutas) and by the nymphs (Apsarases), etc., etc. While he was sitting in that delightful region, clothed in tigers' and lions' skins, with a serpent for his sacrificial cord (6355 f.), his wife Uma comes up, clothed in the same style as her husband, with her attendant demonesses (Bhuta-stri-gana), and playfully puts her hands over his eyes. The effects of this act are tremendous. Suddenly the world becomes darkened, lifeless, and destitute of oblations and vashatkaras, etc. This gloom, however, is as suddenly dispelled by a great flame
which bursts from Mahādeva’s forehead, in which a third eye, luminous as the sun, was formed (6367). By the fire of this eye the mountain was scorched and everything upon it consumed. Umā hereupon stands in a submissive attitude before her lord, when in a moment her parent, the Himālaya, is restored to his former condition. A long conversation then ensues between Mahādeva and Umā. The latter inquires why Mahādeva’s third eye had been formed (6379), and puts a number of questions about himself, and the various duties of men (6412 ff.), all of which he answers. Mahādeva next, in his turn, asks Umā to describe the duties of women. She says she will consult the rivers in regard to the question. The Gangā replies on their behalf that Umā herself should furnish the answer, which, as Bhīṣma tells us, she accordingly does (6780 ff.). Bhīṣma then informs us (v. 6804) that, at the close of Umā’s discourse, Mahādeva dismissed his attendant demons, with the rivers, nymphs, and celestial choristers (Gaudharvas). We might have expected here that Nārada (who had hitherto been the narrator of what was done and said on the Himālaya) would have finished his account of all that occurred there, without the introduction of the other interlocutor; but, as I have said, he is interrupted by Bhīṣma at v. 6804, and afterwards introduced again at v. 6870. Whatever may be the reason, we are first told by Bhīṣma (v. 6804) that the rishis now requested Mahādeva to describe to them the greatness of Vāsudeva (Krīṣṇa). At the close of Mahādeva’s discourse, Nārada is again abruptly introduced (6870), and relates that a great sound of thunder accompanied with lightning was then heard, and the sky became covered with thick clouds and veiled in darkness. Mahādeva and his attendant demons were now no longer visible to the munis. (The departure of the demons and the other classes of beings had, however, been previously told in v. 6804.) The darkness then suddenly clears away. Nārada next observes to Krīṣṇa (6875) that he was the eternal being, one with Brahma, about whom they had been instructed on the mountain. At the close of Nārada’s discourse, the rishis express their devotion to Krīṣṇa (6879 ff.), and say that as he knew all things, he had no occasion to ask them for any information such as had been given at his request. They end by giving him what, after this avowal of his omniscience, was (one would have thought) a needless assurance, that he
should have a son like himself. Bhīṣma then relates that, after completing the rite on which he had been engaged, Kṛṣṇa returned to Dvārakā, where a son was born to him (6889), and goes on to expatiate yet further on his divine character. Adhīṣṭhīra, however, is still unsatisfied, and inquires as follows (6937 ff.):

Kim ekam daivataṁ lokesvāṁ vā py ekam parāyaṇam | kaṁ stuvantaṁ kam ardhantaḥ prāpnuṣyur mānasāḥ subham | ko dharmāḥ sarvāḥ-dharmāṇām bhavataṁ paramo mataḥ | kiṁ japaṁ muchyate jantuṁ jānaṁ-saṁśaivaṁ bandhanāt | Bhīṣmaṁ uvācha | Jagat-prabhuṁ deva-devaṁ anantam puruṣottamam | stuvan nāma-sahasreṇa puruṣaṁ satatōtthitaḥ | tam eva caitrehyan nityam bhaktāṁ purusham avayam | dhyāyaṁ stuvan namasyaṁścha yajamānas tam eva cha | an-ādi-nidhanam Vishnuṁ sarvā lokamahāsaram | lokādyakshaṁ stuvan nityamāṁ saraṁ-duṣkhātīga bhavet | brahmanyam sarvā dharmā-jaṁ lokānāṁ kīrti-vardhanan | lokaṁ nāthaṁ mahād bhataṁ saraṁ-bhūta-bhavodbhavam | eva me sarvā dharmāṁ dharme 'dhikatamo mataḥ | . . . . 6946. Yataḥ sarvāṁ bhūtanī bhaṇanti bhavantī ādi-yugāgame | yasmiṁścha pralayaṁ yānti punar eva yugaṁ-kṣayaṁ | tasya loka-pradvānasya jagannāthasya bhūpate | Vishnuṁ nāma-sahasrām me śriṇu pāpa-bhayāpaham |

"What is the one deity in the world, or what is the one highest object? By lauding and worshipping whom can men attain to felicity? What duty is regarded by you as the highest of all duties? By mutating what, is a creature freed from the bonds of birth and of the world? Bhīṣma answers: A man, rising continually, and lauding with his thousand names the supreme infinite Puruṣa, the lord of the world, the god of gods, worshipping perpetually with devotion this undecaying Puruṣa, contemplating, praising, reverencing, and adoring him, Vishnu, without beginning or end, the great lord of all the worlds, lauding continually the ruler of the worlds, who (the ruler) is devout, skilled in all duty, the augmenter of the renown of the worlds, the lord of the world, the great being, the source of the existence of all beings, [doing all this, a man] will overpass all grief. This is regarded by me as the greatest of all duties. . . . v. 6946. Hear, king, from me the sin-and-fear-removing thousand names of this Vishnu, chief of the world, lord of the world, from whom all creatures spring on the arrival of the commencing yuga, and in whom again they are absorbed at the end of the yuga."
These thousand names of Vishnu are then detailed, among which the following occur, all, or most of them, ordinarily appellations of Mahadeva, viz. Sarva, Sarva, Siva, Sthana (v. 6953), Ishana (v. 6957), Rudra (v. 6962).

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

Pitamahad api varah saivatah Purusho Harih | Krishno jambunadabhayo vyabhre surya vyavatih | daasabahur mahatejah devatari-nisudanaah | 

svatsanko Hrishikeshah sarva-daivata-pujitah | Brahman tasyodara-bhavam 

tathah chaham shiro-bhavah | shurovhebhyo jyotisahini ramabhyaasah surasuraah | rishayo deha-sambhutas tathah lokah cha saivatah | Pitamahagriham sakshat sarvadeva-grihah cha sah | so 'yah prithivyah krishnavah 

vrshntah tribhuvanesvarah | sahmhata chaiva bhutanam sthavesarya 

charasya cha | sa hi deva-varah sakshad deva-nathah parantapaah | sarva-jnaah sah sah samshishtaah sarvagam sarvato-mukhaah | paramamah Hrishikeshah 

sarvasyaapi mahavesarah | na tasmah paramah bhutaah trishu lokeshu 

kincchana | sanatanah vai Madhuhah Govindah iti visruthah | sa sarvan 

purtibhan sakhya ghatayishyati manadaah | sara-karyartham utpanno 

manushaam vapur asthitaah | na hi deva-gauah saktaah Trivikrama-vinakritah | bhuwane deva-karyani kartum nayaka-varjitaah | nayakaah sarva-bhutanam sarva-bhuta-namaskritaah | 

etasya deva-nathasya deva-karyaratasya cha | brahma-bhutasya satataam devarshi-saranasya cha | Brahman 

vasati garbhasthaah sature muhau-samshithaah | sarvaah sakham sahmkritaah cha 

sature tasya devataah | sa deva puundarakakshaah shrigarbhaah shri-sahoshtaah | ityadi | ... 6827. bhavartham iha devanam buddhaya paramayaa yutaah | 

prajapatyasubhe marge Manave dharmasaahite | samutpatyati Govindah 

Manor vaamshe mahatmanah | ... v. 6835. tesaham vihkyutaanvityaah 

chaitra-gunaasalinam | yajvanam suvisuddhanam vaamshe brhamnasaamate206 | sa Sarah kshatriya-sreshthoh mahavirtyo mahayasah | 

vaamsa-vistara-karaam janayishyati manadaah | Vasudeva iti khyataam putram Anakadundubhim | tasya putraas chaturbhur Vasudevo bhavishyati |

data brhamagna-satkarah brahmabhuto dvija-pritayah ... 6842. Tum bhavantah samasadya van-malyair arhaair varah | archayanu yathayyayam Brahmanam iva saivataam | yo hi mam drashthum ichheto Brahmanachha pitamaham | drashtavyas tena bhagavan Vasu-

206 Quere, Brhamnasya-samnite, “equal to Brahmans”?
devaḥ pratāpa-vān | dṛiṣṭe tasminn aham dṛiṣṭo na mo 'trāsti vihāraṇāḥ |
| pitāmaho va deveśaḥ iti vitta tapodhanah |

"Superior even to Pitāmaha (Brahmā) is Hari, the eternal Purusha, Kṛishṇa, brilliant as gold, like the sun risen in a cloudless sky, ten-armed, of mighty force, slayer of the foes of the gods, marked with the śrīvatasa, Hṛishikeśa, adored by all the gods. Brahmā is sprung from his belly and I (Mahādeva) from his head, the luminaries from the hair of his head, the gods and Asuras from the hairs of his body, and the rishis, as well as the everlasting worlds, have been produced from his body. He is the manifest abode of Pitāmaha, and of all the deities. He is the creator of this entire earth, the lord of the three worlds, and the destroyer of creatures, of the stationary and the movable. He is manifestly the most eminent of the gods, the lord of the deities, the vexer of his foes. He is omniscient, intimately united [with all things], omnipresent, facing in every direction, the supreme Spirit, Hṛishikeśa, all-pervading, the mighty lord. There is no being superior to him in the three worlds. The slayer of Madhu is eternal, renowned as Govinda. He, the conferrer of honour, born to fulfil the purposes of the gods, and assuming a human body, will slay all the kings in battle. For all the hosts of the gods, destitute of Trivikrama (the god who strode thrice), are unable to effect the purposes of the gods, devoid of a leader. He is the leader of all creatures, and worshipped by all creatures. Of this lord of the gods, devoted to the purposes of the gods, who is Brahma, and is the constant refuge of gods and rishis, Brahmā dwells within the body, abiding in his face, and all the gods are easily sheltered in his body. This god is the lotus-eyed, the producer of Śṛi, dwelling together with Śṛi. . . . 6827. For the welfare of the gods, Govinda shall arise in the family of the great Manu, possessed of eminent intelligence, and [walking] in the excellent path of the Prajāpati Manu, characterized by righteousness." [Govinda’s ancestors are then detailed.] 6835. "In this family, esteemed by Brahmins, of men renowned for valour, distinguished by good conduct and excellent qualities, priests, most pure, this Śūra, the most eminent of Kshatriyas, heroic, renowned, conferring honour, shall beget a son Ānakadundubhi, the prolonger of his race, known as Vāsudeva. To him shall be born a four-armed son, Vāsudeva, liberal, a

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

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

"Krīṣṇaḥ prithvīṁ asṛjjat khaṁ divancha Krīṣṇasya dehād medinī
sambabhūva | varāho 'yam bhīma-balāḥ purāṇaḥ sa parvataṁ vyasṛjjad
vai diṣṭaśca | asya chādho 'thāntarikshaṁ divancha diṣṭaḥ chataśro viṣṇaś
chataśraḥ | sṛṣṭīṁ tathāveyam anuprasūtā sa nirmame viṣvaṁ idam
purāṇam | asya naḥhyām pushkaraṁ samprasūtaṁ yatropaṇaṁ svayaṁ
evāmitaujaḥ | yena chhinnaṁ yat tamaḥ Pārtha ghorāṁ yat tat tisḥḥaty
arṇavaṁ tarjayānam | . . . 7388. Vāyuḥ bhūtvā vikṣipate sa viṣvaṁ
agnir bhūtvā daheṣa viṣva-rūpaḥ | āpo bhūtvā mājayaṣa sa sarvaṁ
Brahmā bhūtvā sṛjate sarva-saṅghān | vedyaṁca yād vedayate ca
vedyaṁ viṣiiśaḥ yaś chāśrayate viṣṇeyam | dharme cha veda cha bale cha
sarvaṁ charuḥcaraṁ Kośaṁ tvam pratikhi | jyotiḥ-bhūtaḥ paramo 'saun
purastāt prakāśate yat prabhayā viṣva-rūpaḥ | apaḥ sṛṣṭvā sarva-
bhūtātmya-yaṇīḥ pura' karot sarvaṁ evaṁca viṣvaṁ ityādi |
whatever is to be known, and he makes known whatever is to be known: he is the rule for performance, and he who exists in that which is to be performed. Believe that Kesava [abides] in righteousness, in the Veda, in strength, and that he is the whole world, movable and immovable. Since he, the supreme, being by nature luminous, shines from the beginning, in every form of splendour, this soul and source of all beings, having created the waters, formed of old this entire universe.” Krishṇa then (vv. 7402 ff.) proceeds to set forth the benefits of reverence to Brahmins, who he says (7412 f.) could reduce this world to ashes, and create new ones, and rulers of worlds, (bhasma kuryur jagd idaṁ kruddhah prayatksa-devaṁ | anyān api sriyuyā cha lokān lokāyvarāṁs tathā) and illustrates his opinion of their importance by the results of his own experience regarding Durvāsas (see above, p. 196). He afterwards goes on, in the passage which I have already cited in pp. 197 ff., to return the compliment paid to him by Mahādeva, by celebrating the greatness of that deity; and in the course of his description he makes nearly as explicit an avowal of the supreme divinity of the other god, as the latter has made in regard to him in the text (Anuśāsana-parvan, 6806 ff.) which has just been adduced in p. 273 f.

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

Vānudevaḥ uvāca | tamo rajaś cha sattvaṁ cha viddhi bhāvāno mad-āśrayān | tathā Rudrān Vasūn va ’pi viddhi mat-prabhāvan dvīja | mayi sarvāṇi bhūtāni sarva-bhūteshu chāpy aham | sthitāḥ ityādi | . . .

1567. Sad usachchaiva yat prāhur avyaktam vyaktam eva cha | akṣaraṁ cha ksharanchaiva sarvam etad mad-ātmākam | ye chaśrāmeshu vai dharmāḥ chaturdhā viditāḥ mune | vaidikāni cha sarvāṇi viddhi sarvam mad-ātmā-
KṚṢṌṆA DECLARES HIS OWN NATURE.

kam | asaścha sad-asaśchaiva yad viścāṁ sad-asat-param | mattaḥ
parataraṁ nāsti deva-devāt sanātanaḥ | oṁkāra-pramukhān vedaṇān viḍḍhī
cām tvam Bṛhguḍvahā | yāpun somaṁ charuṁ homaṁ trīdāśāpyāyanam
makhe | hotāram api havyāṁca viḍddhi mām Bṛhgu-nandana | adhvaryuḥ
kalpasyāpi hāvīḥ parama-saṁskṛtim | uḍgātā chāpi mām staute gita-
ghoshair mahādhiḥcare | prāyaschitteshu mām brahmaṁ śanti-mangala-
vāchakāḥ | svantu viśvākarmāṇaṁ satataṁ dvija-sattama | mama viḍḍhī
sutaṁ dharmam agrajam dvija-sattama | mānasāṁ dayitaṁ vipra sarva-
bhuṭa-dayatmakam | tatrāhaṁ vartamānaischa nirvṛttaiścāvaiṁ māna-
vaṁ | bahvīḥ saṁśaramāṇo vai yonīr vartāmi sattama | dharma-saṁrakṣh-
āṅgarthāya dharma-saṁsthāpanaṁ aha | tais tair vēsaiṁ cha rūpaiṁ cha
trishu lokeshu Bṛhguva | ahaṁ Viśnur aham Brahmā ṣaṅkṛtha pra-
bhavāvyayāḥ (āpyayaḥ ?) 270 | bhūta-grāmapsya sarvasya srasṭā saṁhāraṁ
eva cha | adharme vartamanāṁ saṁvaṁ aham aĉyutaḥ | dharmsya
setum baḍhnāṁ chaite chaite yuge | tāṁ tāṁ yonīḥ praviśyāhaṁ prajānāṁ
hitakāmyāya | yadā tv ahaṁ deva-yonau vartāmi Bṛhgu-nandana | tataṁ
'haṁ deva-vat sarvam ācharāṁ na saṁśayāḥ | . . . . 1582. Mānusyāṁ
vartamānāṁ tu kripiyaṁ yācitāṁ mayā | na cha te jāta-sammohāḥ vahe
'griṁṣanta mohitāḥ | bhayancha mahād uḍdiṣya trūṣitaṁ Kuravo mayā
kruddhena bhūtvā cha punar yathāvad anudarsitaṁ | te dharmaneḥa
saṁyuktāṁ paritāṁ kāla-dharmanā | dharmaṁ nihataṁ yuddhe gataṁ
svargaṁ na saṁśayāḥ | . . . . Uttanaṁ uvācha | abhijñāṇāṁ jagataṁ
kartāraṁ tvāṁ Janārdana |

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

270 See Böhtlingk and Roth’s Lexicon, under apyaya; and Udyoga-parvan, v. 2569.
the soma, the charu, the homa, which satiates the immortals, tridaśā-pyāyana in the sacrifice. Know that I am both the hotri (priest), and the āhavya (oblation). [I am] also the adhvaryu of the ceremony, and the highly purified butter. The udgātri celebrates me with sounds of hymns at the great sacrifice. And at the rites of atonement, the priests who utter propitiatory and auspicious texts continually, O excellent Brahman, praise me, the architect of all. Know that Dharma (Righteousness) is my beloved first-born mental son, whose nature is to have compassion on all creatures. There I exist among men, both present and past, passing through many varieties of mundane existence, in different disguises and forms, in the three worlds, for the preservation and establishment of righteousness. I am Vishnu, Brahma, Indra, and the source as well as destruction [of things], the creator and the annihilator of the whole aggregate of existences. When all men live in unrighteousness, I, the unfalling, build up the bulwark of righteousness, as the ages pass away, entering into various wombs, from a desire to promote the good of creatures. Whenever I assume a divine birth, I act in every respect agreeably to my character of a god.’’ . . . (He adds that he acts agreeably to all the other natures which he assumes.) 1582. “But during the existence of my mortal condition, though they (the Kurus) were humbly entreated by me, they, through delusion, were not touched, and did not listen to my words. Though terrified by me, when I was incensed, with great alarms, and again fittingly admonished, they, influenced by unrighteousness, and overcome by fate, have been righteously slain in battle, and have undoubtedly gone to heaven.” 271 On hearing this reply of Kṛishṇa, the sage Uttanga breaks out: “I recognize thee, Janārdana, as the creator of the world,” etc. Kṛishṇa then shows him his divine form.

271 See Mahābhārata, Sānti-parvan, v. 3655 ff., where Indra says: Ṛhave tu hataṁ śūraṁ na jocheta kathanelana | aśo chyo hi hataḥ śūraḥ svara-loke mahiyate | na hy annaṁ nodakāṁ tasya na snāṇam nāpy adānekhama | hataya kartum icchanti tasya lokāṁ śṛṅghena me | varāṣṭraḥ-sahasrāṇi śūram āyothane hatam | tvaṁ man naḥ bhidhāvanti “mama bhartā bhave” iti | “Let no one ever lament a hero slain in battle. A hero slain is not to be lamented, for he is exalted in heaven. Men do not desire to offer to him food or water, or perform ablutions, or [contract?] impurity [on his account]. I hear from me the worlds to which he goes. Thousands of beautiful nymphs (apsūrṇees) run quickly up to the hero who has been slain in combat, saying to him, ‘be my husband.’” Professor Weber refers to this passage, Indische Studien, i. 398, note, and notices the parallel it forms to similar representa-
VIII. In the preceding pages, various passages have been adduced in which the supremacy of Mahādeva and his identity with the soul of the universe have been asserted (pp. 185 ff., 194, 196), and other texts have been quoted in which the same rank and character are assigned to Vishnu (pp. 263 ff.). The reader will likewise have noticed that in some places also (pp. 241, 268), an attempt is made, by alleging the essential oneness of the two deities, to reconcile their conflicting claims.272 Another passage of this description occurs in the Harivaishnava, vv. 10660 ff. It had been related in the preceding section that Śiva had come to the assistance of Bāga and the Dānavas in tions about Hūris in the Koran. So also in vv. 3591 ff., it is said: Abhīdu vihiri av ṣatraṇ pratigrihyā ṣaṟunāśī tathā | na tasmāt titudes śreyo bhuvik paśyanti kinehana | teṣya ṣatraṇī yuvanti teached bhindanti saṁyuge | tātataḥ so 'śuṇte lokān saraṇa-kīmā-duhu 'kṣayāṇ | yad asya rudhirair gūtraū āhave sampravartate | saha tenaiva purṇaṃ saraṇa-pūpaṃ praveṣyate | “The gods see nothing on earth superior to the man who, fearless, scattering his foes, receives arrows in his body. As many weapons as he pierce him in the fray, so many worlds yielding all enjoyments does he enjoy. With the blood which flows from his body, and through that misery so endured, he is freed from all his sins.” Much more follows in praise of valor and repression of timidity. In vv. 3626 ff. a battle is compared to a sacrifice, and their corresponding parts described. In vv. 3666 ff. we are told that King Janaka showed his warriors the shining heavens, filled with Gandharvas’ daughters, and yielding all manner of delights, destined for the courageous (abhīṛuṇām ime lokāh bhāvanta hanta paśyata | purṇaṃ gandharva-kanyābhiḥ saraṇa-kīmā-duhu 'kṣayāḥ); and the hells prepared for such as fled from battle. In the same way Kṛishṇa says to Jaraśandha (Sahā-bāparvan, v. 869): Ko ki jīvam abhījenaṁ nāmuṇān kṣhatriyaṁ nṛpaḥ | nūveṣat svargam atulaṁ rājunantaravam asya-yam | svaraśaḥ hy eva samāsthāya rāga-yo gnehu dīkṣithaḥ | jayanti kṣhatriyāḥ lokāṁs tad viddhi manyunarabhā | svarag-yono vahad brahma svarag-yoniḥ vahad yaśaḥ | svarag-yonis tapo yudhke nṛtyathiḥ so 'ṛyabhisēkhaḥravō | “For what Kṣatariya king, who was wise, and appreciated his own noble birth, has not, after the battle, entered into an incomparable and undecaying paradise? Know, chief of men, that Kṣatariyas, consecrated in the sacrifice of battle, attain to paradise and conquer the worlds. Great scriptural knowledge is the source of paradise, and so is great renown; austerity (tapas) in fight, too, is the source of paradise; such a death never fails of its reward.” See also R.V. x. 164, 3; quoted in the fifth volume of this work, p. 310.

272 Compare Vāyu Purāṇa, as quoted in Anrechet’s Catalogue, p. 56, col. 2 (partly referred to above, p. 267, note); Varāha, ibid., p. 58, col. 2, note 2, and p. 59, col. 2; Devībhūg., ibid., p. 81a; also Padmap., ibid., p. 16, note 1. The last text is as follows: Kṛishṇa speaks: Saivīḥ Saivīḥ cha Ganeśh Vaisnavāh Sakti-pujakāḥ | nām eva prāpranavati svarupāḥ sīvāraū yathā | eko hi panchadāh jītatah svārūpair nāmabhīḥ kila | Devadatto yathā kṣichit pulraudyāhīmā vānām-bhīḥ | “The worshippers of Śiva, Śiva (the Sun), Ganeśa, Vīṣṇu and Sakti, come to me, as all streams flow to the ocean. For, though one, I am born with firefold forms and names, just as the man Devadatta when called [is addressed] by the appellations of 'son,' etc."
their conflict with Krīṣṇa (v. 10587 f.), when a terrible combat ensues between the latter and Śiva, which causes the earth to tremble, and throws the whole universe into disorder (v. 10601 f.). Śiva is at length paralyzed by a weapon of his adversary called jvimbhāna, which causes him to yawn incessantly (v. 10632 f.). The earth is distressed (v. 10641 ff.) and appeals to Brahmā for assistance. Brahmā (v. 10647) remonstrates with Śiva against his conflict with Krīṣṇa, who, he says, is in reality one with himself. Śiva perceiving by yoga (mental union with the object contemplated) the truth of what Brahmā had stated, says to Brahmā that he will no longer fight against Krīṣṇa, and the two combatants embrace (v. 10648 ff.). Brahmā then says to the sage Mārkaṇḍeṣya (v. 10656 ff.) that he had formerly, in a dream, seen the two deities on the northern side of the mountain Mandara, each invested with the emblems of the other, Hara (Śiva) in the form of Hari (Vishṇu) with the shell, discus, and club, clothed in yellow vestments and mounted on Gauruḍa, and Hari in the form of Hara, bearing the trident and axe, clad in a tiger’s skin, and mounted on a bull; and he asks the sage Mārkaṇḍeṣya to explain this phenomenon which had occasioned him great astonishment. Mārkaṇḍeṣya replies (vv. 10660 ff.):


273 See the same words above, p. 231.
274 The MS. in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society reads dārītaḥ.
parataram guhyam kathitaṁ to Pitāmaha | yaś chainam paṭhate nityam
yaś chainām brinuyād naraḥ | prāṇāti paramāṁ etānaṁ Rudra-Viṣṇu-
prasāda-jam | devāu Hari-Hara visthaye Brahmaṇā saha sangatō | etau
eha paramau devau jagataḥ prabhavāpyayau | Rudrasya paramo Viṣṇur
Viṣṇośeṣa paramaḥ Sīvāḥ | ekāḥ eva dvīdhā-bhūto lokesvarāṁ nityaṁ
na vinā Sankaraṁ Viṣṇur na vinā Keśavaṁ Sīvāḥ | tasmād ekatvaṁ
ajñatau Rudropendrāu tu taur purā | ityiddi.

"When thou showest me this auspicious [vision], I perceive
thereby no difference between Śiva who exists in the form of Viṣṇu,
and Viṣṇu who exists in the form of Śiva. I shall declare to thee
that form composed of Hari and Hara (Viṣṇu and Mahādeva) com-
bined, which is without beginning, or middle, or end, imperishable,
undecaying. He who is Viṣṇu is Rudra; he who is Rudra is Pitā-
maha (Brahmā): the substance (mūrti) is one, the gods are three,
Rudra, Viṣṇu, and Pitāmaha. Bestowers of boons, creators of the
world, sovereigns of the world, self-existent, they are the half-female
lords, and have performed austere rites. Just as water thrown into
water can be nothing else than water, so Viṣṇu entering into Rudra
must possess the nature of Rudra. And just as fire entering into fire
can be nothing else but fire, so Rudra entering into Viṣṇu must
possess the nature of Viṣṇu. Let Rudra be understood to possess the
nature of Agni; Viṣṇu is declared to possess the nature of Soma
(the Moon); and the world, movable and immovable, possesses the
nature of Agni and Soma.275 The lords, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara, are
the makers and destroyers of things movable and immovable, and
the benefactors of the world. The gods Nārāyaṇa and Maheśvara
are the [first] makers of the cause, and of [the secondary] maker,
the [first] causers of the cause, and of the [secondary] makers,
eexisting in the past, future, and present. And these two are the
revealers, they possess a luminous essence, they are declared to be the
preservers of the world, and the creators. They rain, they shine, they
blow, and they create. This which I have told thee, Pitāmaha, is the
highest mystery. The man who continually repeats it, and hears it,
obtains the highest abode, granted by the grace of Rudra and Viṣṇu.
I shall laud the gods Hari and Hara, associated with Brahmā; and
these two are the supreme deities, the originators and destroyers of the

275 See above, pp. 204 and 225.
DIF[RERENT REPRESENTATION]S OF KR\[ISH\[A].

world. Vishn\[u, the highest [manifestation] of Rudra, and S\[iva, the highest [manifestation] of Vishn\[u,—this [god] one only, though divided into twain, moves continually in the world. Vishn\[u does not [exist] without Sankara, nor S\[iva without Ke\[sava; hence these two, Rudra and Upendra (Vishn\[u), have formerly attained to oneness,"" etc.

Then follows a hymn to the double deity.

The various representations of K\[rishn\[a given in the different sets of passages above cited possess a certain interest in themselves, even independently of the light which they may be considered to throw on the process by which his deification was effected. Among the texts adduced from the Mah\[abh\[arata there are some (see pp. 185 ff.) in which he is distinctly subordinated to Mah\[adeva, of whom he is exhibited as a worshipper, and from whom, as well as from his wife Um\[a, he is stated to have received a variety of boons. Even in these passages, however, a superhuman character is ascribed to K\[rishn\[a.

A second class of texts has been brought forward in pp. 205 ff., in which his superiority is represented to have been denied by Sisup\[ala, Duryodhana, Karna, and Salya. Of course we are not to imagine that any claim to a superhuman character was ever advanced on behalf of the Y\[adava hero in his lifetime, either by himself or his friends. These narrative passages, therefore, in which his divine dignity is denied by his enemies, and asserted by his partisans, as well as vindicated by the miraculous exploits which are attributed to him, are nothing more than poetical fictions (possibly of a polemical import) put forward at a period when his godhead had come to be recognized by the Vaishnavas, though perhaps doubted or disputed by other sects. Such a resistance to the pretensions set up on K\[rishn\[a's behalf may be indicated in the verses I have quoted in p. 237 f., where all who regard him as a mere man are stigmatized as being under the dominion of the quality of darkness.

In the third class of passages, quoted in pp. 243 ff., where the achievements of K\[rishn\[a are described with a supernatural colouring, it seems not unreasonable to recognize a basis of simpler legend (if not of actual history) underlying the miraculous narrative, and to trace a reference to a variety of warlike adventures in which the Y\[adava chief contended as a mere man with the warriors of other tribes: The supernatural powers which are here ascribed to him are not in their

character essentially different from those which are attributed to his enemies, who, it will be observed, are in like manner represented as endowed with superhuman faculties; while Krishṇa himself is in various places described as being indebted to the gods for his weapons, or for other advantages (see the Drona-parvan, v. 402, and the Âdi-parvan, v. 8196, quoted or referred to in pp. 244 ff., and the Udyogaparvan, quoted in p. 247).

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

In the passages above adverted to, where Krishṇa is subordinated to Mahādeva, the latter is identified with the supreme Deity (see pp. 185 ff., 194). In another set of texts, however (pp. 230, 264 ff.), Krishṇa, as Vishṇu, is asserted to be one with the supreme God, while Mahādeva is represented as springing from, and dependent on, Vishṇu. But here and elsewhere, as we have already seen, an attempt is made to reconcile the claims of the two rival deities by affirming their identity (pp. 241, 268). How are we to explain this circumstance, that in one place Mahādeva is extolled at the expense of Krishṇa, and that in another place Krishṇa is exalted above Mahādeva? Must we assume the one set of passages to be older

277 In Bühltlingk and Roth's Dictionary the word Nārāyaṇa is explained as the "son of man," and as a patronymic of the personified Purusha, the rishi of the Purusha-saṅkta (R.V., x. 90). Nara is in the same work interpreted as the "primal man."

278 Even in the parts of the Vishṇu Purāṇa and Mahābhārata (see pp. 49 and 253 ff.), where Krishṇa is represented as a partial incarnation of the godhead, there does not appear to be any intention to question the plenitude of his divine nature. Compare the 27th with the 34th and following verses of the 33rd section of the 10th Book of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, quoted in p. 49.
than the other, or are we to suppose them to be contemporaneous, or nearly contemporaneous, and to have been inserted in the Mahābhārata by different classes of sectaries in order to give a sort of catholicity to the great epic, by making it a storehouse in which the votaries of all the different deities might find something to satisfy their various tendencies?

Though deeper study might lead to a different conclusion, it does not, I think, result from a superficial comparison of the principal passages which I have quoted relative to Mahādeva, with those which have reference to Kṛishṇa, that the one class bears in its general complexion the impress of any greater antiquity than the other. Both, in their present form at least, appear to belong to the same age, as we find in both the same tendency to identify the god who is the object of adoration with the supreme Soul. The passages relating to both gods, as they now stand, would therefore seem to be the products of a sectarian spirit, and to have been introduced into the poem by the Saivas and Vaishnāvas for the purpose of upholding the honour of their respective deities. But on the other hand the mere fact that a poem in which Kṛishṇa plays throughout so prominent a part, and which in its existing form is so largely devoted to his glorification, should at the same time contain so many passages which formally extol the greatness, and still more, which incidentally refer to a frequent adoration, of the rival deity, by the different personages, whether contemporary or of earlier date, who are introduced,—this fact is, I think, a proof that the worship of the latter (Mahādeva) was widely diffused, if indeed it was not the predominant worship in India, at the period to which the action of the poem is referred. Various references to such a worship of Mahādeva as I have alluded to will be found in the preceding pages, 184 ff., 230 ff., and 269 (where the abode of this deity is described as being in the Himālaya, p. 230 and 269). I shall quote some further illustrations of its prevalence.\footnote{279}{See Lassen's Indian Antiquities, vol. i., pp. 561, 571, 610, 711, 716, 741, and 781; =pp. 675, 685, 756, 861, 708, 871, 922, in second ed.}

\footnote{280}{Lassen (i. 679 = p. 828 in second ed.) refers to a passage of the Vana-parvan (1523 f.f.), where Duryodhana, being prevented from offering a rajasthāya sacrifice, is advised by his priest to offer a sacrifice to Viṣṇu. This story will be quoted further on.}
regards as proving that at the period when they were composed no special worship of that deity had been extensively spread, at least among the Brahmins and princes, to the description of whose manners and customs those works almost exclusively confine themselves. On the other hand he quotes (note to i. 561, 1st ed.; i. 675, 2nd ed.) the following passages to prove the wide extension of the worship of Mahādeva in different parts of India. In the Tīrtha-yātā, or section on visiting places of pilgrimage, in the Vana-parvan, 6054 ff., it is said of the Vaitaraṇī river, in the country of the Kalingas:

Tatas Tripishtapam gachhohet triṣu lokeshu viśrutam | tatra Vaitaraṇī punyā naḍa pāpa-praṇāśini | tatra snātva 'rehayitvā cha S'ulapaṇīṁ Frishadkhvajam | sarva-pāpa-visuddhātmā gachheta paramāṁ gatim |

"Let him then go to Tripishtapa, renowned in the three worlds. There is the holy river Vaitaraṇī, which destroys sin. Having bathed there and worshipped the god who wields the trident and whose ensign is the bull (Mahādeva), he shall be purified from all sin, and attain the highest felicity."

At vv. 11001 of the same book (p. 569 of the printed Calcutta ed.) it is said of the north bank of the same river:

Atraivā Rudro rājendra paśum ādattavān makhe | paśum ādāya rājendra bhāgo 'yan iti chābravīt | hrite paśau tadā devás tam āchur Bharatarāhabha | mā para-svam abhidrogdhaḥ mā dharmān sakalān vaśīḥ | tataḥ kalyāṇa-rūpābhār viṣabhīs te Rudram astuvān | ivaḥ chaīnāṁ tarpayitrō māmayānchakriro tadā | tataḥ sa paśum uṣṭījya deva-yānena jagmivān | tatrānuvaṁso Rudrasya tan nibodha Yudhishtīraya | ayātāyāmaṁ sarvebhīyo bhāgebhīyo bhāgam uttaman | devāḥ sankalpayām-masur bhayād Rudrasya śāsvatam | imāṁ gāthām atra gāyana apaḥ spriṣati yo naraḥ | deva-yāno 'syā panthāḥ cha chakshushaḥ 'hiprakāṣate |

"In this very place, O king, Rudra seized a victim at a sacrifice, and having done so, said, 'This is [my] portion.' When he had seized the victim, the gods said to him, 'Do not attack the property of others; do not covet all the offerings.' They then lauded Rudra with words of auspicious import; and having satiated him with an oblation, they paid him honour. He then relinquished the victim, and departed by the path of the gods. Referring to this is the following traditional verse of Rudra, which learn from me, Yudhishtīra: 'Through dread of Rudra, the gods allotted to him for ever the most excellent of all
portions, the ayātayāma (or fresh portion). The man who, here reciting this verse, touches the waters, obtains a distinct vision of the path leading to the gods.''

In the same Vana-parvan, v. 8166, it is said that Mahādeva was worshipped at Gokarna, on the west coast of the Dekhan:

_Atha Gokarnam āsādyā trishu lokeshu viśrutam | samudra-madhya rājendra sarva-loka-namaskritam | yatra Brahmādāyō devāḥ rishayaḥ cha tapodhanāḥ | . . . . 8169 : Saritaḥ sāgarāḥ sailāḥ upāsanta Umāpatim | ityādi | ''Then having reached Gokarna, renowned in the
three worlds, standing in the sea, adored by all worlds, where Brahmā and the other gods and rishis rich in austerity,''
[ various other kinds of beings are here enumerated, Bhūtas, Yakshas, etc., etc.], ''rivers, oceans, and mountains worshipped the lord of Umā (Mahādeva).''

The same place is also mentioned in the Rāmopakhyaṇa of the Vanaparvan, v. 15999 f.:

_Trikūṭam samatikramya Kālaparvatam eva cha | dadarśa makaravāsām gambhīrodam mahōdādham | tam atityātha Gokarnam abhyagachhat Daśānanaḥ | dayitam sthānam avyagṛm Sūlapānīr mahātmanah |

"Having passed Trikūṭa, and the Black Mountain, he (Rāvana) saw the deep ocean, the abode of marine monsters. Having crossed it, he then approached Gokarna, the beloved undisturbed abode of the mighty wielder of the trident."

[The same Tirtha-yātra, however, from which the passages preceding the last are taken, contains the following lines celebrating Krishṇa:

Vana-parvan, v. 8349 f.—Punyā Devāravatī tatra yatrāsu Mādhūsadanaḥ | sākshād devaḥ purāṇo 'saḥ sa hi dharmāḥ sanātanaḥ | ye cha vedavido vipraḥ ye chādhyaśma-viśo janaḥ | te vadanti mahātmānaṁ Krishṇaṁ dharmāḥ sanātanaṁ | pavitrānāṁ hi Govindaḥ pavitrām param uchāyate | punyānāṁ api punyo 'saḥ mangalānāṁ oḥa mangalam | trailokyam Punḍarikāksha deva-devaḥ sanātanaḥ | avayātma vyayātma oḥa kshetrajnaḥ paramēsvaraḥ |

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

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

Ādi-parvan, v. 7049.—Evam teshāṁ vilapatam viprāṇāṁ vividhāḥ girāḥ | Arjuno dhanusho 'bhyāśe tathāvau girir ivāchālaḥ | sa tad dhanuḥ parikramya pradakshīṇam athākaroṭ | praṇāmya śirasā devam Īśānaṁ varadam prabhūm | Krishṇāṁ cha manasā kṛitvā jagriho chārjuno dhanuḥ | yat pārthivaiḥ Rukmi-Sunthā-Vakraiḥ Rādheya-Duryodhana-Śalya-Sālvaḥ | tādā dhanur-veda-parair nṛśiṁhāḥ kṛitaṁ na sajyam mahato 'pi yatnāḥ | tad Arjunaḥ ityādi | “While the Brāhmins thus uttered various speeches, Arjuna stood firm as a mountain, trying the bow. He then made a circuit round it, bowing down in reverence to the boon-bestowing lord Īśana (Mahādeva); and having meditated on Krishṇa, Arjuna seized the bow. And that bow which the lion-like kings Rukmin, Sunthā (Śiśupāla), Vaktra, Rādheya, Duryodhana, Śalya, and Sālva, skilled in archery, could not with great effort bend [so as to fix the bowstring], Arjuna bent, and hit the mark,” etc., etc.

In the Vana-parvan, vv. 15777, it is related that Jayadratha, after being captured by Bhīṣma and released at the request of Yudhishṭhira, went to worship Mahādeva (v. 15801):


231 Lassen (Indian Antiquities, vol. i., p. 646, first ed.; p. 794, second ed.) regards this reference to Krishṇa as a later interpolation in the older story.
"He went, O king, distressed with grief, to Gangādvāra (Haridvāra). There, resorting to the distorted-eyed lord of Umā as his refuge, he practised long austerities. Gratified with this, the three-eyed god, whose ensign is a bull, himself received his oblation, and offered him a boon, which he accepted. Hear how [he did so]. The king (Jayadratha) said to the god, 'May I vanquish all the five Pāṇḍavas with their chariots in battle.' The god said, 'No; thou shalt withstand them all, though they are unconquerable and not to be slain, excepting only the great-armed Arjuna, who is called Nara, the lord of the gods, who performed austerity at Badari, attended by Nārāyaṇa, who is invincible by all the worlds, and irresistible even by the gods. He obtained the Pāṇḍupata, a divine, incomparable missile, given by me, and thunderbolts and other great weapons from the guardians of the worlds. For the infinite Vishṇu, the god of gods, the chief of the deities, the chief spirit (Purusha), the undiscernible, the soul of all things, the universal-formed, at the end of the yuga burns up the world, with its mountains, oceans, continents, rocks and forests." Mahādeva then goes on to relate how the destruction and the restoration of the world is effected by Vishṇu, and describes his various incarnations. He concludes by saying that Arjuna who was aided by him could not be conquered even by the gods. In this legend it will be observed that the warrior goes to worship Mahādeva, and not Vishṇu, though the latter is represented as being magnified by the rival deity. But this part of the story may be interpolated.

In the Śānti-parvan also (vv. 1748 f.), it is related how Paraśurāma worshipped Mahādeva on the mountain Gandhamadana, and obtained his celebrated axe, by which he became renowned in the world (toshayitvā Mahādevam parvate Gandhamadane | astrāṇi varayāmāsa pāraśuṁ chāti-tejasam | sa tenākunṭha-dhārema jvalitānala-vachṣā | kṣṇārenā-prameyena lokeshu apratimo 'bhavat). Then follows the story of Kārtavīrya (see the first volume of this work, pp. 450, 478).

In the following passage, Jarāsandha is introduced as a zealous votary of Mahādeva. Yudhishṭhira had been purposing to celebrate a Rājasūya sacrifice, which presupposed that he was the most powerful of contemporary monarchs; but Krishṇa in the following words tells him that he cannot do so while Jarāsandha lives:

Sabhā-parvan, v. 626.—Na tu śakyaṁ Jarāsandhe jīvamāne mahābale |
rājasūyaṁ tvayā 'vāplum eshā rājan matir mama | tena ruddhāḥ hi 
rājānaḥ sarve jītvā Girivraje | kandāre parvataendrasya simheneva mahā-
dvīpāḥ | sa hi rāja Jārāsandha yiyakshur vasudhāhīpāḥ | Mahādevam mahātmānam Umāpatim arindama | ārādhya tapasgriya nirjītās tena 
pārthivāḥ | pratijyāyaḥ cha pārāṃ sa gataḥ pārthiva-sattamaḥ | sa hi 
nirjītya nirjītya pārthivān pritanāgatān | puram āniya baddhīva cha 
chakāra purusha-vaṣṭam | vayaṁ chaiva mahārāja Jārāsandha-bhayaṁ 
tada | Mathurāṁ samparītyajya gataḥ Dvāravatim purīṁ |

"But whilst the powerful Jārāsandha lives, a Rājasūya sacrifice 
cannot be attained by thee; such, king, is my opinion. For all the 
kings have been conquered, and are imprisoned by him in Girivraja, as 
elephants by a lion in a cave of a great mountain. For this monarch 
Jārāsandha desired to sacrifice to the glorious Mahādeva, the lord of 
Umā, with these kings [as victims]; and they were conquered by him 
after he had worshipped the god with dreadful austerities. And this 
eminent prince has attained to the accomplishment of his design. 
For after repeatedly conquering the princes who had come against 
him in battle, he has brought them to his capital, confined them, and 
made them a human herd. And we too," (confesses Kṛishṇa) "from 
dread of Jārāsandha, deserted Mathurā, and went to the city of 
Dvāravati."

Kṛishṇa returns, a little farther on, to Jārāsandha's cruelty to the kings:

Sabhā-parvan, v. 653.—Ratna-bhājo hi rājāno Jārāsandham upāsate | 
na cha tushyati tenāpi bālyād anayam āsthitāḥ | mūrdhābhishiktaṁ 
nirpatis mṛdhāna-purusho balāḥ | ādāte na cha no drīṣho 'bhagāḥ 
purushatāḥ kvacit | evaṁ sarvān vae chakre Jārāsandhāḥ satāvarān | taṁ 
durvāla-paro rājā katham Pārtha upaśhyati | prokṣhitānām pramrīsh-
tānāṁ 232 rājñān Paśupater grihe | paśūnāṁ ivā kā prītir jīvite Bharat-
arśābha | "For jewelled kings wait upon Jārāsandha; and yet he is 
not contented even with that, having through folly become imprudent. 
A prince seizes by force a consecrated king, and we do not see that he 
has failed to master any mortal anywhere."

232 The commentator's remark on this is as follows: Pramrīshṭānāṁ | Rūḍhra-dāiv-
ataya 'yam iti pratyekam abhinirūṣṭānāṁ |

233 These words are explained by the commentator in the above sense: Jārāsandhena 
abhīgac āsvikṛitaḥ | purushatāḥ mūrdhābhishiktasvam purusahsu | tena sarve vasīk-
ṛitaḥ ity arthāḥ | "Abhīgac means 'unappropriated' by Jārāsandha. Purushatāḥ 
means 'among anointed kings.' The sense is, that 'all have been subdued by him.'"
Jarāsandha has reduced to subjection in all at least a hundred persons; how, then, can a feeble prince approach him? What pleasure can those princes have in existence, when they have been sprinkled for slaughter and devoted as victims like beasts in the temple of Paśupati (Mahādeva)?"

Krīṣṇa afterwards proceeds to Jarāsandha's capital with Bhīma and Arjuna, with the view of slaying their enemy. They are admitted to his palace in the disguise of Brahmans, and after some conversation, Krīṣṇa says to Jarāsandha:

Sabha-parvan, vv. 861 ff.—Tvayā chopahritatā rājan kehatiyāh lokavāsinaḥ | tad āgaḥ krāram utpāda manyase kim anāgasam | rājā rājñāh kathan saddhan hiṃyād nripati-sattama | yad rājñāh sannigrīhyā teṣām Rudrayopajihirhasi | asmāṁs tad enopagachchhet kriṭāṃ Vivadhatha tvayā | vayaṁ hi saktāḥ dharmaṣya rakhau dharmaçāriṇāḥ | manusyānāṁ samālambho na cha drishtāḥ kadačhana | sa katham manusair devaṁ yashtum ichhasi Sāṅkaraṁ | savarṇo hi savarṇānāṁ 284 pasu-sanjnaṁ

284 On this the commentator remarks: "Namū "Brahmasya brāhmaṇam ālabheta" ityādīnā saraṇ-jatiyānāṁ saraṇa-karmanāṁ manuṣyānāṁ ālabho devatārtham badhaḥ śrūyate ity āsānkaḥ āha savarṇo hi iti | "But is not the immolation,—the slaughter as an offering to a god,—of men of all classes, and all occupations, enjoined in such Vedic texts as this, 'let him immolate a Brāhmaṇa to Brahman,' etc.? Having raised this doubt, he says, 'For thou, belonging to the same tribe,' etc."

Texts such as that here quoted by the commentator occur in the Taittī Br. i. i. 4, 1, 1 ff. (Brahmasya brāhmaṇam ālabhate ityādi | "He sacrifices a Brāhmaṇa to Brahman," etc., etc.) and in Vājasaneyi Śanhitā, xxx. 5 ff. (Brahmasya brāhmaṇam ityādi.) In regard to the question whether human sacrifices were practised in the earliest Vedic age, see Prof. Haug, as quoted in the first volume of this work, p. 11, and in the second volume, p. 463; the story of S'ūnsā-epe, adduced in vol. i., pp. 355 ff.; Prof. Müller's Ancient Sanskrit Literature, pp. 419 ff.; Prof. Weber's paper in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, vol. xviii., pp. 262 ff. (reprinted in his Indische Streifen, i., pp. 54 ff.). The two last-named writers quote texts from the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, ii., 8, and the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, l., 2, 3, 6, which I shall here cite. The former begins thus: Puruṣāṁ vai devāḥ paśuṁ ālabhantā | tasmād ālabdhāḥ medhaḥ udakrāmaṇ | so 'evam praviṣṭat | tasmād aśe medhyaḥ bhavat | atha enam utkṛṣṭa-medhaṁ atyārjanta; sa kimpurushedo bhavat | te 'evam ālabhantaḥ | so 'tvād ālabdhāḥ udakrāmat | sa gām praviṣṭat | tasmād gaur medhyaḥ bhavat | atha enam utkṛṣṭa-medhaṁ atyārjanta sa gauranyagro bhavat | te gām ālabhantaḥ | sa gor ālabdhāḥ udakrāmat | so 'vim praviṣṭat | "The gods sacrificed a man as a victim. After he had been sacrificed, the sacrificial element went out of him. It entered into the horse, which consequently became suitable for sacrifice. They then dismissed the man, after the sacrificial element had left him; and he became a kimpurusha,"

[probably an ape, according to Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, vol. ii., p. 228, and vol. v., p. 1296; with whom Weber agrees, Ind. Stud., ix., 246. "The author very
karishyasi| ko 'nyah evam yathā hi tvam Jarāsandha vrithā-matiḥ | yasyāṁ yasyāṁ avasthāyaṁ yat yat karma karoti yaḥ | tasyāṁ tasyāṁ avasthāyaṁ tat-phalaṁ samayāpnuyat | te tvāṁ jñāti-kheya-karaṁ vayam ārtāsārīriṇāḥ | jñāti-vṛiddhi-nimittārthaṁ vinihantum ihāgataḥ | . . . . . Jarāsandha uvācha . . . 882: Devatārthaṁ upāhritya rūpam Krishṇa katham bhayāt | aham adya vimuchheyam kṣhātram vratam anusmaran |

"Thou, king, hast devoted [to Mahādeva] Kshatriyas dwellers in this world. Having devised this cruel iniquity, dost thou regard thyself as guiltless? How should a king slaughter virtuous kings? Inasmuch as thou hast confined kings, and seekest to offer them up to Rudra, the guilt committed by thee, son of Vṛihadratha, would attach to us. For we who practise righteousness are able to protect righteousness. And [such a thing as] the immolation of men has never been seen. How [then] dost thou seek to sacrifice to the god Sankara with human victims? For thou, belonging to the same tribe [as those likely means a dwarf," Haug's transl. of the Ait. Br., p. 90, note; Müller regards the word as meaning "a savage."] "They sacrificed the horse, from which the sacrificial element then departed, and entered into the ox, which consequently became fit for sacrifice. They then dismissed the horse out of which the sacrificial element had departed, and it became a white deer. They next sacrificed the ox, from which the sacrificial element then departed, and entered into the sheep," etc. The same thing happens to the goat (in which the sacrificial element remained longest), then to the earth, in which it (the thing fit for sacrifice), when followed by the gods, became rice.

On this Prof. Müller remarks: "The drift of this story is most likely that in former times all these victims had been offered. We know it for certain in the case of horses and oxen, though afterwards these sacrifices were discontinued."

The text from the S'atapatha Brahmāṇa, i., 2, 3, 6, is as follows: Purushāṁ ha vai devāḥ āgra paśuṁ ālebhire | tasya ālabdhasya medho 'pachakrāma | so 'svam pravivesa | te 'svam ālabhanta | tasya ālabdhasya medho 'pachakrāma sa gūṁ pravivesa | te gūṁ ā—— | so 'vim pravivesa | te 'vim ā—— | so 'jam pravivesa | te 'jam ālabhanta | tasya ālabdhasya medho 'pachakrāma | 7 | sa imāṁ prithivīṁ pravivesa | tāṁ khanantāṁ īva anvishūḥ | tāṁ anvavindaṁ tāṁ inau vrīhi-yavau | . . . . . . sa yuvad-vrīyaṇavā ha vai asya ete sarve pāṇavaḥ ālabdhohḥ syus tāṁ-vrīyaṇavā ha asya havir bhavati yah evaṁ veda | "The gods formerly offered up a man as a victim. The sacrificial element left him when he had been sacrificed and entered into the horse. They offered up the horse; whereupon the sacrificial element went out of him and entered into the ox." The same thing happens with the ox, and then with the sheep and the goat successively. "The sacrificial element went out of the goat, and (7) entered the earth. Digging, they searched for it, and found it (the thing fit for sacrifice) in the shape of rice and barley. . . . . An oblation of these grains has as much efficacy, for him who knows this fact, as resides in all these victims when sacrificed."
princes], wilt designate as victims men of thine own tribe. What other person, Jarāsandha, is so foolish as thou? Whosoever, in any condition, perpetrates any particular act, will reap the fruit of it in that particular condition. We, the avengers of the afflicted, seeking the welfare of our kindred, have come hither to slay thee, the destroyer of thy kindred.” Krishṇa, then, after some further arguments, calls upon Jarāsandha either to liberate the kings, or to submit to be destroyed in combat. Jarāsandha (v. 880) says he has conquered the kings, and has a right to act as he is doing. He adds (v. 882): “How, Krishṇa, can I, who have devoted the kings to the god, remembering my duty as a Kshatriya, to-day release them through fear?” He then accepts the challenge, and is killed by Bhīmasena.

The birth of Jarāsandha is thus related in the Sabhā-parvan; and the narrative contains at the close a reference to his being a worshipper of Mahādeva. His father, Vṛihadratha, had two wives, who, after having been long barren, at length bore him two halves of a boy (v. 711), which, being regarded with horror, were thrown out (v. 714). A female demon (Rākshasi) named Jarā, an eater of flesh, takes them up (v. 715), and puts them together in order that they may be more easily carried away. A boy is thus formed who cries; and people in consequence come out of the inner apartments of the palace, and among them the two queens and the king. The Rākshasi assumes a human shape, and gives the child to the king, who then asks who she is. She replies (vv. 729 ff.):

Jarā-namā ’smi bhadrāṁ te Rākshasi kāma-rūpīṁ | tava veśmani rājen-dra pūjitā nyavasaṁ sukham | grihe grihe mraśyānāṁ nityaṁ tishṭhāmi rākshasi | griha-devitā nāmnā vai purā śrisṭā Svayambhuva | dānavanāṁ vināsaya sthāpitā divya-rūpīṁ | yo māṁ bhaktyā likhet kudye saputrāṁ yauvanānāvitrām | grihe tasye bhaved vriḍdhir anyāthā kṣhayam āpnuyāt | tvad-grihe tishṭhamānā tu pūjitā ’ham sādā vibho | likhitā chaiva kudye ’ham putrāṁ bahuḥbhir āvitrā | ganda-pushpaṁ tathā dhāpaṁ bhakṣyaṁ bhoojaiḥ supūjitā | sa ’ham pratyupakārārtham āhityāṁy anīsāṁ tava | taveṇa putrā-sakale śrisṭhavaty asmi dhārmika | samśleṣhite mayā daśvat kumāraṁ samapadyata | tava bhāgyād mahārāja hetu-mātram aham to iha | Moryām vā khāditaṁ saktā kim punas tava bālakam | griha-sampūjanat tuṣṭyā mayā pratyarpitas tava |

“I am, bless thee, a Rākshasi named Jarā, who can change my shape
at will. Worshipped in thy house, I have dwelt there in comfort. Named the house-goddess, I dwell constantly in every separate house of men, having been created of old by Svayambhū; and placed [there], of celestial form, for the destruction of the Dānavas. Prosperity will remain in the house of that man who devoutly paints me in a youthful form, together with my sons, upon his wall;—otherwise he shall decay. Abiding in thy house, O king, and continually reverenced, painted upon the wall, surrounded by my numerous sons, worshipped with odours and flowers, with incense, and various kinds of food, I continually consider how I may benefit thee in return. I saw, righteous prince, these two pieces of thy son; I put them together by chance, and a boy was produced, through thy good fortune, O great king, and I was merely the instrument. I could devour mount Meru, much more thy son: but being gratified by the domestic worship I have received, I have restored him to thee.”

The Rākshasī then disappears. King Vṛihadratha orders a great festival to be celebrated among the people of Magadha in her honour; and calls the boy Jarāsandha, because he had been put together (sandhitaḥ) by the Rākshasī Jarā (v. 738. Ājnāpayach cha rākshasyaḥ Magadheshu mahotsavam | tasya nāniākuroch chaiva Pitāmaha-samāḥ pītā | Jarayā sandhito yasmaj Jarāsandho bhavati ayam). The rishi Chaṇḍakausūka arrives on a certain occasion in the country of the Magadhās, and prophesies the future greatness of Jarāsandha (vv. 745 ff.). He ends by saying that this mighty prince of Magadha should have a manifest vision of Rudra, Mahādeva, Hara, the destroyer of Tripūra (v. 753. Esha Rudram Mahādevaṁ tripūrānta-karaṁ Haraṁ | sarva-lokesu atibalo sākṣhāt drakṣhyati Magadhaḥ).

The description here given by the Rākshasī of the worship paid to herself, furnishes, as Lassen (who quotes it, i. 609, first ed.; p. 755, second ed.) remarks, an instance of the local adoration of particular deities in ancient India.

In the account given of the transactions connected with the Rājasūya sacrifice which Yudhisṭhira sought to celebrate, we find (as Lassen, i. 673, first ed.; p. 821, second ed., remarks) the Pāṇḍavas represented as the partisans of Kṛṣṇa; and this legendary narrative may perhaps

285 Lassen remarks, vol. i., p. 755, note, that this is one of the oldest references in Indian literature to images of the gods.
be taken as an indication that they actually were the votaries of Vishnu, and opposed to the worship of Mahadeva. In the story of Sişupāla, which has been given above (pp. 205 ff.), we have seen that, in the assembly of princes who were gathered together on the occasion of that ceremonial, Kṛishṇa’s claims to veneration were strongly maintained by the Pāṇḍavas, and others who took their side, while they were strenuously resisted by Sişupāla, an adherent of the Kauravas, and, according to Lassen,286 a representative of the Śaiva worship. The same opposition to the worship of Kṛishṇa was, as I have already noticed, manifested by Duryodhana, Karna, and Salya (pp. 216, 218, 220, etc.).

It is true that there is one passage (referred to above, p. 283, note 280), to which Lassen has drawn attention, in which Duryodhana is represented as having offered up a sacrifice to Vishnu; and as this legend exhibits some features of interest, I shall give some account of it here. In the Vana-parvan, 15274 ff., Karna, after having conquered the earth, says to Duryodhana that the earth was now his, and he should rule over it like Indra. Duryodhana answers that he wished to celebrate a Rājasūya sacrifice. Karna replies that he should make preparation for that purpose (15278 ff.). Duryodhana then sends for his priest (puhita), whom he desires to perform the sacrifice (15284). The priest, however, states that the Rājasūya sacrifice cannot be celebrated by Duryodhana while Yudhishtīra lives, and while his own father, Dhṛtarāṣṭra, survives (15285 ff.); but he suggests that there is another great sacrifice which Duryodhana may offer (15287 ff.):

Asti tv anyaḥ mahat satraṁ rājasūya-saṇam prabhō / tena tvam yaja rājendra kṛiṇu, chedaṁ vacho mama / ye ime prathivī-palāḥ kara-das tava pārthīva / te karān samprayaḥkharu svargaṁca kṛitakṛitam / tena te kriyātāṁ adya langalāṁ nripa-sattama / yajna-vātasya te bhaveś kṛishyātāṁ / tena Bhārata / tatra yajno nripa-kṛishṭha prabhutānaḥ / susaṁskritāḥ / pravartatāṁ yathānyāyaṁ sarvato bh aviritaḥ / esha te vaishnave nāma yajnaḥ satpurushochitaḥ / etena neshṭoṁ kaścid rite / Vishnuḥ purātanaṁ / rājasūyaṁ kṛatu-kṛishṭham spardhatya esha / mahākṛatuḥ / “But there is another great ceremonial equal to the Rājasūya, with which, O great king, do thou sacrifice: and hear this which I have to say. Let those princes who are your tributaries

286 See above, p. 211, note 210.
present to you their contributions, and gold both wrought and un-
wrought. With this let a plough be to-day made, and with it let the
ground of thy sacrificial inclosure be ploughed. There let a sacrifice,
well arranged, and with abundant food, be duly celebrated; for it will
be completely unobstructed. This is to thee the Vaïshñava sacrifice
(the sacrifice of Vishñu), a ceremony suitable for virtuous men. With
it no one ever sacrificed except the ancient Vishñu.287 This great
ceremonial vies with the Rājasūya, the most excellent of sacrifices."

Duryodhana and his friends consented to this proposal (15295 f.),
and the sacrifice was accordingly performed (15301 ff.). Amid the
rejoicings which followed the ceremony, however, some foolish persons
said to Duryodhana that his sacrifice was not a sixteenth part so good
as Yudhishthira’s Rājasūya sacrifice, while his friends said that this
sacrifice surpassed all other ceremonies, and that Yayāti, Nahusha,
Māndhārī, and Bharata, had celebrated this rite, and had in con-
sequence gone to heaven (15327 ff.): Aparo tvā abhuvans tatras vātikās
tam mahāpatim | Yudhishthirasya yajnena na samo hy esha te kratuḥ |
naiva tasya krator esha kalām arhati shoḍāśīm | evān tatrābhuva
kechid vātikās tam āsaṃvaram | suhṛdaś tvā abhuvans tatras ati sarvān
ayaṃ kratuḥ ityādi |

I am not aware of any passage of the Mahābhārata in which Dur-
yodhana is represented as a special worshipper of Mahādeva; but in a
passage in the Karṇa-parvan, quoted above, pp. 223 ff., (which, however,
I have supposed may be a later interpolation) he is declared to have
narrated a legend descriptive of Mahādeva’s prowess, and in which
Vishñu is generally subordinated to his rival. Duryodhana is also in
two passages of the Mahābhārata connected (as if he was considered to
be heretically disposed) with a Rākshasa named Chārvāka, and is re-
presented as his friend (Śaṅti-parvan, 1414–1442), and as calling him to
mind after he has received his death-blow, and expressing a belief that
if once informed of his fate, the eloquent mendicant Chārvāka would
perform an expiation for him in the holy lake Samaṇṭapanchaka.

I subjoin both of these passages: the substance of the first is given
at the close of the preceding sentence.

Śalya-parvan, v. 3619: Yādi jānāti Chārvākaḥ parivrād vāg-viśā-

287 It must, according to this, have been very uncommon. Further on, however, it is said to have been celebrated by Yayāti and others.
DURYODHANA'S FRIENDSHIP WITH CHÄRVÄKA.

The passage from the Śānti-parvan, v. 1414, is as follows: Niśābde cha sthite tatra tato vipra-jane punah | rājānam brāhmaṇa-chhadma Čārvāko rākshaso 'bravit | tatra Duryodhana-sakhā bhikshu-rūpena saṃśrītaḥ | sākṣaḥ śīkhī tridāṇḍaḥ ca dhriṣṭaḥ vigata-sādhvasaḥ | eṣitaḥ sarvais tathā viprair aśīrvāda-vivakshubhīḥ | paramā sahasraḥ rājendra tapo-niyama-saṃśrītaḥ | sa dūṣṭaḥ pāpam āśāmśuḥ Pāṇḍavaṇāṁ mahātmānaṁ | anāmantryaiva tān vipraṁs tam uvācha mahāpatim | Čārvāka uvācha | ime prāhur deviḥ sarve samāropya vacho mayi | dhig bhavantāṃ kuniṇipatiṃ jñāti-ghātinam astu vai | kim tena syād hi Kaunçya kṛīvemāṃ jñāti-sankhyam | ṣaṁyayitvā gurūṁ chaiva mritaṁ śreyo na jīvitam | iti te vai dūṣṭaḥ śrutvā tasya dūṣṭasya rakṣaḥaḥ | vīvayuth śukruṣuḥ chaiva tasya vākya-pradharṣhitāḥ | tatas te brāhmaṇaḥ sarve sa cha rāja Yuddhisṭhirāḥ | vṛīditāḥ paramaśwignās tāṣṭhitam āsan visāṃpurte | Yuddhisṭhirāḥ uvācha | prasīdantu bhavanto me prapatasyaḥbhīyāḥchaḥ | pratyāsana-vaṣṇanāṁ na māṁ dhīkkartum arhatha | Vaisampāyanaḥ uvācha | tato rājan brāhmaṇas te sarve eva visāṃpurte | uvahur naitad vacho 'smākam śīrṣ astu tava pārthiva | jajnuḥ chaiva mahātmānaṁ tatas tu jñāna-chakshushā | brāhmaṇaḥ eeda-viḍāṁnas tapobhir vimalakritāḥ | brāhmaṇaḥ uvahur | esha Duryodhana-sakhā Čārvāko nama rākṣaḥaḥ | parivṛjaka-rūpena hitaṁ tasya chikirahati | na vayam brūna dharmatmaḥ vyetu te bhayam idṛśam | upatīṣṭhatu kalyanam bhavantam bhra-triḥbhīḥ saha | Vaisampāyanaḥ uvācha | tatas te brāhmaṇaḥ sarve hunkaraiḥ krodha-mūrcthitāḥ | nirbhartsayantaḥ suḥchayo nijagunāḥ pāpa-rakṣasam | sa papāta vinirdagdhas tejasā brahmavādinam | māhendra-sani-nirdagdhaḥ pādapo 'nkuravān iva | pujitāḥ cha yayah viprāḥ rājānam abhinandya tam | rājā cha harsham āpeado Pāṇḍavaḥ sa-sukṛj- Janāḥ | tatas tatra tu rājānam tiṣṭhantam bhṛtriḥbhīḥ saha | uvācha Devaki-putraḥ sarvadarśti Janārduṇāḥ | Vāsudevaḥ uvācha | brāhmaṇaḥ tata leke 'śminn archanīyāḥ sādā mama | ote bhūmičaraḥ devaḥ vāg-viśaḥ suprasādaṃ | purā Kṛitaye rājaṁś Čārvāko nama rākṣaḥaḥ | tapan tepe mahābāho Vardaryām bahuvārahi | vareṇa chhanayamānaḥ cha Brahmaṇaḥ cha punaḥ punaḥ | abhayam sarva-bhūtebhya varayāmasa Bhārata | devīvaṃnāṁ anyatra prādād varam anuttamam | abhayam sarvabhūtebhya dādau tasmai Prajāpatiḥ | sa tu labha-varaḥ pāpo devān amita-vikramāḥ | rākṣasas tāpyāmāsa tīvramānaḥ mahābalaḥ | 1414.
“When the Brahmans were again standing silent, the Rākshasa Chārvāka, the friend of Duryodhana, a pretended Brahman, in the garb of a mendicant, with a rosary, a lock of hair on his head, carrying three staves, bold, and shameless, addressed the king. Surrounded thus by all the Brahmans, thousands in number, who were devoted to austerities, observances, and who sought to utter blessings, this wretch, who wished ill to the great Pāṇḍavas, without consulting the Brahmans, thus spoke to the monarch: ‘All these Brahmans, assigning the speech to me, utter an imprecation against thee, thou wicked king, slayer of thy kindred. What can come of this? Since thou hast destroyed thy kinsmen, and slaughtered thy elders, death is better for thee than life.’

Hearing the words of this wicked Rākshasa, the Brahmans were pained, and cried out, being provoked by his speech. All the Brahmans and king Yudhishthira, being ashamed and extremely vexed, remained silent. Then Yudhishthira said: ‘Let all your reverences be gracious to me, who bow down, and supplicate you. You ought not to curse me, who have so recently been involved in calamity.’ All the Brahmans replied: ‘These were not our words: prosperity be thine, O king!’ These great Brahmans, learned in the Veda, purified by austerities, understood by the eye of knowledge (who Chārvāka was). They said: ‘This is a Rākshasa called Chārvāka, the friend of Duryodhana, who has assumed the form of a wandering mendicant, and desires his welfare. We say nothing (of what he pretends); let such an apprehension pass away from thee: may good fortune be the lot of thyself and thy brothers!’ The holy Brahmans then, furious with anger, slew the wicked Rākshasa, reviling him with loud menaces. Burnt up by the fervour of these utterers of the Veda, he fell, like a sprouting tree consumed by the lightning of Indra. The Brahmans honoured, departed, after saluting the king; and the Pāṇḍava monarch and his friends were glad. The all-seeing Janārdana, son of Devaki, then said to the king as he stood there with his brothers: ‘The Brahmans are always to be revered by me in this world: they are gods who walk on the earth, whose words are poison, and also beneficent. Formerly, in the Kṛita age, a Rākshasa named Chārvāka practised austerity for many years at Badari. Having again and again received from Brahmā the offer of any boon which he might prefer, he chose that of security against all creatures. Prajāpati granted the incomparable boon which
he asked, on condition that he should not contemn the Brahmans. But
the wicked Rākṣhasa of boundless valour, fierce in act, and great
in force, having obtained the boon, began to vex the gods. The
result is that they appeal to Brahmā, who assures them that he has
provided for the speedy death of Chārvāka. Duryodhana will become
his friend; and out of regard to him, he will treat the Brāhmans with
disrespect; and they will destroy him. This has now been fulfilled.

In his Indische Studien, i. 206, Professor Weber conjectures that
"the Kurus may have been the representatives of the Rudra (=Siva) -
worship, and the Pāṇḍus or Panchālas of the Indra (=Vishṇu) -
worship," and this supposition seems to derive support from the con-
siderations which have just been adduced.

The following passage from the Sābhā-parvan (where Krishna is de-
scribing to Yudhishṭhira the different partisans of Jarāsandha) appears
as if it contained a tradition indicating some struggle, at a period ante-
cedent to that of the writer, between the worship of Vishṇu, and that
of some local deity who was venerated in the provinces east of Magadha.

Jarāsandham gatas tev eva purā yo na mayā hataḥ | Purushottama-
vijnāto yo ’sau Chedishu durmātiḥ | ātmānam pratijānāti loke ’smin
Purushottaman | ādhatte satatam mohad yaḥ sa chihnam cha māmakaḥ |
Vanga-Puṇḍra-Kirāteshu rājā bala-samanvitaḥ | Puṇḍrako Vāsudeveto
yo ’sau loke ’bhiviśrutah | "And he who formerly was not slain by me,
has also taken the side of Jarāsandha—(I mean) the wicked man who
is known as Purushottama among the Chedis, who in this world pro-
fesses himself to be Purushottama, who through infatuation continually
assumes my mark—He who is a powerful king among the Bangas,
Puṇḍras, and Kirātas, and is celebrated in the world as the Vāsudeva
of the Puṇḍras. He is mentioned also Ādip. v. 6992.

288 Both passages had been previously translated by me in the Journal of the Royal
Asiatic Society, vol. xix., pp. 308 f. I have not been able to find any other text
in the Mahābhārata in which the connexion of Duryodhana with this Chārvāka
(who stands here, no doubt, as a mythical representative of the well-known heretics
of that name) is more explicitly described; though, from the two passages above
adverted to, one would have expected to find some further references to Duryodhana’s
connexion with him. The passage referred to in the summary of the contents of
the Mahābhārata, i. 349, must be the second of those here quoted.

289 On this Lassen remarks (i. p. 608, first ed.; p. 754 f., second ed.): "Since
Jarā means ‘praise.’ One who perceives it, or awakens [another] by it, is jarābodha. Compose that for the worship of every man,—a sightly hymn for the terrible.” Roth (Illust. of Nir., p. 136) remarks that “rudra” in this verse is an epithet of Agni, to whom the whole “tṛṣa,” or aggregate of three verses in which it occurs, is addressed; and he refers to R.V. x. 70, 2, 3, and R.V. viii. 26, 5, where the same epithet is applied in the dual to Mitra and Varuṇa, and to the Āśvins, respectively. Roth also quotes from Jayatīrtha the following short itihāsa in reference to this verse, which, however, applies it to Rudra: Agniḥ stūyamānah Sunāśsepham uvācha “Rudraṁ stuhi raudrāḥ hi paśavaḥ” iti | Sa tam pratyuvācha “nāhaṁ jānāmi Rudraṁ stotuṁ tvam eva etāṁ stuhi” iti tad idam uchyate “He jarābodha Rudra-stuti-vetās tat’ kuru” ityādi | “Agni, when he was being praised, said to Sunāśsepha, ‘Praise Rudra, for cattle (or victims) belong to him.’ He (Sunāśsepha) answered, ‘I do not know how to praise Rudra; do thou praise him.’ It is this which is here expressed, ‘O thou who art skilled in the praise of Rudra, do thou do so.’”

R.V. i. 43, 1 ff.—Kaṭ Rudrāya prachetaśa mithuṣṭamāya tavyaśa | vochēma śantāmāḥ krido | 2. Yathā no Aditiḥ karat paśve nṛibhyo yathā gava | yathā tokāya rudriyaṁ | 3. Yathā no Mitro Varuṇo yathā Rudraṁ chiketati | yathā viśe sajohasaḥ | 4. Gatha-patim medha-patīṁ Rudraṁ jalāśa-bheshajam | tat saṁyoḥ sumnam imeḥ | 5. Yaḥ śukraḥ iva sūryo hiranyam iva rochate | breshṭho devanāṁ vasuḥ | 6. Saṁ naḥ karatī arvate sugaṁ meshaṁ meshaḥ | nṛibhyo nṛibhyo gava | “What can we utter to Rudra, the intelligent, the most bountiful, the strong, which shall be most pleasant to his heart? 2. That so Aditi may bring Rudra’s healing to our cattle, and men, and kine, and children. 3. That so Mitra, Varuṇa, Rudra, and all the [gods] united, may think of us. 4. We seek from Rudra, the lord of songs, the lord of sacrifices, who possesses healing remedies, his auspicious favour. 5. [We seek this from him] who is brilliant as the sun, who shines like gold, who is the best and most bountiful of the gods. 6. He grants prosperity and welfare to our horses, rams, ewes, men, women, and cows.”

R.V. i. 64, 2.—Te jajnire diwāḥ riskvasaḥ ukhāno Rudrasya maryāḥ asuraḥ arepaśaḥ | pāvakāsaḥ svahayaḥ sūryāḥ iva satvāna na drapsino

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3 See also R.V. viii. 22, 14, which will be quoted further on.
4 “Rudra’s favour” (Benfey). Compare mārutasya bhesajasya in R.V. viii. 20, 23,
ghora-varpasah | 3. Yuvâno Rudrâh ajarâh abhogghano vavakshur adhri-

gâvah parvatah iva | dâśihâ chid visâa bhuvanâni pârthivâ prachyavayant-

divyâni majmanâ | . . . . 12. Ghrishum pâvakaṁ vaninâṁ viccharâha-

niṁ Rudrasya súnum havaśâ grînîmâsî | rajasturâṁ tavasam mûrutaṁ

ganaṁ rîshînâṁ vrishanâṁ suschata sûye | “These followers of Rudra

have been produced from the Sky, exalted, fertilizing, divine, purifiers,

bright as sons, like heroes, shedding drops, fearful in form. 3. The

youthful Rudras, undecaying, destroyers of the niggardly, resistless,

[firm as] mountains, have increased [in vigour]. By their power

they cast down all terrestrial and celestial creatures, however firm. . .

12. We praise with invocations the fierce, purifying, rain-dispensing

energetic offspring of Rudra. To obtain prosperity, worship the host

of Maruts, which sweeps over the atmosphere, vigorous, impetuous, and

fertilizing.”

R.V. i. 85, 1.—Pra ye śumbhante janayo na saptayo yâman Rudrasya

sûnavah sudaâmssasaḥ | rodaî hi marutaś chakrire vridhe madaniś virâḥ

vidatheshu ghrishvayah | “The swift Maruts, energetic sons of Rudra,

who, in their course, are bright like wives, have made the two worlds
to prosper, and, impetuous heroes, rejoice in sacrifices.”

R.V. i. 114, 1 ff. (Vâj. S. 16, 48 ; Taitt. S. iv. 5, 10, 1).—Imâh

Rudrây a tavaske karpâdine kshaya-virâya prabhâramahe matih | yathâ

5 See Prof. Max Müller’s version of this hymn, and of that next quoted, in his

Translation of the R.V., vol. i.

6 See Prof. Max Müller’s note on this word, Translation of R.V. i. 110 ff. The

word also occurs in R.V. x. 142, 2, as well as in the other texts enumerated by

Müller, p. 112

7 Karpâdin is also an epithet of Pushan in R.V. vi. 55, 2: Rathîtanaṁ ka-

pâdinaṁ iśânaṁ rathaḥ mahaḥ | râyaḥ sakhyam imahe | “We solicit the

great charioteer, adorned with spirally-braided hair, the lord of great bounty, and

our friend, for wealth.” And also in R.V. ix. 67, 10, 11: Avitaṁ no ajâvah Pûsha

yâmani yâmani | âbhâkshat kanyâsa naḥ | 11. Ayaṁ somaḥ karpâdine ghrîsanâ

apaste madhu | â bhakshat kanyâsa naḥ | “Pushan, who has goats for steeds, is

our protector on every journey. May he make us possessors of damsels. 11. This

soma is purified for the god with spirally-braided hair, like sweet butter. May he

make us possessors of damsels.” The word is also applied to the Tritus in R.V.

vi. 83, 8. . . . . S’vityyaneho yatra nammâ karpâdina dhiyâ dhiwante asapanta

Trîtsavaḥ | . . . . . . “Where the white-robed Tritus with braided hair have

worshipped you with obeisances and prayers.” With this compare dokshinâtas-

karpâdh in R.V. vii. 33, 1. The word Karpâdin also occurs in R.V. x. 102, 8.

8 This word is rendered “governing men” by Böhl ling and Roth, vol. ii.

(published 1856–1858), who first cite, as determining the sense of the word, R.V.
MEANING OF THE EPIThET KSHAYADVIRĀ.

śam astad dvipade chaṭuṣpade viśvam puṣṭaṁ grāme asmim anātaram | 2. (=T.S. iv. 5, 10, 2) Mṛīla no Rudra uta no mayas kṛṣṇāḥ kṣhayad-virāya namasā vidhema te | yat śāṁ cha yoscha Manur ā yeje pitā tad āṣyāma tava Rudra praṇītāhau | 3. Āṣyāma te sunatāṁ deva-yajyāyā kṣhayad-virasya tava Rudra mīḍhvaḥ | sumnāyann ṭvā viśo asmākam āchara arishta-virāḥ juhavāma te haviḥ | 4. Tveshāṁ vayaṁ Rudraṁ

viii. 19, 10: Yasya tevaṁ urdhvo adhvarṣyā tiṣṭhāsī kṣhayad-virāḥ sa sādhante | so aravāhīṁ saṁcit sa vipjayūbhīṁ sa śūrāṁ samitā kṛitaṁ | “The man to whom thou hoverest over the sacrifice, prospers as a commander of heroes: he, with horses, with triumphant men, with heroes, will acquire spoil.” Benfey also (Orient und Occident, iii. pp. 140 and 156) renders the word “governing heroes”; and adds in a note on the latter page: “Are the heroes, the single stormy winds, the maruts (comp. v. 6) over whom Rudra rules; or is Rudra generally designated as the lord of all heroes, inasmuch as he makes them swift, and destructive as storm-winds, in battle? ‘Destroyer of heroes,’ as Whitney proposes, (‘slayer of men,’ Journal of the American Oriental Society, vol. iii., p. 319, published in 1853), is not specially suitable in R.V. viii. 19, 10, or in other places.” Professor Aufricht translates the word “ruling over men” (as well as gods). Rudra, he remarks, is called ṭūṇād asya bhuranasya bhūreḥ, “lord over this manifold creation,” in R.V. ii. 33, 9; and compares sed u vṛjā kṣhayatī chaṛhāniṁ in i. 32, 10, and the similar phrases in i. 112, 3, and x. 9, 5. Kṣhayad-virā is, he believes, nothing more than the usual nriputi. It is true, Professor Aufricht adds, that in i. 114, 8, it is said of Rudra, “do not strike our children in thy anger,” and that in iv. 3, 6, he is called nrihan; but he does not think it likely that in one particular hymn a word should have a quite different meaning from that which it has in all other passages; and regards it as quite possible that nrihan may be based on a false interpretation of kṣhayad-virā. Sāyaṇa renders the word variously. On the passage above referred to, viii. 19, 10, he interprets it: nivānadvīḥ itivar vā virāḥ putrādhīḥ upetaḥ i.e. “attended by heroes, sons, etc., dwelling or moving.” On i. 106, 4, where it is an epithet of Pūshan, he explains it ati-balaṁiṁ | yasmin sarve virāḥ kṣhayante, i.e. “very powerful: he in whom all heroes are consumed.” On the passage before us, i. 114, 1, he gives two possible explanations of it: Kṣhayanto vināyanto virāḥ yasmin tādṛśīya | yadṛśiḥ kṣhayatīr aisvaryakarmāḥ | kṣhayantāḥ prāptaśrayāḥ virāḥ Marudgayeḥ putrāḥ yasya | “He in whom heroes perish; or, as the root kṣhe also means ‘exercising authority,’—he of whom the Maruts, heroes, exercising authority, are the sons.” The same verse occurs in Vāj. S., xvi. 48, where Mahādāra interprets the phrase: Kṣhayanto nivaṇaṇto virāḥ śūrāḥ yatra sa kṣhayadvīras tasmai śūra-yudhyā ity arthaḥ | kṣhayanto naivaṇanto virāḥ ripavo yasnaidd iti vā | “He in whom heroes dwell is kṣhayadvīra; to him who is possessed of heroes. Or, he through whom heroes perish.” On the second and third verses of i. 114, Sāyaṇa repeats in different words the explanations he had given on the first verse (Kṣhayita-sarva-virām prāptaśrayār marudhīr yuktaiḥ vā | kṣhayita-pratipakṣhasya Marudhīr yuktasya vā). On verse 10, he confines himself to the one explanation, Kṣhayita-sarva-sātra-juna. In R.V. i. 128, 3, the same epithet is applied to Indra; where Sāyaṇa expounds it thus: Kṣhayanto nivāsanto virāḥ putra-bhṛityādayo yasya tām tādṛśān trai-tāla-sādhaṁ-bahu-dhana-pradātārah | “He in whom heroes, sons, servants, etc., abide—the giver of much wealth, which is the instrument of obtaining thy wishes.”
yajña-sādhaṁ vankuṁ kāvīṁ avase nihvayāmahe | āre asmad ādaiyaṁ hele
asyatu sumatim iti vayam āṣya ā vṛiṇīmahe | 5. Divo varāhām aruṣhaṁ
kapardinaṁ tveshaṁ rūpam namasaṁ nihvayāmahe | haste bibhrad bheshajā
vāryāṁ śarma vārma chhhardir asmabhyaṁ yaṁsat | 6. Idam pitre Maru-
tām uchyaṁ vacaḥ svādh svādiyo Rudrāya varāhanam | rāśva ca no
amṛita mara-bhajanāṁ tmano tokāya tanayāya mṛīla | 7 (=V. S. 16, 15;
T. S. iv. 5, 10, 2; A. V. ii. 2, 29).
Mā no mahāntam uta mā no arbhakam mā naḥ ukṣhantam uta mā naḥ ukṣhitaṁ | mā no bādhīṁ pitaram
mota mātaram mā naḥ priyās tanvo Rudra rīrishaḥ | 8. (V. S. 16, 16;
T. S. iv. 5, 10, 3). Mā nas toke tanaye mā na ṣayau (ayushi V. S., T. S.)
mā no gosu mā no aveshu rīrishaḥ | virāṁ mā no bhāmīto (bhāmīno
V. S., T. S.) bādhīr havishmantaḥ sadam it tvā havāmahe | 9. Upa te stomān
paṣu-pāṁ ivākaram rāśva pitar Marutāṁ sumnam asmo | bhādrā hi te
sumatir mṛīlayattamā atha vayam avaḥ it te vṛiṇīmahe | 10. (T. S. iv.
5, 10, 3). Āre te go-ghanam uta pārusha-ghanam kshayad-virā sumnam
asmo te astu | mṛīla cha no adhi cha bruhi deva adha cha naḥ śarma
yachha dvī-bharbāḥ | 11. Avochāma namo asmai avasyavah śrīnūtō no
havāṁ Rudro marutvāṁ | tan no Mitro Varuṇo mamahantāṁ Aditiṁ
sindhuḥ prithvīi uta dyauḥ |

"We present these prayers to Rudra, the strong, with spirally-

9 Śāyana, in his note on this verse, gives no less than six explanations of the word
Rudra, which I subjoin, as a specimen of commentarial ingenuity:

Rudayati sarvam antakāle iti Rudrāḥ | yadvā rut samārākhyam duśkham | tad
drāvayati apamanyataṁ vinādyati iti Rudrāḥ | yadavā rutah śabda-rūpah upaṁsha-
dahā | tābhīr drāyate gamyate pratipādyate iti Rudrāḥ | yadvā rut śabdātmikā vāṁ
tat-prātipādātmā-vidhi vā | tam upāsakheḥ yādi dadāti iti Rudrāḥ | yadvā rut
ṛuma-
dādāhyo avṛrṣati iti rud andhakārādi | tād drāṣṭā vidārayati iti Rudrāḥ | yadavā
dādāchid deva-sura-sangrāme 'gny-ātmako Rudro devaṁ nikṣiptāṁ dhanaṁ apahṛtya
niragat | asurān jīvaṁ devāh enam anyṣṭaḥ diviṣṭoḥ dhanaṁ sāhaṁ | tadasīṁ
arudat | tasmād Rudrāḥ ity akhyāyate | "He is called Rudra (1) because he makes
every one weep (rodayati) at the destruction of the world. Or (2) rut means
the suffering called the world. He drives away (drāvayati), removes, destroys, that:
therefore he is named Rudra. Or (3) rut in the plural means the Upanishads, which
are composed of words: by them he is attained, expounded (drāyate): therefore he
is termed Rudra. Or (4) rut signifies language composed of words, or the science of
soul which is to be explained by it: this it gives (rūt) to his worshippers: hence
he is denominated Rudra. Or (5) the root rutā means to shut, cover; and therefore
rut means darkness, etc.: he tears (drīṇati), rends: it: therefore he is designated as
Rudra. Or (6) when on one occasion there was a battle between the gods and
Asuras, Rudra having the nature of Agni carried off the treasures which had been
thrown down by the gods and went away. But the gods, after conquering the
Asuras, sought him, saw him, and took the treasures from him: then he wept (arudat),
and from that he is called Rudra."
braided hair, ruling over heroes, that there may be prosperity to our two-footed and four-footed creatures, that everything in this village may be well fed and free from disease. 2. Be gracious to us, Rudra, and cause us happiness; let us with obeisance worship thee, the ruler over heroes. Whatever prosperity and blessing our father Manu acquired by worship, may we attain it all under thy guidance, Rudra. 3. May we by our divine worship obtain the goodwill of thee, Rudra, who art the ruler of heroes, and beneficent; act favourably towards our people: may we, with our men unharmed, offer thee our oblation. 4. We invoke to our succour the impetuous Rudra, the fullfller of sacrifice, the swift, the wise. May he drive far away from us the anger of the gods, for we desire his favour. 5. We invoke with obeisance the ruddy bear of the sky, with spirally-braided hair, a brilliant form. Carrying in his hand most choice remedies, may he give us protection, defence, shelter. 6. This exhilarating hymn, sweeter than the sweetest, is uttered to Rudra, the father of the Maruts. Bestow on us, O immortal, the food of mortals; be gracious to ourselves, our children, and descendants. 7. Slay neither our great, nor our small, neither our growing nor our grown, neither our father nor our mother; injure not, Rudra, our dear selves. 8. Injure us not in our children and descendants, nor in our men (life, V.S.), nor in our cattle, nor in our horses. Slay not our men in thine anger (angry men, V.S.): we continually worship thee with offerings. 9. As a keeper of cattle (brings victims), so have we brought praises near to thee: 10 bestow on us thy favour, O father of the Maruts. For kind and most gracious is thy benevolence, and now we desire thy succour. 10. Far from us be thy cow-slaying and thy man-slaying [weapon]: ruler of heroes, let thy blessing be with us. Be gracious to us, O god, and—take our side; bestow on us mightily thy protection. 11. We have uttered to him our adoration, desiring his help. May

10 Compare R.V. x. 127, 8, quoted by Böhtlingk and Roth, s.v. kar-upa-śā: upa te gāh iva ākaram vyājēha duhitar divaḥ | Rātri stomaḥ na jīgyūṣhe | “I have, O Night, brought before thee (praises) as it were cows; choose (them, daughter of the Sky), as it were a hymn to a conqueror.” Śāyaṇa (on R.V. i. 114, 9) explains the comparison as follows: Yathā paśūnām pālayitū gopah prātahkāle svasmī śāmarpitam paśūn śāyaṅkāle svavībhyaḥ pratyarpayati evaṁ tvat sakāśā labdhān stutirūpāṇ mantrān stuti-sūdhavatayā tuḥhyam pratyarpayami | “As a cattle-herd returns to the owners in the evening the cattle entrusted to him in the morning, so I, by the fulfilment of praise, give back to thee the laudatory hymns received from thee.”
Rudra, attended by the Maruts, listen to our invocation. Then may Mitra, Varuna, Aditi, Sindhu, Earth and Sky, gladden us."

In Śāyaṇa’s annotations on the sixth verse, he quotes the following later story to explain how Rudra (here identified with the later Mahādeva) came to be called the father of the Maruts:

\[ \text{Rudrasya Marutām pṛitiṃvam evam ākhyāyate | purā kadāciḥ Indro} \\
\text{’surān jīgāya | tadāniṁ Ditiṁ Asura-mātā Indra-hanana-samartham} \\
\text{putraṁ kāmayamanā tapaṁ bharuṭh sakāśād garbhaṁ lobhaḥ | imaṁ vri-} \\
\text{ttāntam avagachhāṃ Indro vajra-hastāḥ sar śūkṣma-rūpo bhūtvā tasyaḥ} \\
\text{udaram praviṣya taṁ garbhāṁ saptadhaṁ bibheda | punar api skākiṃ} \\
\text{sapta-khaṇḍaṁ akarot | te sarve garbhaika-desaḥ yoner nirgatiyāruṇaṇa} \\
\text{etasmīṁna avasara ṛilārthaṁ gachhante Pārvatī-paramēśvarāv} \\
\text{imān da-} \\
\text{dīśatiḥ | Mahēśam pratī Pārvaty evam avocat | “śine māṁsa-khaṇḍaḥ} \\
\text{yathā pratyekam putraḥ sampadyantāṃ evaṁ tvayā kāryam mayi chet} \\
\text{pritiṁvanti” iti | sa-cha Mahēśvaras tāṁ samāna-rūpāṁ samāna-vayasaḥ} \\
\text{samānālankārān putraṁ krītva Gauriyai pradadaṁ “tavem putraḥ} \\
\text{sante” iti | atāḥ sarvesu Maruteshu śūkteshu Maruto Rudra-putraḥ iti} \\
\text{stāyante Rudresu cha Marutām pitaḥ Rudraḥ iti} | \\
\text{“The story of Rudra being the father of the Maruts is thus re-}
\text{counted. Formerly, once on a time, Indra overcame the Asuras.} \\
\text{Then Diti, the mother of the Asuras, desiring a son who should be able} \\
\text{to slay Indra, through austerity became pregnant by her husband.} \\
\text{Indra, learning this news, entered into her womb in a very minute} \\
\text{form, with a thunderbolt in his hand, divided her fetus into seven} \\
\text{parts, and again made each of these parts into seven. All these being} \\
\text{in one part of the fetus, issued from the womb and wept. At this} \\
\text{conjuncture, Paramēśvara (Mahādeva) and Pārvatī were passing by} \\
\text{for amusement, and saw them. Pārvatī spoke thus to Paramēśvara,} \\
\text{‘If you love me, effect that all these bits of flesh may become severally} \\
\text{sons.’ Mahēśvara made them all of the same form and age, and with} \\
\text{the same ornaments, and gave them to Gaurī (Pārvatī), saying, ‘Let} \\
\text{these be thy sons.’ Hence in all the hymns addressed to the Maruts,} \\
\text{they are lauded as the sons of Rudra; and in the hymns to Rudra, he} \\
\text{is praised as the father of the Maruts.”} \]

11 On R.V. viii. 28, 5, Śāyaṇa has the following note: \textit{Atra purūṭani kathā} \\
\textit{Indra-samānām putram ichhantīyāḥ Adīter garbhanyā kenachit kārayano Indreṇa} \\
\textit{saptadhaṁ bhinnatvāt sa garbhāḥ sapta-ganātmako bhūvat | tato Maraṇāḥ sampannaḥ}
R.V. i. 122, 1.—Pra vaḥ pūntāṁ rāghu-manyavā 'ndho yajnaṁ
Rudrāya miḥhuso bhāradhvam | dīvo astoshi asurasya12 vīrair ishudhyā
iva Maruto rodasyoh | “Present, ye zealous (priests), to the bountiful
Rudra, the draught of soma, your offering. I have praised him with
the heroes of the divine Sky: may I (with my prayer) as it were aim
at the Maruts in heaven and earth.”

R.V. i. 129, 3.—Dāsmo hi shma vrishyaṁ pīnvasi tvachāṁ kaṁ chid
yāvīr arunāṁ sāra martyam pārivinakshi martyam | Indrota tuḥhyāṁ
tad Dice tad Rudrāya sva-yaśase | Mitrāya vochaṁ Varuṇāya suprathaḥ
sumṛilikāya suprathaḥ | “Thou (Indra), who art energetic, fillest
the teeming skin (the cloud?): thou, hero, hast chased away every
hostile mortal, thou puttest to flight the mortal. Indra, I have
uttered this to thee, and this to the Sky, and to Rudra, who derives
his renown from himself, and to Mitra, and to Varuṇa abundantly,
to the very gracious, abundantly.”

R.V. ii. 1, 6.—Tvam Agne Rudro asuro maho divas tvatvāṁ śardho
mārutam pṛikṣhaḥ tishe | tvam vātaṁ aruṇāir yāśi śaṅgayas tvam Pūshā
vidhataḥ pāśi nu tmanā | “Thou, Agni, art Rudra, the great spirit
(asura) of the sky. Thou art the host of the Maruts. Thou art lord
of nourishment. Thou, who hast a pleasant abode, movest onward
with the ruddy winds. Thou [being] Pūshan, by thyself protecttest
those who worship thee.”

“sapta-gaṇāṁ vai Marutah” iti śruteḥ | “Regarding this there is an ancient story.
The focus of Aditi, who desired to have a son equal to Indra, having been for some
reason divided by Indra into seven parts, it became formed into seven troops. Thence
the Maruts were produced. For a Vedic text says, “The Maruts are divided into
seven troops.” Unless the reading in the latter of these two passages is incorrect,
it will be observed that the mother of the Maruts is variously represented to be Diti
and Aditi. As in the first of the two texts Diti is defined as the mother of the
Asuras, the reading there must be correct; and the Maruts must have been regarded by
the writer as her sons. In the hymns they are said to be the sons of Rudra and
Pṛisni; and the sons of the Sky and Ocean. See the fifth volume of this work,
p. 147 f.

12 Compare with dīvo asurasya, R.V. i. 131, 1, and iii. 53, 7, where the phrases
Dyūnur asuraḥ, “the divine Sky;” and Divas pūtrāso asurasya, “the sons of the
divine Sky;” occur. I am indebted to Prof. Aufrecht for an explanation of the
sense of this half verse. He holds ishudhyā as put for ishudhyāni, the 1st pers.
sing. of the imperative of the root ishudhy. See Dr. Bollenssen’s article in
p. 577, where other instances of the suffix ni being omitted in this part of the verb
are given.
REGARDING AGNI AND RUDRA.

See above (p. 76 f.) the third verse of this hymn, where Agni is identified with Indra, and Vishnu, in the same way as he is identified with Rudra and Pushan in the verse before us.—See also verses 4, 5, and 7. Sāyana, in his commentary on this verse, gives two derivations of the word Rudra:

Rud duḥkhaḥ duḥkha-hetur vā pāpādiḥ | tasya drāvayitā etan-nāmako devo’ si | “Rudro vai esaḥ yaḥ Agnir” ity ādihā Agneḥ Rudraśabdena vyavahārāt | yadvā tvam Rudrāḥ | rauti | mām anishṭvā naraḥ duḥkha patishyanti | Rudras tādriśo ’si | “Rut means suffering, or sin, etc., which causes suffering. Thou (Agni) art the god so called, who drives this away (rud-drāvayitā); for Agni is intended by the word Rudra in such passages as this, ‘He who is Agni is Rudra.’ Or, thou art Rudra. He cries: Not worshipping me, men will fall into grief. Thou art such a Rudra,” etc.

11 (A. V. 18, 1, 40; T. S. iv. 5, 10, 3, 4). Stuhi śrutaṁ garta-sadāṁ
gyānam mṛigaṁ na bhīmamḥ 
upahatnum ugram | mṛila jaritre Rudra
stavāno anyaṁ te asmad ni vapantu senāḥ | 12. Kumāras chit pītaram
vandamānam prati nandāna Rudra upayantam | bhrer dātāraṁ satpatis
grītishe stutas tvam bhesajā rāsi asme | 13. Yā vo bhesajā Marutaḥ
śuchīni yā saṁtamā vṛishano yā mayobha | yāni Manur avṛṣita pitaḥ nas
ta saṁ cha yoṣaça Rudrasya vaśmi | 14 (V. S. 16, 50; T. S. iv. 5, 10, 4).
Pari no hetik Rudrasya vṛijyāḥ (vṛiṇaktu, V. S., T. S.) pari tveshasya
durmārī mahī gāt | ava shirā maṅgavadhyas tanushva miṅhvas tokāya
tanayāya mṛila | 15. Evā bahāro vṛiṣhabha chekitāna yathā deva
na kṛiṇiṣhe na haṃsi | havana-śrud no Rudra iha bodhi bhīhadi vadhena vidathe
suvarāḥ |

"1. Father of the Maruts, may thy blessing come (to us): remove
us not from the sight of the sun. May the hero spare our horses: may
we, Rudra, increase in offspring. 2. Through the auspicious remedies
conferred by thee, Rudra, may I attain a hundred winters. Drive away
far from us enmity, and distress, and diseases, to a distance. 3. Thou,
Rudra, art in glory the most eminent of beings, the strongest of the
strong, O wielder of the thunderbolt. Carry us happily across our
calamity: repel all the assaults of evil. 4. Let us not, Rudra, provoke
thee by our prostrations, by our unsuitable praises, vigorous [deity],
or by our common invocations. Raise up our heroes by thy remedies:
I hear that thou art the greatest physician of physicians. 5. May I
with hymns avert (propitiate) that Rudra who is invoked with praises
and oblations. Let not him who is mild, easily-invoked, tawny, with
a beautiful chin, deliver us up to this ill will [of our enemies]. 6.
The mighty [god], attended by the Maruts, has gladdened me his
suppliant with robust health. May I, free from injury, obtain [thy
protection], as it were, shade in the heat [of the summer]: may I
seek the blessing of Rudra. 7. Where, Rudra, is that thy gracious
hand which is healing and restorative? Removing the evil which
comes from the gods, spare me, thou vigorous [deity]. 8. I joyfully
send forth a great encomium to this tawny, vigorous, luminous god.

15 Compare similar modes of speaking about Viṣṇu, Indra, Varuṇa, etc., above,
p. 69 and note 18.
16 See in the note to Roth’s Illustrations of the Nirukta, p. 86, other instances of
similar forms, apparently of the 2nd pers. sing., standing for the 3rd pers.
Reverence the fiery [deity] with prostrations: we celebrate the glorious name of Rudra. 9. With firm limbs, multiform, fierce, tawny, he has been arrayed with bright golden (ornaments). Divine power can never be removed from Rudra, the lord of this vast world. 10. Thou, fitly, holdest arrows and a bow; fitly, thou [wearest] a glorious necklace of every form (of beauty). Fitly, thou possessest all this vast [world]. There is nothing, Rudra, more powerful than thou. 11. Celebrate the renowned and youthful god, mounted on his chariot, terrible as a wild beast, destructive, and fierce. Be gracious to thy worshipper, Rudra, when praised: may thy hosts prostrate some one else than us. 12. Even a boy, when his father approaches and salutes him, makes obeisance to him in return; [so] O Rudra, I praise [thee], the giver of much [good], the lord of heroes. Thou, when lauded, grantest to us remedies. 13. Those pure remedies of yours, Maruts, those which are salutary, ye strong [gods], those which are beneficial, those which our father Manu desired—those, as well as the blessing and favour of Rudra, I desire. 14. May the bolt of Rudra avoid us; may the great malevolence of the impetuous [deity] depart far from us. Unbend thy strong [bows so as not to strike] thy wealthy worshippers. Dispenser of good, be gracious to our children and descendants. 15. O tawny and vigorous god, so taking heed of us, as neither to be incensed against us, nor to injure us—think of us now, Rudra, hearing our invocations; let us with our vigorous men utter a great hymn at the sacrifice."

R. V. ii. 34, 2.—Dyāvo na stribhiḥ ehitayanta khādino vi abhriyāḥ na dyutayanta vrishṭayaḥ | Rudro yad vo Maruto rukma-vakshao vrishā jani prīśnyāḥ sukre udbhani | "Adorned with armlets, [the Maruts] have shone like the skies with their stars, they have glittered like showers from the clouds, at the time when the prolific Rudra generated you, O Maruts, with jewels on your breasts, from the shining udder of Prīśni."

R. V. ii. 38, 9.—Na yasya Indro Varuṇo na Mitro evratam Aryamā na minanti Rudrah | na arātayas tam idāṁ svasti huc āṣvaṁ Savi-

17 See Sukra-pid, Nir. viii. 11 = R.V. x. 110, 6; and Roth, Erl. See the fifth vol. of this work, p. 453 f., where some remarks of Dr. Bollensen (Journ. Germ. Or. Society, xxii. 587 ff.) are quoted, in which this passage, with others, is adduced to show that images of the gods were common in the Vedic age.

18 Compare i. 114, 2, above, pp. 302 and 304.
tāram nanobhīḥ | "With prostrations I invoke this blessing from the god Savitṛ, whose purpose neither Indra, nor Varuṇa, nor Mitra, nor Aryaman, nor Rudra, nor any enemies can resist."

In the next text, ‘rudra’ is merely an epithet of Agni.

R. V. iii. 2, 5.—Agniṁ sumṇāya dadhiru puro janāḥ vājā-śravasam19 iha vṛkta-barhishāḥ | yata-śruchāḥ suruchāḥ visva-devyasṛm rudraṁ yajnā-ñāṁ sādhad-īśtim apasām | "Men, having prepared the sacrificial grass, and holding ladles, have, to obtain his blessing, placed in their front Agni, renowned for wealth, the brilliant, acceptable to all the gods, the terrible (rudra), who fulfils the objects of sacrifices and rites."

In the first verse of the hymn next quoted also, ‘rudra’ is merely an epithet of Agni. In verse 6, on the other hand, Rudra is the name of a god.

R. V. iv. 3, 1.—Ā vo vājānaṁ adhvarasya rudraṁ hotāram satyayajāṁ rodasyoḥ | Agnim purā tanayitor achittād hiranya-rūpam avase kṛṣṇādhvam | 6. Kad dhishnyāsu vriḍhasāno Agne kad Vātāya pratavase suhaṁye | pariṣmāne nāsatyāya kshe bravaḥ kad Agne Rudrāya nyi-ghne20 | (verse 7 is quoted above, p. 78). "Before the thunderbolt [falls] unawares, call to your succour Agni, the terrible (rudra) king of the sacrifice, the invoker in both worlds, offering genuine worship, the golden-formed. . . . 6. Wilt thou, Agni, who delightest in the altars, wilt thou declare [our sin]21 to Vātā, the energetic, the bestower

19 This word is explained by Sāyana in this place as = manushyebhyaḥ preritānam, "who has sent food to men," and on R. V. vii. 35, 4, as = vājaśat barci prasiddāḥ, "famed for force." In the Nihantu (ii. 7, 17) two senses are assigned to vāja, "food," and "battle," and to śravas are ascribed (ii. 7, 10) the meanings "food," and "wealth." In the Nirukta iv. 24 (where R. V. iv. 38, 5, is explained), the senses "praise" or "wealth" are attributed to the latter word; in Nir. ix. 10, the sense of "praise"; in Nir. x. 3, that of "food"; and in Nir. xi. 9, that of "renown." Böhlimg and Roth assign to vāja the senses (1) of "swiftness, spirit," (2) "running a race, conflict," (3) "prize of victory in a race, spoil," (4) "gain, reward, valuable possession," etc., and explain the compound vāja-śravas, "contending in a race," comparing it with vāja-srīt, to which they ascribe the same meaning, and which is explained by Sāyana in R. V. ix. 43, 5, as = saṅgrāma-sarayāḥ, "moving in battle.

Prof. Aufeicht sees no reason why vāja-śravas should be interpreted differently from vājaśravas, and translates it "renowned for power or wealth," comparing gomad vājavat śravas, II. V. 1, 9, 7; vāja, śravas ishe chā, vi. 17, 4 (vi. 1, 11); ix. 6. 7, 4; vi. 36, 9; mahi śravo vājam, vi. 70, 5; sa vājam darsāhi sa iha śravo dhāh, x. 69, 3; vājam ukthyaṁ, x. 140, 1; abhi vājam uta śravas, ix. 1, 4; ix. 6, 3; vājam āsī jeshi śravo bhīṣat, ix. 44, 6; ix. 63, 12; ix. 87, 5.

20 Comp. pūrūsha-ghnam in i. 114, 10, above, p. 303. 21 See the preceding verse.
of blessings, the circumambient, the truthful? Wilt thou declare it to the earth, and to the man-slaying Rudra?"

R.V. v. 3, 3, quoted and translated above, p. 80.

R.V. v. 41, 2.—Te no Mitro Varuna Aryama ’yur Indraḥ Ribhukṣhāḥ Maruto jushanta | namobhir vā ye dadhate suvṛktiṁ stomaṁ Rudrāya mīḥushe sajoshāḥ | “May Mitra, Varuṇa, Aryaman, Āyu, Indra, Ribhukṣhan, the Maruts, be favourable to us, [and to those] who, united together, offer with obeisances hymns and praises to the bountiful Rudra.”

R.V. v. 42, 11.—Tam u shtuhi yaḥ svishuḥ sudhanvā yo viśvasya kṣhayati bheṣajasya | yakshaṇa mahe saumanasāya Rudraṁ namobhir devam asuraṁ duvasya | . . . . . 15. Esha stomo māryaṁ sārdo ačha Rudrasya sănān yuvanān ud aṣyaḥ | ityādi | “Praise him who has excellent arrows and bow, who commands all remedies. Worship Rudra to [obtain hī] great benevolence: with prostrations adore the spiritual deity. . . . . . 15. May this hymn ascend to the troop of Maruts, to the sons of Rudra, who comport themselves as youths,” etc.

R.V. v. 46, 2 (V.S. 33, 48), quoted and translated above, p. 80.

R.V. v. 51, 13.—Viśe devāḥ no adya svastaye vaisvānaro vasur Āgniḥ svastaye | devāḥ avantu Ribhavah svastaye svasti no Rudraḥ pātu aṁhasah | “May all the gods, may Agni, the beneficent, worshipped by all men, may the divine Ribhus, preserve us for our welfare. May Rudra bless and preserve us from calamity.”

R.V. v. 52, 16.—Pra ye me bāndhveshe gām vohanta sūrayaḥ Prisnīṁ vohanta mātaram | adha pitarāṁ iṁhiṁaṁ Rudraṁ vohanta śivasaḥ | “These wise and powerful [Maruts], who, when I was inquiring after their kindred, declared to me that the Earth, Prisni, was their mother, and that the rapid Rudra was their father” (see above, p. 306, note 11).

R.V. v. 59, 8.—Mimātu Dyau Aditir vitaye naḥ saṁ dānu-chitrāḥ uṣhāso yatanām | āchuchavur divyaṁ kośam ete riṣhe Rudrasya Maruto griṇānāḥ | “May Dyau and Aditi provide for our enjoyment: may the dawns, glittering with moisture, strive [in our behalf]. These Maruts, [the sons] of Rudra, when lauded, O rishi, have caused the celestial treasure to drop down.”

R.V. v. 60, 5.—Ajyeshtāsa akanishthāsah ete sam bhrātaro vāyridhuḥ saubhagaḥ | yuva pītā svapaḥ Rudraḥ eśāṁ sudughaḥ Prisnīḥ sudina Marudbhyaḥ | “These brothers (the Maruts), among whom there
is no distinction of elder and younger (comp. R. V. v. 59, 6, where also these epithets occur), have grown to prosperity. Rudra, their young and energetic father, and the prolific Priśni, [have created] fortunate days for the Maruts."

R. V. vi. 16, 39.—*Ya ugraḥ iva karya-hā tigma-tringa na vaṁsagaḥ | Agne puro rurujitha | “Thou, Agni, who art fierce (ugra), like an archer, like a sharp-horned bull, hast broken down castles.”

On this the commentator remarks: "Rudro vai esha yaḥ Agni’" iti śruteḥ | Rudra-kritam api Tripura-dahanam Agni-kritam eva iti Agniḥ stūyate | "For the Veda says that ‘this Agni is Rudra.’ It is here said in praise of Agni, that the burning of the Tripura (or the three cities), though done by Rudra, was done by Agni.” Another explanation of the commentator is that Agni was present in Rudra’s arrow on that occasion. All this, however, is merely said with the view of bringing the Veda into harmony with later stories.

R. V. vi. 28, 7 (A. V. iv. 21, 7).—*Prajavatiḥ sūryasaṃ riśantiḥ ṣuddhaḥ apaḥ suprapaṇe pibantiḥ | mā vaḥ stenaḥ iṣata mā ’ghasaṁsaḥ pari vo hetih Rudrasya vijjyaḥ | “Be ye (cows) prolific, consuming excellent pasture, drinking pure waters in a good pond. May no thief or wicked man have power over you. May the bolt of Rudra avoid you.”

R. V. vi. 49, 10.—*Bhuvanasya pitarāṁ gīrbhir ābhiḥ Rudraṁ divā vardhaya Rudram aktaḥ | brihatam riśikam ajaraṇā sushumnam riḍhag āhuvaṁ kavineshtāsaḥ | “Magnify with these songs, the father of the world, Rudra, by day, [magnify] Rudra by night. Let us, impelled by the poet, severally invoke [him] the mighty, the exalted, the undecaying, the beneficent.”

R. V. vi. 50, 4.—*Ā no Rudrasya sūnavo namantām adya hātāso Vasavo aḍhṛiṣṭāḥ | ityādi | (verse 12 is quoted above, p. 82). “May the sons of Rudra, the irresistible Vasus (or gods), invoked to-day, stoop down to us,” etc. . . . v. 12 (translated above, p. 82).

R. V. vi. 66, 3.—*Rudrasya ye mūḥusah santi putrāḥ yāṁś cho nu dādhriśvīr bharaḍhyai | vide hi mātā maho mahī sā sā it Priśniḥ subhve garbhām ā adhit | . . . 11. Tam vriḍhantam mārutam bhrājat-rishṭīṃ Rudrasya sūnuṁ havraśā ā vīvase | ityādi | —“Those who are the sons of the bountiful Rudra, and whom he upholds for their nourishment. For the mighty mother possessed these mighty sons. This Priśni was
regarding Rudra and other deities.

R.V. vi. 74, 1 ff.—Somā-Rudrā dhārayethām asuryam pra vām īśṭaya 'ram aśmusvantu | dāme dame saptāh dādhāhā śaṁ no bhūtam dvipade śaṁ chatushpade | 2 (A. V. 7, 42, 1). Somā-Rudrā vi vrihatam vishūchim anivā yā no geyam aviecesa | āre bādhathāṁ Nirṛitīṁ parāchāir asme bhadrā sauśravastāṁ santhu | 3 (A. V. 7, 42, 2). Somā-Rudrā yuvaṁ etāṁ asma visvā tanūshu bheshajāṁ dhattam | ava syatam mun- chataṁ yad no asti tanūshu baddham kritam eso asmat | 4. Tīgma-yudhau tīga-hetū suśevas Somā Rudrāv iha su mriṣataṁ naḥ | pra no muncchataṁ Varuṇasya pāśād gopāyataṁ naḥ sumanasyamānā | “Soma and Rudra, do ye grasp divine power. May oblations in abundance reach you! In every house, bearing with you seven jewels, be favourable to our bipeds and our quadrupeds. 2. Soma and Rudra, drive far away that disease which has entered into our abode. Chase Nirṛiti far away from us. May we have excellent renown. 3. Soma and Rudra, infuse into our bodies all these remedies. Remove and banish from us whatever sin we have done which attaches to our bodies. 4. Soma and Rudra, whose weapons are sharp, and whose bolts are piercing, be beneficent and favourable to us. Deliver us from the noose of Varuṇa; protect us, regarding us with favour.”

R.V. vii. 10, 4.—Indraṁ no Agne Vasubhiḥ sajosah Śrūṇaṁ Rudraṁ Rudre-bhir ā vaha bṛihantam | Ādityebhir Āditiṁ viśva-janyāṁ Brīhaspatīṁ rīkvaḥbhir viśva-vāram | “Agni, united with the Vasus, bring hither to us Indra; with the Rudras [bring] the powerful Rudra, with the Ādityas [bring] Aditi, who is acceptable to all, and with the bards [bring] the Brīhaspati who grants all boons.”

R.V. vii. 35; 6.—. . . . Saṁ no Rudro Rudrebhir jalaśaḥ . . . . “May the healing Rudra, with the Rudras, be favourable to us,” etc.

R.V. vii. 36, 5.—Yajanta usya sakhyatī vayaś cha namasvinah socitasya dhāman | vi prikṣho bābādeo niḥbiḥiḥ stavānaḥ idāṁ namo Rudrāya preshtham | “Men making obeisance in their own place of sacrifice, seek by worship his friendship, and life. Lauded by men, he has distributed food amongst them. This reverence is most dear to Rudra.”


R.V. vii. 41, 1 (V. S. 34, 34; A. V. 3, 16, 1).—Prātar Agnim
prātar Indraṁ havāmahe prātar Mitra-Varunaḥ prātar Āsvinā | prātar Bhagam Pūshaṁ Brahmanaspatim prātaḥ Somam uta Rudraṁ huvema |
“In the morning we invoke Agni, in the morning Indra, in the morning Mitra and Varuna, in the morning the Āsvins; in the morning let us invoke Bhaga, Pūsha, Brahmanaspati, Soma, and Rudra.”

R.V. vii. 46, 1 (Nirukta x. 6).—Imāḥ Rudrāya sthira-dhanvane giraḥ kshipreshave devāya svadhāvne 22 | asūḥḥāya sahamānāya vedhāve tigmā-yudhāya bharata śriṇotu naḥ | 2. Sa hi kṣhayena kṣhanyasya janmanāḥ sāmrūṣyena divyasya chetati | avann avantir upa no duraś chara anamīvo Rudra jāsu no bhava | 3 (Nirukta x. 7).—Ya te didyud āsavishṭaśa divas pari kṣhmayā charati pari sā vṛinaktu naḥ | sahasraṁ te svapiviṭa 23

22 Prof. Roth (Illust. of Nir., p. 135) considers the word svadhāvata to signify “independent,” “whose glory is inherent,” etc., and refers to R.V. vii. 20, 1; vii. 37, 2; vii. 86, 4. At p. 40 f. of his Illustrations Roth assigns to svadhāvau, etc., the sense of “according to one’s own determination,” “according to pleasure,” and quotes the following passages where it has this sense, viz.: R.V. i. 6, 4.; i. 33, 11; i. 81, 4.; ii. 3, 11; iii. 47, 1; vii. 78, 4; and viii. 20, 7. On svadhā see also Prof. Müller’s Transl. of the R.V., pp. 19–25.

23 This word is not explained in the printed text of Sāyaṇa; although in the “Varietas Lectionis,” appended to his preface, Prof. Müller notes that in one MS., B. 4, svapiviṭa is rendered by jītaprīṇa, “he by whom life (or breath) is conquered.” In the Nirukta, x. 7, it is explained by svūpta-vachana, “thou whose words are very suitable or authoritative.” In his Illustrations of the Nirukta, pp. 135 f., Prof. Roth has some remarks on the word, which I translate: “Śvapiviṭa in the Pada text is divided into sv-āpi-viṭa, and is consequently to be derived from āpi-ṝa-n, a compound, which is often found in the R.V., viz. in vii. 3, 10, āpi kratuṁ svēchetaṁ vatiṁ; vii. 60, 6, āpi kratuṁ svēchetaṁ vatiṁ; i. 128, 2, taṁ yaṁsū-śuddham āpi vātayāmasya; i. 165, 13, maṁśiṁ hitrōḥ āpi vātayantah; x. 25, 1, bhadrāṁ no āpi vātaya mano daksina uta kratuṁ; x. 13, 5, pitre putrō āpy avvattānaṁ rīlaṁ. It has the signification of ‘learning to understand,’ ‘appropriating to one’s self,’ and in the causal ‘to teach to understand,’ agreeing entirely with the Zend word of similar form, which as yet no one had been able to discover in Sanskrit. The word (svapiviṭa) thus means ‘readily understanding, hearing, accessible, gracious.’ Yāśka’s explanation appears right, and Durga has misunderstood it, when he explains the word by anatikramaṇya (‘thou whose command cannot be transgressed’).” I have to remark, however, that if Yāśka’s phrase svūpta-vachana have the sense I have above assigned to it of “speaking with authority,” (see the third vol. of this work, pp. 124, 127 f., and elsewhere) it means nearly what Durga asserts. Prof. Roth, however, must have taken it to mean “thou by whom words (prayers) are readily received, or apprehended.” Otherwise it could not harmonize with the sense he regards as the right one. In his Lexicon, s.v. vat-ṝa-āpi, Prof. Roth adheres to the meanings assigned to the compound verb in his “Illustrations,” rendering it “to understand, comprehend,” and in the causal “to cause to understand, to make comprehensible”; and assigning to the words bhadrāṁ no āpi vātaya manah in x. 20, 1 and x. 25, 1, the sense of “awaken in us a good sense.” Prof. Aufrecht assigns to
bheshajā mā nas tokeshu tanayeshu virishaḥ | 4. Mā no vañciḥ Rudra mā
parā daḥ mā te bhāma prasitaḥ hīṣitasya | ā no bhaja barhishjiva-samaṃ24
yugam pata svastiḥ śādā naḥ | “Present these songs to Rudra with
the strong bow, and swift arrows, the self-dependent god, unassailable,
the assailant, the disperser, armed with sharp weapons: may he hear
us. 2. Through his power he perceives the terrestrial race, and
through his universal dominion [he perceives] the divine. Protecting
us, approach our protecting doors; Rudra, remove sickness from our
offspring. 3. May that shaft of thine which is discharged from the
sky, and traverses the earth, avoid us. Thou, who art easy of access,
hast a thousand remedies. Injure us not in our children and descend-
ants. 4. Slay us not, Rudra; do not abandon us; let us not fall into
thy net when thou art incensed. Give us a share in the sacrifice desired
by the living. Do ye always succour us with your benedictions.”

R.V. vii. 56, 1 (S. V. i. 433).—Ke im vyaktāh naraḥ sanīlāḥ Rudrasya
maryāḥ adha svasvāḥ | 2. Nakir hi eśhām janāṁśhi veda te anga vidre
mitho janitram | “Who are these brilliant heroes, the sons of Rudra,
occupying the same abode, riding on excellent horses? No one knows
their births. They [themselves] know the place of their common
production.”

R.V. vii. 58, 5.—Tān ā Rudrasya mihusho vivāś ītyādi | “I wor-
ship these [sons] of the bountiful Rudra,” etc.

svapivāta the sense “possessed of great knowledge,” from su-ṣapivāta, “intelligence,
knowledge,” which again comes from api-ṣat, to which he considers that the proper
meaning has been assigned by Prof. Roth. Sāyāna explains as follows the texts quoted
above, viz. R.V. vii. 3, 10: Apī api cha kratum karma yeqnāmā kārītṛaṁ vā suhe-
tasam sōbhāna-prajñāna-yuktam suprajñānam putraṁ vā vatena sanbhajanāhī 
vanalek sambhajanārthasya vavāntarāyam satī rūpam | “And further may we gain
a rite, or a performer of sacrifices possessed of good intelligence, or a very intelligent
son. Vān, which means ‘to divide’ (or gain), becomes satī by the alteration of a
letter.” He interprets vii. 60, 6, thus: Apī suhe拉萨 sam prakṣāla-jñānavatam
purusam kratum kārītṛaṁ karmāṇaśtvāh avatam vatanto gocchantaḥ | “going
to a man, a performer of rites possessed of eminent intelligence.” The verb in R.V.
i. 128, 2, is thus expounded: a partivasāh savāmahe “we serve till we are satisfied”;
and in i. 165, 13, thus: saṃpūrnanaṃ prāpyantaḥ, “completely bringing to us”; in
x. 20, 1, by āgamaya, “cause to come”; in x. 25, 1, by gamaya, “cause to go”; in
x. 13, 6, by sungsamayanti, “cause to go together.”

24 This word appears from Böhtlingk and Roth’s Lexicon to occur twice in the
R.V., viz. in i. 104, 6, and the present passage. They make it a substantive, signi-
fying “rule over the living.” Benfey, in his translation of i. 104, 6, renders the
word “to be praised among men.” Sāyāna has there kāmayitaeva, “to be desired”;
and here daṁsaniye, which means the same.
R.V. viii. 13, 20.—Tad id Rudrasya chetati yahvam pratneshu dhāmasu | mano yatra vi tad dadhur vichetasāḥ | “That great (manifestation) of Rudra [or the terrible (Indra)23] is perceived in the ancient abodes, and on it the wise have therefore fixed their minds.”

R.V. viii. 20, 17.—Yathā Rudrasya sūnava dīvo vaśanti asurasya vedhasaḥ | yuvānas tathā it asat | “As the youthful sons of Rudra, the wise deity of the sky, desire, so shall it be.”

R.V. viii. 22, 13.—. . . Tū u namobhir īmahe | 14. Tāv id doshā tāv ushāsī āvīhasi pati tī yāman rudra-vartanī28 | mā no mārtāya ripave vājini-vasā paro rudrāv aśi khyatam | “We invoke them (the Aśvins), with adoration, (14) at evening and at dawn, and on their path, the two lords of splendour, proceeding on terrible roads. Do not, O terrible (rudra) lords of swift horses,27 abandon us to our mortal enemy.”

R.V. viii. 29, 5. (quoted and translated above, p. 90).

R.V. viii. 61, 3.—Antar ichhanti taṁ jane rudram paro manīshayā | gribhṇanti jīvayā sasam28 | “They entreat the god (Agni), who is terrible (rudra) beyond all thought,29 [to enter] among the people. With their tongue they take food (or seize him sleeping).”

R.V. x. 64, 8.—Trīṣaṁ saptā āsvrāḥ nadyo mahir apo vanaspatīn parva-tān Agnim uṭaye | Kṛiṣānum aśtriṇ Tishyāṁ sadhashe ā Rudraṁ Rudreshu rudriyaṁ havāmahe | “We invoke to our aid in the assembly of sacrifice, the three times seven swift rivers, the great waters, the trees, the mountains, Agni, Kṛiṣānu, the archers, Tishya, and Rudra, among the Rudras, and possessing their character.”

23 Böhtlingk and Roth, s.v. rudra, hold the word to be here an epithet of Indra. The rest of the hymn is addressed to him.
26 This word rudra-vartanī is also applied to the Aśvins in the first verse of this hymn, and in R.V. x. 39, 11. Compare kriṣṇavartanī and kriṣṇādhan in as applied to Agni. See the fifth vol. of this work, p. 212.
27 This is the sense assigned by Böhtlingk and Roth to vājini-vasā. Sāyaṇa renders it by āmsavasu (R.V. v. 74, 6), annadhana (x. 40, 12) “rich in food.” Elsewhere he also takes vājini for food or oblation.
28 This word is given in the Nighaṇṭus, 2, 7, as signifying food. Sāyaṇa takes it to mean “sleeping,” and renders the last clause “men through praise sprung from their tongue, catch Agni with their fingers” (jīvayā-ṇaṇṭava-yā tūṣyā gribhṇantī gṛiṣyaṁ angulibhiḥ). See Roth’s Illustrations of Nirukta, pp. 55 and 85 f.; also R.V. i. 51, 3 (where Benfey renders saṣena “in sleep”); iii. 5, 6; iv. 5, 7; iv. 7, 7; v. 21, 4; x. 79, 3.
29 This interpretation is confirmed by Böhtlingk and Roth, s.v. manīshā, who refer to R.V. v. 17, 2, as another passage where the phrase occurs.
R.V. x. 65, 1 (quoted and translated above, p. 95).

R.V. x. 66, 3.—Indro Vasubhiḥ paripātu no gayam Ādityaṁ no Āditiḥ śarma yachhatu | Rudro Rudrebbhir devo mṛilasyāti nas Tvashṭa no gnābhiḥ svuṭāya jīnātatu | “May Indra with the Vasus preserve our habitation; may Aditi with the Ādityas grant us protection. May the divine Rudra with the Rudras be gracious to us; may Tvashṭṛi with the wives (of the gods) advance us to prosperity.”

R.V. x. 92, 5.—Pra Rudreṇa gayinā yanti sindhavas tiro mahīn aramatiṁ°° dādhawire | yebhiḥ parijmā pariynām eru jrayo vi toruwa jāṭhare viśvam ukhate | . . . . 9. Stomaṁ vo adya Rudrāya śivase kṣhayad-virāya namasā didishtana | yebhiḥ śivah svacān evacāvabhir divah sishakti°° sarva-yāśāḥ nīkāmabhīḥ | “The waters flow [impelled] by the hastening Rudra, and have spread over the vast earth; with them the circumambient, shouting god, who moves round the wide space [of the earth], moistens all (that is contained) in its womb. . . . . 9. With reverence present your hymn to-day to the mighty Rudra, the ruler of heroes, [and to the Maruts] those rapid and ardent deities with whom the gracious and opulent [Rudra], who derives his renown from himself, protects us from the sky.”

R.V. x. 93, 4.—Te gha ṛjāno anmithasya°° mandrāḥ Aryamā Mitro Varuṇāḥ parijmā | kād Rudro mrināṁ stuto Marutaḥ Pūṣana Bhagah | . . . . 7. Utā no rudrā chīd mṛilaṁ Āśvinā ityādi | “These are the

°° This word occurs in different parts of the R.V., where it is variously interpreted by Sāyaṇa. On ii. 36, 4, he explains it by anuparatiḥ, “never resting,” as an epithet of Saviṣṭṛ; on v. 43, 6, as an epithet of gnā (a goddess), ā samantāṇa ramamāñān sarvatra gaṇtrīṁ vā, “sporting all round, or, going everywhere”; on vii. 36, 8, similarly, uparati-rahitam, “having no rest,” as an epithet of mahī, the earth; on vii. 42, 3, as meaning the earth (bhūmin); on vii. 1, 6, as signifying brilliancy (dīptīḥ); on v. 54, 6, as āramanāṁ dhanādikam, “object of enjoyment, wealth,” etc.; on vii. 34, 21, as denoting a being “of perfect intelligence, or whose intelligence reaches to all objects,” (paryōta-buddhī sarva-viśaya-vyāpti-buddhir vā) spoken of Tvashṭṛi; and on viii. 31, 12, as equivalent to alamatiḥ paryōta-stutik, a god “who obtains full, or complete, worship,” said of Pūshan. I have not access to his commentary on x. 64, 15, and x. 92, 4, 5. Böhtlingk and Roth regard Aramati in all these passages but one as designating either “readiness for service, obedience, devotion,” or “as a personification of religious worship, or active piety.” In viii. 31, 12, they regard it as signifying “obedient, pious.” I cannot see that any of these senses except that of earth is applicable to the passage before us. Or Aramati may here be an epithet of the earth.

°° From the root sāch. See R.V. i. 18, 2; i. 56, 4; and v. 41, 20.

°° Compare anmithasya-gopōṁ, R.V. viii. 42, 2; and amritasya-patnīḥ, iv. 6, 13.
kings of immortality who gladden us: Aryaman, Mitra, Varuna the circumambient, what (shall we say) of Rudra celebrated by men the Maruts, the Pûshans, and Bhaga? . . . . 7. May the terrible (rudra) Aśvins be favourable to us," etc.

R.V. x. 125, 6 (A. V. 4, 30, 5).—Ahaṁ Rudrāya dhanur ā tanomi brahma-dvīše śarave hantavai u ityādi | (Vāch?³³ speaks): "I bend the bow for Rudra, for an arrow to slay the hater of the priest," etc.

R.V. x. 126, 5.— . . . . Ugram Marudbhiḥ Rudrāṁ huvema ityādi | "Let us invoke the terrible Rudra with the Maruts," etc.

R.V. x. 136, 1 (Nir. xii. 26).—Keśī agniṁ keśī viśam keśī bibharti rodasi | keśī viśam srav dviśe³⁴ keśī idaṁ jyotir uchyate | 2 | munayo vāturasanāḥ piśangā vasate malā | vātasyānu dhrājīṁ yanti yad devāsā avikshata | 3 | unmaditāṁ mauneyena vāṣūn ā tashīnī vayam | śarīred (i.e. śarīṛā id) asmākaṁ yāyaṁ martāso abhi pasyatha | 4 | antarikshena patati viśam rūpā váčaḥkaśat | munir devasya devasya saukrityāya sakā hitaḥ | 5 | Vātasyāśvo Vāyoḥ sakāḥ atha deveshito muniḥ | ubhau samudrāv ā kṣheti yaḥ cha pūrvaḥ utāparah | 6 | apsarasaṁ gandharvaṇāṁ nṛgāṇāṁ charaṇo charan | keśī ketasya vidvān sakāḥ svādār madintamāḥ | 7. Vāyu asmai upamanthāt pinashṭi sma kvanannā | keśī viśasya pātreṇa yaḥ Rudrēṇāpibat saha | "The long-haired [being] sustains fire, water, and the two worlds; he is to the view the entire sky; he is called this light. 2. The wind-clad (i.e. naked) munis wear brown and soiled (garments); they follow the course of the wind, when ye, O gods, have entered (into them). 3. Transported by (our) impulses as munis, we have pursued the winds. You, O mortals, behold our bodies. 4. The muni, a friend fitted to gain the beneficent aid of every god, flies through the air, perceiving all forms. . 5. The muni, impelled by the gods, the steed of the wind, the friend of Vāyu, dwells in both the oceans, the eastern and the western. 6. Moving in the path of the Apsaras, the Gandharvas, and the wild animals, the long-haired being is aware of our call, and a sweet and gladdening friend. 7. Vāyu agitated for him; the long-haired [being] breaks down the things which are unbending, by means of the vessel of water (vīsha) which he drank along with Rudra."

Although but little of this hymn has reference to Rudra, I have

³³ See note 27 in p. 258 of the third vol. of this work.
³⁴ Keśī idaṁ sarvam idam abhirīvāpyati | —Nir. xii. 26.
REMARKS ON THE KESIN OR MUNI.

quoted it entire on account of the interest it possesses in another respect. The first verse is explained in the Nirukta x. 26; and Prof. Roth, in his Illustrations of that work, p. 164, has the following note on the subject of the hymn: “The hymn,” he says, “shows the conception that by a life of sanctity (mauneṣṭa, verse 3) the muni can attain to the fellowship of the deities of the air, the Vāyus, the Rudras, the Apsarases, and the Gandharvas; and, furnished like them with wonderful powers, can travel along with them on their course. Transcending even this, the verse before us says that the beautiful-haired, the long-haired, that is to say, the Muni, who during the time of his austerities, does not shave his hair, upholds fire, moisture, heaven, and earth, and resembles the world of light, ideas which the later literature so largely contains. Similarly in an older hymn, R. V. vii. 56, 8, an unusual power of the Muni is celebrated, when it is said of the winds: Subhro vah śuṣmaḥ kruḍhmi manāmsi dhunir munir iva sardhaya dhirṣṭoḥ, where Sāyaṇa explains the word mananād munīḥ stotā (‘the muni, from the root “man,” is one who praises’); and where the representation above given is in any case to be found in its germ.”

Although, in his Lexicon (see s.v. munī), Prof. Roth no longer adheres to Sāyaṇa’s explanation of the word munī, as applicable to the last-mentioned passage, where he thinks it may mean “pressure, crowd, impulse,” he takes the same view as formerly of the hymn before us (x. 136), and defines the word muni as signifying “(one who is driven by an inward impulse), a person inspired, or in a state of ecstasy; with this conception of the word,” he proceeds, “agrees what is said of the ecstasy and deification of the muni in R. V. x. 136, 2, 4, devēshito munīḥ (‘the god-impelled muni’), v. 5, and what is related in the Aitaresya Brāhmaṇa vi. 33, of the Muni Aitaśa, whom his son regards as mad. Indro munāṁ sakha, ‘Indra is the friend of munis,’ R. V. viii. 17, 14.” I subjoin the passage of the Aitaresya Brāhmaṇa vi. 33, here referred to:

Aitaśa-pralāpam saṁsati | Aitaśo ha vai munir “Agner āyur”35 dadarśa yajnasya ayātayām am iti ha eka āhūḥ | so’ brahī purī “putrakāh ‘Agner āyur’ adarasam | tad abhilapishyāmi | yat kinoha vadāmi tad mo mā parigātā” iti | sa pratypadāyat “etāḥ asvāḥ āplavante pratipam

35 The words Agner āyur asi taśya te occur in the Kāthaka, according to the list of initial words of passages given by Weber, Ind. Stud., iii. 289.
prātiṣṭutvanam" (A. V. xx. 129, 1) iti | tasya Abhyagnir Aitaśāyahāṃ
aītya akāle bhāśāya mukham apyagriññād "adripat naḥ pitaḥ" iti | taṃ
ha udācha "apohy alaso bhūr yo me vācham avadhitḥ | satāyam gām aka-
rishyāṁ sahasrāyum purusham pāpiṣṭhām te praṃ karomi yo mā ittham
asakthāḥ" iti | tasmin āhūr "Abhyagnayaḥ Aitaśāyanaḥ Auvāgam
pāpiṣṭhāḥ" iti | "He repeats the Aītaśa-pralāpa. The Muni Aītaśa
beheld (i.e. received a revelation of) the 'Agnī's āyuḥ' ('Agni's
life,' etc.), which, some say, renders the sacrifice efficacious.35 He said to
his sons, 'Sons, I have seen 'Agnī's life;'' and will speak of it. Do
not fail to attend to37 what I say.' He then obtained (by revelation)
the verse beginning etāḥ aśvāḥ, etc. Abhyagni, of the family of Aītaśa,
came unseasonably, and stopped his mouth, saying 'our father is mad.'
His father said, 'Go, become destitute of energy,38 thou who hast
stopped my words. I should otherwise have made kine live a hundred
years, and men a thousand. Since thou hast so done violence to me, I
make thy offspring most degraded. Hence they say that the Abhyagni
of the family of Aītaśa are the most degraded of all the Auvāgams.'

Compare Professor Kuenen's remarks on the possible original sense
of the Hebrew word nabi, "prophet," in his Historisch-Kritisches
Onderzoek, ii. 3, and also pp. 16 (note 3), and 19 (note 6).

The allusion in the 7th verse of the hymn before us to Rudra drink-
ing water (vīshā) may possibly have given rise to the legend of his
drinking posion (vīshā).—See above, p. 50.

R. V. x. 169, 1.—Mayobhūr vātō abhiśātu uṣrāh ārjasvātir oshadhōr
ārisāntām | pīvasvātīr jīva-dhānyāḥ pibantu avasaśa padvate39 Rudra
mṛīla | "May the wind, causing prosperity, blow upon our cows. Let
them consume invigorating plants; let them drink (waters) rich and
life-sustaining: Rudra, be gracious to our walking sources of food"
(compare vi. 28, 7, above, p. 312).

35 Prof. Haug renders avātayānam, "which should remove all defects from the
sacrifice"; and Prof. Weber, who, in his review of Dr. Haug's translation, Indische
Studien, ix. 177 ff., dissents from many of the translator's renderings, expresses here
no difference of opinion, see p. 304.

37 Weber here differs from Haug's rendering of parigāta by "do not scorn me,"
and translates übergehet (überhört mir dies nicht) was ich auch sagen may, which is
also the sense assigned in Bühltingk and Roth's Lexicon; and has been given by me.

38 Haug translates, "Become infected with leprosy"; Weber, "become destitute
of energy."

39 Puruś avasāṃ gāvauḥ | —Nir. i. 17.
Sect. II.—Passages relating to Rudra in the Vājasaneyi recension of the white Yajur-Veda.

I now proceed to quote from the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā the principal texts which it contains relative to Rudra.

Vaj. S. 3, 57 ff.—Esha te Rudra bhūgaḥ saha svastā Ambikaya taṁ jushasva svāhā | esa te Rudra bhūgaḥ ākhus te pāsukh | 58. Ava Rudram adinahy ava devam tryambakam | yathā no vasyasas karad yathā naḥ kreyasas karad yathā no vyavasāyayāt | 59. Bheṣhajam asī bheṣhajam gave 'svāya purushāya bheṣhajam | sukhammeshāya meshyai | 60 (=R. V. vii. 59, 12; Taitt. S. i. 8, 6, 2). Tryambakaṁ yajāmahe sugandhim pushṭi-varāhanam | urvārakam iva bandhanād mṛtyor mukṣhya mā 'mṛtaṁ | tryambakaṁ yajāmahe sugandhim pativedanam | urvārakam iva bandhanād ito mukṣhya mā 'mutaḥ | 61 (T. S. i. 8, 6, 2). Eta te Rudra avasaṁ tena paro Mājavato atiḥī | avatata-dhanvā pinakāvasah kṛtti-vāsah ahiṁsan naḥ śivo 'tīhi | 62. Tryāyushaṁ Jamadagnēś Kaśyapasya tryāyusham | yaḍ deveshu tryāyushaṁ tad no astu tryāyusham | 63. Śivo nāmā 'si svadhisī te pītā namas te astu mā hīṁṣāḥ | nivarta-yāmy āyusha annādyāya prajananāya rāyasphāya suprajāstvāya svir-vyāya |

"This is thy portion, Rudra, with thy sister Ambikā; accept it with favour, may it be fortunate (svāhā). This is thy portion; thy victim is a mouse. 58. We have satisfied Rudra; we have satisfied the god Tryambaka, 42 that he may make us most opulent, most happy, that he may prosper us. 59. Thou art a medicine, a medicine for kine and horses, a medicine for men, a [source of] ease to rams and ewes. 60. We worship Tryambaka, the sweet-scented, the increaser of prosperity. May I, like a cucumber [severed] from its stem, be freed from

40 The Taittiriya Br. i. 6, 10, 4, has only the first part of this verse: Esha te Rudra bhūgaḥ saha svastā Ambikaya: then follow the words: ity āha | Sa vac vai asya Ambikā svastā | tayā vai esha hiṁsa | "He says, 'This is thy portion, Rudra, with thy sister Ambikā.' His sister Ambikā is the autumn; with her he smites (or kills)," etc. The commentator on the passage before us (of the Vaj. S.) says in reference to this that Ambikā kills by taking the form of Autumn, and producing diseases, etc. (Sa vac-rūpaṃ pritiṇa jy- [gu. ?jevar-] ādikam utpaṇḍya taṁ mrodeḥkāṁ āhita). 41 Compare patividya, "the acquisition of a wife," in Taitt. Br. ii. 4, 2, 7. 42 S. P. ii. 6, 2, 9.—Ambikā ha vai nāma asya svastā | tayā 'svaṁ esha saha bhūgaḥ | tād yaḍ asya esha strīyāḥ saha bhūgas tanmāi Tryambakā nāma | "He has a sister called Ambikā, with whom he has this share: and since he has this share along with a female (strī), he is called Tryambaka" (i.e. Stryambaka).
death, not [severed] from immortality. We worship Tryambaka, the sweet-scented, who bestows on us husbands.\[42\]

Like a cucumber [severed] from its stem, may I be released from this [world], not [severed] from that [world]. 61. This, Rudra, is thy provision; with is' depart beyond the Mūjavat, with thy bow unbended, and concealed from view, clothed with a skin, without injuring us, gracious, cross over.\[43\]

62. Let us have a triple life, the triple life of Jamadagni, the triple life of Kaśyapa, the triple life which exists among the gods. 63. Thou art gracious (śīva) by name; the thunderbolt\[44\] is thy father. Reverence be to thee: destroy us not. I clip thy hair, thee [O sacrificer], that thou mayest live, have food to eat, the power of procreation, the possession of wealth, abundant offspring, and eminent prowess.\[45\]

The next passage which I shall quote is the famous Satarudriya, a prayer, which is referred to in three passages quoted above from the Mahābhārata, pp. 186, 193, and 199. It is translated and annotated by Prof. Weber in his Indische Studien, ii. 32 ff. The text there translated, and which is given in the preceding pp. 26 ff., is that of the Upanishad bearing the name of Satarudriya.


\[42\] This, the Commentator says, is spoken by virgins walking round the fire.

\[43\] See the second volume of this work, pp. 351 f.,

\[44\] Such is the sense assigned to svadhitā

\[45\] The commentator says that the first half of this e se is addressed to a raṁ, and the second half is supposed to be spoken by the ṛtvaru to the person to whose head it is to be applied. He translates the words nivārtayāṁ āy ishe, etc., by "I shave thee that thou mayest live," etc.

\[46\] The Taitt. S. inserts here nāmas te astu dhanvane, "reverence be to thy bow."

\[47\] Sumanāṁ-śāde paṁsthevaṁ ārahaṁ | Comm.

\[48\] These last two words are omitted in the Taitt. S.
pati nīlagraṅgo vīlohiṭāḥ | utaṁ naṁ goṇaḥ adṛśraṁ adṛśraṁ udhāryaḥ

Vijyaṁ dhanuḥ kaparādino visālo bhāvaṁ uṭaṁ | anesann asya yāḥ ishavaḥ abhur asya nishandhiḥ [-thī, T. S.] | 11. Ya te hetir miḍhushṭama haste babhāva te dhanuḥ | tayā 'smān visvatas tvam ayakshmayā pari bhūja

Pari te dhanavo hetir asmān vṛṣṇaktu vīvataḥ | atho yāḥ ishūḥīs tava āre asmād niḍhehi tam | 13. Avatayta dhanuṣṭ ivaṁ sahasrākṣaṁ satoshudhe | niśtrya saṇyanī mukhā śivo naḥ sumanaḥ bhava

14. Namas te āyuḍāya anātataya dhrisnave | ubhābhyam uṭaṁ te namo bāhubhyāṁ tava dhanvan | 15 and 16 (= R.V. i. 114, 7, 8, see above p. 303).

17. Namo hiranyaḥāve senāneśa dīśānca pataye namo naro vṛkṣhebhyaḥ harikeśeobyah paśūnāṁ pataye namo namaḥ sashpınjarayā tvishimate pathinām patayet namo naro harikeśaṁ upavītine puspānāṁ pataye namaḥ | 18. Namo bābhubṣaya vijāhine \n\n'namāṁ patayet namo naro Bhavasya hṛtyai jagatām patayet namo naro Rudrāya atatiye (ātatiye, T. S.) kaḥetrāṇāṁ pataye namo namaḥ sūtya ahaṁyai (ahaṁyai, T. S.) samānāṁ pataye namaḥ | 19. Namo rohitāya sṭhapataye vṛkṣhānām pataye namo naro bhvantaṁ vārvas- 

49 The Tātt. S. adds here utānāṁ visvā dhūtāṁ, “and all beings have seen him.”

50 The T. S. introduces here verse 13 of the Vāj. S.

51 The T. S. inserts the 14th verse here, and there are similar transpositions elsewhere.

52 The T. S. adds here namo dūtayā cha prahitāya cha.
vidyutyāya cha namo varṣhayāya cha avarṣhayāya cha | 39. Namo vātāya
cha reśhmyāya (reśhmyāya, T.S.) cha namo vāstavyāya cha vāstupāya
cha namaḥ Somāya cha Rudrāya cha namas tāmṛāya cha arunāya cha |
40. Namaḥ sangave (sangāva, T.S.) paśupataye cha namaḥ ugrāya cha
bhīṁāya cha namo agrevadhāya cha durevadhāya cha namo hantre cha
hanivyass cha namo vrikṣeṣhbhyo hari-kesēbhya namas tārāya | 41. Namaḥ
śambhavāya (śambhava, T.S.) cha mayobhavāya (mayobhave, T.S.) cha
namaḥ sankaṛāya cha mayaśkarāya cha namaḥ śivāya cha śivatārāya cha |
42. Namaḥ pāryāya cha avāryāya cha namaḥ prataranāya cha uttaranāya
cha namas tīrtha-yāya cha kūtyāya cha namaḥ śaṣṭpyāya phenyāya cha |
43. Namaḥ sikatīya cha pravāhīya cha namaḥ kīṁśilāya cha khayaṇāya
cha namaḥ kapardine cha pulastīya cha namaḥ irinīya cha prapathiyāya
cha | 44. Namo vronya (vronīya, T.S.) cha goshtiśya cha namas
tālpyāya cha ghēhya cha namo hṛidāvyāya (hṛadāvyāya, T.S.) cha
niveshyāya cha namaḥ kātyāya cha gahvaresḥhāya cha | 45. Namaḥ
śuṣhkyāya cha harīityāya cha namaḥ pāṁsavyāya cha rajasyāya cha namo
lopāya cha utāpyāya cha namo śūryāya cha śūryavāya (śūryavīya, T.S.)
cha | 46. Namaḥ pāryāya (paryāya, T.S.) cha parnaśadāya cha namaḥ
udgurumāṇāya (apagurumāṇāya, T.S.) cha abhighnate cha nama ākhidate
cha prakhidate cha namaḥ ishuśrūḍhya āhanuskurđhvas cha vo namo
namo vaḥ kirikebhyo devānāṁ hṛidayeśbhyo namo vicinvatkebhyo namo
vikshinatkebhyo (vikshīṅatebhōyo, T.S.) namah ānirhatēbhyaḥ | 47.
Dra-pe anḍhasapate daridra (daridraṇ, T.S.) nilalohita | āśam prajānām
ehām paśūnām mā bher mā roṇ mo cha naḥ kinchenamamati | 48 (=R.V.
i. 114, 1). 49. Yā te Rudrā śivā tanuḥ śiva viśvāḥ bhaveṣhāti | śiva
rutasya bhaveṣhāti tayā no vṛīḍa jīvase | 50 (=R.V. ii. 33, 14)53.
51. Miḍhūṣṭmaṇa śivatama śivo naḥ sumanah bhava | parame
vikshe āyudhaṁ niḥāya kṛittiṁ ca saṁaḥ āchara pinākam bhīṣmad āghaḥ |
52. Vikiriṇā (vikirīṇa, T.S.) vilohita namas te astu bhagavoḥ | yā te
sahasraṁ hetayo nyam asmad nivapantu tāḥ | 53. Sahasṛāṇi sahasṛāṇa
(sahasradha, T.S.) bāhvos (bāhvos, T.S.) tava hetayā | tāsāṁ ātanm
bhagavoḥ parāchānaḥ mukhāḥ kriṇi | 54. Asankhyaṭā sahasṛāṇi (sahasṛāṇi

53 The T.S. here adds, namaḥ ātāryāya cha ādātyāya cha.
54 The T.S. here adds, namaḥ āṁiveṭkebhōyo.
55 Instead of maḥī gū, the concluding words of the first half of the verse, as it
stands in the R.V., the Vaiṣṇavani Sāhityā has agīḥyōḥ, “of the malicious.”
| The T.S. introduces here verses corresponding to those in R.V. i. 114, 2, 7, 8, 10;
ii. 33, 11, 14.
TRANSLATION OF

sahasraśo, T. S.) ye Rūḍrāḥ adhi bhūmyāṃ | teshāṃ sahasra-yojane ava
dhanvāṇi tanmasi | 55. Asmin mahaty arnave antarikshe Bhavāḥ adhi |
teshām ityādi | 56. Nilagrīvāḥ śīlakāñṭhāḥ divaṃ Rūḍrāḥ upāśritāḥ |
teshām ityādi | 57. Nilagrīvāḥ śīlakāñṭhāḥ Sāvarāḥ adhaś kshamācharāḥ |
teshām ityādi | 58. Ye vṛksheshu sāsparjāraḥ nilagrīvāḥ vilohitāḥ |
teshām ityādi | 59. Ye bhotānām adhipatayo viśikhaśaḥ kapardinaḥ |
teshām ityādi | 60. Ye pathām pathiṇkasahāḥ (pathiṇkasahāḥ, T. S.)
aubridāḥ āyuryudhāḥ (yavyudhāḥ, T. S.) | teshām ityādi | 61. Ye
śīrthaṁ pracharanti sīrkuḥastāḥ (sīrkuḥanto, T. S.) nishanginaḥ |
teshām ityādi | 62. Ye anneshu vividhyanti pātraseṣu pibato jānāḥ | teshām ityādi |
63. Ye etavantasaḥ bhūyānāśaḥ cha diśo Rūḍrāḥ vitasthira | teshām
ityādi | 64. Namo 'stu Rudrābhya ye divi yeshāṃ56 varṣhām ishavaḥ |
tebhyo daśa prāchīr daśa dakshināḥ daśa udichir daśa
ārdhvaḥ | tebhyo mamo astu te no avantu to no nṛśayantu to yam dvishmo
yas cha no dvashāḥ tam eshāṃ (vo, T. S.) jambhe dadhmaḥ (dadhanti, T. S.)|
65. Namo 'stu Rudrābhya ye antarikshe yeshāṃ vātāḥ ishavaḥ | tebhyo
daśa ityādi | 66. Namo 'stu Rudrābhya ye prithivyaṁ yeshāṃ annam
ishavaḥ | tebhyo daśa ityādi |

"Reverence, Rudra, to thy wrath, and to thy arrow. Reverence to
both thy arms. 2. Shine upon us, dweller in the mountains, with that
blessed body of thine which is auspicious, not terrible,57 and which does
not betoken harm. 3. The arrow, O dweller in the mountains, which
thou bearest in thy hand to discharge, make it, O lord of the mountains,
auspicious; do not slay men and cattle. 4. With auspicious words we
supplicate thee, dweller in the mountains, that all our men and cattle
may be healthy and cheerful. 5. The deliverer, the first divine
physician, hath interposed for us. Destroying all serpents, strike down
and drive away all Yātudhānīs (female goblins). 6. We deprecate
from us the wrath of that auspicious deity who is copper-coloured,
ruddy, and brown, and of those Rudras who in thousands surround
him on all sides. 7. May he who glides away, blue-necked and red-
coloured, and whom cowherds and female drawers of water58 have
seen,—may he, when seen, be gracious to us. 8. Reverence to the

56 The T. S. inserts here the words annam vātā.
57 Compare the passage quoted from the Mahābhārata, above, p. 204, near the foot.
58 "Persons who are destitute of initiation in Vedic rites" (Vedotka-śaṅskūra-
Līnāḥ).—Comm.
blue-necked, to the thousand-eyed, to the bountiful; and to his attendant spirits I offer reverence. 9. Loosen the string from both ends of thy bow; and throw away, O divine being, the arrows which are in thy hand. 10. May the bow of the god with braided hair be stringless, and his quiver contain pointless shafts. His arrows have perished, and his sword-sheath is empty. 11. That shaft, O most bountiful, that bow which is in thy hand, with it, rendered innocuous, do thou protect us on every side. 12. May the shaft from thy bow avoid us in every direction; and deposit thy quiver far from us. 13. Unbending thy bow, O thousand-eyed, and thousand-quivered, and blunting the points of thy arrows, be gracious and kind to us. 14. Reverence to thy violent weapon, unstrung, to both thy arms, and to thy bow. (Verses 15 and 16 correspond nearly with R. V. i. 114, 7, and 8. See above, p. 304.) 17. Reverence to the golden-armed leader of armies, to the lord of the regions, to the green-haired trees, to the lord of beasts, who is yellow like young grass, to the radiant, to the lord of roads, the yellow-haired, the wearer of the sacrificial cord, to the lord of the full-fed, (18) to the brown-coloured, to the piercer, to the lord of food. Reverence to the weapon of Bhava, to the lord of things moving, to Rudra with the bended bow, to the lord of the fields, to the innoxious charioteer, to the lord of the forests, (19) to the red architect, to the lord of trees, to the being who stretches out the worlds, who affords deliverance, to the lord of plants, to the observant merchant, to the lord of bushes, to the loud-shouting lord of foot-soldiers who causes his foes to shriek, (20) to him who runs in full stretch, to the lord of spirits, to the conqueror, to the piercer, to the lord of armies which wound, to the bowing wielder of a sword, to the lord of thieves, to the robber,”

59 This, Weber thinks, must originally have meant “the lord of sacrificial victims.”

60 On this the Commentator has the following apologetic remarks: Rudro Ṛṣeyā chorūdi-ṝpāṁ dhate | yadevā Rudrasya jagad-ātmakavich chorūdayo Rudrāḥ eva dhayaḥ | yadeva stenūdi-śavrē jirsvārava-ṝpēya Rudro deviḥā tīkṣhathī | satra jira-ṝpāṁ stenūdi-sabda-cacayaḥ | tad īsvara-ṝdura-ṝpāṁ lakṣhayati | yathā śākṣa-gramaḥ chandro-ṇa lakṣhakam | kim bhunā | lakṣhayūrtha-vivakṣhayā mantrasu laukikāḥ śabdaḥ prayuktāḥ | “Rudra in sport assumes the forms of thieves and such like persons. Or, since Rudra is the soul of the world, thieves, etc., are to be thought of as being Rudras. Or, Rudra abides in two ways, as life and as lord, in the bodies of thieves, etc. Then his character as life is denoted by the words thieves, etc.; and that points to his character as Rudra the lord, just as the end of a branch points to the moon. But why enlarge further? Common words are employed in the sacred texts to intimate the sense which is pointed to.”
to the prowler, to the lord of woods, (21) to the cheater, to the deceiver, to the lord of pilferers, to the bearer of the sword and quiver, to the lord of robbers, to those armed with thunderbolts, to the murderous, to the lord of stealers, to those who carry swords, to those who prowl by night, to the lord of plunderers; (22) to him who wears a turban, who frequents the mountains, to the lord of robbers, to you who have arrows, and to you who have bows, to you with bended bows, and you who fit your arrows on the string, to you who draw the bow, and to you who shoot, (23) to you who discharge, and to you who pierce, to you who sleep and you who wake, to you who lie and you who sit, to you who stand and you who run, (24) to the assemblies, and to you the lords of assemblies, to horses, and to you the lords of horses, to you the hosts which wound and pierce, and to the goddesses who have excellent troops, and who are destructive, (25) to the troops, and to you the lords of troops, to the companies, and to you the lords of companies, to the rogues, and to you the lords of rogues, to you who are ill-formed, and to you who have all forms, (26) to armies, and to you the leaders of armies, to you who ride in chariots, and to you without chariots, to you the charioteers, and to you the drivers of horses, to you the great, and to you the small, (27) to you the carpenters, and to you the chariot-makers, to you the potters, and to you the blacksmiths, to you the Nishādas, and to you the Punjīṣṭhas, to you the leaders of dogs, and to you the huntsmen, (28) to dogs, and to the masters of dogs, to Bhava, and to Rudra, and to Sarva, to Paśupati, to Nīlagaṛiṇa, and to

61 Prof. Weber has the following note on verse 28 of his translation of the S'atarudriya in his Indische Studien, ii. 37: "Bhava is variously explained, sometimes as the 'existent,' 'eternal' (bhavaty eva na kādācchid api na bhavati), sometimes as the producer of everything (bhavaty asmīn sarvam), so that according to the latter explanation he is the exact opposite of 'S'arva,' the destroyer: and possibly the term (Bhava) has been formed with the view of propitiating the terrible god by a favourable name. When both words appear in verses 55 and 57 as additional names of the Rudras, they are no doubt transferred to them from their master, since the name Bhava in particular will not apply well to them. According to the S'atap. Br. i. 7, 38 (dating certainly from a period when Rudra had already been identified with Agni), both words (see also Ind. St. i. 132, 140) are appellations of Agni,—Bhava being that which was usual among the Bāhikas, and S'arva the one prevailing among the Pāṇḍyas (and so among the Kośala-videhas, for example). As we meet with the word S'arva in the well-known passage of the Vendidad, Fargard x., p. 342," (S'aurva in the Zend, see Spiegel's translation, p. 176, and his Commentary, i. p. 285, and Justi's Handbuch s.v.) "we should rather have expected that S'arva would have
Sitikantha, (29) to him with the braided hair, and to him with the shaven hair, to him with a thousand eyes, to him with a hundred bows, to the dweller in the mountains, to Sipivishata, to the most bountiful, to him who has arrows, (30) to the short, and to the dwarf, to the great, and to him who has arrived at a mature age, to the old, to the coetaneous, to the chief, and to the first, (31) to the swift (or pervader), and to the moving, to him who abides in the swift, and in the flowing waters, and to him who dwells in billows, and in tranquil waters, and in rivers, and on islands, (32) to the eldest, and to the youngest, to the first-born, and to the last-born, to the middlemost, to him who is not full-grown, to the lowest, to him who exists at the roots of trees, (33) to him who lives in the magical city Sobha (?), to him who exists in incantations, to him who exists in punishment, and in prosperity, to the renowned, to the endmost, to him who exists in the soil, and in the threshing floor, (34) in the woods and in the bushes, in the form of sound, and in echo, to him who has fleet armies and swift chariots, to the hero, and to the splitter, (35) to the helmeted, to him with cotton-quilted cuirass, with iron mail, and with armour, to him who is renowned and has a renowned army, to him who exists in drums, and in resounding blows, (36) to the impetuous, to the assailant, to the bearer of a sword and a quiver, who carries swift arrows, who wields weapons, and has excellent weapons and a good bow, (37) to him who dwells in pathways, and roads, and rough (or desert) places, and the skirts of mountains, and watercourses, and lakes, and rivers, and ponds, (38) and in wells, and pits, and in bright clouds, and in sunshine, in clouds, in lightning, in rain, in fair weather, (39) in wind, in storm, to the dweller in houses, to the protector of houses, to Soma, and to Rudra, to the copper-coloured, to the ruddy, (40) to the bringer of prosperity, to Pasupati, to the fierce (ugra) and the terrible, to him who kills in

been the name current among the Bühikas. It is difficult to decide whether both appellations actually belonged at first to Agni, and not to Rudra. But, generally speaking, the contrary appears to me to be more credible, because in the hymns of the Rig-veda a peaceful, and not a destructive, character is predominatingly ascribed to Agni. Further, both words are brought directly into connexion with the lightning in A.V. x. 1. "Bhavāśārvan anyātām pāpakīte devahetim." This text is quoted a few pages further on.

62 R.V. vii. 99, 7; and vii. 100, 6, above, pp. 86-88, and Appendix on p. 88.
front, and who kills from afar, to the slayer, to the excessive slayer, to the green-haired trees, to the deliverer, (41) to the source of prosperity, to the source of happiness, to the causer of prosperity (śanka-rāja), to the causer of happiness, to the auspicious (śīva) and the very auspicious, (42) to him who exists beyond and on this side, to him who crosses over to and fro, to him who exists in fords and river-banks, in young grass, and in foam, (43) who exists in gravel and in streams, in stony ground, and in habitable places, to the god with spirally-braided hair, to him with smooth hair, who exists in barren land, and in frequented roads, (44) among herds, in cow-pens, in beds, in houses, in the heart, in whirlpools (or in hoar-frost), and in rough (or desert) places, who abides in abysses, (45) in dry things and in green things, in dust, in moisture (or dust), in inaccessible places, in creepers, in the earth and deep under the earth. 46. Reverence to the leaf, and to him who is in the fall of the leaf, to the threatener, to the slayer, to the voxer and the afflicter, to you who make arrows and who make bows, to you the sprinklers, to the hearts of the gods, to the discerners, to the destroyers, and to the indestructible. 47. O thou who chasest away, who art lord of the soma-juice, who art poor, who art blue and red, do not crush, do not destroy these [our] offspring, or these cattle, and let nothing of ours be sick. 48 (=R.V. i. 114, 1). 49. That we may live, be gracious to us with that body of thine which is propitious, which is propitious and healing on all days, which is propitious and heals disease. 50 (=R.V. ii. 33, 14. See above, p. 309). 51. Most bountiful, most gracious, be gracious and benevolent to us. Placing thy weapon on the remotest [or, highest] tree, approach, clad in a skin,

63 Or, “in a place with still water.”—Comm.
64 This is the rendering of Bühlingk and Roth. See Weber’s Ind. Stud., ii. 41, note. The Commentator on the Vāj. S. gives the following alternative explanation: Pulastaye āgre tiśṭhathi pulastīḥ . . . yadvā pūršakū śarīreshu astīḥ sattā yasya sa pulastīḥ sarvāntaryāmiḥ |
65 Agni, Vāyu, and Aditya are meant, according to the Commentator, and the S’atap. Br. ix. 1, 1, 23.
66 Davardra. The Commentator explains this as meaning “without any connexion with others, from being without a second” (uśkparigraha dveśitayeśaḥ). Prof. Roth (Lexicon) proposes to render the word by “roving about,” and Prof. Weber by “splitter.”
67 Mā bhṛ mār vok. See Bühlingk and Roth, s.v. ruj, where bhṛ is said to come from bhīd, not bhī.
68 See V. S. 3, 61, above, p. 322.
come, holding thy bow. 52. O deity, who avertest wounds [or, shootest arrows], and art ruddy in hue, reverence be to thee. May thy thousand shafts smite some one else than us. 53. Thousands of thousands of shafts are in thy hands. O god, do thou, the lord, avert their points [from us]. 54. We unbend a thousand leagues (yojana) away the bows of those unnumbered thousands of Rudras who are upon the earth. 55. Above this great atmospheric ocean there exist Bhavas. We unbend their bows a thousand leagues away. 56. Rudras with blue necks and white throats occupy the sky. We unbend, etc. 57. Sarvas with blue necks and white throats frequent [the regions] beneath the earth. We unbend, etc. 58. Of those [deities] with a colour like young grass, with blue necks and ruddy hue, who [live] in trees, we unbend, etc. 59. Of those lords of beings who are without locks of hair, and of those whose hair is spirally-braided, we unbend, etc. 60. Of those who are guardians of roads, givers of nourishment, who fight for life, we unbend, etc. 61. Of those who frequent the fords, with weapons in their hands, and swords, we unbend, etc. 62. Of those who pierce, in the midst of their meals, men who are drinking in vessels, we unbend, etc. 63. Of those Rudras who, so many [as we have described] and yet more numerous, occupy the regions, we unbend, etc. 64. Reverence to the Rudras who [live] in the sky, of whom rain is the arrows. To them [I hold out] ten [fingers] to the east, ten to the south, ten to the west, ten to the north, and ten upwards. To them be reverence; may they protect us, may they be gracious to us. We consign to their teeth the man whom we hate, and who hates us. 65. Reverence to the Rudras who [live] in the atmosphere, of whom the wind is the arrows. To them [I hold out] ten [fingers], etc., etc. 66. Reverence to the Rudras who [live] upon the earth, of whom food is the arrows. To them [I hold out] ten [fingers], etc., etc.”

Many of the epithets in this Satarudriya are not found in other books; and it is difficult, and perhaps of little importance, to discover their real sense. Others, as the reader will have observed, are of the most fantastic character.

69 The T. S. inserts here, “whose food is the wind.”
70 Prągbhiruṅkhaḥ angulīḥ kurve iti deśaḥ | . . . aṅjalim baddhaḥ sarva-dikṣu namaskarom | Comm.
Sect. III.—Passages relating to Rudra, Bhava, Sarva, etc., from the Atharva-veda.

A. V. ii. 27, 6.—Rudra jalāsha-bheshaṇa nīla-śikhaṇḍa karma-krit | prāsam pratiprāso jahi arasaṁ kriṇu oshadhe | “Rudra, who hast healing remedies, who hast dark locks, who art the performer of works, destroy the food of him who seeks to take ours; make it savourless, O plant!"

A. V. iv. 28, 1.—Bhava-Sarvau manve vāṃ avtaṃ yayor vāṃ | idam pradisi yad virochate | yāv asyeśāthe dvipado yau chatushpadas tau | no munchatam amhasah | 2. yayor abhyadhve uta yad dūre chid yau | viditavo ishubhitam asishthau | yāv— | 3. sahasrākṣhau vṛitrahanā | hum 'haum dāre gavyāti stuvan eny ugrau | yāv— | 4. yāv ārebbhate | bahu sākam agre pra ched asraṣṭam abhiḥham janeshu | yāv— | 5. yayor vadhād nāpapadyate kāschana antar devehāta mānusheṣau | yāv— | 6. yāḥ krityā-kridy mūla-kridy yatudhāno ni tasmin dhattām | vajram ugrau | yāv— | 7. adhi no brātam pṛitaṇāsu ugrau sam vajrena srijatam yaḥ kimid? | stauṃ Bhavā-Sarvau nāṭhito joharini tau | no munchatam amhasah |

1. “O Bhava and Sarva, I reverence you; have regard to this (your worshipper), ye under whose control is all this which shines: ye who are lords of this two-footed and four-footed (creation), free us from calamity. 2. Ye to whom belongs all that is near and even all that is remote, who are known as the most skilful shooters among all archers: ye who are lords, etc. (as in v. 1). 3. Ye thousand-eyed slayers of enemies, I invoke you; I go on praising you, ye fierce gods, whose domain extends far and wide: ye who are lords, etc. 4. Ye who, united, performed many (exploits) of old, who manifested ill omens among men: ye who are lords, etc. 5. Ye from whose destroying stroke no one either among gods or men escapes: ye who are lords, etc. 6. Fierce gods, launch your thunderbolt against the Yatudhāna, who practises sorcery, and prepares roots (for that purpose): ye who are lords, etc. 7. Fierce gods, take our side in battles, smite with the thunderbolt him who is a goblin. I praise you, Bhava and Sarva; distressed I again and again invoke you; deliver us from calamity.”

71 Yāska explains this word thus, Nirukta, vi. 11: Kim idānām iti charate kim idān kim idam iti vā piśuṇya charate |
A. V. v. 21, 11.—Yayam ugraḥ Marutaḥ Priśni-mātarah Indreṇa yujā pra mṛīrtā satrāṇ | Soma rājā Varuṇo rājā mahādevaḥ uta mṛītyur Indraḥ | “Do ye, fierce Maruts, whose mother is Priśni, allied with Indra, destroy [our] enemies. (May) king Soma, king Varuṇa, and Indra, who is a great god and death, (do the same).” [This verse is from a martial hymn addressed to the Dundubhi or drum, which in verses 4–6 is besought to terrify the poet’s enemies, as the sight of a man frightens wild animals, a wolf goats and sheep, and a hawk smaller birds. 4. Yathā mṛgāḥ samēvijante āraṇyāḥ purushād adhi | . . . 5. Yathā vrikād ajāvayo dhāvanti bahu bibhyatāḥ | . . . 6. Yathā syenat patatraṇāḥ samēvijante ahar divi. . . .]

A. V. vi. 93, 1.—Yamo Mṛītyur aghamāro nirītho babhrūḥ Sarvo 'stā niśa-sikhandaḥ | deṣa-janaḥ senayā uttasthivānas te asmākam pari vrinjantu vīrān | 2. Manasaḥ homair harasaḥ ghṛitenā Sarvāyāstre uta rājne Bhavaśya | namasyebhyo namaḥ ebhyah kriṇomy anyatra asmaḥ aghavishā nayanuḥ | “May Yama, Death, who brings dire destruction, may the Destroyer, may tawny Sarva the archer with dark locks, may the hosts of the gods, arising with their army, may these avoid our heroes. 2. With mind, with oblations, with fire, with butter, I offer reverence to Sarva the archer, and to king Bhava, to them who deserve reverence; let them carry their deadly poisons to others than us.”

In A. V. vi. 141, 1, Rudra is mentioned along with Vāyu, Tvashṭrī, and Indra (Rudro bhūmne chikitsatu).

A. V. vii. 87, 1.—Yo Agnau Rudro yo apev antur yaḥ eshadhir vīrudhaḥ avicēsa | yaḥ imā visvā bhvanāni chāktipes tasmai Rudrāya namo asto Agyaye | “Reverence be to that Rudra, Agni, to the Rudra who is in Agni, who is in the waters, and who has entered into the plants and bushes, and who has formed all these creatures.”

A. V. viii. 2, 7.— . . . Bhava—Sarvaḥ mṛidatam śarma yacchhataṃ apasiddha duritam dhaṭham āyuḥ | . . . “Bhava and Sarva, be gracious, give protection; removing calamity, give life.”

A. V. viii. 5, 10.—Asmai maṇiḥ carma bādhantu devaḥ Indro Vīśnuḥ Savitṛa Rudro Agniḥ | ityādi | “May the gods, Indra, Vīshnu, Savitṛi, Rudra, Agni, bind on him the jewel as a protection,” etc.

72 See the translation of the entire hymn, in which this half verse occurs, in the fifth volume of this work, p. 446 ff.
A. V. ix. 7, 7.—Mitraś cha Varuṇaś cha aṁsau Tvashṭa cha Aryamā cha doṣhaṁ Mahādevo bāhū | "Mitra and Varuṇa are the shoulders, Tvashṭri and Aryaman the fore-arms, and Mahādeva the two arms."

A. V. x. 1, 23.—Bhavā-sarvaś asyatām pāpa-krite kṛityā-krite dūkhāte vidyutāṁ deva-hetum | "Let Bhava and Sarva launch the lightning, the bolt of the gods, against the doer of wickedness, against him who employs soreness, against the evil doer."

(See Weber's Ind. Studien, ii. 37, note, quoted above in p. 328 f.)


73 In Bohtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, vol. v., p. 1003, several passages are quoted where āpiḥ (with a long ā in the first syllable) occurs as an accusative plural.
17. Sahasrāksham atipasyam purastād Rudram asyantam bahuḍhā vipāṣ- 
chitam | mā upārāma jihvāya ṣyamānam | 18. Syavāṣām kṛishṇam asi- 
tam mṛiṇantam bhīmaṁ ratham keśinaḥ pādayantam | pūrve pratimo 
namo astu.asmai | 19. Mā no 'bhi śrāh matyaṁ deva-hetim mā naḥ kru- 
dhaḥ Pasupate namas te | anyatra asmad divyāṁ sākhāṁ vi dhānu | 
20. Mā no hiṁsir adhi no brūhi pari no vṛindhi mā kṛudhaḥ | ma tvayā 
samarāmaḥ | 21. Mā no gosho purusheshu mā griho no ajāvishu | 
anyatrogra vi vartaya pīyārūṇām praśām jahi | 22. Yasya takmā 
āṣikā hetir ekaṁ avāsāyeva vrishanah krandah eti | abhipurvaṁ nṝṇayate 
namo astu.asmai | 23. Yo antarikshe tishtyātvi visṇābhīto ayajenaḥ 
pramanāṁ deva-pīyūn | tasai namo dāsabhīḥ sākṣaribhiḥ | 24. Tubhyam 
āranyāḥ paśavo mṛigāḥ vane hitāḥ haṁsāḥ suparnaḥ sakunāḥ 
vayāṁśi | tava yakṣham Pasupate apsu antas tubhyāṁ kharantī divyāḥ 
āpo vṛīdhaḥ | 25. Siṁśumārāḥ ajağarāḥ purikāyāḥ jauṣāṅ masyāḥ 
rājasāḥ yeḥbhayaḥ asyasi | na te dūraṁ na varṇaṁ pari- 
panyasi bhūmim pūrvaṁdād ṛmśya uttarasmin samudre | 26. Mā no 
Rudra takmām mā viṣheṇa mā naḥ sam śrāh divyāṇāṁ | anya- 
trāsmad viḍyutam patayātam | 27. Bhavo dīvo Bhavaḥ īs āprīthiyeṇāḥ 
Bhavaḥ ā papre wru antarikṣam | tasyai namo yatamasyāṁ āḍitaḥ | 
28. Bhava rājan yajamanāya mṛīḍa paśūnāṁ hi paśupatir bhā- 
ḥaṁ | yaḥ śraddadhāti santi devāḥ iti charushpade deipade asya mṛīḍa | 
29 (=R.V. i. 114, 7). Mā no mahāntam uṣa mā no arbhakam mā 
no vyahantam uṣa mā no vakṣhyataḥ | mā no hiṁsīḥ pītaram mātaraṁ 
cha svāṁ tanvāṁ Rudra mā vīrīskho naḥ | 30. Rudrasayālabā-kārebhīyāḥ 
'sāmsūka-gīlabhīyāḥ | idam mahāsyēbhyyaḥ śvabhīya akaraṁ namāḥ | 
31. Namas te ghoshiṁbhayaḥ namas te keśinībhyyaḥ | namo namaskrīlēbhyya 
namāḥ sambhunjatēbhyyaḥ | namas te deva senābhyyaḥ svasti no abhyayāṁ 
cha naḥ | 

1. "Bhava and Sarva, be gracious to us, be not hostile, lords of 
spirits, lords of beasts [see v. 9]; reverence to you twain. Discharge 
not a long arrow; destroy not our bipeds and quadrupeds. 2. Abandon 
not our bodies to the dog or the jackal, to carrion birds, to vultures, 
to thy greedy black flies, lord of beasts; let not thy birds get us to 
devour. 3. We offer reverence to thy shout, to thy breath, and to 
thy arrows, Bhava, and, O immortal Rudra, to thee the thousand-eyed. 
4. We offer reverence to thee from before, from above, and from 
below, and from thy domain in the sky: reverence to thy firmament.
5. Reverence to thy face, Paśupati, to thine eyes, Bhava, to thy skin, to thy form, to thine aspect from behind. 6. Reverence to thy limbs, to thy belly, to thy tongue, to thy mouth, to thy teeth, to thy odour (nose?). 7. May we never contend with that archer whose locks are dark, who has a thousand eyes, the warrior, with Rudra the slayer of Ardhaka. 8. May he (Bhava) everywhere avoid us, may Bhava avoid us as fire avoids the waters. May he not bear malice towards us: reverence be to him. 9. Four times, eight times, be reverence to Bhava: ten times be reverence to thee, Paśupati. Thine are these five distinct sorts of animals—kine, horses, men, goats, and sheep. 10. Thine, Ugra [or fierce god], are the four regions, the sky, the earth, and the wide atmosphere; thine is everything which has a spirit and which breathes upon the earth. 11. This is a vast and wealthy storehouse of thine, within which all these beings are contained. Do thou favour us, Paśupati; reverence be to thee. Far from us be jackals, unlucky omens, dogs: may shrieking female demons with dishevelled hair go far from us. 12. Long-haired god, thou carriest a yellow and golden bow, [a weapon] which smites thousands and kills hundreds. Rudra’s arrow, a celestial bolt, flies abroad: reverence be to it in whatever direction from hence [it flies]. 13. Thou pursuest after the adversary who lurks and seeks to overcome thee, Rudra, as a man tracking the steps of a wounded [animal]. 14. Bhava and Rudra, who are always united and concordant, both fierce, ye advance to [deeds of] heroism. Reverence be to them twain in whatever direction they are from hence. 15. Reverence to thee coming, and to thee departing; reverence to thee, Rudra, standing, and to thee sitting. 16. Reverence in the evening, in the morning, by night and by day: I have offered reverence to Bhava, and to Sarva, both of them. 17. Let us not with our tongue offend Rudra, who rushes on, thousand-eyed, viewing all the world, who hurls his shafts in our presence, and who is manifoldly wise. 18. We approach first [with our worship] the god who has brown horses, is dark, black, destroying, terrible, who casts down the car of Keśin (the long-haired being): reverence be to him. 19. Do

74 Rudra is elsewhere said to be the slayer of Andhaka or Antaka. See Rāmāyaṇa, Aranyaka Kāṇḍa 30, 27, which is quoted in the Appendix.
75 Messrs. Böhtlingk and Roth assign to pada-nī the sense of “guide.”
76 Böhtlingk and Roth make keśin an epithet of Rudra: see s.v.
not hurl at us thy club, thy celestial bolt: be not incensed at us, Paśupati; reverence be to thee. Brandish thy celestial weapon over some other than us. 20. Slay us not; interpose for us; avoid us; be not angry with us; let us not contend with thee. 21. Do not covet our cattle, our men, our goats, and sheep. Fierce god, betake thyself [or, turn thy chariot] elsewhere; slay the offspring of the malignant. 22. Reverence be to him whose consumption, whose cough, whose bolt assails some one like the neighing of a stallion—to him who carries away [his victims?] in order. 23. Be reverence paid with ten śakvāri verses to him who abides fixed in the atmosphere, smiting the despisers of the gods who offer no sacrifice. 24. For thee the beasts of the wood, deer, swans, and various well-winged birds are placed in the forest; thy living creatures, Paśupati, exist in the waters: to delight thee the celestial waters flow. 25. (There exist) porpoises, great serpents, puri-kayas, sea-monsters, fishes, raajas, at which thou shootest. There is to thee, Bhava, nothing far, nor anything which stands [near] around thee. At a glance thou lookest around the whole earth: from the eastern thou slayest in the northern ocean. 26. Do not assail us, Rudra, with consumption, or with poison, or with celestial fire: cause this lightning to descend elsewhere than upon us. 27. Bhava rules the sky, Bhava rules the earth, Bhava hath filled the vast atmosphere: reverence be to him in whatever direction from hence [he is]. 28. Bhava, king, be gracious to thy worshipper, for thou art lord of beasts. Be gracious to the quadrupeds and bipeds of him who believes that the gods exist. 29 (= R.V. i. 114, 7). Slay neither our great nor our small, neither him who is growing nor those who are to grow.

77 A. V. viii. 8, 11.—Trīṇeṣṭhu enān matyam Bhavasya | “May the club of Bhava crush them.”
78 The word in the original is śākha, “branch.”
79 In the original, supanāḥ laksunāḥ vayūniṣi.
80 B. and R. say this word perhaps means “unclean.”
81 Compare R.V. i. 52, 13, p. 99, above; and the other passages quoted in note 73 on the same page.
82 Compare R.V. viii. 89, 3, 4, quoted in the third volume of this work, p. 254.
83 Compare R.V. i. 114, 7, and T. S. iv. 5, 10, 2, p. 303, above. In Professor Wilson’s Dictionary I find the sense of “growing” assigned to the root vaḥ, when conjugated in the ātmane pada with a nasal, vaṁhaṭe. He says, however, that in this sense the root is more properly baḥ, baṁhaṭe. If the verb be so understood in this passage, the meaning will be the same as that which, on the authority of Messrs. Böhtlingk and Roth, I have adopted in the parallel text of the Rigveda.

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neither our father nor our mother: injure not, Rudra, ourselves. 30. I have offered this reverence to Rudra's wide-mouthed howling dogs who swallow their prey unchewed. 31. Reverence, O deity, to thy shouting, long-haired, reverenced, devouring hosts. May blessing and security be ours.”

A. V. xi. 6, 9.—Bhava-sarvāv idam brūmo Rudram Paśupatiḥ cha yaḥ |  

isār yāḥ esahāḥ saṃvidma tāḥ naḥ santu sadā śivasṛ̥ |  

“We say this to Bhava and Sarva, to Rudra and to him who is Paśupati: may those arrows of theirs which we know be always propitious to us.”

A. V. xii. 4, 17.—Yaḥ enaṃ avasāṃ āha devanāṃ niḥitaṃ nidhim |  

ubhau tasmāi Bhava-sarvaḥ parikramyeshūṃ asyataḥ |  

“Both Bhava and Sarva advancing, discharge an arrow against him who declares this [cow], the hoarded treasure of the gods, to be no cow.”

A. V. xiii. 4, 4.—So 'ryamā sa Varuṇāḥ sa Rudraḥ sa Mahādevaḥ |  

26. Sa Rudros vasuvāni vasudeye namo vāsasāha vasiṣṭkāra 'nu saṃhitāḥ |  

27. Tasye me sarva yātavaḥ upa prasīshan āsate |  

28. Tasyāmā sarva nakshatrā vasi śambahasā saha |  

“4. He (Savitri) is Aryaman, he is Varuṇa, he is Rudra, he is Mahādeva. 26. He, Rudra, the giver of wealth, is placed as the ‘vasiṣṭkāra’ in the reverential invocation, at the giving of wealth. 27. All these demons wait upon his command. 28. All these stars, with the moon, are under his control.”

The following passage, together with the rest of the fifteenth book of the Atharva-veda, is quoted and translated by Prof. Aufrecht in the first vol. of Weber's Indische Studien, pp. 121-140:

A. V. xv. 5, 1.—Tasmai prāchyāḥ diśo antar-śadv Bhavam ishvāsaṃ anushṭhātaram akurvan |  

Bhavaḥ enam ishvāsaḥ prāchyāḥ diśo antar-śadv anushṭhātā 'nusīṣṭhāti |  

nainām S'arvo na Bhavo na Ṛsano na asya paśūn na samuṇān hinaṃ yāḥ evam veda |  

2. Tasmai dakhināyāḥ diśo antardeśāḥ chharvam ishvāsasā ityādi |  

3. Tasmai pratichyāḥ diśo antardesiḥ Paśupatim ityādi |  

4. Tasmai udichyāḥ diśo antar-śadv ugraṃ devam ityādi |  

5. Tasmai dhruvāyāḥ diśo antar-śadv Rudram ityādi |  

6. Tasmai udhāvyāḥ diśo antar-śadv Mahādevam ityādi |  

7. Tasmai sarvebhyaḥ antardesiḥāyāḥ Ṛśasiṃ ityādi |  

“The gods] made Bhava the archer [to be] to him (the Vṛtyna) a deliverer from the intermediate space of the eastern region. Bhava the archer, a deliverer, delivers him from the interval of the eastern region. Neither Sarva nor Bhava, nor Ṛśana slays either him who knows this, or his cattle, or his kindred.
2. [The gods] made Sarva the archer [to be] his deliverer from the intermediate space of the southern region, etc. 3. [The gods] made Påṣupati the archer [to be] his deliverer from the intermediate space of the western region, etc. 4. [The gods] made the god Ugra, etc. (as above), of the northern region, etc. 5. [The gods] made Rudra, etc. (as above), of the lower region, etc. 6. [The gods] made Mahādeva, etc. (as above), of the upper region, etc. 7. [The gods] made Īśāna the archer [to be] his deliverer from all the intermediate regions,” etc.

Sect. IV.—Passages relating to Rudra from the S'atapatha and Sānkhāyana Brāhmaṇas.

In the following text (which has been already quoted in the second volume of this work, p. 202) Rudra is identified with Agni:

Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, i, 7, 3, 8.—Agnir vai sa devaḥ tasya etāni nāmāni Sarvaḥ iti yathā prāchychāḥ āchakshate Bhavaḥ iti yathā Bāḥikāḥ Paśūnām patiḥ Rudro āgnir iti | tāny asya asāntāṇy eva itarāṇi nāmāni | Agnir ity eva śāntaḥ āmṛam | “Agni is a god. These are his names: Sarva, as the eastern people call him, Bhava, as the Bāhikas, Paśūnāmpati (lord of beasts), Rudra, and Agni. These other names of his (i.e. all the foregoing except Agni) are gentle. Agni is his gentlest appellation.”

The following passage describes the birth of Rudra, and at the same time identifies him with Agni:

Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, 6, 1, 3, 7 ff.—Abhūd vai iyam pratiśṭhā iti | tad bhūmir abhāvat | tāni aprathayat sā prithivy abhavat | tasyām asyām pratiśṭhāyām bhūtāni bhūtānācha patiḥ saṃvatsarasāya ādikshana | bhūtānām patir griha-patir āśā Uṣhāḥ patni | 8. Tad yāni tāni bhūtāni | ritavas te | atha yaḥ sa bhūtānām patiḥ saṃvatsarah saḥ | atha yaḥ sa Uṣhāḥ patny aushaḥ sā | tāni imāni bhūtāni cha bhūtānācha patiḥ saṃvatsarah Uṣhāsa reto 'sinchana | sa saṃvatsaro kumāro 'jayata | sa 'rodī | 9. Tam Prajāpatir abravat "kumāra kiṁ rodīshi yac oḥramat

83 On this the commentator remarks (p. 124 of Weber's edition): Prāchychā-deva-hṛdeṇa S'arvādi-nāma-hṛde 'pi devatā eka eva | “Though, owing to the difference of countries, there is a difference of names, as S'arva, etc., still the god is but one.”

84 See the note translated from Weber's Indische Studien above in p. 328.
tapasō 'dhi jāto 'si' iti | so 'bravīḍ "anapahata-pāṃmā vai asmy ahita-nāmā nāma me dhehi" iti | tasmāt putrasya jātasya nāma kuryāt pāṃmām eva asya tad apahanty api dvitiyam api trītiyam abhipārvam eva asya tat pāṃmānam apahantī | 10. Tam abravīḍ Rudro 'si iti | tad yad asya tan nāma akarod Agnis tad-rūpam abhavat | Agnir vai Rudrāḥ | yad arodit tasmād Rudrāḥ | so 'bravīḍ "jyāyāṃ vai asato 'smi dhehy eva me nāma" iti | 11. Tam abravīḍ "Sarvo 'si" iti | tad yad asya tan nāma akarod āpas tad-rūpam abhavan | āpo vai Sarvaḥ | abhyo hi idaṁ sarvaṁ jāyate | so 'bravīḍ "jyāyāṃ vai asato 'smi dhehy eva me nāma" iti | 12. Tam abravīḍ Paśupatir asi iti | tad yad asya tan nāma akarod oshadhayas tad-rūpam abhavan | oshadhayo vai Paśupatis tasmād yadda paśavaḥ oshadhīr labhante \reaction\" \reaction\" | so 'bravīḍ "jyāyāṃ vai asato 'smi dhehy eva me nāma" iti | 13. Tam abravīḍ Ugro 'si iti | tad yad asya tan nāma akarod Vāyus tad-rūpam abhavat | Vāyur vai Ugras tasmād yadda balavat vāty "Ugro vāti" ity āhuḥ | so 'bravīḍ "jyāyāṃ vai asato 'smi dhehy eva me nāma" iti | 14. Tam abravīḍ "Aṣānir asi" iti | tad yad asya tan nāma akarot vidyut tad-rūpam abhavat | vidyud vai Aṣānis tasmād yaṁ vīduḥ hanty "Aṣānir abadhiḥ" ity āhuḥ | so 'bravīḍ "jyāyāṃ vai asato 'smi dhehy eva me nāma" iti | 15. Tam abravīḍ "Bhavo 'si" iti | tad yad asya tan nāma akarot Parjanyas tad-rūpam abhavat | Parjanyo vai Bhavaḥ | Parjanyād hi idaṁ sarvaṁ bhavati | so 'bravīḍ "jyāyāṃ vai asato 'smi dhehy eva me nāma" iti | 16. Tam abravīḍ "Mahān devo 'si" iti | tad yad asya tan nāma akaroch chaṇḍramāḥ tad-rūpam abhavat | Prajāpati vai chaṇḍramāḥ Prajāpati vai mahān devaḥ | so 'bravīḍ "jyāyāṃ vai asato 'smi dhehy eva me nāma" iti | 17. Tam abravīḍ "Īśāno 'si" iti | tad yad asya tan nāma akarod Ādityas tad-rūpam abhavat | Ādityo vai Īśānaḥ Ādityo hy asya sarvaśya īśte | so 'bravīḍ "etāvāṃ vai asmi mā mā itaḥ paro nāma daḥ" iti | 18. Tāny etāno ashton Āgni-rūpaṁi Kumāro navamaḥ | sā eva Āgnes tri-vṛttat | 19. Yad vai ēva ashton Āgni-rūpaṁi aśṭākṣaraṁ pāṇīr tasmād āhu "pāṇīr 'gni" iti | so 'yaṁ kumāro rūpaṁ anupraviśat | na vai Āgnoṁ kumāram ēva pāṇiṁtya etāno eva asya rūpaṁi pāṇiṁtya etāṁ hi rūpaṁi praviśat |

"This foundation existed. It became the earth (bhūmi). He extended it (aprathayat). It became the broad one (prithivi). On this foundation beings, and the lord of beings, consecrated themselves for the year (samvatsara). The lord of beings was a householder, and Ushas was his wife. 8. Now these 'beings' were the seasons. That
'lord of beings' was the Year. That wife Ushas was Aushasi (the daughter of the dawn). Then both those beings, and that lord of beings, the Year, impregnated Ushas, and a boy (Kumāra) was born in a year. The boy wept. 9. Prajāpati said to him, 'Boy, why dost thou weep, since thou hast been born after toil and austerity?' The boy said, 'My evil indeed has not been taken away, and a name has not been given to me. Give me a name.' Wherefore when a son has been born [to any man], let a name be given to him; that takes away his evil; and [let] also a second and a third [name be given] in succession: that takes away his evil. 10. Prajāpati said to him, 'Thou art Rudra.' Inasmuch as he gave him that name, Agni became his form, for Rudra is Agni. He was Rudra because he wept (arodit from rud, 'to weep'). The boy said, 'I am greater than one who does not exist: give me a name.' 11. Prajāpati replied, 'Thou art Sarva.' Inasmuch as he gave him that name, the waters became his form, for Sarva (All) is the waters, because all this is produced from the waters (see above, p. 24 f.). The boy said, 'I am greater than one who does not exist: give me a name.' 12. Prajāpati replied, 'Thou art Paśupati.' Inasmuch as he gave him that name, the Plants became his form, for Paśupati is the Plants. Hence, when beasts obtain plants, they become lords (or strong). The boy said,

85 I am unable to explain how Ushas, the dawn, is identified with her own offspring, Aushasi; or how the 'lord of beings' - the Year, consecrated himself for the year.

86 The name Kumāra, Weber remarks (Indische Studien, ii. 302, 305), is applied to Agni in Rig-veda, v. 2, 1.

87 See the end of note 9, p. 303, above. A story like the one there given will be found in Taitt. Saṃh. i. 5, 1, 1:—Devāsurāḥ saṃyattāḥ āsan | te devāḥ vijāyam uruyanto 'gnau vāmaḥ vasu samyavadhata "idam u no bhavishyati yadi no jeshyanti" iti | tad Agnir nyakāmayata | tena aśtakrūmat | tad devāḥ vijātya avarurutsamānāḥ anvūyam | tad asya ahaḥ aśād aśādītanta | so 'rodit | yad arodī tad Rudrasya Rudro vim "The gods, conquering, deposited valuable property with Agni, saying, 'If they should ever conquer us, we shall have this.' Agni desired the property; and went off with it. The gods, after being victorious, went after him to recover their property, which they sought to take from him by force. He wept. From his weeping Rudra gets his character of Rudra."

88 The origin of this name may perhaps be found in Rig-veda, x. 61, 19, where these words occur: Igāni me nāhīr iha me sadkṣeham ihe me devāḥ vyan am ini Sarvaḥ | devāḥ aha pratamāya jītasya: idāni dhenur adhūh ādāyamānā "This is my centre, here is my abode, these are my gods, this is I, Sarva (All). The twice-born men are the firstborn of the sacred rite. This the cow milked out, when she was being born."
'I am greater than one who does not exist: give me a name. 13. Prajāpati said to him, ‘Thou art Ugra.’ Inasmuch as he gave him that name, Vāyu (the Wind) became his form. For Ugra (or the ‘Fierce’) is Vāyu. Wherefore when it blows strongly, men say, ‘Ugra blows.’ The boy said, ‘I am greater than one who does not exist: give me a name.’ 14. Prajāpati said to him, ‘Thou art Aśani.’ Inasmuch as he gave him that name, Vidyut (Lightning) became his form. For Aśani is Lightning. Hence they say that Aśani has struck a man whom lightning strikes. The boy said, ‘I am greater than one who does not exist: give me a name.’ 15. Prajāpati said to him, ‘Thou art Bhava.’ Inasmuch as he gave him that name, Parjanya (the god of rain) became his form. For Bhava (Being) is Parjanya; because all this [universe] springs (bhavati) from Parjanya. The boy said, ‘I am greater than one who does not exist: give me a name.’ 16. Prajāpati replied, ‘Thou art Mahādevaḥ (the ‘Great god’).’ Inasmuch as he gave him that name, Chandramas (the Moon) became his form. For the Moon is Prajāpati: the ‘Great god’ is Prajāpati. The boy said, ‘I am greater than one who does not exist: give me a name.’ 17. Prajāpati replied, ‘Thou art Īśāna (the ruler).’ Inasmuch as he gave him that name, Āditya (the Sun) became his form. For Īśāna is the Sun, because he rules (īṣṭe) over this universe. The boy said, ‘I am so much: do not give me any further name.’ 18. These are the eight forms of Agni. Kumāra (the boy, see above, para. 8 in the preceding page) is the ninth. This is the threefoldness (trīvṛttā) of Agni. 19. Since there are, as it were, eight forms of Agni, [and] the gāyatrī metre has eight syllables, men say, ‘Agni pertains to the gāyatrī.’

This boy (Kumāra) entered into the forms. Men do not see Agni as a boy; it is these forms of his that they see; for he entered into these forms.’

This passage appears to be the original from which the story of the birth of Rudra in the Purāṇas is borrowed. That legend, as given in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa (in nearly the same words as in the Vishṇu Purāṇa), is as follows:

The same words occur in the Taitt. S. ii. 2, 5, 5; and the Taitt. Br. i. 1, 5, 3. The Commentator on the latter passage says: Agner mukha-jatvena gāyatrī-sambandhim | "Agni’s connexion with the Gāyatrī arises from his having sprung from the mouth."
Märk. Pur. Sect. 52, 2 ff.—Kalpādāv ātmanas tulyam sutam prādhāyataḥ prabhōḥ | 3. Prādura-āsid athānke 'yya kumāro nila-lohitaḥ | ruroda susvarāmaḥ so 'tha dravaṁ́ chā devīja-sattama | kim rodishtī tam Bṛhmaṁ rudantam pratyuvācha ha | nāma dehi tam so 'tha pratyuvācha jagat-patim | Rudrās tvam deva nāmnā 'si mā rodīr dhairyaṁ āvāha | evam uktas tataḥ so 'tha sapta-krītvo ruroda ha | tato 'nyāni dadau tas- | māi sapta nāmnā vai prabhūḥ | sthānāni chaishām ashtānām patiṁśḥ | putrāṁśa cha vai devīja | Bhavaṁ Sarvaṁ tathāsānaṁ tathā Paśupatim | prabhūḥ | Bhīmam Ugram Mahādevam uūcāḥ sa Pitāmahahāḥ |

“When, at the beginning of the kalpa, the lord (i.e. Bṛhmaḥ) was meditating on a son similar to himself, there was manifested in his lap a boy of a blue and red colour, (3) who then wept loudly, running about. Bṛhma said to him when he was weeping, ‘Why dost thou weep?’ He answered the lord of the world, ‘Give me a name.’ [Bṛhma rejoined], ‘Thou, O deity, art called Rudra; do not weep; be patient.’ Being thus addressed, [the boy] wept again seven times. Then the lord gave him seven other names, and the places of these eight, and wives and sons. The Progenitor (Bṛhmaḥ) called him [besides Rudra] Bhava, Sarva, Īśāna, Paśupati, Bhīma, Ugra, Mahādeva.”

These names (except Bhīma, which is substituted for Āsani) are the same as those in the Brāhmaṇa. The same legend is given in a somewhat different form in the Sānkhyāyaṇa or Kaushtakō Brāhmaṇa, and an abstract of that passage is furnished by Prof. Weber in his Indische Studien, ii. 300 ff. For the text of the passage I am indebted to Prof. Aufrecht, who copied it from the MS. of the Sānkhyāyaṇa in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

Sānkhyāyaṇa Brāhmaṇa, vi. i. etc.—Prajāpatiḥ prajāti-kāmas tapo | 'tapyata | tasmāt taptāt pancha ajāyanta Agnir Vāyur Ādityāś Chandramāh | Uśāḥ panchamī | tān abravid “yāyam api tapyadhvan” | te | 'dikshanta | tān dikshitāṁ tepānām Uśāḥ prajāpatya 'pearo-rūpaṁ krītā purastat pratyudait | tasyām eshām manāh sanapatat | te reto | 'sinchanta | Te prajāpatim pitarām etya abrivan “reto vai asichāmahai idam no mā amuyā bhūd” iti | sa prajāpatir hiranmayaṁ chamasam abarod ishu-mātram ārdhvan evam tiryacham | tasmin retaḥ sanmaśchhat | tataḥ udatishtat sahasrākṣṭha sahaeropāt sahasrena pratihitābhīḥ | 2. | Sa prajāpatim pitarām abhyāyachhat | tām abravit “kathā mā bhya-
yachhasi" iti | "nāma me kurv" ity abravīn "na vai idam avihitena nāmnā annam atsyāmi" iti | "sa vai tvam" ity abravīd "Bhavaḥ eva" iti yad Bhavaḥ āpaś | tena na ha vai evam Bhavo hínastī na asya praṇām na asya paśūn na asya bruvaṇaḥ chana | atha yaḥ enaṁ dvesṭi sa eva pāpiyān bhavati | na sa yaḥ evaṁ veda | tasya vratam ā im eva vāśaḥ paridadhita iti | 3. Tāṁ dṛitiyam abhyāyachhat tam abravīt | "kathā mā abhyāyachhasi" iti | "dṛitiyam me nāma kurv" ity abravīn "na vai idam ekena nāmnā annam atsyāmi" iti | "sa vai tvam" ity abravīt "Chharvaḥ eva" iti yach Chharvo 'gniḥ | tena na ha vai enaṁ Sarvo hínastī na asya praṇām na asya paśūn na asya bruvaṇaḥ chana | atha yaḥ enaṁ dvesṭi sa eva pāpiyān bhavati | na sa yaḥ evaṁ veda | tasya vratam sarram eva na asūnyād iti | 4. Tāṁ tṛitiyam abhyāyachhat | tam abravīt "kathā mā abhyāyachhasi" iti | "tṛitiyam me nāma kurv" ity abravīn "na vai idaṁ drābhyaṁ nāmaḥbhyaṁ annam atsyāmi" iti | "sa vai tvam" ity abravīt "Paśupatir eva" iti yat Paśupatir Vāyuḥ | tena na ha vai enaṁ Paśupatir hínastī na asya praṇām na asya paśūn na asya bruvaṇaḥ chana | atha yaḥ enaṁ dvesṭi sa eva pāpiyān bhavati | na sa yaḥ evaṁ veda | tasya vratam brāhmaṇam eva na parivade iti | 5. Tāṁ caturtham abhyāyachhat | tam abravīt "kathā mā 'bhhyāyachhasi" iti | "caturtham me nāma kurv" ity abravīt | "na vai idaṁ tribhīr nāma-bhīr annam atsyāmi" iti | "sa vai tvam" ity abravīd "Ugraḥ eva devaḥ" iti yaḥ Ugro devaḥ oshadhayo vanaspataḥ | tena na ha vai enaṁ Ugro devo hínastī na asya praṇām na asya paśūn na asya bruvaṇaḥ chana | atha yaḥ enaṁ dvesṭi sa eva pāpiyān bhavati | na sa yaḥ evaṁ veda | tasya vratam striyāḥ eva viraraṁ na iksheta iti | 6. Tāṁ panchamam abhyāyachhat | tam abravīt "kathā mā 'bhhyāyachhasi" iti | "panchamam me nāma kurv" ity abravīt | "na vai idaṁ caturbhīr nāma-bhīr annam atsyāmi" iti | "sa vai tvam" ity abravīn "Mahān eva devaḥ" iti | yan Mahān devaḥ Ādityaḥ | Tenā na ha vai enaṁ Mahān devo hínastī na asya praṇām na asya paśūn na asya bruvaṇaḥ chana | atha yaḥ enaṁ dvesṭi sa eva pāpiyān bhavati | na sa yaḥ evaṁ veda | tasya vratam udyantam eva enaṁ na iksheta astaṁ yantaṁ cha iti | 7. Tāṁ šaṣṭham abhyāyachhat tam abravīt "kathā mā abhyāyachhasi" iti | "šaṣṭham me nāma kurv" ity abravīt | "na vai idam pañccha-dhīr nāma-bhīr annam atsyāmi" iti | "sa vai tvam" ity abravīd "Rudraḥ eva" iti yad Rudraś Chandramahāḥ | Tenā na ha vai enaṁ Rudro hínastī na asya praṇām na asya paśūn na asya bruvaṇaḥ chana | atha yaḥ enaṁ
dveshti sa eva pārīyān bhavati | na sa yaḥ evam veda | tasya vratam
vimūrtam eva nāsniyam mañjānam ca iti | 8. Tām saaptamam abhyā-
yachhat | tam abravit “kathā mā ’bhīyāyachhasi” iti | “saaptamam me
nāma kuro” ity abravit | “na vai idāṁ saḍābhīr nāmabhīr annam
atsāmyā” iti | “sa vai tvam” ity abravit “Īśānaḥ eva” iti yaḥ Īśana
’naṁ | tena na ha vai enam Īśāna hinaśi na asya prajāṁ na asya pāsūn
na asya bruṇānam chana | atha yaḥ enam dveshti sa eva pārīyān bhavati |
na sa yaḥ evam veda | tasya vratam annam eva ichhāmannāṁ na prat-
yāchakshita iti | 9. Tām asḥtamam abhyāyachhat | tam abravit “kathā
mā ’bhīyāyachhasi” iti | “asḥtamam me nāma kuro” ity abravin “na
vai idāṁ saaptabhīr nāmabhīr annam atsāmyā” iti | “sa vai tvam” ity
abrivid “Āsanir eva” iti yaḥ Āsanir Indraḥ | tena na ha vai enam
Āsanir hinaśi na asya prajāṁ na asya pāsūn na asya bruṇānam chana |
atha yaḥ enam dveshti sa eva pārīyān bhavati | na sa yaḥ evam veda |
tasya vratam satyam eva vadeśa hiranyam cha bibhrīyād iti | sa eso
’sktanāmā ’śṭadāḥ vihiḥ Mahān devah | ā ha vai asya asṛtamāt purushāt
prajā ’nam atti vastyān vastyān ha eva asya prajāyām āśayate yaḥ
evam veda |

“Prajāpāti, being desirous of progeny, performed austerity. From
him when he had [thus] performed austerity five [children] were born,
Agni, Vāyu, Āditya, Chandramas (Moon), and Ushas (dawn) the fifth.
He said to them, ‘Do you also perform austerity.’ They consecrated
themselves. Before them, when they had consecrated themselves, and
had performed austerity, Ushas, the daughter of Prajāpāti, assuming
the form of an Apsaras (a celestial nymph) rose up. Their attention
was riveted upon her, and they discharged seed. They then came
to Prajāpāti their father, and said to him, ‘We have discharged
seed; let it not lie there in vain.’ Prajāpāti made a golden platter,
of the depth of an arrow, and of equal breadth. In this he collected
the seed, and from it there arose a being with a thousand eyes, a thou-
sand feet, and a thousand arrows on the string. 2. He came to his
father Prajāpāti, who asked him, ‘Why dost thou come to me?’ He
answered, ‘Give me a name. I shall not eat this food, so long as no
name has been given to me.’ ‘Thou art Bhava,’ said Prajāpāti; for
Bhava is the Waters. Therefore Bhava does not slay this man, nor his
offspring, nor his cattle, nor any [creature of his] who speaks. And
further, whoever hates him is most wicked. Such is not the case with
him who knows this. His rule is, let a man wear a garment. 3. He (this newly-produced being) came a second time to Prajāpati, who asked him, ‘Why dost thou come to me?’ ‘Give me,’ he replied, ‘a second name: I shall not eat this food with only one name.’ ‘Thou art Sarva,’ Prajāpati answered; for Sarva is Agni. Wherefore Sārva does not slay him, nor his offspring, nor his cattle, nor any [creature of his] who speaks. Further, whoever hates him is most wicked. Such is not the case with him who knows this. His rule is, let not a man eat every sort of food. 4. He came the third time to Prajāpati, who said to him, ‘Why dost thou come to me?’ ‘Give me a third name,’ he replied; ‘I shall not eat this food with only two names.’ ‘Thou art Paśupati,’ Prajāpati answered; for Paśupati is Vāyu (the Wind). Wherefore Paśupati does not slay him, etc., etc. His rule is, let no one slander a Brāhman. 5. He came the fourth time to Prajāpati, who said to him, ‘Why dost thou come to me?’ ‘Give me a fourth name,’ he replied; ‘I shall not eat this food with only three names.’ ‘Thou art Ugradeva (the fierce god),’ Prajāpati answered; for Ugradeva is plants and trees. Wherefore Ugradeva does not slay him, etc., etc. His rule is, let not a man look upon the shame of a woman. 6. He came the fifth time to Prajāpati, who said to him, ‘Why dost thou come to me?’ ‘Give me a fifth name,’ he replied; ‘I shall not eat this food with only four names.’ ‘Thou art Mahāndeva (the great god),’ Prajāpati answered; for Mahāndeva is Āditya (the Sun). Wherefore Mahāndeva does not slay him, etc., etc. His rule is, let no man look upon him (the Sun) rising or setting. 7. He came the sixth time to Prajāpati, who said to him, ‘Why dost thou come to me?’ ‘Give me a sixth name,’ he replied; ‘I shall not eat this food with only five names.’ ‘Thou art Rudra,’ Prajāpati answered; for Rudra is Chandrasmas (the Moon). Therefore Rudra does not slay him, etc., etc. His rule is, let no man eat anything coagulated [or solid], or any marrow. 8. He came the seventh time to Prajāpati, who said to him, ‘Why dost thou come to me?’ ‘Give me a seventh name,’ he replied; ‘I shall not eat this food with only six names.’ ‘Thou art Īsāna,’ Prajāpati answered; for Īsāna is food. Wherefore Īsāna does not slay him, etc., etc. His rule is, let no one reject him who desires food. 9. He came the eighth time to Prajā-
pati, who said to him, 'Why dost thou come to me?' 'Give me an eighth name,' he replied; 'I shall not eat this food with only seven names.' 'Thou art Aśani,' Prajāpati answered; for Aśani is Indra. Wherefore Aśani does not slay him, etc., etc. His rule is, let a man speak truth, and keep gold. This is the Mahānēva (great god), who has eight names, and who is formed in eight ways. The progeny to the eighth generation of the man who possesses this knowledge, eats food, and ever wealthier and wealthier men will be born among his descendants.'

The following is the account given in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa of the object and name of the Satarudriya:

'Sapatapth Brāhmaṇa, ix. 1, 1, 1. — Ātha atah satarudriyāṁ juhoti | atra esha sarvo 'gniḥ saṁskṛitaḥ | sa esho 'tra Rudro devatā | tasmin devāḥ etad amṛitam rūpam uttamam aṭṭadhuḥ | sa esho 'tra dīpyamāno 'tishthad annam ichhamānaḥ | tasmād devāḥ abhihayur "yad vai no 'yam na hiṃ- syād" iti | 2. Te' bruvam "annam asmai sambharāma tena enam śama- yāma" iti | tasmai etad annaṁ samābharan sānta-devatayam | tena enam aśāmayan | tad yad etam devam etena aśāmayam tasmāḥ oḥānta- devatyam | "sānta-devatayāṁ ha vai tach oḥhatārudiyaṁ" ity aṭākṣhate paroksham | paroksha-kāmāḥ hi devāḥ |

'He now offers an oblation with the Satarudriya. Here this universal fire has been prepared; and here this Rudra is the deity. In him the gods placed this most excellent immortal form. Here he rose up flaming, desiring food. The gods were afraid of him, 'lest' (they thought) 'he should destroy us.' 2. They said, 'Let us collect food for him, and with it appease him.' They collected for him this food with which a deity is appeased, and with it they appeased him. Inasmuch as they appeased this god with this, it is therefore called 'Śāntadevatya' ('that with which a god is appeased'). They call this 'Śāntadevatya' esoterically 'Sata-rudriya'; for the gods love what is esoteric.'

31 Compare Taitt. Br. i. 6, 1, 2. In the same work, i. 7, 1, 2, we read that the gods and Āsuras were fighting, when the former said to Agni, "We shall conquer with thee as our champion." He said, "I shall transform myself into three parts." He did so, Agni being one part, Rudra a second, and Vr̥ṣṇa a third, etc (te devāh Agnim abruvam "tevā vai vṛkṣa Aśurāṁ abhiḥkaraṇāma" iti | so 'braviit "trodhā utmanāṁ viharishya" iti | sa tredhā utmanāṁ vyakuruta Agnim śānti-yāṁ Rudraṁ śānti-yāṁ Vr̥ṣṇaṁ śānti-yāṁ ityādi).

On this the commentator remarks: *Vihito 'yaṁ homo Rudra-rāpatapaññavya Agner upāsamanārtham* | “This obligation is offered in order to appease Agni who has taken the form of Rudra.”

The same work gives, a little further on, another account of the origin of Rudra, and a different etymology for the Satarudriya:

Sūta Brāhmaṇa, ix. 1, 1, 6 ff.—Prājāpater vīrastād devatāḥ udakrimāṁs tam ekaḥ eva devo na ajahād Manyur eva | so 'smīn antar vitato 'tishṭhat | so 'rodit | tasya yānī aśrāṇi prāskandaṁśa tūnī asmin Manyur pratyatisthānaḥ | sa eva sataśīrṣhāḥ Rudraḥ sanabhavat sahasrākṣāḥ sateshuddhiḥ | atha yāḥ anyaḥ viprashaḥ 'pataṁs tā qasankīyaṁ sahasrāṁ | imān lokān anuprāśaṁ | tad yad ruditāt samabhavāṁ tasmād Rudrāḥ | so 'yaṁ sabdahṛiḥ Rudrāḥ sahasrākṣāḥ sateshuddhiḥ | adhiṣṭaya-dhanava pratihṛiḥ bhīṣhayamāno 'tishṭhad annam ivaṁmaṇāḥ | tasmād devāḥ abhībhūḥ | 7. Te Prājāpatiḥ abruvaḥ | “asmād vai bhīhino yad va no 'yaṁ na hiṁśyāḥ” | iti | so brahvaḥ “annam asmai saṃbharaṇa teṇa enaṁ śaṁayata” | iti | tasmāi etad annam saṃbharaṇa śaṭārvīryaṁ teṇa enam aśaṁayan | tad yad etay śaṭāsvērṇaṁ Rudrām etena aśaṁayaṁ tasmāḥ ekaḥ saṁbharaṇa-śaṭārvīryaṁ | śaṭāsvēraśadra-śaṇaṇyam ha vai tat śaṭārvīryaṁ iti ācākhṣate paroksham | paroksh-śaṁaḥ hi devāḥ itiṇāḥ | 14. “Namas te Rudra manyaṇe” | iti | yaṁ eva asmin so 'ntar Manyur vitato 'tishṭhat teṣaṁ etan namskaro na te ishaṇa dados bāhubyāṁ uta te namaḥ” | iti ishvā iva hi bāhubyāṁ cha bhīṣhayamāno 'tishṭhat |

6. “From Prājāpati, when he had become enfeebled, the deities

55 In the Taśā. S. v. 4, 3, 1. it is said: Rudra vai esha yad Agnih | sa etarhi jīto yarhi sordāv chilāḥ sa gathā vato jāte stanam prepasya evaṁ vai esai etarhi bhūgadheyam prepasi | tasmāi yad utānti na jukiyād adhvaryaṁ cha yasamānaṁ cha dhīyāyet | S'atarudriyaṁ juhiti bhūgadheyam eva enam śamayati | na ārtīm ā archatī adhvarya na yasamānaḥ | “This Agni is Rudra (or terrible). When now he is born, and all kindled, as a calf when born desires the udder, so he now desires his share. If an obligation were not presented to him, he would turn his thoughts (with the view of devouring) towards both the adhvarya priest and the sacrificer. The Satarudiriya is celebrated; and the priest quiets him with a share. So both adhvarya and sacrificer avoid injury.” The same work, v. 5, 7, 4, says similarly: Rudra vai esha yad Agnih | sa yathā evāṁkrudhau tishṭhaty evaṁ vai esai etarhi | samchitam etair upāssthāte namaskāraṁ eva enam śamayati | “This Agni is Rudra (or terrible). As a tiger stands raging, so does he now. The priest approaches with these [oblations] [the fire] that has been prepared [and kindled]; and quiets him with prostrations.

54 Compare Nir. i. 15, and Vāj. Śan. 16. 54, above, 325.

56 Compare Vāj. Śan. xvi. 13, above, p. 322.
departed. Only one god, Manyu, did not leave him, but continued extended within him. He (Prajāpati) wept. The tears which fell from him remained in that Manyu. He became Rudra with a hundred heads, a hundred eyes, and a hundred quivers. Then the other drops which fell from him in unnumbered thousands entered into these worlds. They were called Rudras because they sprang from him when he had wept. This Rudra with a thousand heads, eyes, and quivers, stood with his bow strung, and arrows on the string, causing terror, and demanding food. The gods were afraid of him. 7. They said to Prajāpati, ‘We are afraid of this being, lest he destroy us.’ Prajāpati said to them, ‘Collect for him food, and with it appease him.’ They collected for him this food, the satarudriya, and with it they appeased him. From the fact that with this they appeased the hundred-headed Rudra, it is ‘that wherewith the hundred-headed Rudra is to be appeased’ (S'ata-sīrha-rudra-samanīyam). This they esoterically call Satarudriya; for the gods love what is esoteric.” . . . 14. “‘Reverence, Rudra, to thy wrath’ (see above, p. 326, verse 1). (In these words) he (the priest) expresses reverence to Manyu, who stood extended within him (Rudra). ‘Reverence also to thy arrow and thine arms.’ He (the god) stood causing terror with his arrow and arms.”

The word Mahādeva occurs in the Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa, vi. 9, 7, Yāṁ samāṁ Mahādevaṁ paśūn hanyād ityādi | “In whatever year Mahādeva slays cattle.” The same work, vii. 9, 16 ff., makes mention of Rudra in connexion with cattle or victims: Devāḥ vai paśūn vyabhajanta | te Rudram antarāyam | “The gods were dividing the victims. They passed over Rudra.”

In the descriptions of Mahādeva which are found in the passages quoted in the last chapter from the Mahābhārata, though that deity is occasionally identified with Agni, as he is with other gods (see above, p. 204), he is generally represented in a different aspect, and with different characteristics. In the legend of the birth of Skanda or Kārttikeya,96 however, which is narrated in the Vana-parvan of that poem, we find some trace of the early connexion of Rudra with Agni. We are there told that, after Skanda had been installed in his office of general of the gods (v. 14424), Mahādeva and Pārvatī arrived:

96 Lassen (Ind. Ant. i. 588, note, 1st ed. = p. 701, 2nd ed.) observes that this legend differs from the one on the same subject in the Rāmāyana, i. 38, and regards the former as a later interpolation in the Mahābhārata.
14427 ff.—Agamyas manava-vaśghra saha devyā parantapa | archāyāmasya suprīto bhagavān guvṛisha-dvajah | Rudram Agniṃ dvijah prāhuh Rudra-sūnus tatas tu saḥ | Rudrēṇa śukram uṣṭhāṇam tat svetaḥ parvato ’bhavat | Pāvakasyendriyaṁ svete kṛittikādhiḥ kṛitaṁ nage | pājyamānaṁ tu Rudrēṇa drishṭvā sarve dīvaukaśaḥ | Rudra-sūnun tum tataḥ prāhur Guhaṁ gunavatāṁ varam | anupravīṣya Rudrēṇa vahniṁ jāto hy ayaṁ śīṣuḥ | tatra jātas tataḥ Skando Rudra-sūnus tato ’bhavat | Rudrasya Vineḥ Scāhāyāḥ shanvāṁ strīgaṁ cha Bhārata | jātah Skandah sura-sresṭhāḥ Rudra-sūnus tato ’bhavat |

“The god whose banner is a bull, arriving with his goddess, paid him honour, well pleased. Brāhmans call Agni Rudra; consequently he (Kārttikeya) is the son of Rudra. The seed which was discharged by Rudra became the white mountain. And the seed of Pāvaka (Agni) was formed by the Kṛittikās on the white mountain. Having seen Guha (Kārttikeya) thus honoured by Rudra, all the deities consequently call him, who is the most excellent of the gifted, the son of Rudra. For this child was produced by Rudra when he had entered into Fire. Being there born, Skanda was the son of Rudra. Skanda, that most eminent deity, being born from Agni, [who was] Rudra, and from Svāhā [and] the six wives [of the Rishis], was the son of Rudra.”

The allusions in this passage will become more intelligible if I give an outline of the preceding part of the allegorical story, which commences with v. 14241. Indra being distressed at the defeat of the armies of the gods (deva-sena) by the Dānavas (v. 14245 ff.) is meditating on this subject, when he hears the cry of a female calling for help, and asking for a husband to protect her. Indra sees that she has been seized by the demon Keśin, with whom he remonstrates; but the demon hurls his club at Indra, who, however, splits it with his thunderbolt. Keśin is disabled in the next stage of their combat, and goes off. Indra then finds out from the female that her name is Devasena (army of the gods), and that she has a sister called Daityasena (army of the Daityas), and that they are both daughters of Prajāpati. Her sister, she says, loves Keśin, but she herself does not, and wishes Indra to find for her a proper husband, who shall be able to overcome all the enemies of the gods. Indra takes Devasena with him to Brahmā and desires him to provide her with a martial husband; and Brahmā promises that a helpmate of that description shall be born (14279 f.).
Indra then departs with Devasena. It happened that Vaśishṭha and other rishis had been offering a sacrifice, whither the gods headed by Indra proceeded to drink the soma-juice. Agni too, being invoked, descended from the region of the sun, entered into the fire, received the oblations of the rishis, and presented them to the gods. The story then proceeds (v. 14287):

Nishkramamīśa āhāpy apaśyat sa patnīś tesām mahātmanām | svēshav āśrameshupavishṭhā svapantiṣ cha tathā sukham | rukma-vedi-nibhäs97 tās tu chandra-lekhāḥ ivāmalāḥ | hūtāsanārchiḥ-pratimāḥ sarvās tārāḥ ivād-bhūtāḥ | sa tatra tena manasā babhūva kshubhitendriyāḥ | patnir drishṭāvā devijendraṇām Vaiṃi kāma-vāsaṁ yayau | bhāyaḥ sa chintayāmāsa na nyāyaṁ kshubhito hi aham | sādhvyaḥ patnyo devijendraṇām akāmāḥ kāmāyāmy aham | naitāḥ sakyāḥ mayā ārashtum prashtum vā 'py anu-mittataḥ | gārhapatiyāṁ samāvisya tasmāt paśyāmy abhākṣaṇāḥ | sam-sprīśanāṁ iva sarvās tāḥ śikhābhīḥ kānchana-prabhāḥ | paśyāmaṇāḥ cha mumude gārhapatiyāṁ samāśritaḥ | nirushya tatra suṣchiram evam Vaiṅi vrāsaṁ gataḥ | manasā tāsū viṇīkṣhipya kāmāyāno varāṅganāḥ | kāma-santapta-hridayo deha-tyāga-viniśchitaḥ | alābhe brāhmaṇa-striṇāṁ Aṅgir vanam upāgamat | Svāhā tam Daksā-duhita prathamaṇā kāmāyat taddā | sa tasya chhidram anvaichchāḥ chīrāt-prabhṛitiḥ bhāvīti | apramattasya devasya na cha paśyāty aninditaḥ | sa tām jñātvā yathāvat tu Vaiṅiḥ vanam upāgamat | tattvataḥ kāma-santaptaḥ chintayāmāsa bhāvīti | aham saṃtarpaviḥ-patnīmāṁ kriṭvā rupāṇi Pāvakaṁ | kāmāyishyāṁ kāmaṁ tāsam rupaṁ mohitam | evam kriṣte pritiḥ asya kāmāvāptaṁ cha me bhavet | Sīvā bhāryā tu Aṅgirisah śīla-rūpa-ugāṁvatāḥ | tasyāḥ sa prathamaṁ rupam kriṭvā devi janādhipa | jagāma Pāvakābhyaṁ saṁ tām chaurācha varāgamā | mām Aṅgē kāma-santaptaṁ tvaṁ kāmāyitum arhasi | karishyasi na cheḍ evam mṛtām mām upādhrāyaḥ | aham Aṅgiraso bhāryā Sīvā-nāma Hūtāsana | śiṣṭābhīḥ prakṛiṭā prāptā maṃstraivitvā viniśchayam | Aṅgir svācha | katham mām tvām vijnāshe kāmārtam itarāḥ katham | yās tvau kirtitaḥ sarvāḥ saṃtarpānam priyāḥ striyāḥ | Sīvā svācha | asmakāṁ tvam priyo nityam bibhimas tu vayaṁ tava | tevaḥchittam ingitair jñātvā preshitaḥ 'smi tavāntikam | maṇthunāyëha samprāptā kāmaṁ prāptum drutāṁ chara | yāmaṁ mām

97 In Rāmāyana iii. 32, 5, Rāvaṇa is described as Rukma-vedi-gatam, which the Commentator explains as rukma-vedim prāptam hiranyeshṭaka-chitaṁ vedim prāptam | “mounted on a platform of golden bricks.”
pratikshante gamishyami Hutāsana | Mārkaṇḍeyah uvācha | tato 'gnir
upayen tān S'ivāṁ prītim mudā yutah | prītyā devi saṁyuktā śukram
jagrāha pāginā | achintayād mamedān ye rūpaṁ drakshyanti kānane | te
brāhmaṇam anuśīlaṁ doshaṁ vakshyanti Pāvake | tasmād etad raksha-
māyā Guruḍī samāhavanī aham | vanād nirgamanaṁ chaiva sukham mama
bhavishyati | Suparṣi sā tadā bhātvā nirjagāma mahāvanat | apasyat
parvataṁ śvetāṁ sara-stambhaṁ susaṁvirataṁ | dyahiśvishaṁ sapta-sirshāhair
guptaṁ bhogibhir abhutaṁ | rākshobhiḥ cha pīśāchais cha raudraṁ bhāta-
gaṇais tatāḥ | rākshasibhis cha sampūram anekāsche maṛga-dvijaiḥ | sā
tatra sahasā gatvā śaila-prishthāṁ sudurgamam | prākshīpat kāṁchane
kundā śukramāṁ sā varītā subhā | saṁtaṁ api sā devi saṁtarṣhīnām
mahātmānāṁ | patnā-sārūpataṁ kṛiteva kāmayamāsa Pāvakam | divya-
rūpam Arunāhayaṁ kartunā na saṁtaṁ tayā | tasyāṁ tāpah-prabhāvena
bhurtuṁ śuṣrūṣhagena cha | shatkrītvas tat tu niḥkshiptam Agnaḥ retaṁ
Kurūttama | tasmin kundā pratipadi kāmīṇyā Svāhāya tātā | tat skan-
naṁ lejasā tatra saṁārthaṁ janayat sutaṁ | rishibhiḥ pūjatāṁ saṁkramam
anayat Skandatāṁ tataḥ | shat-sirāḥ deśguna-srotra dvādaśakṣi-bhuya-
kramaḥ | eka-grīvaikā-jatharaḥ kumāraṁ samapadyata | . . . . . . . . .

v. 14514: Yadā Skandena mātrīnām evam etad priyāṁ kriyam | ta-
thainam abraṭit Svāhā "mama putras team aurasāḥ | ichhāmy aham
tvayā dattām prītim paraṁ-durlabhām" | tām abraṭit tataḥ Skandā
prītim ichhāśi kādriśiṁ | Srāhā uvācha | Daksāhsāyāhām priyā kanyā
Svāhā nama mahābhuya | bālayā prabhṛti nityancha jāta-kāmā Hutā-
sane | na sa mām kāmīṇaṁ putra samyag jānāti Pāvakaḥ | ichhāmi
sāśvataṁ vāsān vastum putra sahāgnīnā | Skandā uvācha | Havyāṁ
kavyanca yat kinehiḥ deśjānām mantra-saṁstutam | hoshyaṁti Agnaṁ
sada devi saṁhety uktrā samuddhṛitam | adya prabhṛti dāsyanti suvīrtah
sat-pathe sthitāḥ | evam Agnis tvayā sārdham sadā vatsyati śobhane | Mārkaṇḍeyah uvācha | evam ukta tataḥ Svāhā tushṭā Skandena pūjita | Pāvakena saṁyuktā bhurtrā Skandam apūjayat | tato Brahmā Mahā-
semaṁ Prajāpatiṁ athābraṭiḥ | abhigachha Mahādevam pitaraṁ tripurārd-
hanam | Rudreṇagnīṁ samāvīśya svāhāṁ āriśya ohomaya | hitārtham sarva-lokānāṁ jātas team aparājītaḥ |

"Issuing forth, he beheld the wives of these great [rishis] reeling
in their own hermitages, and sweetly sleeping, resembling golden altars,
true as beams of the moon, like to flames of fire, all wonderful as stars.
Perceiving that; his senses became agitated. Beholding the wives of
the Brahmins, Agni was overcome by desire. Again and again he
reflected, ‘It is not proper that I should be thus agitated: I am
enamoured of the chaste spouses of the Brahmins, who are not in love
with me. They cannot be looked upon or questioned by me without
reason. Entering into the domestic fire, I shall gaze upon them close
at hand.’ Entering the domestic fire, touching, as it were, with his
flames, all of them, who were bright as gold, and beholding them, he
was delighted. Dwelling thus there for a long time, fixing his atten-
tion upon these beautiful women, and enamoured of them, Agni was
overcome. His heart being distressed with desire, Agni, failing to
obtain the Brahmins’ wives, resolved to abandon his corporeal form,
and went into the forest. Then Svāhā, the daughter of Daksha, first
fell in love with him. This amorous and blameless goddess for a long
time sought for his weak point, but as the god was watchful, she could
not find any. But being perfectly aware that he had gone into the
wood, and that he was really disturbed by desire, the amorous goddess
thus reflected: ‘I, who am distressed by love, will take the forms of
the seven rishis’ wives, and will court the affection of Agni, who is
enchanted by their beauty. By doing so he will be pleased, and I
shall obtain my desire.’ Assuming first the form of Sīvā, the wife of
Angiras, who possessed a good disposition, beauty, and excellent
qualities, the handsome goddess (Svāhā) went to Agni, and thus ad-
dressed him: ‘Agni, thou oughtest to love me, who am disturbed
with love for thee: if thou wilt not do so, look upon me as dead.
Agni, I, Sīvā, the wife of Angiras, have come, sent by virtuous
women, and having considered my determination.’ Agni replied:
‘How dost thou, and how do all the other beloved wives of the seven
rishis whom thou mentionest, know that I am distressed with love?’
Sīvā answered: ‘Thou hast always been beloved by us, but we are
afraid of thee. Knowing thy heart by external signs, I have been sent
to thee. I have come to be embraced: come quickly and fulfil thy
desire. The other females are awaiting me; I shall depart, Hutasana
(Agni).’ Agni then with joy embraced the delighted Sīvā. The god-
dess filled with delight took his seed in her hand. She reflected, ‘All
those who shall see t'his form of mine in the forest will falsely allege
the transgression of Brahmins’ wives with Agni. Wherefore preserving
this, I shall become Garuḍī; and thus my egress from the wood will
become easy. She then, becoming Suparnī, issued from the great forest, and beheld the white mountain surrounded by palisades of arrows, guarded by wondrous seven-headed serpents, whose very glance was venomous, by Rākshasas, Piśāchas, and by hosts of Rudra’s demons, filled with Rakṣhasīs, and numerous beasts and birds. The beautiful goddess, having then gone quickly to the summit of the mountain, which was difficult of access, hastily threw the seed into a golden reservoir. Thus this goddess, assuming in succession the semblance of the wives of the seven great rishis, loved Agni. But she could not take the divine form of Arundhatī (the wife of Vasishtha), owing to the power of the latter’s austerity, and her obedience to her husband. Six times was the seed of Agni thrown by the enamoured Svāhā into the reservoir on the pratipad (the first day of the lunar fortnight). Discharged there and collected, that seed by its energy generated a son. That [seed] which was discharged (skanna), being worshipped by the rishis, gave to this son his character of Skanda. Kumāra (Kārttikeya) was born with six heads, a double number of ears, twelve eyes, arms, and feet, one neck, and one belly.” Kārttikeya marries Devasena (vv. 14446 ff.). The six rishis’ wives, his mothers, afterwards come to him, complaining that they had been abandoned by their husbands, and degraded from their former position, and asking him to secure their admission into paradise (svarga). The story then proceeds (v. 14514 ff.): “When Skanda had done what was gratifying to his mothers, Svāhā said him, ‘Thou art my genuine son: I desire the love, difficult to obtain, which thou givest.’ Skanda then asked her, ‘What love dost thou desire?’ Svāhā replied, ‘I am the beloved daughter of Daksha, by name Svāhā. From my childhood I have been enamoured of Agni. But, my son, Agni does not thoroughly know me, who am enamoured of him. I wish to dwell perpetually with Agni.’ Skanda rejoined: ‘Whatever oblation of Brahmans is introduced by hymns, they shall always, goddess, lift and throw it into the fire, saying, “Svāhā.” From this day forward, virtuous men, abiding in the right path, shall grant [thee this]. Thus, O beautiful goddess, Agni shall dwell with thee continually.’ Being thus addressed by Skanda, Svāhā, gratified, worshipped by Skanda, and united with Agni as her husband, worshipped Skanda. Then Brahmā Prajāpati said to Mahāsena (Skanda), ‘Go to thy father Mahādeva, the vexer of
Tripura. Thou unconquered hast been produced for the good of all worlds by Rudra who had entered into Agni, and Umā who had entered into Svāhā.'"

Sect. V.—Passages relating to Rudra in the Upanishads.

To the preceding passages, descriptive of Rudra, from the Brāhmaṇas, I shall now subjoin a few of a different character from the Upanishads. The first is from the Svetāsvatara Upanishad (Bibliotheca Indica, vol. vii., pp. 323 ff.):

Svetāsvatara Upanishad, iii. 1 ff.—Yaḥ eko jālavān iṣate iṣanibhīḥ sarvān lokān iṣate iṣanibhīḥ | yaḥ eva ekaḥ udhhave samhaves cha ye etad vidur anrītās te bhavanti | 2. Eko hi Rudro na dviityiyā tattvahṛyaḥ yaḥ imān lokān iṣate iṣanibhīḥ | pratyañ ānāṁs tisṭhthati sanchukopāntakaḥ | saṁsriyā viśvā bhuvanāni gopāḥ | 3. (R.V. x. 81, 3, above, p. 5.) Viśvataḥ-chakṣhur uṭa viśvato-mukho viścato-bāhur uṭa viścatas-pat | sam bāhūbhīyāḥ dhamati sam patatraiḥ dyavābhāmiṁ (sic) janayān devaḥ ekaḥ | 4. Yo devānām prabhavaś chodbhavaś cha viścādhipo Rudro mahārṣiḥ | Hiranyagarbhaṁ janayāmāsa pārvaṁ sa no buddhāya śubhāya saṁyuktaḥ | 5 and 6—Vāj. S. xvi. 2, 3 (see above, p. 322) . . . iv. 21. Ajātaḥ ity evaṁ kaśchid bhiruḥ pratipadyate | Rudra yat te dakṣiṇam mukham tena māṁ pāhi nityam | 22=R.V. i. 114, 8, and Vāj. S. xvi. 16 with various readings (see above, pp. 303 and 323). "He who alone, the enchanter, rules by his powers, rules all worlds by his

98 These words na dviityiyā tattvahṛyaḥ appear to be established as the current reading of this passage; and a reading partly similar (with variations in other respects) will be found below in a corresponding verse which occurs in the Atharva-sīras. The commencement of the verse is, however, also found in the Nirukta, i. 15, where the reading is different and preferable, ekaḥ eva Rudro vatasthā na dviityah; and Sāyaṇa, in his commentary on the Rig-veda (quoted in vol. iii. of this work, p. 60), gives the words thus, ekaḥ eva Rudro na dviityo vatasthā. Durga, the commentator on the Nirukta, as cited by Roth (Illust. of Nir., p. 12, note 4), quotes the whole verse as follows (without saying from what work it is taken): Ekaḥ eva Rudro 'vatasthā na dviityo rore vighnan pratanāsah satrīṇ | saṁsriyā viśvā bhuvanāni gopāḥ pratyañ ānāṁ sanchukopāntaka-kāle | "One only Rudra has existed and no second; slaying his enemies in the conflicts of the battle. Having created all worlds, a protector, he draws back all beings into himself at the time of the end."

99 The proper reading is probably sanchukokha. See the last note; and Böhlinger and Roth, s.v. kuchā́-sam; where sanchukokha is given as the proper reading, instead of sanchukola, which is found in Roth's Illust. of Nirukta, p. 12, note 4.

100 These two words are varied below, 4, 12, thus: paśyantā jāyamānam, i.e. "beheld Hiranyagarbha being born." The rest of the verse remains the same.
powers, he who in origination and in production is alone,—they who know this become immortal. 2. For Rudra who rules these worlds by his powers, is but one; [the wise] do not assert (?) a second. Having, a preserver, created all worlds, he abides in men severally; he displays his wrath (absorbs them?) at the time of the end. 3. This one god, who has on every side eyes, on every side a face, on every side arms, on every side feet, when producing the heaven and earth, fashions them with his arms and with his wings. 4. May Rudra, the lord of all, the great rishi, the cause of production and the source of the gods, who first generated Hiranyagarbha,—may he put us in possession of an excellent understanding. . . . Ibid. iv. 21. Some fearful man concludes thus—'[Thou art] unborn.' Rudra, protect me with thy southern face.'

The next passage is from the commencement of the Atharva-siras¹⁰¹ Upanishad. The MSS. which I have consulted vary very much in their readings:

Devaḥ ha vaivargaṁ lokam agamana | te devaḥ Rudram apriechkhan
"ko bhavān" iti | so 'bravid "aham ekaḥ prathamam āśaṁ vartaṁ cha bhavishyāmi cha na anyā kaśchid matto vyatiriktaḥ" iti | so 'ntarūd antaram praviśad disaśca antaraṁ sampraviṣat | "so 'ham nityānityo vyāktā-eyakto 'ham Brahmacrāhma aham pranṭchaḥ pratyenncho 'haṁ dakshināncha [dakshinās cha?] udaniḥo 'ham adhaśca ārdhdvancha disaśca pratidiśas-chā aham punāṁ apumāṁ strā cha aham saivity aham āyaṭry aham trishtub jaataḥ anushtup cha ahaṁ chhando 'ham gārhapatyā dakshināgnir āhavaniyo 'haṁ satyo 'haṁ gaur ahaṁ Gaury ahaṁ jyeshto 'haṁ śreshto 'haṁ varishto 'haṁ āpo 'haṁ tejo 'ham ṛg-yajuḥ-sāmāthavrāngiraso 'ham akṣharam ahaṁ kṣharam ahaṁ guhyo 'haṁ gopyo 'ham aranyo 'ham pushkaram aham pavitram aham agrancha madhyancha vahīścha purastāj jyotir ity aham ekaḥ | sarvamāṁ māṁ eva māṁ yo veda sa sarvāṁ devān veda | gāṁ gobhir brāhmaṇaṁ brāhmaṇyena havīśhi havishā āyur āyuḥā śatyam satyena dharmam dharmena tarpayāmi svena tejasa" | tato devaḥ Rudraṁ na apāyam te devaḥ Rudraṁ dhāyaṁtā tato devaḥ ārddhav-bāhaviḥ stwanta yo vai Rudraḥ sa bhagavān yaḥ cha Brahmas tasmān vai nāmo nāmaḥ | yo vai Rudraḥ sa bhagavān yascha Vishnuḥ tasmān vai nāmo nāmaḥ | yo vai Rudraḥ sa bhagavān yascha Mahēśvaras tasmān

¹⁰¹ A work called Atharva-siras is mentioned in the passage of the Rāmāyaṇa, i. 14, 2, quoted above, p. 166 ff. See Weber's Indische Studien, i. 382 ff.; and ii. 53 ff.
vai namo namaḥ | yo vai Rudraḥ sa bhagavān yā cha Umā tasmai . . . | yo vai Rudraḥ sa bhagavān yaśaḥa Viśnayakas tasmai . . . | yo vai Rudraḥ . . . yaśaḥa Skandaḥ . . . | yo vai Rudraḥ . . . yaśaḥa Indraḥ . . . | yo vai Rudraḥ . . . yaśaḥa Agniḥ . . . | yo vai Rudraḥ . . . yaḥ cha Bhūḥ . . . | yo vai Rudraḥ . . . yaśaḥa Bhūvaḥ . . . | om ādau madhye bhūr bhūvaḥ suvar ante śirṣham janadom.102 viśva-rūpo 'si | Brahma ekas tvam dvitiidhā ūrdhvam adhaś cha tvam śāntiścha tvam pushṭiścha tvam tushedtiścha tvam hitam ahutam viśvam aviśvām dattam adattam krišam akriṣam param aparām parāyaṇaḥ iti | "āpāma soman103 amritāḥ abhūna aganna jyotir avidāma devān | kiṁ nānām asmān kriṇaṇām arātiḥ kim u dhūrtir amrīta mārtasya" | (R.V. viii. 48, 3) | sarva-jagaddhitam vai etad aksharam prajā-patyāṁ sūkṣmaṁ saumyaṁ purusham agrāhyam agrāhyena Vāyuḥ vāyavyena somanāṁ saumyena grāsati svena tejasā | tasmai upasaṁhātre mahāgrāśaya vai namo namaḥ | hriḍisthāḥ devatāḥ sarvāḥ hriḍi prāne pratisthitaḥ | hriḍi tvam asi yo nityaṁ tiśro mātrāḥ paras tu saḥ | tasya uttarataḥ śīro daksinataḥ pādau yaḥ uttarataḥ sa oṁkāraḥ | yaḥ oṁkāraḥ sa pranavaḥ yaḥ praṇavaḥ sa sarva-vyāpi yaḥ sarva-vyāpi so 'nanto yaḥ 'nantas tat tāraṁ104 yat tāraṁ tat sūkṣmaṁ yat sūkṣmaṁ tat suklaṁ yat suklaṁ tad vaidyutaṁ yaḥ vaidyutaṁ tat param Brahma iti sa ekaḥ | sa eko Rudraḥ sa Īśānaḥ sa bhagavān sa Mahēdevaḥ | atha kasmād uchyate oṁkāraḥ | yasmād uchchhāryamāṇaḥ eva sarvāṁ sarāram unānayaṁ tasmād uchyate oṁkāraḥ . . . atha kasmād uchyate ekaḥ | yaḥ sarvāṁ lokāṁ udgrihātī105 srijati viśrjati vāsayaṁ tasmād uchyate ekaḥ | atha kasmād uchyate eko Rudraḥ | "ekoh Rudro na dvitiyāṁ tāstehe (sthitavān | advitiyāṁ eva sthitavān | Comm.) turīyam imaṁ lokam īsate īsvaṁyur (niyamana-sāktimān | Comm.) janaṁyuh (viśvotpāda-sāktimān | Comm.) | pratyāṁ janāṁ tīsthanti saṁyug

102 The commentator explains this thus: S'irshaṁ śirō mantraḥ svāhā ity evaṁrūpaḥ | janadom janada iti karmapalakṣaṇaṁ kartham akṣara-trayam | janam janin tad-palaksita-janinad vastu-jātan tad dedati iti janadāḥ | tasya sambodhanam | Instead of the words in the text, another MS. reads, bhūs te ādīr madhyam bhuvās te svas te stīrhaṁ viśvārūpo 'si.

103 Unmayā Brahma-vidyā-svarūpīnī yatyaṁ saha vartate iti Somas tam | [Soma is thus =sa+ Uma, "with Umā"] yataḥ soman apīna tataḥ amritāḥ mahāyuktiḥ avidyā-tat-kāra-saṅkāraṁ eva varjītāḥ abhūna sambhānaḥ | —Comm.

104 Tārayati, "delivers:" that which delivers.—Comm.

105 Uṛdhva-mokṣham ātmāni griṅgāti | —Comm.
asyaṃtakāle samṛṣṭya viśvā bhuvānani goptā" | tasmād uchyate ekō Rudrāḥ | atha kasmād uchyate Ṛṣāno "yaḥ sarvān lokān ṛṣate ṛṣambhīr" jananiḥiḥ parama-śaktiḥiḥ | "abhi tvā śāra nonumaḥ adugdhaḥ ca dhenavah | śānam asya jagataḥ svarārdiśam śānam Indra ṛṣṭuṣūḥah" | (R.V. vii. 32, 22) | tasmād uchyate Ṛṣānaḥ | ... | atha kasmād uchyate Mahēśvarah | yaḥ sarvān lokān sambhaṭkhaḥ sambhaṭkharatāy atjasraṃ srijati visrjati vāsaṃyati tasmād uchyate Mahēśvarah | atha kasmād uchyate Mahēdevah | yaḥ sarvān bhāvān pārityaḥya itāma-ṛṇāna-yogaśvāro mahati mahiyate tasmād uchyate Mahēdevah | tād etad (etad nāma-nirūkti-rūpaṁ charitam | Comm.) Rudra-charitam | "esho ha devaḥ pradiṣo 'nu sarvāḥ pūrvo ha jātaḥ sa u garbhāna antaḥ | sa eva jātaḥ sa janisīkhyāmaḥ pratyāṁ janis tishtatii viśvato-mukhaṁ" | (Vāj. S. 32, 4) | "viśvataḥ-chakṣuḥ uta viśvato-mukho viśvato-būhur uta viśvatas-pāt | sam bāhubhyāṁ dhamati saṁ patatāir dyāva-ṛitiḥī janayan devaḥ ekaḥ" | (R.V. x. 81, 3) | ... | Rudra ekatvaṁ (aikyaṁ | Comm.) āhuḥ | Rudrāṁ śāvataṁ vai purāṇam ityādi ... | vratam etat pāṣupatam | Āgnir iti bhasma Vāyur iti bhasma jalam iti bhasma sthalam iti bhasma vyoma iti bhasma sarvaḥ ha vai idam bhasma manah etāni chakṣuṁśhi bhasmāni | "Āgnir" ityādina bhasma grīhītvā nimṛṛṣya anāni saṃspṛṣet | tasmād vratam etat pāṣupatam paśu-pāśa-vinokṣaḥya | yo 'tharva-śiraṃ brāhmaṇo 'dhite so 'gni-pūto bhavati | sa vāyu-pūto bhavati | sa aditya-pūto bhavati | sa soma-pūto bhavati | sa satya-bhāto bhavati sa sarva-bhūto bhavati | sa sarvasvāt sātkhoṣaḥ snīto bhavati | sa sarvēśu vedesv adhitō bhavati | sa sarva-veda-vrata-charyasū charito bhavati | sa sarvār decair jnāto bhavati | sa sarvāya jayajñatra bhavaḥ ikṣṭacān bhavati | tena itihāsasastraṇāḥ Rudrānām sat-sahasraṇāḥ japtāṇi bhavanti | gāyatrīyaḥ sata-sahasraṇā japtāṃ bhavati | praṇavānām ayutaṁ japtām bhavati | ṛupe ṛupe (pātho pātho pratipātham | Comm.) āsā-pūrcr punāti daśottarāṁ ā chakṣuṣhayā panktir punāti ityāha bhagaṇān Atharva-siro 'tharva-śiraḥ (abhyāsāḥ āda rāthāḥ | Comm.) | sakrij jaytva-suchāḥ pūraḥ karmanyā bhavati | avītyāṁ jaytva gānapatyaṁ (sarva-niyantarītvam | Comm.) avāṃśto tṛitiyā jaytva deva eva anupraśīt oṁ satyam | "yo Rudro agnau yo apsv anīar ya oṣādhīr virudhaḥ āvicesa | ya inā viśvā bhuvānani chakṣuśre te smaiti Rudrāyo nāmā 'stu Āgnaye" | (A. V. vii. 87, 1, above, p. 333).

106 In another MS. a different answer is given to this question: Tasmad rishiśibhir na anyair bhaktair drutam asya rūpam upalabhyate | "He is called 'Rudra' because his form is quickly (drutam) perceived by rishis, and not by other devout persons."
"The gods went to heaven. They asked Rudra, 'Who art thou?' He said, 'I alone was before [all things], and I exist, and I shall be. No other transcends me.' He entered into one space after another, and into the space of the sky. 'I am eternal and not eternal, discernible and undiscernible, I am Brahma, I am not Brahma,' I am the eastern, western, southern, northern [breaths, etc., Comm.], I am below and above, the regions, and the intermediate regions, I am male, eunuch, and female, I am the Sāvitrī, I the Gāyatrī, I the Trishṭubh, Jagatī, and Anuśṭubh (metres), I am metre, I am the household, the southern, and the āhavaṇīya fires, I am true, I am the earth (or cow), I am Gaurī, I am the eldest, I am the chief, I am the most excellent, I am the waters, I am brilliancy, I am the Rīk, Yajush, Śāman, Atharvāṅgiras, I am the undecaying, I the decaying, I the mysterious, I the secret, I dwell in the forests, I am the puṣṭikara (sacrificial jar), the filter, the end, the middle, the outside, the front, and light, —I alone. He who knows me only, me, to be all, knows all the gods. By my own energy I satisfy the earth with rays (or the cow with cows), the Brahmans with brahmanhood, oblations with oblation, life with life, truth with truth, righteousness with righteousness.' Then the gods did not behold Rudra. They meditate upon him. Then the gods, with arms raised aloft, praise him: 'He who is Rudra is divine, and he who is Brahmā, to him be adoration. He who is Rudra is divine, and he who is Vīṣṇu, to him be adoration. He who is Rudra is divine, and he who is Maheśvara, to him be adoration. He who is Rudra is divine, and he who is Umā, to him be adoration. He who is Rudra, etc., and he who is Vināyaka, to him be adoration. He who is Rudra, etc., and he who is Skanda, to him be adoration. He who is Rudra, etc., and he who is Indra, to him be adoration. He who is Rudra, etc., and he who is Agni, etc. He who is Rudra, etc., and he who is Bhūḥ, etc. He who is Rudra, etc., and he who is Bhuvah, etc. (In the same way Rudra is identified with sucaḥ [svaḥ]; mahaḥ; jana; tapas; satya; prithivī; āpas; tejas; vāyu; akāśa; sūrya; soma; nakshatrāṇi; ashtau grahah; prāṇa; kāla; Yama; mrityu; amrita; bhūta; bhavya; bhavisyat; viśva; kṛitsna;
sarva; and satya.) Om! at the beginning, and in the middle are Bhūr, Bhuvah, Svaḥ; at the end is the head. O giver of life, Om, thou art universal-formed. Thou alone art Brahma doubly, and triply, above and below; thou art gentleness, fatness, contentment; thou art the thing sacrificed, and the thing not sacrificed, the whole, and not the whole, what is given, and what is not given, what is done, and what is not done, that which is supreme, and not supreme, and what is surpassing. 'We have drunk the Soma, we have become immortal, we have entered into light, we have known the gods. What can an enemy now do to us? What can the malice of any mortal effect, O immortal god?'

This imperishable [principle], beneficial to the whole world, sprung from [or, having the nature of] Prajāpati, subtle, beautiful, by its own energy swallows up the incomprehensible Purusha by the incomprehensible, Vāyu by that which has the nature of Vāyu, soma by that which has the nature of soma. To him the destroyer, the great devourer, be adoration. All the gods reside in the heart, situated in the heart and the breath. Thou who art continually in the heart, [art] the three letters, but he is beyond. To the north of him is the head, to the south the feet; that which is the north is the omkāra. The omkāra is the praṇava, which (praṇava) again is all-pervading, which ('all-pervading') again is infinite, which again is that which delivers, which again is subtle, which again is white, which again has the nature of lightning, which again is the supreme Brahma: thus he is the one. He is the only Rudra, he is Ṣaṅkara, he is divine, he is Mahēśvara, he is Mahādeva. Now whence does the omkāra get its name? Inasmuch as so soon as it is uttered, it raises up the whole body, it is called omkāra.'

(The same inquiry is then made and answered in regard to the words 'praṇava,' 'sarvavyāpin' ['all-pervading'], 'ananta' ['infinite'] the 'deliverer,' 'subtile,' 'white,' 'having the nature of lightning,' and 'the supreme Brahma.' Then 'ekā,' 'one,' is explained.) 'Now why is he called 'one'? He who evolves, creates, variously creates, sustains all worlds, is therefore called the

109 Quoted in the third volume of this work, p. 265. According to the commentator whom I have quoted under the text, Soma means sa+sva, he who dwells with Uma, in the form of divine knowledge, Kātyāyanī. What would the Vedic rishi who composed the verse have said to this mystical interpretation? Such explanations are not, however, peculiar to the adherents of any one religion.

110 I do not profess to understand the sense of this.
'one.' Now why is he called the one Rudra? 'There is only one Rudra; there is no place for a second. He rules this fourth world, controlling and productive; living beings abide within him united with him. At the time of the end he annihilates all worlds, the protector.' Wherefore he is called the one Rudra. Then why is he called Isāna? He it is who rules all worlds by his ordinances, and supreme creative powers. 'We, O heroic Rudra, like unmilked cows, approach with our praises thee who art the heavenly lord (Isāna) of this moving, and the lord of this stationary, [world].' Hence he is called 'Isāna.' ('Bhagavat' is then explained.) Then why is he called Mahēṣvara? He who, a devourer, constantly devours, creates, variously creates, sustains all worlds, is therefore called Mahēṣvara. Then why is he called Mahādeva? He who, abandoning all forms of being, exults in the great divine power of absorption in the knowledge of himself, is therefore called Mahādeva. Such is the history of Rudra. 'This god (abides) throughout all regions; he was the first born; he is within the womb; it is even he who has been born, and he is still to be born; he exists, O men, pervading all things, with his face turned to every side.' (Vāj. S. 32, 4.) 'The one god, who has on every side eyes, on every side a face, on every side arms, on every side feet, when producing the earth and sky, fabricates them with his arms, and with his wings.'" (R.V. x. 81, 3, above, p. 6.) . . . Rudra is mentioned again in the following verses. "In Rudra they say there is oneness, and that Rudra is eternal and primeval," etc. The Pāṣupata rite is thus described: 'This is the Pāṣupata observance; 'Agni is ashes, Vayu is ashes, water is ashes, dry land is ashes, the sky is ashes, all this is ashes, the mind, these eyes, are ashes.' Having taken ashes while pronouncing these preceding words, and rubbing himself, let a man touch his limbs. This is the Pāṣupata rite, for the removal of the animal bonds. The Brahman who reads the Atharva-śīra is purified with fire, with air, with the sun, with soma (or the moon); he becomes truth, he becomes all, he has bathed in all the holy places, he is read in all the Vedas, he has practised the observances prescribed in all the Vedas, he is known by all the gods, he has sacrificed with all sacrificial rites; by him hundreds of thousands of itihāsas, purāṇas, and Rudras (formulas

111 R.V. vii. 32, 22, quoted above, p. 103.
relating to Rudra), and a hundred thousand Gāyatris have been muttered, ten thousand Oms have been uttered; at every recitation he purifies ten generations of ancestors, and ten future generations of descendants; he purifies a row of men as far as the eye can reach; thus says the divine Atharva-siras. Having muttered it once, he becomes clean, pure, and fit for the ceremonial; having muttered it a second time, he obtains dominion over hosts; having muttered it a third time, he enters into the god: Om, [this is] true. ‘Adoration be to Rudra Agni, who resides in fire, and in the waters, who has entered into these plants, who formed all these worlds.’"

I shall not make more than a few further extracts from this mystical Upanishad, which throws little light on Rudra's character or history. The three gods, Brahmā, Vishnu, and Rudra, are mentioned together, along with Indra (Brahmā-Vishnus-Rudrendrāḥ); and Sambhu (one of the names of Rudra) is said (in a passage which I need not attempt to translate at length) to be possessor of all divine qualities, and to be lord of all; while the benefits of worshipping him are described (kāranaṁ tu dhṛtyah sarvaśvara-sampannah sarveśvaraḥ cha Sambhuḥ ākāśa-madhya chhrvaṁ stabhāva 'dhikāṁ kṣayaṁ ekam kṛatu-nāsasyāpi chatuḥ-saptatēy yath phalaṁ tad avopnoti kṛitnam oṁ-kāragnataṁ cha sarva-dhyāna-yoga-jnānānāṁ yath phalaṁ tad oṁkāra veda-paṁ vā śiva eko dhṛtyah śivankaraḥ sarvam anyat parityajya).

In the Kaivalyānā Upanishad (translated by Prof. Weber, Ind. Stud. ii. 10 ff.) Āśvalāyana asks Brahmā to explain to him the science of divine things (Athāśvalāyano bhagavantam paramesṭhinam upasametya uvācha adhihi bhagavan brahma-vidyāṁ ityādi). Brahmā (pitāmaha) among other things tells him as follows: Antyāśrama-sthān sakalendriyāṁ nirudhya bhaktya sva-gurum pranamya | hṛit-puṇḍarikam virajaṁ visuddhum vichintya madhye visadāṁ visokam | anantam aṣṭakam achiṇtya-rāpaṁ śivam praśāntam amṛtām brahma-yonim | tans adhānyānta-vihān ekaṁ vibhum chidāntaṁ svarūpam abhūtam | Umā-sakhāṃ paramesvaram prabhūṁ trilochanāṁ nila-kaṇṭham praṇāntam | dhyātvā munir gachhati bhūtā-yoniṁ samasta-sākshiṁ tamaśaḥ pariṣtāt | sa Brahmā sa Sīvāḥ Sondraḥ so 'kṣharaḥ paramāḥ svarat | sa eva Vishnuḥ sa prāṇāḥ sa ātmaḥ paramesvarāḥ | sa eva sarvam yad bhūtum yachcha bhavyāṁ sanāthaṁ | jñātvā taṁ mrityum atyeti nānyāḥ panthāh vinu.

112 Another MS. has here Sa kālo 'gniḥ sa Chandramāḥ.
taye | . . . yâh satarudriyam adhîte so 'gnipūto bhavati sa Vâyu-
pūto bhavati ityâdi | "A man in the last (or fourth) religious order
(i.e. that of a mendicant) restraining all his senses, making obeisance
to his teacher, meditating within on the lotus of the heart, [which is]
spotless, pure, lucid, undisturbed,—the infinite, undiscernible, incon-
ceivable, auspicious (śiva), tranquil, immortal, source of Brahma, [or,
of divine knowledge],—contemplating him who is without beginning,
middle, or end, the one, the pervading, the spiritual and blessed, the
wonderful, the consort of Umâ, the supreme lord, the three-eyed,
the blue-throated, the tranquil,—[doing this] a Muni, [passing] beyond
darkness, attains the source of being, the universal witness. He is
Brahmā, he is Śiva, he is Indra, he is undecaying, supreme, self-
resplendent; he is Vishnû, he is breath, he is the spirit, the supreme
lord; he is all that has been or that shall be, eternal. Knowing him,
a man overpasses death. There is no other way to liberation." Further on it is said: "He who reads the Satarudriya becomes
purified by fire, purified by air," etc., etc.

In one of the MS. collections of Upanishads belonging to the library
of the East India Office, I find another work of that description, called
the Nîlurudrapanishad, which begins thus: Apasyaṁ chāvarohantam
divitāḥ prithivimayaḥ | apasyaṁ apasyaṁ tāṁ Rudrāṁ nīlagricaṁ śikh-
andaṁ | "I, formed of earth, beheld descending from the sky, I
beheld, I beheld, that blue-necked, crested Rudra." This composition
contains many verses from the Satarudriya.

SECT. VI.—Some further texts from the Itihāsas and Purāṇas relative
to Rudra.

In the earlier parts of this work I have given a variety of extracts
from the Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata, etc., which exhibit the character of
Muhādeva as he was conceived in the epic period (see pp. 165, 176,
I shall now adduce such other passages from the Itihāsas, or Purāṇas,
as may appear to throw any light on the history of the conceptions
entertained of this deity, and of his relations to the other members
of the Indian pantheon.

Rudra is briefly alluded to in the passages of the Rāmāyaṇa i. 14,
1 ff.; i. 75, 14 ff.; and Yuddha-Kânda, 119, 1 ff., quoted in pp. 165,
176 f., and 178 ff. The other texts of the Rāmāyāṇa in which I have observed any allusion to him are the following; and the representations which are there given of this god bear generally, perhaps, a stamp of greater antiquity than those which are found in the Mahābhārata.

In Rāmāyāṇa i. 23, 10 ff. (ed. Bombay), Rudra curses the embodied Kandarpa (the Indian Cupid), who wished to enter into him after his marriage, at a time when he was performing austerity; and Kandarpa in consequence becomes bodiless (ananga). (Kandarpa mūrtimān āsit Kāmaḥ ity uchyate budhāḥ | tapasyantam iha Sīhāyum nimayena samāhitam | 11. Kritovāhau tu deveṣaṃ gachhantaḥ sa-marud-ganam | dharmayāmāsa durmedhāḥ hunkritaḥ cha mahātmamā | 12. Avadhya- taḥ cha Rudrēṇa chakshusā Raghunandana | vyāśīryanta suirāt svāt sarva-gātrāṇi durmateḥ | )

In i. 35, 20 (Bombay ed.), it is mentioned that the mountain-god, Himavat, gave his daughter Umā to the “unequalled Rudra” (Rudrāya apratirūpyāya). In chapter xxxvii. of the same book, vv. 5 ff. the con-nubial intercourse of Siva with Umā is described in most undignified language, as follows: Pūrā Rāma kritovāhau Sītikanṭha mahātapatāḥ | 6. Driṣṭavā cha bhagavān devīm maithunāyopachakrame | tasya saṁkri- ḍamanasya Mahādevasya dhimatāḥ | Sītikanṭhasya devasya devyaṁ varsha-katam gatam | 7. Na chāpi tanayo Rāma tasyān āsit parantapa | “Formerly, after his marriage, Sītikanṭha (Siva) the great devotee, (6) beholding the goddess, began to indulge in con-nubial love. A thousand years of the gods passed while the wise Mahādeva Sītikanṭha was thus sporting. But, O Rāma, vexer of thy foes, no son was born to Umā.” The gods being alarmed at the prospect of the formidable character of the offspring which might be born to Mahādeva, entreated him and his spouse to practise chastity. To this Mahādeva consented; but asked what would become of the seed which he had already discharged. This, the gods said, should be received by the earth. The gods then desired Agni, along with Vāyu, to enter into this seed. This Agni did, and the white mountain was produced in consequence (see above, p. 354), where Kārttikeya was born. The gods then worshipped Śiva and Umā, but the latter implored sterility on all their wives. The thirty-seventh section relates the birth of Kārttikeya. While Tryambaka (Śiva), the lord of the gods, was performing austerity, the other deities went to Brahmap and asked for a general in the room of Mahā-
deva, who, it seems, had formerly acted in that capacity. "He," they said, "whom thou didst formerly give us as a leader of our armies (i.e. Mahādeva), is now performing great austerity, along with Umā" (sect. 38, v. 3, Schlegel’s ed.=sect. 37, 3, of Bombay ed.: Yo nah\textsuperscript{113} senūpatir deva datto bhagavatā purā | sa tapah param āsthīya tapyate sma sahomaya). Brahmā says, that in consequence of the curse of Umā, no son could be born to any of the wives of the gods; but that Agni could beget a son on the river Gangā, who should be the general of the gods. The gods accordingly went to mount Kailāśa, and appointed Agni to effect their object. Agni accordingly impregnated the Gangā, who brought forth Kārttikeya, so called because he was nursed by the Kṛittikās."

In the forty-second section it is related how the royal rishi Bhagīrathā performed austerity in order that the Gangā might descend from heaven and purify the ashes of the sons of Sagara (who had been destroyed by Kapila, sect. 40, at the end); and might by this means elevate them to paradise. Brahmā appeared to the king and told him that he ought to propitiate Siva, who was the only being who could sustain the shock of the falling Gangā. Bhagīrathā (as is told sect. 43) continued his austerities till Siva the lord of Umā, the lord of animals (Paśupati), appeared to him, and said he would receive the Gangā on his head. He accordingly mounted the Himālaya, and called on the Gangā to descend. The Gangā was indignant at this summons, and came down in great volume and with great force on his head, thinking to sweep him down along with her into Pātāla. The god, however, determined to humble her pride, and she was compelled to circle for a long period of years in the labyrinth of his matted locks, without being able to reach the earth. Being again propitiated by Bhagīrathā, Siva at length allowed her to reach the lake Vindu, to flow to the sea, and eventually into the infernal regions, where she purified the ashes of the sons of Sagara and enabled them to ascend to heaven.

In the forty-fifth section is described the production of nectar from the churning of the ocean of milk by the rival sons of Diti and Aditi, who wished to obtain some specific which should render them immortal. In the first place, however, a fiery poison was vomited from the mouths

\textsuperscript{113} Yo nah is the reading of Schlegel’s edition, as well as of Gorresio’s, 39, 3. The Bombay edition reads yena, which does not seem so good a reading.
of the serpent Vásuki, who was used as the rope in the process of churning. The gods then resorted to Śiva to deliver them from this portent:

21. Ātha devaḥ Mahādevaṁ S'ankaraṁ svaṇārthinaḥ | jagmuḥ Paśupaṭiṁ Rudram trāḥī trāḥīti tushṭuvaḥ |
  22. Evam uktas tato devār deva-devaśvāraḥ prabhuh | prādūrāsit tato 'traiva śāṅkha-chakra-dhāro Hāriḥ |
  23. Uvācaināṁ smitaṁ kriyā Śūdram śāla-dhāraṁ Hāriḥ |
  24. Daivatair māthyaṁe tu yat pūrvaṁ samupasthitam | 24. Tat tvadīyaṁ sura-śreshṭha suraṁ agrato hi yat | agra-pūjāṁ iha sthitā gṛihāṇedāṁ vīśaṁ prabho |
  25. Ity uktvā cha sura-śreshṭhas tatraivaṁtaradhibyata | devatānāṁ bhayaṁ dṛishīṁ śrutvā vākyāṁ tu Śāṅgīnaḥ |
  26. Halāhalaṁ vīśaṁ ghoraṁ sanjagṛhāṁritopamam | devān visṛṣīya devaśo jagāṁ bhagavān Hāraḥ |
  21. "Then the deities, seeking as their refuge Mahādeva, Sankara, went to Rudra Paśupati, and lauded him [calling out] 'deliver, deliver.' 22. Then, being addressed by the gods, the lord of the gods, Hari, appeared on that very spot, bearing the shell and the discus, (23) and smiling, said to Rudra, the wielder of the trident: 'That which has first appeared, when the ocean was being churned by the deities, (24) belongs to thee, most eminent of the gods, since thou art at the head of them. Standing here, receive, lord, this poison as the earliest offering.' 25. Having thus spoken, the most eminent of the gods disappeared on the spot. Perceiving the alarm of the deities, and having heard the words of Vīśnū, (26) he (Śiva) took the deadly poison, as if it had been nectar. The divine Hara then dismissed the gods and departed.'

The gods and Asuras proceeded with the churning, but were obliged now to call in the aid of Vīśnū, as the mountain with which the operation was being performed sank down into the infernal regions. Vīśnū, however, assumed the form of a tortoise, and supported the mountain on his back. At length nectar was produced, which Vīśnū carried off.

In the description of the northern region contained in the Kishkindhā114 kāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa, Kailāsa is spoken of as the residence of Kuvera, and no mention is made of Śiva as residing there:115

Kishk. 44, 27 ff. (ed. Gorresio = Bombay ed. 43, 20 ḫ.).—Taṁ tu

114 In the Bombay edition this word is written 'Kishkindhā,' without a y before the final ā, which it has in Gorresio's edition.
115 See, however, the passage from the Sundara Kāṇḍa, sect. 89, which will be quoted in the Appendix, where Mahādeva is said to visit Kuvera, or mount Kailāsa.
sīghram atikramya kāntāraṁ lomu-harshaṇam | pāṇḍuraṁ drakṣyatha
tataḥ Kailāsaṁ nāma paratam | tatra pāṇḍura-meghābhaṁ Jāmbunāda-
parishkritam | Kuvera-bhavanaṁ dīyaṁ nirmitaṁ Viśvakarmayā |

"Having quickly passed over that dreadful desert, you shall then see
the white mountain, called Kailāsa, and there the celestial palace of
Kuvera, formed by Viśvakarman, in colour like a brilliant cloud,
and decorated with gold."

The Bombay edition, 43, 54 ff., has the following lines, in which
Rudra may be referred to: Tam atikramya śailendram uttaras
toyasāṁ nidhiḥ | tatra Somagirir nāma madhye hemamayo mahān | 55.
Sa tu deśo visūryo 'pi taśya bhāsā prakāśate | sūrya-lakshmya 'bhuvijnayo
tapatvā Viivasvatā | 56. Bhagavāṁs tatra viśvātmā Sambhur ekādaśāt-
makah | Brahmā vasati deveśo brahmarishi-parivāritaḥ 118 | 54. "Beyond
this monarch of mountains is the northern ocean, in the midst of
which stands the great golden mountain, called Somagiri. 55. With
its lustre that region, although sunless, shines; and is distinguished
by a solar splendour, as if from the beams of Vivasvat (the sun).
56. There the divine soul of the universe, the eleven-fold Sambhu,
Brahmā, lord of the gods, dwells, attended by the Brahman Rishis."

In Gorresio's edition (44, 117 ff.) this passage shows a number of
various readings: Kurūṁs tān samatikramya uttara payasaṁ nidhiḥ |
tatra Somagirir nāma hiraṁmayasaṁ mahān | 118. Indra-loka-gataṁ
ye cha Brahma-loka-gataś cha ye | sarvo te samavakshanta gīrīrājam
divaṁ gataṁ | 119. Asūryo 'pi hi deśaḥ sa taśya bhāsā prakāśate |
sasūryaṁ iha lakṣhmyāṁ tapatvā divākare | 120. Bhagavāṁs tatra
bhūtātmā Svayambhū bahudhātmakah | Brahmā bhavati vasyātmā
sarvātmā sarva-bhāvanaḥ | 117. "Beyond, to the north of the Uttara
Kurus, is an ocean, in which is a great mountain, as it were of gold.
118. All those who have gone to the sky, to the world of Indra, or
to that of Brahmā, have beheld the king of mountains. 119. By its

118 The commentator thus explains this verse: Viśvam atati vyūḥnoti iti viśvātmā
vyūpakas tena Vishnu-rūpāḥ | vishnu-vyūḥtāv ity anuśārāt | sa eva Sambhuh śuṁ
bhavaty asmaḥ | sa eva ekādaśātmakah ekādaśānvāhārththikōdusv-rudrātmakah | sa
eva Brahmā bhūhihaṇatvāt jagat-svashākṛitvāt | "Viśvātmā means, he who pervades
all things; and consequently he is in the form of Vishnu, as Vishnu has the sense
of pervader. The same being is Sambhu, he from whom prosperity (śuṁ) arises
(bhavati); and he is also elevenfold, in the form of the eleven Rudras, who signify
eleven repetitions of him (f). The same being is also Brahmā, from his increasing,—
creating the world."
light that region shines, although sunless, as if it had a sun, and resplendent as if the lord of day were blazing. 120. There the divine soul of beings, Swayambhū, Brahmā, dwells, self-subdued, the soul, and producer of all things.” Here there is no reference to Mahādeva, Swayambhū being substituted for Sambhu.

Another passage relating to Rudra which occurs in Gorresio’s recension of the Rāmāyāṇa is the following (though it is not to be found in the corresponding section of the Bombay edition):

Kishk. 44, 46 ff.—Tāṁ tu deśam atikramya Trisṛinga nāma parvataḥ | tasya pāde saro dieyam mahat kāñchana-pushkaram | tataḥ prachyavate divyā tikṣha-srotās tarunīnī | nadi naika-grahākṣāryā kutila loka-bhāviṇī | tasyānāṁ kāñchanāṁ spīnāṁ parvatasyāgni-sannibham | vaidārya-nayanam ekancha śailasyāsyā samuchkṛitam | Anuttapanesu bhūteshu ba-bhūca kila bhūmitaḥ | agrajāḥ sarva-bhūtanāṁ Viśvakarmet viśrutaḥ | tat tasya kila purāṇam aṃghihotram mahātinanaḥ | aṣīt triśikharah śailaḥ pravrītās tatra ye ’guṇayaḥ | tatra sarvāṇi bhūtanī sarvamedhike mahāmakhe | kriyāḥ bhurad mahātejāḥ sarva-loka-maheścarah | Rudrasya kila saṃsthānam sarva vai sarvamedhikam | tataḥ pravrītā Sarayār ghora-nakracati nadi | dera-gandharva-patagāḥ piśāchoraga-dānacam | praviṣṭi na tāṁ deśam pradīptam iva pārukam | tam atikramya śailendram Mahāderāḥhipālītām | ityādi | “When that region has been overpassed, a mountain called Trisṛinga [will be seen], at the foot of which is a divine lake, of large dimensions, filled with golden lotuses. Thence flows a divine billowy river, with rapid stream, swarming with crocodiles, winding, gladdening the world. That mountain has one golden peak, [one] resembling fire, and it has also one elevated point formed of lapis lazuli. When no creatures had as yet come into existence, there sprang from the earth the first of all beings, known as Viśvakarman. This triple-peaked mountain was the scene of the ancient Agnihotra sacrifice of that great being, where all the fires were employed. Having formed all beings there at this great universal sacrifice, he became the mighty lord (maheśvara) of all worlds. This lake of the universal sacrifice is the abode of Rudra; and from it issues the river Sarayū, abounding in dreadful crocodiles. Gods, Gandharvas, birds, Piśāchas, snakes, and Dānavas, do not enter that region, which is like blazing fire. Having overpassed that great mountain, protected by Mahādeva,” etc.
In regard to the story of Viśvakarman, which is not usually met with in the Purāṇas, and does not harmonize well with the course of their cosmogony, compare the two hymns in pp. 5 ff., the story from the Nirukta in p. 9, above, and the Satap. Br. xiii. 7, 1, 14.

Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, xiii. 7, 1, 14.—Tena ha etena Viśvakarmā Bhavunaḥ yē | tenēṣṭvā 'tyaśikṣhati sarvāṇi bhūtāni idaṁ sarvam abhavat | atiśikṣhati sarvāṇi bhūtāni idaṁ sarvam bhavati yaḥ evam vidvān sarva-mēdhena yajate yo vā etad evam veda | 15. Taṁ ha Kaśyapo yājayānchākāra | taṁ api Bhūmiś ślokaṁ jagau | “na mā martyā kaśchana dātum arhati Viśvakarman Bhavuna mandaḥ āśītha | upamankṣyati syā saśil-asya madhye mrīshaśka te sangaraḥ Kaśyapāya” iti | “With this sacrifice, Viśvakarman, the son of Bhuvana, sacrificed. Having sacrificed with it, he overpassed all beings, and became all this. That man overpasses all beings and becomes all this, who, knowing this, sacrifices with the Svārṇa-medha (‘universal sacrifice’), or he who thus knows this. 15. Kaśyapa performed this sacrifice for him. Wherefore also the Earth recited a verse: 117 ‘No mortal ought to bestow me. Viśvakarman, son of Bhuvana, thou wast foolish. She (the earth) will sink into the midst of the water. This promise of thine to Kaśyapa is vain.’”

It would appear as if the author of the preceding passage of the Rāmāyaṇa intended to identify Rudra with Viśvakarman, when he says that the latter “became the mighty lord (maheśvara) of all worlds.” Compare the passages from the Kūrma Purāṇa and Mahābhārata quoted below in notes 131 and 133, pp. 376 and 377; and Mahābhārata, Śāntip. 241, quoted in a note to p. 372, vol. v., of this work. If Mahādeva is identified with Viśvakarman, he must, according to the Rāmā-

117 The commentator observes on this: Astaḥ cha Viśvakarmā bhūmiṁ dātum iyeshā tatra cha kāle Bhūmir api imaṁ ślokaṁ gitavati | tvāṁ tu mandaḥ manda- matir janaḥ āśītha babhūvitha jātaḥ ity arthaḥ | upa-śaśe ni-śabdasya arthe | yaś cha asākyam pratijūnte mandaḥ ity abhiprāyaḥ | “Viśvakarman desired to give the earth to him; and at that time the Earth also sang this verse. Thou said ‘dull,’ dull of understanding. The preposition upa is here used in the sense of ni. And the sense is that he who promises what is impossible is foolish.” Compare the passage of the Mahābhārata, Vana-parvan, v. 10209 (in the first vol. of this work, p. 451), where the earth is said to have been given to Kaśyapa by Parasūrāma; and another text from the Anuśāsana-parvan, vv. 7232 ff. (ibid. p. 464), where the earth is said to have become offended with king Anga, who desired to bestow her on the Brahmans, and to have in consequence abandoned her form. Kaśyapa afterwards entered into her, and she became his daughter. Compare also Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, vii. 4, 3, 5 (quoted above, p. 27).
yana and Satapatha Brhma, be regarded as sprung from the earth, or Bhuvana, and therefore not eternal. It is to be noted, however, that the Satap. Br. speaks of this Visvakarman as a mortal, and the Ait. Br. speaks of him as a prince who conquered the earth.

In the next passage 118 Mahadeva is represented as visiting Kuvera on Mount Kailasa, and as acknowledging the divinity of Rama:

Rama. (ed. Gorresio) v. 89, 6 ff.—Ata pradhanah dharmatm lokanam isvarah prabhuh | tatha sabhayam devasya rajno vaisravanaasya sah | dhanadhayaksha-sabhahm devah prapto hi prishhabha-dhvaja | Uma-sahyo devesv ganaish cha bahubhir vrita | avatrya vrishat turnam mahitah sula-ahrig vibhuh | gires tasya mahateja pravishtas tu sabhaam Harah | Riddhya sahaya-yuktas cha tathaa vaisravanaah svayam | anyonyam taur samalinya upavishtav uhava api | sabhayam tatra taur devav te cha devah yathakramam | upavishtah ganash chaiva yakshas cha saha Guhyakaih | aksha-ayuta tatatas tadbhyam pravrittam samanantaram | etasmin antrare tatra Rakshasendram Vibhishanam | arishthvau Paulastyam ayantam Sivah praha dhanevaram | ayaam Vibhishana praptah sarasanam tava parthiva | manyunat bhipluto viro Rakshasendra-vimdnitah | ityudi |

"Now the righteous and mighty ruler of the worlds, whose banner is a bull, the god of gods, accompanied by Uma, and attended by numerous hosts, came then to the assembly of the divine king Vasravana (Kuvera), the lord of riches. Alighting quickly from his bull, Hara, the mighty lord, the wielder of the trident, being received with honour, entered into the assembly on that mountain (Kailasa, v. 4); and at the same time Vaisravana himself, with Riddhi (his wife), 119 and attended by his companions, [came in]. Having embraced each other, those two gods with the other deities sat down in order in the assembly, together with their hosts, and the Yakshas and Guhyakas. The two gods then began to play at dice. In the mean time, beholding the eminent Rakshasa Vibhishana, the son of Pulasta, approaching, Siva says to the lord of riches, 'This, O king, is the hero Vibhishana, who has resorted to thee, overwhelmed by distress, having been dishonoured by the chief of the Rakshasas (Ravana)," etc., etc.

While Siva is speaking, Vibhishana arrives, and bows down before

118 This passage, however, is only to be found in Gorresio's recension, and not in the section of the Devanagari recension which corresponds to it—viz. vi. 17, 1, ff.
119 See Bohtlingk and Roth, s.v. Riddhi, and the Mahabharta, Asurasana-parvan, 675, and 7637, as well as the Harivamsha, 7167, 7739, there referred to.
the deities, who tell him to stand up; and go to Rāma, who will install him king of the Rākshasas (vv. 21 ff.). Vibhīṣaṇa stands, with his head bent downwards, and sunk in contemplation, when Siva again speaks to him (vv. 37 ff.): Taṁ dhyāyamānām bhagavān uvāca prabhur avayayaḥ | uttishtottisṭha rājendra sukham āpnuhi śāsvatam | . . . . 39. Tasmād uttisṭha gachha tvam purāṇam prabhun avayam | ādharāṁ sarvbhūtānaṁ śāsvaṁ niravagraham | sa hi sarva-nidhānaṁ cha gatir gatimatāṁ varaḥ | kriyenaṣya jagato mūlaṁ tasmād gachhasva Rāghavam |  “The divine, imperishable lord said: ‘Stand up, stand up, prince of kings, obtain ever-during happiness. . . . Stand up, therefore, go to the ancient, imperishable lord, the support of all beings, eternal, uncontrolled. For he, the most excellent, contains all things, and is the refuge of all who seek a refuge, the root of the world: wherefore go to Rāgāvha (Rāma).’” Vibhīṣaṇa then departs through the air, to go to Rāma.¹²⁰

¹²⁰ In the following passages some of Mahādeva’s achievements are alluded to:—iii. 30, 27 (ed. Bomb.), and iii. 35, 93 (Gorr.): Sa papāta Kharo bhūmav daḥyamānaḥ sārūṇiṇāḥ | Rudraṇeva vinirdagdhaḥ Svetārogya puraḥ naḥakaḥ | “[The Rākshasas] Khara fell on the ground, burnt by the fire of the arrow, like Andhaka [who was] formerly consumed by Rudra in the S’veta forest.” (Compare A. V. xi. 2, 7, above, pp. 334, 336, where Rudra is called the slayer of Ardhaka.) iv. 5, 30 (Gorr.): Yathā krūḍhāsya Rudrasya Tripuraṁ vai vijigyvahāḥ | “[The frowning face of Rāma] like that of the incensed Rudra, who had conquered Tripura.” vi. 51, 17 (Gorr.): “The Rākshasa trembled when smitten by Lakshmana’s arrow, like the dreadful portal of Tripura, when struck by the bolt of Rudra” (Rudra-viṣṇhataṁ ghoram yathā Tripura-gopuvam). In the following verse allusion is made to Rudra as a slaughterer of animals: vi. 73, 37 f. (Gorr. = Bombay ed. vi. 94, 35). Hataiv āśayaḥ padātaś ca tad bahūva ravijravam | ākṛtāṁ iva Rudrasya krūḍhāsya vihijataḥ paśun | “With slain horses and footmen, that battle-field became like the garden of the enraged Rudra when slaughtering animals.” I do not know what the next verse refers to, vi. 55, 88 (Gorr.): Kumbhasya patato rūpam bhaguyorvasa mushtiṇā | Īviveraṇābhikopaṇaṇa rūpam Paśupateva iva | “The appearance of Kumbha when shattered on the chest by the fist of Sūrīva, was like the appearance of Paśupati (Sīva) when overcome by Īvara.” The commentator quoted by Gorresio has the following note in explanation: Īvaraṇa pralaya-kūlana hetunā abhiṇaṇasaḥ lokān abhisrastasya Paśupateḥ Rudrasya rūpam āva rūpam bahūva ity orthaḥ | The Bomb. ed. (76, 93) reads in the second line: bahūva Rudrābhikopaṇasya yathā rūpam Gavāṃpatiḥ | which the commentator renders, “appeared like the form of the lord of rays (the sun), overcome by Rudra” (Rudraṇeva abhiṇaṇasya abhiśiṣṭasya Gavāṃpatiḥ Śūryasya iva.) It would almost seem (strange as it may appear) as if the author of the recension of the Rāmāyaṇa published by Gorresio, had not understood the word Gavāṃpati (lord of cows or rays) as designating the sun, when he took it for the equivalent of Paśupati. Īvara and Paśupati are both names of Rudra; and he could not be assailed by himself. Gavāṃpati occurs in the hymn to the Sun in the Mahābhārata, iii. 192 (as quoted by Bohtlingk and Roth, s.v.), as one of the numerous names or epithets of the Sun.
From the passages quoted above from the Mahābhārata and Brāhmaṇas in p. 284, and pp. 200 and 202, note, it appears as if some contest had at one time existed between the votaries of Mahādeva, and those of other deities, in regard to adoration of the former. It may perhaps be inferred from the passages cited in pp. 288–291, also, that the worship of this god, as practised by some tribes, was regarded by others with aversion, or even with horror. Some further indications of this aversion may be discovered in the myth of Daksha’s sacrifice, as related in the Mahābhārata, and in the Vāyu and other Purāṇas (see Wilson’s Vishnu Purāṇa, pp. 61 ff.—pp. 120 ff. of Dr. Hall’s ed., vol. i.).

This story is told, perhaps in its simplest form, in the following passage of the Rāmāyaṇa, i. 66, 7 ff. (ed. Schlegel and Bombay = 68, 7 ff. Gorresio):

_Evam uktas tu Janakaḥ pratyuvācha mahāmunim | śrūyatām asya dhanusho yad-artham iha tishṭhati | Devarātaḥ iti khyāto Nimeḥ shashṭho (jyesṭho, Bomb. ed.) mahipatiḥ | nyāso 'yaṁ tasya bhagavan hasta datto mahātmanah | Daksha-yajna-badho pūrvam dhanur āgamyā vīryavān | vidhvasya tridaśān Rudraḥ sakalam idam abhavat | “yasmād bhūgarthino bhūgan nākalpayata me surāḥ | varāngāni [=śirāṃsi, Comm. in Bomb. ed.] mahārāṇi dhanushā sātāyāni vaḥ | tato vimanasaḥ sarve devāḥ vai muni-puṇava | prāśādayanta devesaṁ teshāṁ prīto ’bhavat Bhavaḥ | prāśāchāpi dadau teshāṁ lāny angāni mahāyauṣān | dhanuḥ yāṇi yāṇy āsan sātītāni mahātmanā | tad etad deva-devasya dhanu-ratnam mahātmanāḥ | nyāsa-bhūtaṁ tadā nyastāṁ asmākam pūrvake vibho_ | ¹²¹

“Janaka, being thus addressed, replied to the great muni: ‘Hear, regarding this bow, from what cause it is here. A king called Devarāta was the sixth in descent from Nimi. This [bow] was a deposit committed to the hands of this great personage. Formerly, at the destruction of Daksha’s sacrifice, the heroic Rudra, when he had drawn this bow, and routed the gods, thus spoke in derision: “Since, ye gods, ye have divided to me no portion, though I desired it, I cut off your most precious heads with my bow.” Then all the deities, being dis-

¹²¹ _Svishṭakrīḍa-adi-yajna-bhūgarthino mama | “To me who desired a share in the Svishṭakrīḍ, etc., offering.”—Comm.

¹²² This last line runs as follows in Gorresio’s edition (ch. lxviii. 13): _Tishṭhaty adyāpi bhagavan kule ’smakaṁ supijitaṁ_ | The other various readings, though numerous, are unimportant.
tressed, propitiated the god of gods, who became favourable to them, and restored the limbs of those glorious beings which had been cut off by the mighty bow. This is the precious bow of the great deity, which was at that time deposited with our ancestor.”

In this version of the myth there is no mention of Rudra commissioning Virabhadra, or any other demons, to destroy the sacrifice or put the gods to flight. He is simply said to wound the gods with his bow.233

The same story is told in the Säntika-parvan, vv. 786–808, and in greater detail in the Sänti-parvan, of the Mahäbhärata, in verses 10226–10258, and is immediately afterwards repeated in vv. 10275 ff. According to the first account (which is given in answer to a question regarding the origin of Jvara, Fever), Umä, Siva’s wife, seeing the gods passing by in chariots, inquires of her husband where they are going, and is told by him that they are proceeding to Daksha’s horse-sacrifice. The goddess then asks why her lord also does not go. He replies: Surair eva mahäbhäge pûrvam etad anushätitam | yajneshu sarveshu mama na bhägaḥ upakalpiṇaḥ | pûrvaprayopapanne märgena varavargini | na me surahi prayachhanti bhagam yajnasya dharmah134 |

133 This same story is again briefly alluded to in the following other passages of the Rämayäna:—iii. 30, 36 (ed. Gorr.=Bomb. ed. iii. 24, 35): Tämä đrishtvā tejasā yuktām vishvatthu vana-devatāṁ | Dakshasyeva kraṭuan hantum udvatāttram Pinäkivam | “Beholding him (Räma), possessed of might, the sylvan deities were distressed, as if he had been Pinäk in (Siva) with his weapon ready to destroy the sacrifice of Daksha.” Ibid. 70, 2: Hanu-kämam paśuṁ Rudraṁ krudhdaṁ Daksha-kraṭau yathā | “Like the incensed Rudra who sought to slay the victim at the sacrifice of Daksha.” (The Bomb. ed. iii. 65, 2, has a quite different reading: Dadvas-kämaṁ jagat sarvan yugante cha yathā Haran | “Like Harä [Rudra] desirous of burning up the whole world at the end of the Yuga.”) And again, vi. 54, 33 (ed. Gorr.): Tato visphärayämaśa Rämas tad dhanam uttamam | bhagavän iva sankruddho Bhavaḥ kraṭu-jighänaśyaḥ | “Then Räma stretched that excellent bow, like the divine Bhava enraged, and seeking to destroy the sacrifice.” Rudra’s followers are, however, mentioned in the Rämayäna. Thus in iii. 31, 10 (ed. Gorr.) it is said: Sa tālś parivrto gharati räkhasair nri-varutmajaḥ | Mahädevaḥ piti-vane gaṇatāḥ pārśva-gatair īva | “This son of an eminent man (Räma) was surrounded by these horrible Räkhasas, like Mahädeva by his attendant hosts in a cemetery.” (Instead of the last line the Bomb. ed. has the following, iii. 25, 12: Tithise īva Mahädevo vṛitaḥ pārśve gataṁ gaṇatāḥ.) And in another place (v. 12, 39, ed. Gorr.) Siva is called the lord of demons (griham Bhūtapater īva).

134 The same words nearly are put into the mouth of Mahädeva in the Väyu-puräṇa. See Wilson’s Vishnu Puräṇa, vol. i., p. 126, of Dr. Hall’s ed.
"The former practice of the gods has been, that in all sacrifices no portion should be divided to me. By custom, established by the earliest arrangement, the gods lawfully (āharmataḥ) allot me no share in the sacrifice." Uma is extremely chagrined that her husband, a god of so great dignity, should be so treated. Perceiving his wife’s distress, Siva goes, with his attendants, and puts an end to the sacrifice. The sacrifice takes the form of a deer, and is followed by Siva to the sky. A drop of sweat falls from his forehead, from which a fire proceeds, out of which again a formidable being is born, Jvara (fever), which burns up the sacrifice, puts the gods to flight, etc. On this Brahma appears to Siva, and promises that the gods shall henceforth give him a share in the sacrifice (bhavato hi suraḥ sarve bhāgaṁ dasyanti vai prabhō), and proposes that Jvara (fever) shall be allowed to range over the earth. Siva is propitiated, and assents to Brahma’s proposal, and has ever afterwards obtained a share in the sacrifice (īty ukto Brahmaṁ deva bhūge chāpi prakalpiṭe | bhagavantaṁ tathety aha . . . . parāncha pratim agamad utmayamāṁśeḥa Pināka-āhik | avāpa cha tadā bhāgaṁ yathoktam Brahmaṁ Bhavaḥ).

The second version of the story is as follows: vv. 10272 ff. Daksha formerly commenced a sacrifice at Gangadhāra in the Himālayas, which was attended by the various orders of divine beings, including Indra and Brahma. Dadhichi, however, a votary of Rudra, was indignant that no worship was to be offered to that deity. 10283 ff. Tān drīṣṭvā manyunā "vishto Dadhichir vākyāṁ abraviṭ | "nāyaṁ yajno na vā dharma yatrā Rudro na ijjate | badha-bandham prapannāḥ vai kimnu kālasya paryayaḥ | kimnu mohūd na paśyanti vināśam paryupasthitam | upasthitam mahāghorunāḥ na budhyanti mahādhvare" | Ity uktvā sa mahā-yogi paśyati dhīyāna-chakshushā | sa paśyati Mahādevaṁ devincha vara-dām śubhām | Nārādancha mahāśūnaṁ tasyaḥ devyaḥ samāpataḥ | santosham paramaṁ lobhe iti niśchitya yoga-vit | eka-maṇtrās tu te sarve yeneso na nimaṇtritabā || tasmād desād apakramya Dadhichir vākyam abravīt | apūjya-pujānābhayaṁ pūjyānābhayaṁ apūjantāt | nṛ-gāhata-saman pāpuṁ śaśvat prāppnoti mānavah || anriṭaṁ noka-puṁram me na cha

125 A line similarly expressed occurs a little further on.
126 The account of Daksha’s sacrifice given in the Vāyu-purāṇa, and translated by Prof. Wilson, V.P. (vol. i., pp. 122 ff. of Dr. Hall’s ed.), has a good many lines which correspond nearly with some in this passage of the Mahābhārata. Of these Dr. Hall was kind enough to send me copies. One of them agrees in sense with this verse.
ACCORDING TO THE MAHĀBHĀRATA.

vakshye kādāchana | devatānām rishinām cha madhye satyam bravīmy aham |
āgatām Paśubhartāraṁ sṛṣṭārāṁ jagataḥ patim | adhāre yajna-bhok-
tāraṁ sarvēśhām pashyata prabhun | Dakshaḥ uvācha | Santi no bahavo 
Rudrāḥ śulā-hastāḥ kapardinaḥ | ekādaśa-sthāna-gataḥ nāhain vedmi Ma-
heśvaram\(^{127}\) | Dadhīchir uvācha | sarvēśhām eva mantrō 'yaḥ yenasau na 
nimāntritaḥ\(^{128}\) | yathā 'ham Śānkarād ārdhvaṁ nānyam pāṣyāmi daiva-
tam | tathā Dakshasya vīpulo yajno 'yaṁ na bhaviṣhyati | Dakshaḥ uvācha | 
etan mākhesāya swarva-pātre haviḥ samastaṁ vidhi-manaṁ-patam | Vish-
nor nayāṁ apratimasya\(^{129}\) bhāgam prabhur vihūś chāhavanīya eshaḥ |
Devy uvācha | kim nāma dānāṁ vishamaṁ tapo vā kuryāṁ aham yena 
patir namādyā | labheta bhāgam bhagavān achnityo ārdham tathaḥ bhā-
γam ato trītīyam | evam bruvaṁm bhagavān svapatim prakṛṣṭa-
rūpaḥ kṣubhidām uvācha | na etsi maṁ devi kriṣodorāngi kim nāma yu-
taṁ vachanam makhēśe | aham vijānīmi viśāla-netro dhyānena līnāḥ na 
vīdanty asantāḥ | tāvādyā moheṇa cha sendra-devaḥ lokas trayāḥ sarvataḥ 
eva mūḍhāḥ | maṁ adhāre saṁsitāraḥ stucanti rathantarāṁ sāma-gaś 
chopagānti | maṁ brāhmaṁ bhṛhma-vīdo yajante namādhuvarvacaḥ kalpa-
yantye cha bhāgam | Devy uvācha | upakṛtō 'pi purusho sarvāḥ stri-
janasāṁsādi | stauti garvāyate chāpi svam ātmānam na saṁśayāḥ | 
Bhagavān uvācha | nātmānāṁ stauṁ deveśi pāṣya me tanu-madhyam | 
yāṁ svaśkyāmi varārohe yāgārthe vara-vargīni |

‘Beholding them, Dadhīchi, filled with indignation, thus spake:
This is no sacrifice, nor a legitimate ceremony, in which Rudra is
not worshipped. [These gods] have become entangled in the bonds
of destruction. Is this the adverse influence of time? or is it through
delusion that they do not see that ruin is at hand? They perceive not
that a great calamity is impending at the sacrifice.’ Having so spoken,
this great devotee beholds with the eye of contemplation: he sees
Mahādeva and his boon-bestowing and auspicious goddess, and close to
her the great Nārada, and received the highest satisfaction. Dadhīchi,
versed in meditation, having ascertained that all the gods had adopted
a common resolution that they would not invite Mahādeva, issued

\(^{127}\) A verse closely resembling this occurs in the Vāyu Purāṇa.

\(^{128}\) The corresponding line runs thus in the Vāyu Purāṇa: Sarvēshhām eka-mantro 'yaṁ yene ā tā na nimāntritaḥ; which Prof. Wilson thus renders: ‘The invocation that
is not addressed to Isā is, for all, but a solitary (and imperfect) summons.”

\(^{129}\) Instead of bhāgam, etc., the Vāyu Purāṇa reads sarvam prabhur vihūṛh hy āha-
vanīya-nityam.
forth from that [sacrificial] ground, and spake thus: 'By worshipping
that which ought not to be worshipped, and neglecting to worship
that which ought to be worshipped, a man ever incurs sin equal to that
of a murderer. I have never before uttered, neither shall I ever
utter, falsehood. Among gods and rishis I declare the truth. Behold
Paśūbhartṛī (Siva) arrived, the creator, the master of the world, the
lord of all, the eater of the sacrifice.' Daksha replied: 'We have many
Rudras, armed with tridents, and wearing spirally-braided hair, who
occupy eleven places.' I know not Maheśvara.' Dadhīcī answered:
'This is a [preconcerted] plan of all [the gods] that he (Mahādeva) has
not been invited. Since I perceive Śāṅkara, and no other deity, to
be supreme, therefore this sacrifice of Daksha shall not be prosperous.'
Daksha spake: 'I offer to the lord of sacrifice (Vishṇu), in a golden
vessel, this entire oblation purified by rites and by texts, the share of
the incomparable Vishṇu: he is the lord, the all-pervading, the sacri-
ficial fire.' Devī (who, without any preamble, is here introduced
as speaking) said: 'What liberality or arduous austerity can I perform
whereby my divine, incomprehensible husband may to-day obtain a
share, a half-share, or a third?' The god, delighted in aspect, ad-
dressed his troubled wife who had thus spoken: 'Thou knowest me
not, goddess, slender of waist and limb; nor what speech befits the
lord of sacrifice. I know, 0 large-eyed; but the wicked, devoid of

130 Compare the phrase ekādaśātmaka above, p. 367.
131 Prof. Wilson (p. 124 f.) has the following note on the parallel passage of
the Vāyu Purāṇa: "The Kūrma Purāṇa gives also this discussion between Dadhīcī and
Daksha, and their dialogue contains some curious matter. Daksha, for instance,
states that no portion of a sacrifice is ever allotted to Śiva, and no prayers are
directed to be addressed to him, or to his bride (sarveshu eva hi yajnesu na bhūgaḥ
parikalpitah | na maṇtriḥ bhūryayū sūrdhaṁ Śāṅkaraśyeti neshyate). Dadhīcī
apparently evades the objection, and claims a share for Rudra, consisting of the triad
of gods, as one with the sun, who is undoubtedly hymned by the several ministering
priests of the Vedas (sa śūyate sahasrāṁśu śāmaṅgūḍhavṛtyo-hotriśhūḥ | paśyaināṁ
Viśvakarmāṇāṁ Rudram mūrti-trayāmayaṁ). Daksha replies that the twelve
Ādityas receive special oblations; that they are all the suns; and that he knows of
no other. The Munis, who overhear the dispute, concur in his sentiments (ya ete
dvādaśādītṛīḥ Āditya-yajna-bhūgaṁ | sarve śūryāṁ iti jneyāṁ na hy anyo vidyate
roviḥ evam ukte tu munayaṁ samāyūḥ śāmaṅgūḍhaḥ śāmaṅgūḍhaḥ | budham ity abvam Daksahāṁ
tasya śāmaṅgūḍhā-krīṇaḥ). These notions seem to have been exchanged for others in
the days of the Padma P. and Bhāgavata, as they place Daksha's neglect of Śiva
to the latter's filthy practices—his going naked, smearing himself with ashes," etc.,
etc. An abstract of the story as given in the Bhāgavata will be found in the text.
reflection, know not: and the three worlds, including Indra and the gods, are to-day altogether bewildered with thy bewilderment. Worshippers praise me at the sacrifice, singers of the sāma chant the rathantara, Brahmans, versed in the veda (brahma), adore me, and Adhvaryu (i.e. Yajurvedic) priests divide for me a portion.' Devī replied: 'Doubtless, every common man praises and magnifies himself in an assembly of women.' Mahādeva answered: 'I praise not myself, queen of the gods; behold, slender-waisted, beautiful-complexioned [goddess], what being I shall create.' Mahādeva accordingly creates a dreadful being, who, attended by hosts of other frightful creatures, demolishes all Daksha’s preparations for his sacrifice. Brahmā and the other gods humbly inquire of this destroyer who he is. He replies that he is neither Rudra nor Devī, but Virabhadra, sent to destroy the sacrifice, and exhorts them to submit to Mahādeva, whose wrath is better than the beneficence of any other god (varaṁ krodho ’pi devasya vara-dānam na chānyataḥ). Upon this Daksha sings the praises of Maheśvara. The latter then appears, and assents to Daksha’s request that his preparations for sacrifice shall not be fruitless (vv. 10338 ff.). Daksha then celebrates him by reciting his eight thousand names.

The following is an abstract of the same story as told in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, book iv. sections 2–7, with a colouring different from that of the Mahābhārata, and some interesting illustrations of the hostility between the Saivas and the Vaishnavas, or between the former and the more orthodox adherents of the Vedas, which not-

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132 The text of the Vāyu Purāṇa as translated by Prof. Wilson (Vish. Pur., p. 65 =p. 128 of Dr. Hall’s ed. vol. i.) differs somewhat from that of the Mahābhārata, as here given. The former text has been copied for me by Prof. Fitz-Edward Hall from the Guikower MS. in the India Office Library, and is as follows: Mamūdhvare saṁsitāraḥ stiwanit ratnatarare sūma gāyanti geyam | abhrāmye brahma-satre yajante mamūdhvarya-vaḥ kalpayante cha bṛgām | “At my sacrifice worshippers praise (me); in the rathantara they sing the sūma song; they adore (me) in a sacrifice of devotion without Brahman; and the adhvaryus divide for me a portion.” It is remarkable that Mahādeva’s worship should be here described as performed “without Brahman.” But what are we to make of the word “adhvaryu”? Could it mean, in later times at least, anything else than the Brahmanical priest so called?

133 In this passage (v. 10332) Mahādeva is called Viśvakarman (Devo nāhīyate tatra Viśvakarmanā Mahēśvaram). Compare the passage from the Rāmāyaṇa, above, p. 358 f., and note 131, p. 376. There appears to be some confusion in the narrative as given in verses 10331 ff. Though Daksha had already made his submission to Mahādeva, the story seems to be begun over again, or recapitulated.
withstanding the conciliation of the conflicting views introduced by the writer at the close of the story, no doubt had, and perhaps still has, a real existence in the minds of many of the sectaries. Sati, the wife of Siva, was the daughter of Daksha, as we are told in the same work (iv. 1, 47, 48): Prasūtīm Mānavīm Daksah upayem eva Ajāt-
majah | tasyaṁ sasarja duhitrīḥ shoḍaśāmala-lochanāḥ | trayodasādaḿ Dharmāyā tathaikāṁ Agnaye vīdhuh | pitribhīyaḥ ekāṁ yuktebhyo Bhavā-
yāikāṁ bhava-chhiḍe | “Daksha, the son of Aja (the ‘unborn’—he is said [v. 11] to be the son of Brahma=Aja), married Prasūti, the daughter of Manu. From her he begot sixteen pure-eyed daughters. Of these this lord gave thirteen to Dharma, one to Agni, one to the meditative [or united, saṁyatebhyo militebhyo vā, Comm.] Pitṛis, and one to Bhava (Siva), the destroyer of existence.” Sati, however, bore no children to Siva. i. 64. Bhavasya patiś tu Sati Bhavaṁ devam anuvratā | ātmānaṁ saḍriśam putraṁ na lehe guṇa-silataḥ |

In the second section we are informed how enmity arose between Mahādeva and his father-in-law Daksha. It appears that the gods and rishis were assembled at a sacrifice celebrated by the Prajāpatis. On the entrance of Daksha, all the personages who were present, rose to salute him, excepting only Virinchnya (Brahmā) and Mahādeva. Daksha, after making his obeisance to Brahmā, sat down by his command; but was offended at the treatment he received from Siva (iv. 2, 8 ff.): Prāṇaṁ nishaṇṇam Mṛidaṁ dṛishtvā nāṃrisat tad-anā-
daritāḥ | uvachā vāmaḥ chaksurbhīyam abhivikṣhya daḥann iva | śrīyatām brahmashayo me saha-devāḥ saḥāṅnayaḥ | saṭhānumām brvato vrittam nājnānād na oḥa matsarāt | ayaṁ tu loka-pālānāṃ yaśoghno nirapatapāḥ | sādhbhir ācharitāḥ pānthatāḥ yena stabbhena dūṣitah | esha me śiṣhyataṁ āno vun me duhitur agrahit | pānim viprāgni-mukhataḥ sāvityāḥ iva saḍhu-vat | gṛhitvā mṛiga-sāvākṣyāḥ pānim maraṭha-loohanāḥ | praty-
uttanābhivādārhe vācāḥ ṣpy akrita nochitam | lupta-kriyāyāśuchaye mānins bhinnā-setavo | anichhann apy adām bālāṁ śaḍrāyevosatiṁ giram | pretāvāseshu ghoreśhu pretair bhātā-ganair vrittaiḥ | aṭaty unnattavād nagno vyayāt-kosā hasan rudān | chitā-bhasma-krita-snānaḥ pretā-sraṅ

nrasthi-bhāshanāḥ | śvāpadeśo ṣyaśiva matto matta-janapriyaḥ | patiḥ pramatha-bhātānāṁ tanm-mātṛatmakātmanāṁ | āsmaī unnāda-nāthāya

nashta-sauchaya durkriḍe | dattā maṅga vata śāṅkhi chodite paramешṭhinā | vinindyaivaṁ sa Girīṣam apratīṣam avasthitam | Daksho 'thāpah upa-
spriṣya krudāhaḥ saptum prachakrame | ayaṁ tu deva-yajane Indropendra-dīhir Bhavaḥ | suha bhagam na labhataṁ devair deva-ganadhamah |

“Beholding Mṛiḍa (Siva) previously seated, Daksha did not brook his want of respect; and looking at him obliquely with his eyes, as if consuming him, thus spake: ‘Hear me, ye Brahman rishis, with the gods and the Agnis, while I, neither from ignorance nor from passion, describe what is the practice of virtuous persons. But this shameless being (Siva) detracts from the reputation of the guardians of the world,—he by whom, stubborn as he is, the course pursued by the good is transgressed. He assumed the position of my disciple, inasmuch as, like a virtuous person, in the face of Brahmans and of fire, he took the hand of my daughter, who resembled Sāvitrī. This monkey-eyed [god], after having taken the hand of [my] fawn-eyed [daughter], has not even by word shown suitable respect to me whom he ought to have risen and saluted. Though unwilling, I yet gave my daughter to this impure and proud abolisher of rites and demolisher of barriers, like the word of the Veda⁵⁴ to a Sudra. He roams about in dreadful cemeteries, attended by hosts of ghosts and sprites, like a madman, naked, with dishevelled hair, laughing, weeping, bathed in the ashes of funeral piles, wearing a garland of dead men’s [skulls], and ornaments of human bones, pretending to be Siva (auspicious) but in reality Aśiva (inauspicious), insane, beloved by the insane, the lord of Pramathas and Bhūtas (sprites), beings whose nature is essentially darkness. To this wicked-hearted lord of the infiriate, whose purity has perished, I have, alas! given my virtuous daughter, at the instigation of Brahma.”⁵⁵ Having thus reviled Giriśa (Siva), who

⁵⁴ Uṣatīṁ gīram, which the commentator explains veda-lakṣaḥaṁ gīram. It occurs also elsewhere in this commentator as Purāṇa, as in iii. 16, 13, where the Comm. renders it by kamanīyāṁ, “to be loved.” See Böhtlingk and Roth, vol. v., p. 1204, s.v.

⁵⁵ The commentator gives as follows what he calls the real, esoteric, sense of this abuse:—Vāstavas tv ayam arthāḥ | luptaṁ kriyāṁ yasmin para-brahma-rūpatevaḥ | ataḥ eva nīśa śuchir yasmāt | anānīna abhinna-satvāḥ iti cha chhedah | tasya parenaś-varasya madīyā mānuśī kanyā katham yogyā syād iti lajādāṁ dātaṁ anichhāṁ api tat-sambandha-lohena dattavān | ‘ṣūdrāyeta’ anarhateva-mātre āpiśētaṁ na hita-te pūrvapara-sva-vachana-virodhāpatteḥ | etad uklam bhavati | yathā kaśchit śūdrāya vedam artha-lohena dadāti | ‘pretāvasekho’ ityādi sarvāḥ viśamabana-mātrām iti | svayam eva āha ‘unmatta-vad’ iti | anyathā ‘unmatthag’ ity eva avakshayat | ‘āśivaḥ’ nīśi śīvo yasmāt | amattāḥ | amatta-jena-prīyaḥ | iti chhedah | ‘patiḥ pramathā-bhūtāṁ’ iti bhakta-vātsalyam āha | tasmān api dosham apaniyā pūtī iti | nashfōnām api sauchāṁ śuddhāḥ yasmāt | āuvṣeṣeṣe āpy ete mayā anukampyāḥ iti hṛin mano yasya
did not oppose him, Daksha having then touched water, incensed, began to curse him [thus]: 'Let this Bhava (Śiva), lowest of the gods, never, at the worship of the gods, receive any portion along with the gods Indra, Upendra (Vishnū), and others.'" Having delivered his malediction, Daksha departed. A counter-malediction, as follows, was then uttered upon him and the Brahmans who took his part, by Nandiśvara, one of the chief of Mahādeva's followers:

21 ff.—Yaḥ etam martyam uddīṣya bhagavaty apratidrutiḥ | druhayat
ajñāḥ prithag-āriṣṭis tattvato vimukho bhavet | griheshu kūṭa-dharmeshu
saktō grāmya-sukhechhayaḥ | karma-tantram vitanuteśānā
veda-vāda-vipanna-
dhiḥ | buddhya parābhidhāya Īyinīya vismṛitātma-gatiḥ paśuḥ | stṛ-kāmaḥ
so 'stu nitarām Daksha vasta-mukho 'chirat | vidyā-buddhir avidyāyāṁ
karmamayāṁ asau jādaḥ | saṁsaranvān iha ye chānum anu Sarvāvanā-
ninam | giraḥ śrutāyaḥ pushpiṇyāḥ madhu-gandhena bhūrīnā | mathnā
chommathitātmānāḥ sammukyanantu Hara-dvishaḥ | sarva-bhakshaḥ dévajā
eritvāy dhṛta-vidyā-tapo-vrataḥ | vitta-dehendriyārāmāḥ yāchakāḥ
vicharaṇo iha | "May the ignorant being who, from regard to this
mortal (Daksha), and considering [Śiva] as distinct [from the supreme

sa dhūrhit tasmai | 'vata' iti harṣe | Brahmaṇo vākyā[1 f] lajjī-bhayādikam
parityajya dattā ity arthaḥ | "The real meaning (of vv. 13 ff.) is this: 'He in
whom works are destroyed, owing to his character of supreme Brahma; in consequence
of which there is none purer than he.' Instead of mānīne and bhīnna-setave,
the division of words may also be anūtine, abhīnna-setave, 'not proud,' 'not demolisher
of barriers.' Though unwilling to give my daughter through modesty, etc., from a
feeling that my human daughter could not be worthy of the supreme lord, I never-
theless gave her from a covetous desire of being connected with him. The words
'as to a Sūdra' are merely an illustration to express unfitness, and not defectiveness,
otherwise there would be a contradiction between his preceding and his following
words. The sense is this: 'just as any one through covetousness of money gives the
Veda to a Sūdra.' The words 'in cemeteries, etc., are a mere disguise. He him-
self says 'like a madman.' Otherwise he would have said 'a madman.' Āśiva, in-
auspicious, means he than whom none is more auspicious. The words mitta and mitta-
fana-priye should be so divided as to be preceded by a negative, and thus mean 'not
insane,' 'beloved by the not-insane.' The words 'lord of Pramathas,' etc., intimate
his love for those devoted to him. The sense is that, removing their faultiness, he
cherishes even those who have the quality of darkness. Nashita-sauchāya means
that from him comes purity to the depraved. Durūrīt means he whose heart, feeling,
suggests that 'even these, although wicked, are to be compassionated by me.' Vata
intimates joy. 'Owing to the injunction of Brahmā, abandoning modesty, fear, etc.,
I gave my daughter: ' such is the sense.'

126 This is Burnouf's reading. It is an archaic, Vedic, form. The Bombay edition
reads vitanute.
spirit],—hates the deity who does not return the hatred,—be averse to the truth. Devoted to domestic life, in which frauds are prevalent,\footnote{137} let him, from a desire of vulgar pleasures, practise the round of ceremonies, with an understanding degraded by Vedic prescriptions.\footnote{138} Forgetting the nature of soul, with a mind which contemplates other things, let Daksha, brutal, be excessively devoted to women, and have speedily the face of a goat. Let this stupid being, who has a conceit of knowledge, and all those who follow this contemner of Sarva (Siva), continue to exist in this world in ceremonial ignorance. Let the enemies of Hara (Siva), whose minds are disturbed by the strong spirituous odour and the excitement of the flowery words \footnote{139} of the Veda, become deluded! Let those Brahmans, eating all sorts of food, professing knowledge and practising austerities and ceremonies [merely] for subsistence, delighting in riches and in corporeal and sensual enjoyments, wander about as beggars!"

The wrath of Bhrigu, one of the sages present at the sacrifice, is aroused by this curse:

27 ff.—Tasyaiyam dadataḥ sāpam śrutvā dvija-kulāya vai | Bhriguḥ pratyasriyāc chhāpam brahma-đandaṁ duratyayam | Bhava-vrata-dherāḥ yo cha ye cha tān samanvputāḥ | pāshaṇḍinās te bhavantu saucheśāstra- paripanthinaḥ | nashta-sauchāḥ mūḍha-dhiyo jaṭā-bhasmāsti-dhārīṇāḥ | viśantu Siva-dikshāyaṁ yatra daivaṁ surāsavan | brahma cha brāhma- nāṁ chaiva yad yāyam parinindathā | setum vidhāraṇam puṁsām atāḥ pāshaṇḍaṁ āśritaḥ | esha eva hi lokānāṁ śivaḥ pānthā sanātanaḥ | yam pūrve chānusamāstathur yat-pramāṇaṁ Janārdanaḥ | tad brahma paramaṁ buddhaṁ satām vartaṁ sanātanaṁ | vigarhyā yāta pāshaṇḍaṁ daivaṁ vo

\footnote{137} The words so rendered, grihesu kūṭa-dharmaśtu, occur thrice in this Purāṇa (see Böhtlingk and Roth s.v. kūṭa-dharma), viz., in iii. 30, 10; in iv. 25, 6; and in the verse before us. In his note on iii. 30, 10 (verse 9 in the Bombay edition) the commentator explains the word kūṭa-dharmaśtu as meaning houses "in which frauds, practices such as roguery in regard to money, etc., prevail" (kūṭā vitta-sāthyādi- bahulāḥ dharmāḥ yeshu). In his remarks on the other passages he gives no explanation of the word. In his translation of iii. 30, 10, M. Burnouf renders the term by "sa maison où dominent le mensonge et la misère," duhkha-tantreshu; in the verse before us by "attaché dans les maisons, à des vils devoirs"; and similarly in iv. 25, 6, by "au milieu des devoirs vulgaires d'un maître de maison."

\footnote{138} This depreciation of the Vedas may have arisen from a consciousness on the part of the S'ivas, that their worship was not very consistent with the most venerated Scriptures of their own country.

\footnote{139} Compare the Bhagavad Gītā ii. 42 ff., quoted in the 3rd vol. of this work, p. 31 f.
yatra bhūta-rāṭ | "Hearing him thus utter a curse against the tribe of Brahmans, Bhṛigu launched a counter-imprecation, a Brahmanical weapon, hard to be evaded: 'Let those who practise the rites of Bhava (Mahādeva), and all their followers, be heretics, and opponents of the true scriptures. Having lost their purity, deluded in understanding, wearing matted hair, and ashes and bones, let them undergo the initiation of Śiva, in which spiritual liquor is the deity. Since ye revile the veda (brahma) and Brahmans, the barriers by which men are restrained, ye have embraced heresy. For this [veda] is the auspicious (śiva) eternal path of the people, which the ancients have trod, and wherein Janārdana (Vishṇu) is the authority. Reviling this veda (brahma), supreme, pure, the eternal path of the virtuous, follow the heresy in which your god is the king of goblins.'"

On hearing this imprecation, Śiva departed with his followers, while Daksha and the other Prajāpatis celebrated for a thousand years the sacrifice in which Vishṇu was the object of adoration.

The enmity between the father-in-law and son-in-law continues (sect. 3). Daksha being elevated by Brahmā to the rank of chief of the Prajāpatis, becomes elated. He commences a great sacrifice called Vṛihāspatirāva. Seeing the other gods with their wives passing to this sacrifice, Satī presses her husband, Śiva, to accompany her thither. He refers to the insults which he had received from her father, and advises her not to go. She, however (sect. 4), being anxious to see her relatives, disregards his warning and goes; but being slighted by her father, Daksha, she reproaches him for his hostility to her husband, and threatens to abandon the corporeal frame by which she was connected with her parent. She then voluntarily gives up the ghost. Seeing this, Śiva's attendants, who had followed her, rush on Daksha to kill him. Bhṛigu, however, throws an oblation into the southern fire, pronouncing a Yajus text suited to destroy the destroyers of sacrifice (yajna-ghna-ghanena yajusā dakshiṇāgnau jukāva ha). A troop of Ribhus in consequence spring up, who put Śiva's followers to flight. Śiva is filled with wrath when he hears of the death of Satī (sect. 5). From a lock of his hair, which he tore out, a gigantic demon arose, whom he commanded to destroy Daksha and his sacrifice. This demon proceeds with a troop of Śiva's followers, and they all execute the mandate. 15 ff. Rurujur yajna-pātrāṇi tathaiko 'gnin anāśayan |
kundesho amātrayan kechid bibhidur vedimekhalah | abādhanta munin anye eke patnār atarayan | aparajgrihar devān pratvāsannān palāyitān |

. . . 19. juhvataḥ sruta-hastasya śmaśrūṇi bhagavān Bhavaḥ | Bhrigor lulanche sadasi yo ’hasat śmaśru dārsayan | Bhagasya netre bhagavān pāttasya rūṣā bhuvī | uṣṭāhāra sadaḥstho ’khnā yaḥ śapantam asū- suchat | Pūśānā chāpātayad dāntān Kālingasya yathā Balaḥ | śapamāno garimāní 140 yo ’hasad dārsayan dātaḥ | 15. “Some broke the sacrificial vessels, others destroyed the fires, others made water in the ponds, others cut the boundary-cords of the sacrificial ground; others assaulted the Munis, others reviled their wives; others seized the gods who were near, and those who had fled. . . . 19. The divine Bhava (Śiva) plucked out the beard of Bhrigu, who was offering oblations with a ladle in his hand, and who had laughed in the assembly, showing his beard. He also tore out the eyes of Bhaga, whom in his wrath he had felled to the ground, and who, when in the assembly, had made a sign to [Daksha when] cursing [Śiva]. He moreover knocked out the teeth of Pūshan 141 (as Bala did the king of Kalinga’s), who (Pūshan) had laughed, showing his teeth, when the great god was being cursed.” Tryambaka (Śiva, or Viśnubhādra, according to the commentator) then cuts off the head of Daksha, but not without some difficulty. The gods report all that had passed to Svayambhū (Brahmā), who, with Viṣṇu, had not been present (sect. 6). Brahmā advises the gods to propitiate Śiva, whom they had wrongfully excluded from a share in the sacrifice (v. 5. athāpi yāyaṁ kriyā-kilvishāḥ Bhavaṁ ye barhīsyo bhāga-bhājam parāduḥ). The deities, headed by Aja (Brahmā), accordingly proceed to Kailāsa, when they see Śiva “bearing the linga desired by devotees, ashes, a staff, a tuft of hair, an antelope’s skin, and a digit of the moon, his body shining like an evening cloud” (v. 35. linganca tāpasābhīṣṭam bhasma-danda-jatājīnam | angena saṁdhīyā-bhara-ruchā chandra-lekhānca bibhratam). Brahmā addresses Mahādeva “as the eternal Brahma, the lord of Sakti and Śiva, who are respectively the womb and the seed of the universe,—who, in sport, like a spider, forms all things from Sakti and Śiva, who are consubstantial with himself, and preserves and reabsorbs them.” (vv.

140 Garimānī gurutare Rudre | Comm.
141 See Taitt. Sanhitā, ii. 6, 8, 3, and other texts quoted above, pp. 200 ff., for the older story.
41 f. jāne tvāṁ ivaṁ viśvasya jagato yoni-vijayoh | Saktēḥ Sivasya cha param yat tad Brahma nirantaram | tvam eva bhagavann etach Chhiva- Saktyoḥ saropa yoḥ | viśvaṁ sṛjasī paśy atsi kriḍanaṁ ārga-paṭo yathā). (A similar supremacy, as we shall see, is ascribed to Vishnu in section 7.) Brahmā adds that it was this great being who had instituted sacrifice, and all the regulations which Brahmans devoutly observe; and entreats him, who is beyond all illusion, to have mercy on those who, overcome by its influence, had wrongly attached importance to ceremonial works, and to restore the sacrifice of Daksha, at which a share had been refused to him by evil priests (v. 49. Na yatra bhāgāṁ tava bhāgino daduḥ kuya- jinaḥ). Mahādeva partly relents (sect. 7), and allows Daksha to have a goat’s-faced head, Bhaga to see with Mitra’s eyes, Pūshan to eat with the teeth of his worshipper, Bṛigu to have a he-goat’s beard, etc. (vv. 3 ff.) Daksha, after having had a goat’s head fitted to his body, celebrates the praises of Śiva (vv. 8 ff.). The sacrifice is then recommenced, and in order to its completion, and to remove the pollution occasioned by the touch of Mahādeva’s warriors, an oblation is made to Vishnu on three platters (v. 17. Vaiṣṇavaṁ yajna-santatyai trikapūlaṁ dvijottamāḥ| purodāsaṁ niravapatā vīra-saṁsarga-ṣuddhaye). Hari (Vishnu) being meditated on, then appears (v. 18), is saluted with the greatest reverence by the gods, headed by Brahmā, Indra, and Śiva (Tryaksha); is lauded successively by Daksha, by the priests, by Rudra himself, etc., etc. (vv. 26 ff.), and at length expresses himself as follows, in such a manner as to demonstrate the futility of the dispute between Daksha and Mahādeva, and to show that he himself was the one supreme deity, of whom all the others were only the manifestations, though in reality one in their essence:

V. 50. Śrī-Bhagavān uvaśaḥ | aham Brahmā cha Sarvaḥ cha jagataḥ | kāraṇam param | ātmeśvaroḥ upadrashṭa svayaṁdyag aviseshaḥ | 51. ātma-māyāṁ samāviṣya so ’ham guṇamāyaṁ dvija | sṛjan rakṣan haran viśvaṁ dadhre saṁjñāṁ kriyochitām | 52. tasmin Brahmaṁy advitiya kevalo paramātmano | Brahma-Rudraḥ cha bhūtāni bhedenājno ’napasyati | 53. yathā punān na svāngesha śirah-paṇḍu-ādihu krachit | pārakya-buddhiṁ kurute evam bhūteshu mat-paṛah | 54. Trayāṇām eka-bhāvānah yo na paṇyati vai bhidām | sarva-bhūtātmanām brahmaṁ sa saṁtin adhigachhati | 50. “I am Brahmā and Sarva (Śiva), the supreme cause of the world, the soul, the lord, the witness, the self-manifesting (or, self-beholding),
DISPUTE BETWEEN BRAHMĀ AND VISHNU.

Devoid of attributes. 51. Entering into my own illusion consisting of the [three] Guṇas (qualities)—creating, preserving, and destroying—I have assumed names corresponding to my several acts. 52. In that one and only Brahma, the supreme Spirit, the ignorant person perceives a distinction of Brahma and Rudra, and creatures. 53. But as a man does not think of his own members, his head, hands, etc., as belonging to another, so the man who is devoted to me [does not look upon] created things [as distinct from me]. 54. He who beholds no distinction between the three gods who are one in essence, and the soul of all things, attains tranquillity.”

Daksha, after adoring Vishnu, worships the other gods, and offers to Rudra his proper share in the sacrifice (vv. 55 ff.). Satī, the daughter of Daksha, who had abandoned her original body, is born again as the daughter of Himavat and Menā (vv. 58. evam Dākšāyaṇī hitvā Satī pūrṇa-kalevaram | jajne Himavataḥ kṣetre Menāyām iti suśrūma).142

The Saiva compiler of the Linga Purāṇa takes his revenge on the Vaishṇava writers, who, like the author of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, have exalted Vishnu at the expense of Śiva, by narrating the following legend of an undignified dispute between Brahma and Vishnu regarding their respective claims to superiority, and of the apparition of the

142 The same account of Satī’s double birth is given in the Vishnu Purāṇa, i. 8, 9 ff.: Evam-prakāra Rudro ‘svāv Satīm bhūryom avindata | Daksha-kopīcheha tatyaśa sū Satī evam kalevaram | Himavad-duhitaśa sū ‘bhūd Menāyām deva-sattama | apyanye punaḥ chomāma ananyaṁ bhagavōn Bhavah | “Rudra, being of the character thus described (i.e. one of the eight forms of the son born to Brahmu: see above, pp. 339 ff.) obtained Satī for his wife. This Satī abandoned her body in consequence of the anger of Daksha. She then became the daughter of Himavat and Menā; and the divine Bhava again married Uma who was identical [with his former spouse].” In the preceding section (the 7th) of the Vishnu Purāṇa, Satī is mentioned as one of the twenty-four daughters of Daksha; but the husband, Bhava, to whom she is said to have been given in marriage, is enumerated (as is also Agni) among the Munis to whom Daksha’s daughters were wedded: Tābhyaḥ śiśīḥ kāśiyasya ekādaśa svalokanāḥ | Khyātiḥ Saty aśa Sambhūtiḥ Śrītiḥ Pritiḥ Kshamaḥ tathā | Sannatiḥ chānusūya cha Uṛjā Svāhā Svadhaḥ tathā | Bhṛgur Bhava Marichiḥ cha tathā chaivāṅgirāḥ muniḥ | Pulastyaḥ Pulahāś chaiva Kratuḥ charshi-varas tathā | Atrir Vasisthaḥ Vahniḥ cha Pitaras’ cha yathā-kramam | Khyāty-ādyāḥ jagriyāḥ kanyāḥ munaye muniḥ-sattama | “Younger than them (the other thirteen daughters of Daksha) were eleven virtuous and lovely-eyed damsels, Khyāti, Satī, Sambhūti, Śrīti, Priti, Kshama, Sannati, Anusūya, Uṛjā, Svāhā, and Svadha. Bhṛgur, Bhava, Marichi, the muni Angiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu the excellent rishi, Atri, Vasistha, Vahni (i.e. Agni or Fire), and the Pitris,—these munis in order married Khyāti and the other maidens.”

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Linga to rebuke and humble them by pointing out the inferiority of both to the supreme Mahādeva:

Linga Purāṇa, i. 17, 5–52.—Pitāmahaḥ uvācha | Pradhānam lingam akhyātaṁ lingī cha paramesvarāḥ | rakshārtham ambudhau mahāyaṁ Vishnuḥ tv āstī surottamāḥ | vaimānike gate sarge jana-lokaṁ saharshibhiḥ | sthitikāle tadā pūrne tataḥ pratyākhyate tathā | chatur-yuga-sahasrānte satyalokaṁ gate suruḥ | vinā "dhipatyāṁ samataṁ gate 'nte Brahmano mama | sushke ca sthāvare sarte tv anāvrishtyā cha sarvasaḥ | paśavo mānushāḥ ērikshāḥ pīśāchāḥ piśītaśanāḥ | gandharvādyāḥ kramaṇaiva nirdagdhiḥ bhānu-bhānubhiḥ | ekārgave mahāghore tamo-bhūte samantataḥ | pushṭe (?) hy ambasī yogātmā nirmalo nirupapalavaḥ | sahasra-śirṣāḥ viśvātmā sahasrākṣaṁ sahasra-pāt | sahasrabāhuḥ sarva-jnāḥ sarva-deva-bhavodbhavaḥ | Hiranyagarbho rajasā tamasā Saṅkaraḥ svayam | sattvena sarvage Vigṣnuḥ sarvātmate Mahēsvaraḥ | kālātmā kāla-nāthas tu suklaṁ krīṣṇas tu nirguṇaḥ | Nārayano mahābhūḥ sarvātmā sadasanmayāḥ | tathā bhūtām aham ārīṣhā tu satyām Sankaraḥ | māyāṁ mohitas tasya tam avocho amarthitaḥ | kas tvam vadehi hastena samutthāpya sanātanam | tadā hasta-prāhāreṇa ityena sa dṛṣṭhena tu | prabhuddo 'hiya-sayanāt samāśinaḥ kṣaṇaṁ vaṣṭi | dadaraṁ niḍrā-viklinnaṁ nīrājāmala-lochanaḥ | mām agna saṃsthitam bhūṣādṛṣyātmā bhagavān Hariḥ | aha cchotthāya bhagavān hasan mām mādhurām sakrit | svagataṁ svagataṁ vatsa pitāmaha mahādyute | tasya taṁ vachanam śrutaṁ smita-pūrvaṁ survarshabhāḥ | rajasaṁ vīdha-vairas ca tam avocho Janaṁdanan | bhāshase vatsa vatseti sarga-saṁhara-karanaḥ | mām ihāntāṁ-smitaṁ kriśe gurūḥ śisyam ivānagha | kartāṁ jagatāṁ sākshat prakriteśca pravartakam | sanātanam ajñaṁ Vishnuṁ Virinchiṁ visva-sambhavam | visvātmānaṁ vīdhatāraṁ ādhiṣṭhānam pankajekśaṇam | kimarthaṁ bhāshase mohad vaktum arhasi satvaram | so 'pi māṁ aha jagataṁ kartā 'ham iti lokaya | bhartā hartā bhavān anugāt avatirṇo manavayajāt | vismṛtī 'si jagannāthaṁ Nārāyaṇam anāmayam | purusham paramātmānaṁ puruḥ-kutāṁ puruṣhṭutam | Vīṣṇum achrutam tīsānaṁ visvasya prabhavodbhavam | tavāparādho nāasty atra mama māyā-krītaṁ tv idam | śṛṇu satyaṁ chaturvakra sarva-devesvaro hy aham | kartā netā chahartā cha na mayā 'sti samo vibhūḥ | aham eva param Brahma paraṁ tattvaṁ pitāmaḥ | aham eva paraṁ jyotiḥ paramātmā tv aham vibhūḥ | yaḥ yaḥ drishtaṁ śrutaṁ sarvaṁ jagaty asminī | charāharam | tat tad vīdhī chaturvakra sarvam manmayam ity atha |
mayā srisṭāṁ purā vyaktāṁ chaturviṁśatikāṁ svayam | nityāntaḥ hy ānavo badhahāḥ srisṭāḥ krodhaḥbhavādayaḥ | prasādayaḥ hi bhavān andany anekānāḥa tilayā | srisṭā buddhir mayā tasyām ahankāras triḍha tataḥ | tamātra-panchakaṁ tasmād mano dehendīryaṁ cha | akāśānaṁ bhātānī bhaṭukānī cha tilayā | ity uktavati tasmīnś cha mayī chāpi vachas tathā | āvayoḥ chābhvaṇḍa yuddhaṁ sughoraṁ romaharṣanaṁ | pralayārnavamadhye tu rajāsā badda-vaivarayaḥ | etasmīn antare lingam abhavach āvayoḥ puraḥ | vivada-samanārthaṁ hi prabodhārtham tathaṁ 'vayoḥ | jvala-maḷa-sahasraḍhyanā kālānala-śatopamam | kṣhaya-viddhīvinirmuktaṁ ādi-madhyānta-vaṭijitaṁ | anauampam anirdeśyaṁ avyaktāṁ visva-sambhavam | tasya jvala-sahasreṇa mohito bhagaṇaṁ Hariḥ | mohitam praḥa mām atra parākṣhāvo 'gni-sambhavam | adho gamishyaṁ anāla-stambhasyaṇupamasya cha | bhavaṇ ārdham prayatnena gantum arhaśi (sic) satvaram | evaṁ vyāhitya visvātram svarūpaṁ akarot taḍā | vāraḥam aham apy āśu haṁsatvam prāptavān suraḥ | tada-prabhriitā mãṁ āhur haṁsaṁ haṁso virād iti | haṁsa haṁseti yo brūyād mãṁ haṁsaṁ sa bhavishyatī | suṣvetō hy anālakṣhāḥ ca visvataḥ paksah-saṁyutaḥ | mano-nilā-javō bhūtvā gato 'haṁ chordhavataḥ suraḥ | Nārāyaṇo 'pi visvātāma nilānjana-chayopamam | dasa-yojana-vistīrṇaṁ sata-yojanam āyatam | Meru-parvata-varṣmaṇaṁ gaura-tikṣṇaṁ-gra-dasthrīṇam | kālāditya-samābhāsaṁ dirgha-ghoṇam mahāśayanam | hrasva-pādaṁ vichīrāngaṁ jaitraṁ drīḍham anauampam | vāraḥam asitam rūpam āsthāya gatavān adhaḥ | evaṁ varsha-sahasraṁ tu tvaram Vishnuṁ adho gataḥ | nāpaśyaṁ alpaṁ apy asya mulaṁ lingasaṁ sūkaraḥ | tāvata kālaṁ gato hy ārdham aham apy arisūdanāḥ | satvaram sarva-yatnena tasyāntaṁ jnātanum ihaḥyā | śrānto hy adrishtvā tasyāntam ahankārād143 adho gataḥ | tathāvā bha-gavaṇaṁ Vishnuṁ śrāntaṁ samprastha-lochanaḥ | sarva-deva-bhavas tūrṇam utthitaḥ sa mahāvapuḥ | samagato mayaṁ sārdham prajñapathyamahā- manāḥ144 | mayāyā mohitaḥ Sambhos tathā saṁvigna-maṇasaḥ | prishtha-taḥ pārsvataḥ chaiva chāgrataḥ paramesvaram | prajñapathyamayaṁ sārdhamasmāram kim idāṁ tv iti | taddā samabhavat tatra nādo vai sādala-kṣaṇaḥ | om om iti sura-shreshṭhāṁ suvyaktāṁ pluta-lakṣanaḥ | kim idam tv iti sanchintya mayaṁ tishṭaṁ mahāsvanam | lingasya dakhinaṁ bhūga tada pasyat sanātanam | ādyāṁ varṇam a-kuraṁ tu u-kuraṁ chottare tataḥ | ma-kurai madhyataḥ chaiva nādantaṁ tasya čom īti |}

143 In a transcript of this passage made for me in India, and published in my Mataparikṣaḥ, the reading is āham kūlaṁ, which seems a preferable reading.

144 Bhayād mahaḥ—reading in the Mataparikṣaḥ.
VISHNU ROUSED FROM SLEEP BY BRAHMĀ:

"Pitāmaha (Brahmā, in answer to an inquiry of the gods and rishis) says: 'Pradhāna (nature) is called the Linga, and Parameśvara is called Lingin 145 (the sustainer of the Linga). It arose for the preservation of myself and Vishnu in the ocean, O deities. When the Vaimānika 146 creation had proceeded with the rishi to the Janaloka, and when—the period of the continuance [of the world] having then been completed, [all things] had been absorbed, at the end of the thousand sets of four yugas, and had departed to the Satyaloka—I, Brahmā, being at length reduced to a condition of equality [with other creatures] without dominion over them, 148 and all immovable things having become altogether dried up from want of rain,—beasts, men, trees, Piśāchas, flesh-eating goblins, Gandharvas, etc., were by degrees burnt up by the rays of the sun. The one awful ocean being everywhere enveloped in darkness, the great-armed Nārāyaṇa, the soul of all things, formed of existence and non-existence, sleeps 149 upon the water, plunged in contemplation, spotless, tranquil, thousand-headed, the soul of the universe, thousand-eyed, thousand-footed, thousand-armed, omniscient, the source of the existence of all the gods, he who is himself through passion (rajas) Hiranyagarbha, through darkness (tamas) Sankara, through goodness (sattva) the all-pervading Vishnu, and in his universality Maheśvara, having the character of time, having time for his centre, 150 white, black, free from the three qualities, the great-armed Nārāyaṇa, the universal soul, having the essence both of entity and non-entity. Beholding the lotus-eyed deity in this condition, sleeping, I, deluded by his illusion, touching the eternal being with my hand, impatient, said to him, 'Who art thou? speak.' Roused

145 Lingādhiśthānām | Comm.
146 Vaimānikā saraṇa deva-saraṇa | Comm.
147 "The different accounts agree in stating that when the three lower spheres are consumed by fire, Maharloka is deserted by its tenants, who repair to the next sphere, or Jana-loka. Jana-loka, according to the Vāyu, is the residence of the rishis and demigods during the night of Brahmā," etc.—Wilson, Vishnu Purāṇa, p. 213, note; see also the same work, p. 632, and note 7 (=pp. 227 ff., vol. ii., and pp. 192 ff., vol. v. of Dr. Hall's ed.).
148 Lit. "the end of me, Brahmā, having come to equality without dominion."
149 The reading of the Bombay text is here pūshṭe; but some such word as sāte, "sleeps," seems to be required by the sense.
150 Kālanātha is the term in the original. Perhaps the proper reading may be Kālanātha, "the lord of time," which occurs in the Mahābhārata, Sūntip. 10368. See Böhtlingk and Roth s.v.
by the strong and violent stroke of my hand from his snaky couch, sitting for a moment, self-restrained, the deity whose eyes are pure as the lotus looked up heavy with drowsiness. The divine Hari, invested by lustre, seeing me standing before him, rising up, said to me, sweetly smiling at the same time, 'Welcome, welcome, my child, the glorious Pitāmaha.' Hearing these words of his, accompanied by a smile, O deities, my illwill being excited by passion (rajas), I said to Janaḍana (Vishṇu): 'Dost thou, O sinless god, like a teacher speaking to his pupil, smiling inwardly, address the words 'child, child,' to me [who am] the cause of creation and destruction, the undisputed maker of the worlds, and the mover of Prakṛiti (nature), the eternal, unborn, Vishṇu, Virinchi, the source and soul of all things, the disposer, the upholder, the lotus-eyed? Why dost thou foolishly address me thus? Tell me quickly.' He said to me, 'Perceive that I am the maker, the preserver, the destroyer of the worlds; thou hast issued from my imperishable body. Thou hast forgotten the lord of the world, the potent Nārāyaṇa, Purasha, the supreme Spirit, invoked of many, lauded of many, Vishṇu, the undecaying, the lord, the source and origin of the universe. In this there is no fault of thine: it arises from my illusion. Listen to the truth, O four-faced deity: I am the lord of all the gods, the maker, the director, the destroyer; there is none equal to me, all-pervading. I, even I, O Pitāmaha, am the supreme Brahma, the supreme reality, the supreme light, the supreme spirit, all-pervading. Whatever thing, movable or immovable, has been seen or heard of in this world, know, O four-faced deity, that it is all formed of me. By me of old has been created everything that is discernible, consisting of the twenty-four principles; the atoms, which in their ultimate [and most subtile] form are eternal, have been united; and the beings sprung from my wrath (Rudra), etc., have been created. From my complacence thou and numerous (mundane) eggs have been formed in sport. Intelligence (buddhi) has been created by me in sport, and then from it three-fold ahankāra: from it the five tanmātras, and thence mind, with the bodily senses, as also ether and the other elements, and things formed of the elements.' As soon as he and I had thus spoken, a direful and terrific fight arose

131 Brahmū here assumes this character as belonging to himself.
132 See above, pp. 230 and 266 f.
in the sea of universal dissolution between us twain, whose enmity had been roused by passion. At this time there appeared before us, to stay our contention and admonish us, a luminous Linga, encircled with a thousand wreaths of flame, equal to a hundred final mundane conflagrations, incapable of diminution or increase, without beginning, middle, or end, incomparable, indescribable, undefinable, the source of all things. Bewildered by its thousand flames, the divine Hari said to me (Brahmā) who was myself bewildered, 'Let us on the spot examine the source of [this] fire. I will go down the unequalled pillar of fire, and thou shouldst quickly proceed strenuously upwards.' Having thus spoken, the universal-formed took the shape of a boar, and I immediately assumed the character of a swan. Ever since then men call me Hansa (swan), for Hansa is Virāj. Whoever shall call me 'Hansa, Hansa,' shall become a Hansa (unimpassioned saint). Having become purely white, and fiery-eyed, with wings on every side, rapid as thought and as the wind, I went upwards. Nārāyaṇa too, the soul of all things, having taken the dark form of a boar, like a heap of blue collyrium, ten yojanas broad and a hundred yojanas long, bulky as mount Meru, with white sharp-pointed tusks, luminous as the sun of mundane destruction, long-snouted, loud-grunting, short-footed, wondrous-limbed, victorious, strong, incomparable, proceeded downwards. Speeding thus downwards for a thousand years, Vishnū, the boar, beheld no base at all of the Linga. For the same period I went rapidly upwards, O destroyers of your foes, with all my might, desirous of learning its end; but I descended from the lapse of time, without seeing its end; and so, too, the divine Vishnū of vast bulk, the source of all the gods, worn out, with affrighted look, ascended rapidly. Meeting with me, that magnanimous deity, prostrating himself, bewildered by the illusion of Sambhu (Siva), and disturbed in mind, bowing, along with me, before Paramēśvara (Siva), behind, at the side, and in front, exclaimed, 'What is this?' Then, O chief of the gods, there arose there the articulate sound "om, om," distinct and protracted. Considering what this could be, he then, standing

153 See the commencement of this extract.
154 In the 5th and 6th sections of the Śiva-purāṇa "it is explained in a puerile and inept manner why Brahmā took the form of a swan and Vishnū of a boar."
155 See the first volume of this work, pp. 9 and 36.
with me, behold this eternal loud-resounding [monosyllable] upon the right side of the Linga; the first letter a-kāra, after it u-kāra, makāra in the centre, and Om as the result of the sounds.'"

This is followed by a great deal of mysticism about the letters of the word om and the other letters of the alphabet, etc., etc.

The eighteenth section of the same Purāṇa contains a hymn addressed by Viṣṇu to Rudra, which recites a list of the attributes of the latter deity. Mahādeva is gratified with this hymn, and tells Brahmā and Viṣṇu that they had both sprung from him, offers them a boon, and touches them with his auspicious hands. Nārāyaṇa asks as a boon that they may both entertain an eternal devotion for him; which Mahādeva as a matter of course grants. I cite the verses which follow, in the original:

Linga Purāṇa, 19, 8 ff.—Jāmūbhyan avanīṁ gatvā punar Nārāyaṇah svayam | pranīpatya cha Viśvēsam prāha mandatarāṁ vaśi | "ānvayor devadevaśa vivādam ati-sobhanam | iḥāgato bhavaṁ yasmād vivāda-kamanāya nau" | tasya tād-vachanaṁ brtvā punaḥ prāha Haro Harim | pranīpatya sthitam mūdhinā kritānji-putam smayan | Śrī-mahādevāṁ uvāca | pralaya-sthit-i-sagānāṁ kartā ivaṁ dharani-pate | vatsa vatsa Hare Viṣṇo pālayaitaṁ charāharam | tridhā bhinnō hy ahaṁ Viṣṇo Brahma-Viṣṇu-Bhavākhyāyāṁ | sarga-rakshā-laya-guṇair nishkalaḥ paramesvarāḥ | sammo-haṁ tyaja bho Viṣṇo pālayinam Pitāmahan | pādmē bhavishyaṁ satāḥ kalpe tava Pitāmahaḥ | tadā drakṣhayi māṁ chaivaṁ so 'pi drakṣhitī padma-jaḥ | evam uktvā sa bhagavāṁś tatraivāntaratadhyata | tadā-pra-bhṛiti lokeshu lingārcah supratishtiḥtiḥ | linga-vedī Mahādevi lingaṁ sākshād Mahēśvarāḥ | "The self-restraining Nārāyaṇa, falling on his knees on the ground, and having made obeisance to Viśveśa (Siva), spoke gently thus: 'Our dispute, O god of gods, has proved most auspicious,158 since thou hast come hither to allay it.' Having heard these words, Haṛa (Siva), smiling, again said to Hari (Viṣṇu), who stood making obeisance with his hands joined: 'Thou, lord of the earth, art the author of the creation, continuance and destruction [of the uni-

158 I cannot render this sentence, as it stands, otherwise than by taking vicādanam for a neuter nominative, though nouns of this formation are masculine. The commentator explains sobhanam as meaning udbhayor api sama-balateṁ chhodbhānaṁ, "brilliant from the equal powers of the two combatants"; and supplies samaya, "appease, or stop, it" (ataḥ samaya ity adhyāhāraṇaḥ).
verse]: my child, my child, Hari, Vishṇu, preserve all this moving and stationary world. I, the undivided supreme lord, am divided in a threefold manner under the names of Brahmā, Vishṇu, and Bhava, possessing the attributes of creating, preserving, and destroying. Relinquish, Vishṇu, thy delusion; cherish this Pitāmaha. He shall be thy son in the Pādma Kalpa. Then shalt thou behold me, and he also who sprang from the lotus (Brahmā) shall see me.' Having thus spoken, the deity vanished. Thenceforward the worship of the Linga has been inaugurated in the worlds. The pedestal of the Linga is Mahādevī (Umā), and the Linga is the visible Maheśvara.'

The reader will probably be of opinion that this story does not throw much light on the real origin of the Linga-worship.

The Vishṇu Purāṇa (i. 7, 6 ff.) does not assign a high rank to Rudra; but makes him the offspring of Brahmā (as the Mahābhārata, quoted above, p. 230 and 266 ff., makes him of Vishṇu): Sanandanaśaya ye cha pūrvaṁ srisṭās tu Vedhasā | na te lokesu asajjanta nirapekṣhāḥ prajāsu te | sarve te chāgata-jñāṇāḥ vītā-rūgaḥ vimatsarāḥ | teshu evaṁ nirapekṣhāya loka-srisṭāu mahātmānaḥ | Brahmayo 'bhūd mahākrodhas trailokya- 
dahana-kshamaḥ | tasya krodhāt samudbhāta-jvalā-śālā-viśīpitam | Brahmayo 'bhūt tadā sarvaṁ trailokyaṁ akhilam mune | bhrukuṭi-kuṭilat tasya lalāṭat krodha-dīpitat | samudippam tadā Rudro madhyāhnārka-samaprabhaḥ | ardha-nāri-nara-vapūḥ prachando 'ti-sarīravān | "vibhajātmānam" ity uktā tam Brahmā 'ntardādhe punaḥ | tathokto 'sau dīvīhā strītvam purushatvaṁ tathā 'karot | bibheda purushatvaṁ cha daśadhā chaikadū cha saḥ | saumyāsaumyais tathā śāntāśāntaiḥ strītvam cha sa prabhuḥ | bibheda bahudū devaḥ svarūpair asitaś sitāś | "Sanandana and the others who were before created by Vedhas (Brahmā) had no regard for the worlds, and were indifferent about offspring, for they had all attained to knowledge, and were free from love and from hatred. As they were thus indifferent to the creation of worlds; the mighty Brahmā was filled with fierce anger, sufficient to burn up the three worlds. The three worlds were illuminated in every part by the wreaths of flame engendered from the wrath of the god. From his forehead, wrinkled with a frown and inflamed with anger, Rudra then sprang forth, glorious as the noonday sun, his body half male and half female, fierce, and huge in bulk. Brahmā disappeared after saying to him, 'Divide thyself.' Being thus addressed, he severed himself into twain, into
RESULTS OF THE PRECEDING SECTIONS.

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a male and a female body. The god then divided his male form into eleven portions, gentle and ungentle; and in like manner his female body into many forms black and white." 157

In the same way the Harivansā says (v. 43): Tato 'srijat punar Brahmā Rudraṁ roshātma-sambhavam | “Then Brahmā next created Rudra, the offspring of his anger.”

SECT. VII.—Results of the preceding Sections.

The various texts quoted in Sections i.–iv. (pp. 299–355) from the Rig-, the Yajur-, and Atharva-vedas, and from the Brāhmaṇas, relative to Rudra, compose the principal materials which we possess for forming an idea of the characteristics ascribed to that deity in the more ancient portions of Indian literature anterior to the composition of the Epic poems and Purāṇas. The Upanishads from which I have derived the mystical extracts given in the fifth section (pp. 355 ff.) are of uncertain date, and their contents throw but little light on the development of the worship of Rudra. The extracts which I have given from the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata in chapter ii. (pp. 176 ff., 184 ff., 223–226, 230 ff., 240 ff., 263, 266 ff., 278 ff., and 283–291), and in the last section, while they contain some of the earliest descriptions of which I am aware, of Rudra in the new, and very different, aspect in which he has been conceived in the later ages of Hindū mythology, since he has come to be identified with Śiva or Mahādeva, are yet unfitted to elucidate the process by which he became elevated to the highest rank in the Indian pantheon. I shall, however, draw from these texts a summary of the attributes which they respectively assign to Rudra, which will exhibit the modifications which the conception of this deity

157 See Professor Wilson's notes on this passage, V. P., 2nd ed., vol. i., p. 103, ff. The Sāntiparvan of the Mahābhārata also speaks (vv. 13723 ff.) of Mahādeva, the three-eyed, and the great devotee, as having sprung from the forehead of Brahmā, of his coming to visit his father on the mountain Vaijayanta, and of his saluting him respectfully, falling at his feet, and being raised up by him with his left hand. Brahmā then proceeds to unfold to him the nature of Purusha. (Atha tatrātatas tasya Chaturvaktasya dhāmataḥ | lokaḥ-prabhavaḥ putraḥ Śivāḥ āgāṁ yadvichhayā | ākāśena mahāyoḍi purā trinayamanāḥ prabhuh | tataḥ khaḍa nipatitānu dharaṇidharam- mūrdhani | agrataḥ chābhavat prito vavande chūpi pūdayoh | tam pūdayor nipatitam dristevā savyena pāṇiṁ | uttāpayāmasa tadā prabhur ekaḥ Prajāpatik | uvācha chainam bhagavāṁśi chirasayāgatam ātmajam.)
undergoes in the later, as compared with the earlier, passages. To my own remarks on this subject, however, I shall prefix some observations by Professors H. H. Wilson, Weber, and Whitney, on the character of the Vedic Rudra.

The following remarks by Professor Wilson are extracted from the Introductions to the first and second volumes of his translation of the Rig-veda (published, vol. i., 1st ed., in 1850, and 2nd ed. in 1866; and vol. ii. in 1854):

"We have a Rudra, who, in after-times, is identified with Siva, but who, even in the Purāṇas, is of very doubtful origin and identification; whilst in the Veda he is described as the father of the winds, and is evidently a form of either Agni or Indra. The epithet kaparddin which is applied to him appears, indeed, to have some relation to a characteristic attribute of Siva,—the wearing of his hair in a peculiar braid; but the term has probably in the Veda a very different signification—one now forgotten,—although it may have suggested in after-time the appearance of Siva in such a head-dress, as identified with Agni; for instance, kaparddin may intimate his head being surrounded by radiating flame, or the word may be an interpolation; at any rate, no other epithet applicable to Siva occurs, and there is not the slightest allusion to the form in which, for the last ten centuries at least, he seems to have been almost exclusively worshipped in India, that of the Linga or Phallus: neither is there the slightest hint of another important feature of later Hinduism,—the Trimūrtti, or Tri-une combination of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Siva, as typified by the mystical syllable om, although, according to high authority on the religions of antiquity, the Trimūrtti was the first element in the faith of the Hindus, and the second was the Lingam." 158—(vol. i., pp. xxvi., xxvii.)

"Of Rudra also, the character is equivocal; but it may be doubted if it partakes in any remarkable degree of that fierceness and wrath which belong to the Rudra of a later date; he is termed, it is true, the slayer of heroes, but so is Indra: the effects of his anger upon men and animals are deprecated; but he is also appealed to as wise and bountiful, the author of fertility and giver of happiness, and his peculiar characteristics are evidently his presiding over medicinal plants and removal of disease, attributes of a beneficent, not of a malignant and

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158 Creuzer, Religions de l'antiquité, book i., chap. i., p. 140.
irascible deity. As above remarked, the Maruts, or winds, are termed his sons; and this relationship would assimilate him to Indra. There is also a class of inferior deities, termed Rudras, who in one passage are worshippers of Agni, and in another are followers of Indra; being the same as the Maruts. So far, therefore, Rudra might be identified with Indra; but we have the name applied unequivocally to Agni in a hymn exclusively dedicated to that divinity (R. V. i. 27, 10). The term denotes, according to the Scholiast, the ‘terrible Agni’; but there is no warrant for this in the text, and we may be content, therefore, with the latter, to regard Rudra as a form or denomination of fire.”—(Ibid. pp. xxxvii. f.)

“Rudra is described, as in the first book, by rather incompatible qualities, as both fierce and beneficent; but his specific province is here also the tutelarship of medicinal plants, and administration of medicine, and he is designated as a physician of physicians (R. V. ii. 33, 4). With respect also to his presiding over medicinal plants, there occurs a passage worthy of note, as among the herbs are those, it is said, which Manu selected, alluding, most probably, to the seeds of the plants which Manu, according to the legend as related in the Mahābhārata, took with him into his vessel at the time of the deluge. There are more particulars of the person of Rudra than usual. He is sometimes said to be brown or tawny; but he is also said to be white-complexioned (R.V. ii. 33, 8); he is soft-bellied and handsome-chinned; he is armed with a bow and arrows, and brilliant with golden ornaments. He is also called the father of the Maruts. There is little, however, in all this, except his fierceness, to identify him with the Rudra of the Purāṇas.”—(vol. ii., pp. ix. f.)

The following interesting and ingenious speculations of Professor Weber are translated from his Indische Studien, ii., 19–22 (published in 1853):

“In the beginning of the ninth book of the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa (see above, p. 347 f.), we obtain a complete explanation of the Satarudriya (see above, p. 322 ff.). When the preparation of the consecrated place for kindling the fire is completed (chity-upadhāna-parivamāpyty-ānantaryam, Sāyaṇa), and the fire has been kindled, and blazes up (dipyamāno

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159 See the Section on the Maruts in the fifth vol. of this work, pp. 147 ff.
'tishthat), the gods (i.e. the Brahmans) are terrified by it, yad vai no 'yaṁ na hiṁsyād iti ('lest it should destroy us'): and with the view of appeasing this [howling, hungry] flame, which is conceived of as in the form of Rudra, i.e. to consecrate and propitiate the fire, they offer their adoration to Rudra, and to his supposed troop of associates, i.e. to all conceivable shapes of terror, and by this means render them favourable, and avert all their malevolent influences. Hence the Brāhmaṇa explains śata-rudriya by śanta-rudriya (as gata comes from the root gam); a double sense, which may perhaps have actually been, though indistinctly, contemplated, when the name was first given. In this application of Rudra as the god of fire (independently of the other contents of the Satarudriya), we may find an indication of the time when it was composed. Though Rudra originally signifies generally the howler, and consequently can stand as well for an epithet of the crackling fire as of the raging storm, yet in the earliest period the word had been more specially used to denote the latter signification, and is therefore frequently used in the Rig-veda in the plural as an epithet of the Maruts. The unbridled fury (manyu) of the storm, its roaring, its tearing up (aufwühlen) of heaven and earth, must have produced a strong and overpowering effect upon the Arian Indians in the high mountain valleys (perhaps of Kashmir) in which we must conceive them to have lived at that early period; and it was thus in the natural course of things that they should connect everything terrible and horrible with the idea of the god of storms, and regard him as the lord, and the cause, of every evil: numberless, indeed, were these aerial hosts, black, pierced only by the quivering gleams of the lightning, diffusing everywhere shuddering and horror.

"It is true that Rudra 'is also appealed to as wise and bountiful, the

160 "In the Brāhmaṇas the thoughts of men are very frequently put into the mouths of the gods. For instance, when the gods go to Prajāpati, and request him to solve any difficulty, this is merely a transcendental expression for the fact of a few wise men applying for instruction to one still wiser than themselves."

161 "The Ārshādyāya of the Chāḍāyaṇīya School of the Kāṭhaka also (ii. 17) says: Satarudriyaṁ devānāṁ Rudra-śamanan. "The Satarudriya is an appeasing of Rudra by the gods.'

162 "Hence in the R.V. i. 114, 5, he is also called varūha, "boar," as the storm-clouds too are elsewhere conceived under the same image" (Ind. Stud. i. 272, note).

163 "In R.V. i. 114; ii. 33. Hence, too, seven verses from these hymns are incorporated in the Satarudriya."
author of fertility, and giver of happiness;" but it is only indirectly that he is so addressed, and merely because he departs, and directs his destroying arrows towards some other quarter, against the enemies of the suppliant, and leaves the latter himself in peace; the worshipper flatters him with fair words, as if he were purely benevolent, to pacify his anger, and to render him gracious (śiva); and he only appears directly beneficent in so far as he chases away clouds and vapours, purifies and clears the atmosphere; in reference to this he is called a physician, and moreover acquainted with healing herbs: but he carries also diseases and contagions themselves as arrows in his quiver, and slays therewith men and cattle.

"In the crackling flame of the fire, now, men thought that they heard again the wrathful voice of the storm, that in the consuming fierceness of the former, they perceived once more the destructive fury of the latter. In this way we have to explain how it happened that both deities became gradually identified, and lent their respective epithets to one another, particularly as at the same time the storm is, in bad weather, accompanied with gleaming and fiery lightnings. This identification seems to have extended not merely to Agni and Rudra themselves, but also to the Rudras, in so far as the latter, from being the raging and flaming companions of the storm, appear to have become the representatives of all sorts of terrific shapes in general, until in the epic period they retired completely into the background, while their ancient master, Rudra, in his combination with Agni, became continually more firmly condensed as the god of rage and destruction, and a new class of beings took the place of the Rudras as attendants upon him (in his capacity of Śiva).

"At the period when the Rudra-book (the Śatarudriya) was composed, the blending of the two destructive deities (Storm and Fire) had evidently taken place; and the epithets which are there assigned to Rudra lead us back partly to himself, and partly to Agni. The epithets ‘dweller in the mountains’ (giriśa, giriśaya, giriśanta, giritra), and those of kapardin, vyupla-keśa, usra, and bhima, bhistaj and śiva, sambhu and sánkara, belong to the Storm, while on the other hand those of nila-griva (=nilakanṭha, spoken of smoke), sitikanṭha, hiranya-bāhu (of flame), vilohita, sakavrāksha (of sparks), pāsuvati (of sacrificial

victims), śārva and bhava, etc., belong to Fire. Now almost all these epithets are technical epithets and characteristics of the epic Sīva, and when applied to him are partially unintelligible, and become explicable only after they have been distinguished according to the two separate elements to whose combination this god owes his origin. But as in the Rudra-book Rudra nowhere appears as Īśa or Mahādeva, and no character is assigned to him analogous to that of the epic Sīva; and as the word śīva is applied to him simply as an epithet (with its comparative śīvatāra annexed); the book in question must in any case be held to date from an earlier epoch of the Indian religion, whilst its elevation to the rank of an Upanishad may only have taken place in the epic period, and have been occasioned by the special worship of Sīva.'

The following remarks of Professor Whitney on the same subject are taken from the Journal of the American Oriental Society, vol. iii., p. 318 f. (published in 1853); and are reprinted in the volume entitled "Oriental and Linguistic Studies," published by their author in 1873:

"To the second domain, the atmosphere, belong the various divinities of the wind and storm. God of the breeze, the gentler motion of the air, is Vayū (from the root vā, 'blow'). He drives a thousand steeds; his breath chases away the demons; he comes in the earliest morning, as the first breath of air that stirs itself at daybreak, to drink the soma, and the Auroras weave for him shining garments. The storm-winds are a troop, the Maruts or Rudras: the two names are indifferently used, but the former is much the more usual (the etymology of neither is fully established). They drive spotted stags, wear shining armour, and carry spears in their hands; no one knows whence they come nor whither they go; their voice is heard aloud as they come rushing on; the earth trembles and the mountains shake before them. They belong in Indra's train; are his almost constant allies and companions. They are called the sons of Rudra, who is conceived of as peculiar god of the tempest. As their father he is very often mentioned; as a divinity with independent attributes he is of much rarer occurrence; hymns addressed to him alone are but few.

165 "And so of many other epithets found elsewhere: thus Sīva owes his epithet Tryambaka, and his wife Ambikā, to Rudra; and, on the other hand, his epithet Tripura, and his wife Kālī, Karāli, to Agni," etc.

166 "Hence he is also called Kālagnirudra, as in the Purāṇas, and in the Kālagnirudra Upanishad."
He is, as might be expected, a terrible god: he carries a great bow from which he hurls a sharp missile at the earth; he is called the ‘ruler of men,’ *kṣhayadēva;* his wrath is deprecated, and he is besought not to harm his worshipper; if not in the Rik, at least in the Atharvan and Brāhmaṇas, he is styled ‘lord of the animals,’ as the unhoused beasts of the field are especially at the mercy of the pitiless storm. At the same time, to propitiate him, he is addressed as master of a thousand remedies, best of physicians, protector from harm: this may have its ground, too, partly in the beneficial effects of the tempest in freshening the atmosphere of that sultry clime. Rudra’s chief interest consists in the circumstance that he forms the point of connexion between the Vedic religion and the later Čiva-worship. Čiva is a god unknown to the Vedas: his name is a word of not unfrequent occurrence in the hymns, but means simply ‘propitious;’ not even in the Atharvan is it the epithet of a particular divinity, or distinguished by its usage from any other adjective. As given to him whose title it has since become, it seems one of those euphemisms so frequent in the Indian religion, applied as a soothing and flattering address to the most terrible god in the whole Pantheon. The precise relation between Čiva and Rudra is not yet satisfactorily traced out. The introduction of an entirely new divinity from the mountains of the north has been supposed, who was grafted in upon the ancient religion by being identified with Rudra; or again a blending of some of Agni’s attributes with those of Rudra to originate a new development. Perhaps neither of these may be necessary; Čiva may be a local form of Rudra, arisen under the influence of peculiar climatic relations in the districts from which he made his way down into Hindostan proper; introduced among, and readily accepted by, a people which, as the Atharvan shows, was strongly tending toward a terrorism in its religion."

The characters ascribed to Rudra in the hymns of the R. V. are most heterogeneous and frequently indefinite. I shall endeavour to gather from different places and to group together those epithets which have most affinity to each other. This god is described as wise, bountiful, and powerful (i. 43, 1; i. 114, 4), as the strongest and most glorious of beings (ii. 38, 3), as lord (*Īśana*) of this world, possessed of

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167 Compare the note on the sense of this word, above, p. 301 f.
divine power (ii. 33, 9), as unsurpassed in might (ibid. 10), as the father of the world, mighty, exalted, undecaying (vi. 49, 10); as cognizant of the doings of men and gods by his power and universal dominion (vii. 46, 2); as putting the waters in motion (x. 92, 5); as self-dependent (vii. 46, 1), and as deriving his renown from himself (i. 129, 3; x. 92, 9); as the lord of heroes (i. 114, 1, 3, 10; x. 92, 9); as the lord of songs and sacrifices (i. 43, 4), the fulfiller of sacrifices (i. 114, 4); brilliant as the sun, and as gold (i. 43, 5), tawny-coloured (this epithet is frequently applied), with beautiful chin (ii. 33, 5), fair-complexioned (ibid. 8), multiform, fierce, arrayed in golden ornaments (ibid. 9), youthful (v. 60, 5), terrible as a wild beast, destructive (ii. 23, 11), wearing spirally-braided hair (i. 114, 1, 5); and as the celestial boar (ibid. 5). He is frequently represented as the father of the Maruts or Rudras (i. 64, 2; i. 85, 1; i. 114, 6, 9; ii. 33, 1; ii. 34, 2; v. 52, 16; v. 60, 5; vi. 50, 4; vi. 66, 3; vii. 56, 1; viii. 20, 17). He is once identified with Agni (ii. 1, 6). He is described as seated on a chariot (ii. 33, 11), as wielding the thunderbolt (ii. 33, 3), as armed with a bow and arrows (ibid. 10, 14; v. 42, 11; x. 125, 6), with a strong bow and fleet arrows, with sharp weapons (vi. 74, 4; vii. 46, 1; viii. 29, 5). His shafts are discharged from the sky, and traverse the earth (vii. 46, 3). He is called the slayer of men (ur̥-ghnas, iv. 3, 6). His anger, ill-will, and destructive shafts are deprecated (i. 114, 7, 8; ii. 33, 1, 11, 14; vi. 28, 7; vii. 46, 3, 4). But he is also represented as benevolent (i. 114, 9), as mild, and easily invoked (ii. 33, 5), beneficent (ibid. 7), gracious (śiva, x. 92, 9), as the cause or condition of health and prosperity to man and beast (i. 114, 1). He is frequently described as the possessor of healing remedies, and is once characterized as the greatest of physicians (i. 43, 4; i. 114, 5; ii. 33, 2, 4, 7, 12, 13; v. 42, 11; vi. 74, 3; vii. 35, 6; vii. 46, 3; viii. 166 Compare the similar epithets applied to Vishnu and Indra above: see pp. 97 f. and generally sections i. and ii., chapter ii. above. And yet in R.V. ii. 39, 9, Rudra is described in common with Indra, Varuna, Mitra, and Aryaman, as unable to resist the will of Savitri. See the fifth volume of this work, p. 163.

166 Bhuvanesya pitaram. Compare Raghuvana i., 1, where Paramêśvara (S'iva) and Pârvati are styled the "parents of the world" (jogatâh pitaram).

170 In vii. 56, 17, it is similarly said of the Maruts, āre gohā ur̥ñhā evadhvo astu: "Far be your kine-slaying, man-slaying bolt."

171 In this passage Soma is associated with Rudra as the dispenser of remedies.
29, 5). He is supplicated for blessings (i. 114, 1, 2; ii. 33, 6), and represented as averting the anger of the gods (i. 114, 4; ii. 33, 7). In R. V. vi. 74, 1 ff. he is connected with Soma in the dual, and entreated along with the latter to bestow good and avert evil.

On a review of these passages, and the hymns from which they are drawn, it appears that in most places Rudra has no very clearly defined function (such, for instance, as is ascribed to Indra and Agni, or even to Vishnu) as an agent in producing, or a representative of, the great phenomena of the physical world. It would be difficult to make out from the larger portion of the texts which I have cited to what region of the universe the activity of this god should be referred. It is true that he is repeatedly declared to be the father of the Maruts or Rudras (the winds or storms); and from this relation we might anticipate that he would be described as, still more eminently than they, the generator of tempests, and chaser of clouds. There are, however, few, if any, distinct traces of any such agency being ascribed to him. The numerous vague epithets which are constantly applied to him would not suffice to fix the particular sphere of his operation, or even to define his personality, as most of them are equally applied to other deities. This is the case with the terms "fierce," "tawny-coloured," "with beautiful chin"; and even the word kapardin ("with spirally-braided hair"), which at a later period became a common, if not distinctive, epithet of Mahadeva, is in the R.V. applied also to Pushan (see above, p. 301, note 7). While, however, the cosmical function of Rudra is thus but obscurely indicated, he is described as possessing other marked and peculiar characteristics. It is, however, principally in his relation to the good and evil which befall the persons and property of men that he is depicted. And here there can be little doubt that, though he is frequently supplicated to bestow prosperity, and though he is constantly addressed as the possessor of healing remedies, he is principally regarded as a malevolent deity, whose destructive shafts, the source of disease and death to man and beast, the worshipper strives by his entreaties to avert. If this view be correct, the remedies of which Rudra is the dispenser may be considered as signifying little more than the cessation of his destroying agency (as Professor Weber remarks, see above, p. 397), and the consequent restoration to health and vigour of those victims of his ill-will who had been in danger of perishing. It may appear
strange that opposite functions should thus be assigned to the same god: but evil and good, sickness and health, death and life, are naturally associated as contraries, the presence of the one implying the absence of the other, and vice versa; and in later times Mahādeva is in a somewhat similar manner regarded as the generator as well as the destroyer. We may add to this that, while it is natural to deprecate the wrath of a deity supposed to be the destroyer, the suppliant may fear to provoke his displeasure, and to awaken his jealousy, by calling on any other deity to provide a remedy. When the destructive god has been induced to relent, to withdraw his visitation, or remove its effects, it is natural for his worshippers to represent him as gracious and benevolent, as we see done in some of the hymns to Rudra.

From the above description, however, it will be apparent that the elder Rudra, though different in many respects from the later Mahādeva, is yet, like him, a terrible and destructive deity; while, on the other hand, the ancient Vishṇu, like the modern god of the same name, is represented to us as a preserver, of a benignant, or, at least, of an innocuous, character (R.V. i. 22, 18; i. 155, 4; i. 186, 10; viii. 25, 12).

In the Yajur-veda we find the same characteristics assigned to Rudra as in the Rig-veda. Thus both a healing virtue (iii. 59; xvi. 5, 49) and a destructive efficacy are ascribed to him, the latter being depicted in the liveliest colours, and deprecated in every variety of expression. Thus he is represented (iii. 61; xvi. 1, and elsewhere) as carrying a bow and arrows, and is earnestly supplicated (xvi. 9 ff., 51 ff.) to avert his shafts from the worshipper. Many of the epithets which are applied to him in the Rig-veda occur again here, such as “brown” or “tawny” (xvi. 6), the god “with spirally-braided hair” (ibid. 10), the “fierce” (ibid. 40), the “bountiful,” the “gracious” (51), etc.; while a multitude of new appellations are heaped upon him (and his attendants), such as “blue-necked,” “thousand-eyed” (ibid. 7), “thousand-quivered” (13), “clad in a skin” (iii. 61; xvi. 51), “the dweller in the mountains” (xvi. 2, 3, 4), and others far too numerous to repeat (xvi. 17–46). The imagination of the rishi runs riot in the invention of these epithets, which are of the most heterogeneous description. Some of the characteristics here attributed to Rudra are of a disgraceful nature, as where he is styled the “lord of thieves, the robber, the cheater, the deceiver, the lord of pilferers and robbers,” etc. (vv. 20,
21): Several new names are ascribed to Rudra in this Veda, as Bhava, Sarva, Paśupati, etc., etc. (vv. 18, 28). Altogether an approximation is discernible in the epithets which occur in the Satarudriya to the fierce, terrific, impure, and repulsive character of the later Mahādeva. Ambikā is mentioned for the first time in the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā (iii. 5), and is described not as the wife, but as the sister of Rudra.

In the Atharva-veda also reference is made both to the therapeutic character of Rudra and to the destructive arrows and lightnings of Bhava and Sarva (ii. 27, 6; vi. 93, 1; x. i. 23; xi. 2, 1, 12, etc.). Rudra is identified with Agni (vii. 87, 1); and again with Savitri (xiii. 4, 4). On the other hand, Bhava and Sarva, and again Bhava and Rudra, are spoken of in the dual (viii. 2, 7; x. i. 23; xi. 2, 1; xi. 2, 14, 16; xi. 6, 9; xii. 4, 17); and would thus appear to have been regarded by the rishi as distinct gods. Sarva is described as an archer, Bhava as a king (vi. 93, 2); and they, as well as Rudra, are said to have poisons and consumption at their command (vi. 93, 2; xi. 2, 26). In A. V. xi. 2, 2, 30, the devouring birds and dogs of Rudra are alluded to (compare Vāj. Sanh. xvi. 28). In another verse Bhava is said to rule over the sky and the earth, and to fill the vast atmosphere (A. V. xi. 2, 27).

In the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa (i. 7, 3, 8) Sarva, Bhava, Paśupati, and Rudra are said to be all names of Agni; and of these appellations Sarva is declared to be in use among the people of the east, and Bhava among the western tribe of the Bāhikas. Another passage (vi. 1, 3, 7 ff.) of the same Brāhmaṇa describes the birth of a boy (kumāra, a word applied to Agni in the Rig-veda, v. 2, 1), to whom the names of Rudra, Sarva, Paśupati, Ugra, Aśani, Bhava, Mahān-deva. and Īśāna were successively assigned. 172

172 In the same Veda, xxxix. 8, we have the following gods, or apppellations of one god, specified, viz., Agni, Aśani, Paśupati, Bhava, Sarva, Īśāna, Mahādeva, Ugradeva, etc. (Agniḥ kṛdayena Aśaniḥ kṛdayaḥreṇa Paśupatiḥ kṛityaḥ-kṛdayena Bhavaḥ yaknāḥ Sarvam matasūbhīyam Īśanam manyunā Mahādevam antahparśav-reṇeyo Ugraṁ devaṁ vanishāthunaḥ ityādi).

173 The Nirukta i. 15, as I have already remarked, p. 355, note 98, contains the first words of a text relating to Rudra which is given at length by the commentator Durga, and is cited and translated above. After ascribing a martial character to Rudra in the first line, this text appears to assign to him, in the second, the threefold function of universal creator, preserver, and destroyer. As it is partially quoted in the Nirukta, this verse, though it does not appear whence it comes, must, unless interpolated, be of considerable antiquity.
given, all of them, according to the writer, representing different forms of Agni. In the somewhat different version of the same story given in the Sānkhyayana Brāhmaṇa (see above, pp. 343 ff.) the newly-born deity is not identified with Agni. But the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, in another passage (ix. 1, 1, 1 ff.) referred to by Professor Weber (see above, pp. 347 and 395 f.), appears again clearly to make this identification. Finally, traces of the early connexion of Rudra with Agni are discoverable, as I have already remarked (p. 349), in the legend of the birth of Kārttikeya, which I have quoted from the Mahābhārata.

Though, however, these deities may have at one time come to be thus identified, the distinctive epithets applied to Rudra in the Rigveda appear sufficiently to prove that he was generally discriminated from Agni by his early worshippers. The tendency visible both in the hymns of the Veda and in the Brāhmaṇas (see above, R.V. ii. 1, 6, p. 306; A.V. vii. 87, 1, and xiii. 4, 4, pp. 333 and 338; Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, as quoted in p. 341; Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, vi. 1, 1, 5, p. 22) to identify the different deities with one another may have arisen from a vague conception of the unity of the divine principle by which all these several divinities were supposed to be diversely animated.

Between the texts which I have cited from the Brāhmaṇas relative to Rudra, and the earliest descriptions of the same deity which we discover in the Epic poems, a wide chasm intervenes, which, as far as I am aware, no genuine ancient materials exist (for the Upanishads I have quoted are of uncertain date) for bridging over. The Rudra of the Mahābhārata is not indeed very different in his general character from the god of the same name who is portrayed in the Satarudriya; but in the later literature his importance is immensely increased, his attributes are more clearly defined, and the conceptions entertained of his person are rendered more distinct by the addition of various additional features, and illustrated by numerous legends. Instead of remaining a subordinate deity, as he was in the Vedic era, Rudra has thrown Agni, Vāyu, Sūrya, Mitra, and Varuṇa completely into the shade; and although Indra still occupies a prominent place in the Epic legends, he has sunk down into a subordinate position, and is quite unable to compete in power and dignity with Rudra, who, together with Vishnu, now engrosses the almost exclusive worship of the Brahmanical world. Ambikā, who was subsequently identified with the
spouse of Rudra, is in the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā (above, p. 321) spoken of as his sister. Umā or Pārvatī, with whom he was unconnected in the Vedic period, and of whom the earliest mention, as far as I know, occurs in the Kena Upanishad, and the Taittirīya Arāṇyaka,¹⁷⁴ is now his acknowledged consort.¹⁷⁵ In systematic mythology the function of destroyer is assigned to him, as that of creator is to Brahmat, and that of preserver to Viṣṇu; but he is also worshipped under the emblem of the “Linga” as the great generative power.

I have (above, pp. 192 f.) quoted a passage from the Mahābhārata in which the Linga is dwelt upon at length, though it is difficult to say to what age this passage may be referable. Comp. also the epithet “mahāśepha” in p. 191 f., which points to the same idea.

In the following passage of the same book, the Linga is again mentioned in verses which follow the last of those quoted above in p. 197 ff.:

\[ \text{Anuśāsana-parvan, v. 7510.—} \text{Dahatya ārūḍhavān sthito yach cha prāṇān nṛṇāṁ sthiraś cha yat | sthira-lingas cha yan nityaṁ tasmāt Sthāṇur iti smṛtaḥ | . . . . v. 7516. Nityaṁcha brahmacharyena lingam asya yadā sthitam | mahayanti asya lokāḥ cha priyaṁ hy etad mahātmamaḥ | vigrham pujayed yo vai līṇaṁ va pi mahātmamaḥ | linga-pujayita nityam mahāṭīṁ śriyaṁ āṣnute | riṣhayas chāpi devās cha gandhavrūṣaṁrasas tathā | lingam evaṁchayantiasma yat tad ārūḍhvaṁ samāsthitam | ityādi | ^{17}\]

“And since, standing aloft, he consumes the lives of men, and since he is fixed, and since his Linga is perpetually fixed, he is therefore called Sthāṇu . . . . 7516. And when his Linga remains constantly in a state of chastity, and people reverence it, this is agreeable to the great [god]. The worshipper of the Linga, who shall adore the image (vigrha), or the Linga, of the great [god], enjoys continually great prosperity. It is the Linga, raised up, which the rishis, gods,

¹⁷⁴ These passages will be quoted in the next section.
¹⁷⁵ It appears (see Westergaard’s Dissertation on the Oldest Period of Indian History, p. 82, note) that Pāṇini (4, 1, 49) gives a rule whereby, in addition to the names of the goddesses Indrāṇi and Varuṇāṇi, which are found in the Rig-veda, the names of four others who are not found there, and who are all wives of Siva (under his different appellations of Bhava, S'arva, Rudra, and Mṛḍa)—viz. Bhavyān S'arva, Rudra, and Mṛḍa—may be formed. (The rule is this: Indra-Vaṛuṇa-Bhava-Sarva-Rudra-Mṛḍa-himāraṇya-yava-yavana-māttulācharyāyānām ānuk). It does not, however, follow that these last-named goddesses had risen into any importance in the time of Pāṇini. Indrāṇi and Varuṇāṇi were never of any significance.
Gandharvas, and Apsarases worship." Compare with this extract verses 9616 f., 9625 and 9631 of the Droṇa-parvan.

The Linga is also mentioned in the list of Siva's names in another part of the same Anuśāsana-parvan, v. 1160:

Ūrdha-retāḥ ārdhā-lingaḥ ārdhā-bāyiḥ nabhāḥ-sthitāḥ | v. 1191.
Lingādhyaṁśaḥ surādhyakṣaṁ... vijadhyakoḥ vija-kartā... "He whose seed is raised up, whose Linga is raised up, who sleeps aloft, who abides in the sky."... v. 1191. "The lord of the Linga, the lord of the suras (gods) ... the lord of seed, the former of seed." 176

We possess no records to show how this phallic emblem became connected with Rudra. But, as Dr. Stevenson (Journal R. A. S., viii. 330177) and Professor Lassen (Ind. Ant., i. 2nd ed. 924) imagine, it

176 In the Saṃśāra-parvan it is related that Mahādeva had been appointed by Brahmā to create living beings. He proceeded to perform austerities, and continued doing so so long that Brahmā produced another creator, who performed his task. Mahādeva at last came, and seeing that the creation had already been effected, he became angry and split his Linga, which was then placed in the earth (v. 780 f.: chaḥ krodha bhāvaṁ Rudro lingāṁ svāṁ chāpyavidhyate | tat praviddhāṁ tathā bhumāṁ tathāṁvam pratyātikṣhitaṁ). I have not observed any mention of the Linga in the earlier part of the Rāmāyaṇa, but in the Uttarā Kāṇḍa, sect. 31, v. 42 f., the following lines occur: Yatra yatra cha gāti sma Rāvaṇo rākṣaśeśe vārāḥ | jambunāda rāmaṁ lingam tatra tatra sma niyate | 43. Bālāvī-vedi-madhya tu tam lingam sthīpyamā Rāvaṇaḥ | arhayarāja gandhaṁ cha pusphaṁ chāmpitaṁ-gandhaṁ | "Wherewith Rāvaṇa, lord of the Rākṣasas, went, a golden linga was carried thither. Placing that linga in the midst of a pedestal of sand, Rāvaṇa worshipped it with incense, and flowers of ambrosial odour." The commentator remarks on v. 43: Tuḥ lingam jambunādaṁavāṁ niyam-pūjāṁ lingam | Aśvarya-kāmāṇaṁ hi tāl-lingaṁ-pūjā Rāvaṇaḥ | Aśvarya-kāmāṇaṁ sauvarṇaṁ-lingaṁ-pūjāyāṁ tantreśtrākṣiḥ | "That golden linga was intended for constant worship. He worshipped it from the desire of sovereignty. For it is prescribed in the Tantras that a golden linga should be worshipped when any one desires sovereignty."

177 In this paper on "The Ante-Brahmanical Religion of the Hindus," the Rev. Dr. Stevenson asserts that the "worship of S'iva, especially under the form of the Linga," is one of the practices for which he considers modern Hinduism is indebted to the ante-Brahmanical religion of India, i.e. to local superstitions prevalent among the aboriginal tribes anterior to the development of the existing Brahmanical system. This opinion in regard to S'iva is grounded by Dr. Stevenson on the facts: (1) that S'iva is not named in the ancient Vedic hymns; (2) that Rudra does not occupy it those hymns the high position which the later S'iva holds; (3) that various particulars in the legend of Daksha (see above, pp. 372 ff.), such as the general indisposition to acknowledge S'iva's right to share in the sacrifice, and the circumstances that his rites required no Brahmanical priest (see above, p. 377, note 132), point to a recent introduction of S'iva's worship (comp. Mahābhārata, Vana-parvan, vv. 11001 ff., cited
is not impossible that it may have been at first an object of veneration among the aboriginal or non-Aryan Indians; and that it was subsequently adopted by the Brahmans from them, and associated with the worship of Rudra.

This conjecture would acquire additional probability if we were justified in supposing that the word "śiśnadeva," which occurs in two passages of the Rig-veda, had any reference to a worship of this sort existing among the barbarous tribes towards whom the authors of the hymns so often express hostility, as the followers of a different religion from their own. The texts in which the word in question is found have been already adduced and translated in the second volume of this work (p. 391, note 76). But I shall quote them again here with their obscure and difficult contexts, and endeavour to elucidate them further. The first passage is as follows:


"3. Thou, heroic Indra, hast caused to flow the abundant waters which had been obstructed by Ahi. Through thee the cows (rivers,

in p. 284 of this volume); (4) that there is no connexion between the Linga and any of the ancient Brahmanical emblems; (5) that the principal seats of the Linga worship are to be found in the south and north-east of India, at a distance from the original Brahmanical settlements; (6) that in the Mahbratta country no Brahman officiates as priest in a Linga temple, while, on the contrary, in the temples of Vishnu Brahmans alone officiate. [This distinction does not, I think, exist in Northern India. In the temple of Viśvēśvara, at Benares, the officiating priests, if I am not mistaken, are Brahmanas. The same is the impression of Prof. Fitz-Edward Hall, with whom I have communicated on the subject.—J. M.]

178 For the sense assigned to this word in Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, see s.v. vedyā.
according to Śāyaṇa) have rolled on like warriors in chariots. All created things tremble for fear. 4. The terrible [god], skilled in all heroic deeds, has with his weapons mastered these [cloud-demons]. Indra, exulting, has shattered their cities; armed with the thunderbolt he has smitten them asunder by his might. 5. Neither demons impel us, Indra, nor, O puissant [deity], of a truth any evil spirits. The glorious [Indra] defies the hostile beings: let not those whose god is the ‘śiṣṇa’ approach our sacred ceremony. 6. Thou, O Indra, hast surpassed in power, when thou runnest thy course. The worlds have not comprehended within them thy greatness. By thine own might thou hast slain Vṛitra. No enemy hath attained the end of thee in battle. 7. The earlier gods have yielded to thy divine power; their powers have bowed before thy sovereign might. 179 Indra having conquered, dispenses wealth. Let men invoke Indra in the combat. 8. Indra, the bard hath invoked for protection thee, the lord of great prosperity. O thou who bringest a hundred succours, thou hast been a defence to us, a defender against the assailant of him who is devoted to thee.”

R.V. x. 99, 1 ff.—Kaṁ naś chitram ishanyasi chikitevān prithugmānaṁ vāsraṁ vāvridhadhyai | kat tasya dātu savaso vyuṣṭau takshad vajrama Vṛitra-turam apinvat | 2. Sa hi dyutā vidyutā veti śāma prithuṁ yonim asuratva 179 saśāda | sa sanilebhīḥ prasahāno asya bhrātur na rite saptathaya māyāḥ | 3. Sa vājaṁ yatā apadushpadā yan svarahata parishadat sanishyan | anarvā yat śata-dūraya 180 veda ghanan śiṣṇadevān abhi varpaśa 'bhūt | 4. Sa yahvyo avanir goṣu arvā ā juhoti pradhanyasu sasrīḥ | apādo yatra yujyāso 'rathāḥ drony-āśvāsah trate ghritaṁ vāḥ | 5. Sa Rudrebhir aśata-vāraḥ ribhvā hitvi gayam āre-avadyaḥ ā agāt | vamrasya manyo mithunā vivavihit annam abhitya arodayat mushāyan | 6. Sa id dāsaṁ tuvi-ravam patir dan shad-akshaṁ tri-sīrshānam damanyat | qasya Trīto nu ojasā vripidaḥ vipā varāḥam ayo-agrayaḥ han | 7. Sa druḥvayǐ manuśaś ārddhasānaḥ ā savishad arshasānyā sarum | sa nṛtamo nahuṣho 'smat sujātaḥ puro 'bhinaḥ arhan dasyu-hatyey “What wonderful, wide-travelling bull dost thou, perceiving, send to us for our delight! What an act of power does he display at the dawn! He has formed the

179 “Ihre Kraft kommt deiner Herrscherkraft nicht gleich.”—Böhlingk and Roth s.v. mā-panu.
180 This word in the locative plural also occurs in R.V. i. 51, 3.
Vṛitra-slaying thunderbolt, and has strengthened thee. 2. With gleaming light he comes to the goal; in his divine glory he hath seated himself on our broad place of sacrifice; with his allies he overcomes the delusions of him who pretends to be his seventh brother. 3. Proceeding to the conflict, and desiring to acquire them, he has gone to, and in hostile array besieged, inaccessible places, at the time when, irresistible, slaying those whose god is the 'śiṣṇa,' he by his craft conquered the riches of the city with a hundred gates. 4. The steed, coming among the cows conquered in battle, pours out the flowing rivers [in the place] where the allies, without feet or chariots, employing the clouds as their horses, send forth fertilizing water. 5. The great [Indra], who has indescribable treasures, and from whom evil is far removed, forsaking his house, has arrived with the Rudras. Coming and plundering their food, he has, I believe, made the two unsheltered (children) of Vamra to weep. 6. This lord subjugated the loud-voiced Dāsa with six eyes and three heads. Trita, increasing through his strength, struck the boar with his iron-tipped shaft. 7. Rising up, he has launched his arrow against the malignant and destructive man. He, the noble and potent hero, has shattered for us the cities of the enemy (or of Nahush) in the conflict with the destroyers (Dasyas).

The following is Sāyaṇa's explanation of the word "śiṣṇadēva" in the first of the preceding passages, R.V. vii. 21, 5, and repeated briefly in his note on the second passage: Śiṣṇa-devāḥ | śiṣṇena ādevaṁ kṛiḍānti iti śiṣṇa-devāḥ | abrahmācharyāḥ ṭita arthaḥ | tathā cha Yāskaḥ | . . . . . . . "śiṣṇa-devāḥ abrahmācharyāḥ" | . . . . . . . . "Śiṣṇadēvaḥ" are those who sport with the śiṣṇa (membrum virile), i.e. unchaste men; as Yaska says, 'Śiṣṇadēvaḥ' means the unchaste." Durga, the commentator on the Nirukta, as cited by Roth (Illust. of Nir. p. 47), gives the same explanation as Sāyaṇa. He says that those men are called "śiṣṇadēva" who "are always dallying carnally with prostitutes, forsaking Vedic observances" (śiṣṇena nityam eva prakīrṇābhīḥ strībhīḥ sākṣaḥ kṛiḍantah ānante śravatāni karmāṇy utspijya). Roth, in the place I have cited, thinks the word is a sarcastic appellation for priapic or lustful demons, and translates it by "Schwanz-götter."

181 Prof. Aufrecht has given me much assistance in translating these two passages.
—Note in first edition. I have made a good many alterations in the second edition.
It does not appear to me that Śāyaṇa’s interpretation has much to recommend it. There are some other words in the Veda in which the word “deva” forms the last member of the compound, as “anūrita-deva” (vii. 104, 14) and “mūra-deva” (vii. 104, 24). Śāyaṇa explains “mūra-devah” as “māraṇa-kriḍāḥ,” “those who make a sport of killing”; and he therefore takes “deva” there in the same sense as he does in “śīśna-deva.” But in the other word, “anūrita-deva,” he takes “deva” in the usual sense of “god,” and interprets it as “he whose gods are false” (anūritah asatyā-bhūtāḥ devah yasya tādṛśaḥ). In the same way he understands “anti-devam” in R.V. i. 180, 7, as meaning “near the gods.” And though in Böhtlingk and Roth’s Dictionary the word “anūrita-deva” is explained as signifying a “false player,” this interpretation is afterwards withdrawn (in favour of that which Śāyaṇa gives of this word) at the close of the article on the word “deva.” Nor does the sense assigned by Śāyaṇa to “śīśna-deva” appear to be in itself a very probable one. For the epithet “lascivious” would not necessarily be a term of reproach in the mouth of an Indian poet of the Vedic age, when, though the institution of marriage was recognized and honoured, no great amount of reprobation could have been attached to unchastity in the case of men (compare R.V. i. 167, 4; ix. 112, 4; x. 85, 37, and x. 86, 16, 17, and the fifth volume of this work, pp. 307 f., 460 f.). On the other hand, if the word “śīśna-deva” is to be understood of human beings, and if it could be taken as describing any deviation from the contemporaneous Aryan worship, it would find many parallels in the Rig-veda, as may be seen by a comparison of the words “akarman,” “ādevayu,” “anṛich,” “anindra,” “anya-vrata,” “apavrata,” “āvrata,” “abrahaman,” “āyajvan” “āyajyu” | “without ceremonies, no worshippers of the gods, without hymns, without Indra, following other rites, averse to rites, without rites, without priests, or prayers, offering no sacrifices,” in the passages quoted in the second volume of this work, pp. 359 f., 371 ff.

It is, however, objected that “śīśna” cannot be taken as equivalent to “Linga,” which means a sign, the phallus, and is therefore emblematic, while the “śīśna” denotes not an image, but the male organ itself. “Śīśna” has also the sense of “tail,” as in R.V. i. 105, 8,

182 The word is explained by Böhtlingk and Roth s.v. as “mūladeva,” and as denoting a species of goblins.
pointed out to me by Professor Aufrecht, where the words mūs ho na śiśnā vyadanti mā ādiyāḥ mean, “cares worry me, like mice gnawing their tails.” The word “śiśnadevāḥ,” if understood of demons, may therefore mean, as Roth suggests, “tailed (or priapic) demons,” and not “worshippers of the śiśna.” The same difficulty which we encounter in fixing the meaning of the word “dasyu,” viz. whether it is to be understood of men or demons (see the second volume of this work, pp. 362 ff.; 388 ff.), recurs here. In the first of the passages quoted above (vii. 21, 5) it appears, so long as we are ignorant of the real sense of “śiśna-deva,” that it might be understood either of men or demons, either of whom would have been unwelcome visitors at an Arian ceremonial. Perhaps, as the word “yātavāḥ” (demons) precedes, it is most likely that the latter are intended: and the same remark may be held to apply to the second passage (x. 99, 3).

However interesting, therefore, it would be to find a proof of the existence of a phallic worship among the aboriginal tribes contemporary with the Vedic rishis, it must be confessed that the word “śiśnadeva” does not supply this evidence.

In a passage (in the Preface to the tenth vol. of his Rāmāyana, p. ix.) which I have adduced in the second vol. of this work (pp. 419 ff.), Signor Gorresio expresses the opinion that the Southern race, whom he supposes to be symbolized under the appellation of Rākshasas, were specially addicted to the worship of “Rudra, or a terrible” and, as he believes, “a Hamitic deity.” In note 35 (p. 291 of the same volume), on the destruction of Daksha’s sacrifice, he says: “It appears to me that in this fact the struggle of the ancient religions of India is represented under a mythical veil. Śiva (a deity, as I believe, of the Cushite or Hamitic tribes which preceded on the soil of India the Arian or Indo-Sanskrit races) wished to have a part in the worship of the conquerors, and in their sacrifices, from which he was excluded; and by disturbing their rites, and by a display of violence at their sacrifices, he succeeded in being admitted to participate in them.” Signor Gorresio, however, offers very little proof of his assertion in regard to the worship of Śiva being specially prevalent among the savage tribes of the south. In note 116, p. 370, of his ninth vol., indeed, he remarks as follows on a passage (Rāmāyana vi. 19, 50 f.) where it is said that Indrajit, son of Rāvana, had a golden serpent for
his banner: "The serpent was the special symbol in the worship of the Hamite races, and here therefore Indrajit, the black Râkshasa, the Hamite, sets it up as his banner. Thus in the seventy-eighth chapter of the Sundara Kânda it is said that Indrajit was in the habit of sacrificing especially to Siva, the Hamitic deity, who possesses all the attributes of the Hamitic religion, and who entered into the Indo-Sanskrit. Olympus by one of those religious syncretisms of which traces are so frequently to be found in the ancient systems of worship."

The passage of the Sundara Kânda to which Gorresio refers occurs, in the Bombay edition, in the seventh section of the Yuddha Kânda, vv. 18 f. (=Sundara Kânda 78, 17, in Gorresio's ed.), and is as follows:

Tisîtha vâ kim mahârâya srâmena tava vânarân | ayam eko mahârâya Indrajit kaḥapayishyati | anna cha mahârâya Mâheśvaram anuttamam | ishtvâ yajnaṁ varo labâho loko parama-durlabhah | "Stay, great king, what need is there of thy exertions? This Indrajit alone will destroy the monkeys. For by him a boon, hard to be gotten, was obtained after he had offered an unequalled sacrifice to Mahâdeva."

This passage is not sufficient to prove that Mahâdeva was in a special degree the god of the savages of the South. We have already seen (pp. 184 ff., 283 ff.), by the cases of Arjuna, Jayadratha, Paraśurâma, and above all, of Jarâsandha, as recorded in the Mahâbhârata, that the worship of Mahâdeva (frequently for the purpose of obtaining some boon) was practised by the warriors of Northern India, just as it is here said to have been by Indrajit. Further, it is not Siva alone whom the Râkshasas worshipped for their own purposes. It appears from the passage of the Râmâyana (cited above in p. 167) that Râvana had obtained the gift of invincibility from Brahmâ. At the same time it will be seen from a passage cited below from the Uttara Kânda 25, 9, that it was the sacrifice to Mahâdeva, and not the one to Vishnu which procured for Indrajit his magical powers.

The same worship of Brahmâ is related in regard to Atikâya, one of Râvana's sons, in Râmâyana vi. 71, 31 f. (Bombay ed.):

Etenârâdhito Brahmâ tapasâ bhâvītattmanâ | astrâni châpy avâptâni ripavâ cha parâjitâḥ | surâsurair abadhyatvam dattam asmai Svayambhurâ | "By this contemplative (Râkshasa) Brahmâ had been worshipped with austerities, and he had obtained weapons, and conquered
his enemies. [The privilege] had been bestowed on him by Svayambhū that he should be indestructible by gods or Asuras.”

In verse 28 he is described as “reverent to the aged, and of renowned strength” (vriddha-sevī bruta-balaḥ
d. Rāvana himself is represented in the Rāmāyaṇa as an observer of the Vedic ritual. Thus in Book vi. 93, 58 ff. (Bombay ed.–vi. 72, 62 ff. of Gorr.), his minister, Supārśva (Avīndhyā in Gorr.), who is described as “virtuous and pure,” is introduced as saying to him: Veda-vidyā-vrataḥ snātas svākarma-nirataḥ
d. tathaḥ striyāḥ kasmād badhaṁ viṁśa manyase Rāksha-sāvara | “Why dost thou, heroic Rāvana, lord of the Rākshasas, who knowest the Veda, hast practised the prescribed discipline, and art an initiated householder, and devoted to thy duty, meditate the slaughter of a woman?” And Vibhīṣaṇa, in his eulogy on his brother after his death, says (vi. 111, 23, Bombay ed.–vi. 93, 30 of Gorr.): Eṣho
d. hitāgniḥ cha mahātapatāḥ cha vedāntagāḥ karmasu chāgrya-sūraḥ | “He had placed the sacrificial fire, was very austere, had read the concluding treatises of the Veda, and was an eminent hero in rites.”

183 Instead of bruta-balaḥ, Gorresio's edition reads ārutāhbaraḥ, “an observer of the Vedas.” In Manu vii. 38 the following verse occurs: Vṛiddhāṁścha nityāṁ

d. sveta viprān veda-vidyāḥ suchin | vriddha-sevī hi satataṁ rakshohir api pūjyate | “Let [the king] constantly reverence old and pure Brahmins, skilled in the Vedas; for he who continually venerates the aged is honoured even by the Rākshasas.” Can this verse refer to the character vriddha-sevī given to Atikīya in the passage (Rām. vi. 71, 28) quoted above? If so, the passage in Manu must be posterior in date to the Rāmāyaṇa. Or has this character been given to Atikīya in consequence of the verse of Manu? or have the two passages no connexion? The coincidence is at least curious.

184 He is, as remarked by the commentator, also called Avīndhyā; and so in the (Rāmapākhyaṇa in the Vana-parvan of the) Mahābhārata (vv. 16148, 16492–6, and elsewhere).

185 The commentator thus explains these words: Veda-vidyā-grahāpekshita-brahma-

d. charya-vrata-pūrṇa-vidyāṁ grihīteśaḥ | snātaḥ | guru-kulāt samaścīrttas tavadantaraṁ dūra-grahaya-pūrvaṁ nityāgnihrādā-sva-karma-vrataḥ | “One who has obtained a knowledge of the Veda after practising the discipline of continence required for the reception of such knowledge; and who, after returning from his preceptor's family, has married a wife, and continues devoted to the practice of the agnihotra and other indispensable rites.” See Wilson's and Wijliam's Dictionaries, s.vv. snāta and snātaka, and Kullūka’s note on Manu iii. 2, referred to by the latter lexicographer.

186 Eṣho hitāgniṁ ity oṣhaḥ saukhīḥ | ñātiṣyāṁ iti chhedāḥ | Comm.

187 Vedāntagāḥ | adhi-topanishatāḥ | karmasu agnihotra-dhishu | agraśaṁraḥ | paramānusmāḥpātaḥ parama-karmahāḥ | In some of the earlier lines of the same section Vibhīṣaṇa thus speaks of Rāvana: Gataḥ setuḥ suṣṭināṁ gato dharmaṣya

d. vigrhaḥ | gataḥ satvasya sankshepaḥ suhistanāṁ gatir gataḥ | ñātiṣyāṁ patito bhūman
Again, it is related in the hundred and thirteenth section (Bombay ed.), that Rāvana was buried with the usual Brahmanical ceremonies, though the commentator (in his note on verse 107) says that the Brahmans who were concerned in them were Rākhasa-brahmans (Rākhasa-dvījāḥ).

Rāmāyaṇa vi. 113, vv. 112 ff. (Bombay ed.)—Chitāṁ chandaṇa-kāṣṭhāiṣ ca padmakośa-chandaṇaḥ | brāhmaṇāḥ 188 saṁvargyamāsūḥ rākṣavastaraṇayāvritām | prachakrāṇaḥ Rākṣasendraṣya pitrimedham anuttanam | vediṁca dakṣhina-prāchīṇa yathā-sthānaḥca pāvakam | prishadājyena sampūrṇaṁ svraṁ skandhe prachikshipuḥ | pādaevoh sakaṁ prāpur āroṣo cholākhalami tāda | ādu-pāṭráṇi sarvāṇi arāṇiḥ chottarāṇiṁ | dattvā tu musalaṁ chāṇyaṁ yathā-sthānaṁ vichārānurūḥ | sāstra-dṛishtena vidhiṁ maharṣi-vihiṣitena 189 cha | tatva medhyam pāsūṁ hatvā Rākṣasendraṣya Rākhasāḥ | paristaraṇikāṁ 190 rājno ghrītaktaṁ samavesayan | ganāhīr mālyair alankṛitya Rāvanyaṁ dīna-mānaṭāḥ | Vibhishana-sahāyāṁ te vastraiṣ ca vividāhīr api | lājāir avakiraṇi āma vāska-pūrṇa-mukhāḥ tathā | sa dadau pāvakam tasya vīdhī-yuktam | Vibhishanaḥ | snātvā chāvārḍra-vastreṇa tilān darbha-vimśīrītān | udakena ca samiśrān prādaẏa vīdhī-pūvakam 191 | "They formed, magnas tamasi chandramāh | “The bulwark of the righteous is gone; gone is the image of virtue; gone is the summary of goodness [or strength, Comm.]; the lot of heroes has been gained by him. The sun has fallen to the ground; the moon has been quenched in darkness,” etc. And yet Vibhishana abases his dead brother in the hundred and thirteenth section (Bombay ed.), vv. 93 ff.

188 Veda-mārgāṇuṇata-kriyaṇaḥ | Comm.
189 KaIPA-sītra-kriḍa-rīshi-vihiṣitena | Comm.
190 Paristiriyate mukham anayaḥ iti paristaraṇikā vapaḥ | tāṁ rākṣasendraṣya mukhe sanavesayan | "vapaḥ 'syā mukham praurṇuṭi" iti sūtraḥ | Comm.; who seems therefore to understand paristaraṇikā of fat (see Müller as cited in the article referred to in note 192). The commentator, however, gives also another reading and explanation which I quote: Tīrthas tu anustaraṇikāṁ rājaṁ iti pāthito anustaraṇikāṁ rājaṁ vājagoṁ tāṁ ālayaṁ tachchārayaṁ yajamānam uṣṭrīvantaḥ ity arthāḥ | “Bui Tīrtha (a previous commentator) reads anustaraṇikāṁ rājaṁ, and explains the sense thus: having immolated a rājagavi (bos grunniens), they covered the sacrifice, with its skin.”

191 I insert here part of Gorresio’s text for comparison (vi. 96, 10 ff.): Tatās te veda-videvāṇas taṁ rājaṁ paśchimāṁ kriyāṁ | chakrāṁ rākṣasendraṣya pretaveṇāṁ anuttanam | vedīṁca daksinapruḥṣyāṁ yathā-sthānaḥ ca pāvakam | Vibhīṣanaṁ tu samprūpya tūṣṇiṁ sanasṛṣṭān śruvaṁ | prishadājyasya sampūrṇaṁ śruvaṁ sarvāṁ yathāvādīhi | Rāvaṇasya tadā sarve vāska-pūrṇa-mukhāḥ dvījāḥ | pādaevoh sakaṁ chakraniantaravuḍākhalam | vīnasaptāṇi chāṇyāṁ antare 'pi evadhāpyaṇ | dattvā tu musalaṁ chaiva yathāsthānāṁ mahātmānaḥ | sāstra-dṛishtena vidhiṁ maharṣi-vihiṣitena cha | tataḥ paśchāt pāsūṁ hatvā rākṣasendraṣya rākhasāḥ | athāstaraṇikāṁ sarvāṁ ghrītaktaṁ samavesayan |
with Vedic rites, a funeral pile of faggots of sandalwood, with "padmaka" wood, "uśira" grass, and sandal, and covered with a quilt of deer's hair. They then performed an unrivalled obsequial ceremony for the Rākshasa prince, [placing] the sacrificial ground to the south-east and the fire in the proper situation. They cast the ladle filled with curds and ghee on the shoulder¹⁹² (of the deceased); they placed the car on the feet, and the mortar between the thighs. Having deposited all the wooden vessels, the [upper] and lower firewood (arṣi), and the other pestle, in their proper places, they departed. The Rākshasas having then slain a victim to their prince in the manner prescribed in the Śāstras, and enjoined by great rishis, cast [into the fire] the coverlet of the king saturated with butter. They then, Vibhīśaṇa included, with afflicted hearts, adorned Rāvaṇa with perfumes and garlands, and with various vestments, and besprinkled him with fried grain, their faces being covered with tears. Vibhīśaṇa having bathed, and having, with his clothes wet, scattered in proper form "tila" seeds mixed with "darbha" grass, and moistened with water, applied the fire [to the pile].”¹⁹³

Gorresio remarks (note 94, p. 310, vol. x.) that the funeral rites of the Arian Brahmans are here introduced as practised among the Rākshasas, a race of different origin and worship, in the same way as Homer represents Grecian ceremonies as having been celebrated in Troy.

¹⁹² "According to Āpastamba (says the commentator), it should have been placed on the nose; this must therefore have been done in conformity with some other sūtras" (yadyupi "nāsike srwō" ity Āpastamboktaṁ tathōpi sūtrāntarāt skandhe 'pi nīkṣhepaḥ srwasya bodhyaḥ). Compare Professor Müller’s article on the funeral ceremonies of the Brahmans in the Journal of the German Oriental Society for 1856, pp. vi. ff.

¹⁹³ On this whole passage the commentator remarks: “Tatyaṃs tam mahābhāgam pancha-bhūtānī Raivanam | sarīra-dhātaḥ hy aṣya māṁsāṁ rudhiram eva cha | nesur brahmāstra-nirādghāna na cha bhasmāpy adivyāya” iti Mahābhārata uktatvamaya kasya Vālmikinā śmasānāya-yaṇa-pūrvakaṁ dāhaḥ uktat iti chen na | tasya Rāvaṇa-tejo-varnaya-vishaye 'tyukty-alankāra-pravattād iti vadati | “Since it is said in the Mahābhārata (Rāmapākhyaṇa, in Vana-parvan 16529 f.) that ‘the five elements forsook the great Rāvaṇa, and the constituents of his body, flesh, and blood perished, when he was burnt up by the divine weapon (brahmāstra), and not even any ashes were seen’;—who is it that is here alleged by Vālmiki to have been brought to the cemetery and then burnt? If any one raises this objection, I deny that there is any difficulty, as in the description of Rāma’s prowess the Mahābhārata makes use of the ornament of exaggeration."
Nor does it appear that in the rites described in the following passage (of Gorresio's edition) which are said to have been performed by Indrajit, the son of Rāvaṇa, there is anything, except the "Rākshasa texts," contrary to Brahmanical usages. As, however, the commentator (in the Bombay ed.), in his note on another passage, represents the worship at the Nīkumbhīlā as being offered to Kālī, and as the description is of some interest, I will quote it at length:

Rāmāyaṇa vi. 19, 38 ff. (Gorr.).—Indrajit tu tatas tena saṁyuge 'dbhuta-kāraṇa | nirjito Bāli-patraṇa krodhaṁ chakre sudārumaṁ | so 'ntardhāna-gataḥ pāpo Rāvaṇiḥ raṇa-karkaṁ | nīkumbhīlāyaṁ vidhi-vat Pāvakaṁ jhukwe 'stra-vit | jhuvatas tasya tatrāgaṇu raktoshnīṣhambara-srajaḥ | ājahuṁ tatra sambhṛntaṁ Rākṣasāḥ yatra Rāvaṇiḥ | sastraṁ śīlādhāraṇa samidho 'tha vibhātakān | lohitāni oṁ vāsūṁi ivaṁ

124 The Bombay edition (vi. 44, 32 ff.) gives the first verse and the first half of the second nearly as they stand in Gorresio's edition, and the second half of the second, with its sequel, as follows: Brahma-datta-vāro viro Rāvaṇiḥ krodha-mūrchhitaḥ | adhiṣṭhāni nistān viṣṭān munocthaṣaṁ-varchhaṇaḥ | "The son of Rāvaṇa, to whom a boon had been given by Brahmā, mad with rage, discharged sharp arrows, gleaming like lightnings." No mention is made of the sacrifice in the Bombay text. In Rāmāyaṇa, book v., sect 24 (Bombay ed.), it is related that the female Rākshasas had been threatening Sītā after her capture by Rāvaṇa, because she would not yield to his desires, and that one of them, Sūrpaṇakha, according to a proposal to eat her, says (v. 44 f.): Surā chaṇiyo dhāṁ kariṇaṁ saṁva-soka-vināśinī | mānasam mānasam āśaṇḍa vīryaṁ vīryaṁ 
'tha nīkumbhīlā | "And let wine be quickly brought, which annihilates all sorrows. Enjoying human flesh, let us dance at the Nīkumbhīlā." The comment on this passage states that the Nīkumbhīlā was an image of Bhadrakālī on the west side of Lankā (Nīkumbhīlā nāma Lankāyaṁ paśchima-bhāga-vartiṁ Bhadrakālī | tāṁ nṛityāṁ tāṁ samipāṁ gataṁ nṛityāṁ). In the Uttarā Kaṇḍa (sect. 25, v. 2) we are told that Rāvaṇa, with his attendants, entered "the Nīkumbhīlā, a grove in Lankā" (tato nīkumbhīlā nāma Lankopavanam uttaman). The commentator says it was "a wood situated at the western gate of Lankā for the performance of rites" (Lankā-paśchima-dvāra-deśa varti- karma-siddhi-letu-bhūtam kānam). His son Indrajit, with the aid of the Brahman Uśanas, had been celebrating there the seven sacrifices, the "agnishtaṁ," "aśvamedhuṁ," "rājasūyaṁ," "gomedhaṁ" (cow-sacrifice), the Vaishāvya ceremonial, etc. When he had performed the Māheśvara offering, "which it is difficult for men to obtain," he obtained boons from Mahādeva, who appeared to him (ibid. verses 3 ff.). (This is the ceremony alluded to above, in p. 412.) But he had also been performing the Vaishāvya rite; which, however, is not said to have been productive of any results. Verses 7b ff. of this section are as follows: Yajñā tu septa puraṇa paśūṁtaṁ te bahu-vistarāḥ | 8. Agniṣṭhoto 'sveśhaṁ cha yajna bahusuvargakaṁ | rājasūyaṁ tathā yajna gomento Vaishāvyaṁ tathā | 9. Māheśvaro pravritte tu yajna puṁbhīḥ sudurābhe | varūṁa te labhadhāvaṁ putrāḥ sūkhāt Paśuupter iha | Only six kinds of sacrifice are here mentioned, unless the word "Bahusuvargaka" stands for a seventh.
"But Indrajit, being conquered in the conflict by the miracle-working son of Bāli, became inflamed with terrific anger. This wicked son of Rāvana, fierce in battle, having become invisible, made an oblation to Pāvaka (Fire) in due form, on the sacrificial ground. When he was there throwing his oblation into the fire, wearing a red turban, garments, and garland, the reverent Rākshasas brought thither sharp-edged weapons, logs of wood, and myrobalan, blood-red vestments, and a ladle of black iron. Having heaped the fire all over with arrows, darts, and iron maces, and having drawn blood from the throat of a live black goat, he offered it as an oblation, being eager for battle. At the same time there appeared from the brightly-burning and smokeless fire omens which portended victory. Pāvaka himself, rising, with his flame sweeping round to the right, and luminous as refined gold, received the oblation. Then from the midst of the fire there arose a magnificent golden chariot, drawn by four lucky horses with golden head-ornaments; but became invisible, while glorious and lustrous as burning fire. Having satiated the sacrificial fire, with the Daityas, Dānavas, and Rākshasas, having caused a benediction (svasti) to be pronounced, and been blessed by the Brahmans, [Indrajit] ascended the beautiful chariot, moving invisibly, drawn by self-directed horses, and furnished with various weapons. . . . 50. A golden serpent, bright as the rising sun, and adorned with lapis lazuli, formed the banner of Indrajit. Having made an oblation to Fire with Rākshasa texts, he then spake," etc.
The ceremony of Indrajit is again alluded to by Vibhīṣaṇa in vi. 84, 14 ff. (Bombay ed. = vi. 63, 13, of Gorr. ed.):

Chaityaṁ nikumbhīlam adya prīpya homaiṁ karishyati | Hutaṇā
upayāto hi devair api sa-vāsavaṁ | durādharmo bhavaty esha sangrāṁ
Rāvaṇātmajāḥ | . . . 16. Sa-sainyās tatra gachhāmo yāvat tama na
samāpyate | . . . 23. Samāpta-karmā hi sa Rākshasarshabho bhavaty
adhiṣṭaya samare surāsuraṁ | yuyutsaṁ tena samāpta-karmaṇaṁ bhavet
surāṇām api saṁśaya mahāṁ | "Having to-day resorted to the sacrificial
ground, he will offer an oblation (homa). When he approaches
after making this offering, this son of. Rāvaṇa is invincible by gods
and Vāsavas. . . . 16. Let us go thither with our hosts before that
ceremony is completed. . . . 23. For when he has accomplished his
rite, that prince of the Rākshasas becomes invisible by either gods
or Asuras in battle; and even the gods would hesitate to encounter
him if he desired to fight."

In the following section Vibhīṣaṇa returns to the subject (vi. 85, 12, Bombay ed. = vi. 64, 11 of Gorr.):

Tena viśeṇa tapasā vara-dānāt Svayambhaṁ | astraṁ brahma-sīrāḥ
prāptaṁ kāmaṁ cha turangamāḥ | sa esa saha sainyena prāptaṁ kīla
nikumbhīlam | yady uttisṛṣṭiḥ kṛtaṁ karma hatāṁ sarvāṁśe cha viśeṇa
niṁ | nikumbhīlam asamprāptaṁ akritāgamīṁ cha yo ripuḥ | tvām atatā-
yāṁ hanyat Indraśatro sa te badhaḥ | "This hero has obtained through
austerity, and by the gift of Svayambhū, a weapon called 'brahma-
sīras,' and horses that go according to his will. He with his army has
reached the sacrificial ground. If he rises after completing his cer-
emony, you may regard us all as destroyed. But if any foe slays thee,
thou cruel tyrant (Indrajit), before thou hast reached that ground,"

185 It is related in the Uttara Kāṇḍa 30, 12 ff., that after his victory over Indra, Indrajit asked, and obtained, this boon as the condition of releasing his captive foe. For a summary of the story of Indra and Indrajit, see the Appendix.

187 Explained by the commentator as nikumbhīlāṁ tad-yuṣa-bhūmin mahākalī-
kaśetraṁ tad-uṣaya-nyagrodha-nīla-rūpam | "That sacrificial ground, the sacred
precinct of the great Kālī—viz. the root of the nyagrodha tree so called." This
tree is mentioned in vi. 87, 2 ff., Bombay ed. (= vi. 66, 2, Gorr. ed.): . . . praviśya
tu mahād vanaṁ | adiśayata tat-karma-Lakṣmanāya Vibhīṣaṇaḥ | nīla-jīmūta-
sankeśaṁ nyagrodham bhimaḍarśanam | tejnevi Rāvaṇa-hṛtā Lakṣmanāya nyave-
deyat | iḥopahāram bhūtiśadiṁ balaṁ Rāvaṇātmajāḥ | upakṛitya tataḥ pacchāt
sangrāman ahivāraṁ | adhiṣṭaya sarva-bhūtiśadiṁ tato bhavati Rākaṁ | nihanti
samare ētrin bhūtiśadiṁ eha śarottamaviḥ | tama apraviṣēṁ nyagrodham bhāsinīṁ
Rāvaṇātmajam | viśeṇe nīlasya sarair ēśaṁ dhyāṁ ittyādī |
and kindled the fire, this, O enemy of Indra, is the manner of thy death," etc.

It is related in the following section (86, 14, f., Bombay ed. = 65, 12 Gorr.) that he rose before his rite had been completed:

Seam anikam visshanaṁ tu drishtvā satrubhir arditam | udatishṭhata
durāharśaḥ sa karmasy anumūthite | evaśāndhakūrād nirgamyā jāta-
krodhaḥ sa Rāvaṇaḥ | ityādi | "Hearing that his army was harassed by their enemies, and dispirited, the irresistible (Rākshasa) arose while his ceremony was unaccomplished. Issuing forth from the gloom of the tree, the son of Rāvaṇa, incensed, mounted his chariot," etc.

Again, in a passage of the Sundara Kāṇḍa, or Fifth Book, sect. 89, vv. 22 ff. (only found in Gorresio’s, not in the Bombay ed.), which forms the sequel to the one given above, p. 370, Mahādeva is represented as receiving Vibhishana with favour, after he had deserted his brother Rāvaṇa. Now if the author of the poem had intended to represent Śiva as an especial object of adoration to the Rākshasas, he might have been expected to describe this deity as repaying their worship with especial favour and affection; but it is inconsistent with this that he should represent Śiva as receiving favourably a deserter from the Rākshasa camp.

There is a section (the forty-first) of the Yuddha Kāṇḍa, or Sixth Book (which, however, is to be found only in Gorresio’s ed.), wherein Rāvaṇa defies Vīśṇu at great length. But I do not consider this as any proof that the poet intended to attribute to the speaker any especial hostility to Vīśṇu’s worship (particularly as Indra, Śiva, and Brahmā are also slightlying spoken of), but rather as a demonstration called forth by the poetical necessities of the argument. Even while the poet represented Rāma as the incarnation of Vīśṇu, it was of course natural to make the arrogant Rāvaṇa defy him. The fact is, that the traits ascribed to the Rākshasas in the Rāmāyaṇa must be regarded as poetical far more than historical. The poet assigns to his personages such characteristics as he considered at the moment to be most conducive to the interest, and effective with a view to the action, of his poem. These characteristics are sometimes absolutely contradictory, as when Rāvaṇa is described both as an observer of the Vedas and at the same time as a persecutor of Brāhmans and polluter of their sacrifices. I do not therefore see that the Rāmāyaṇa supplies any
sufficient grounds for regarding the non-Aryan tribes of Southern India as being especially addicted to the worship of Śiva. 198

Sect. VIII.—The earlier and later representations of Umā, the wife of Śiva.

We have already seen (p. 267) that in the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā (3, 57) Ambikā, who at a later period is identified with the wife of Rudra, is declared to be his sister. 199

The earliest work, as far as I am aware, in which the name of Umā occurs, is the Talavakāra, or Kena Upanishad. In the third section of that Treatise (see Dr. Roer’s translation in the Bibliotheca Indica, vol. xv., p. 83 ff.) it is mentioned that on one occasion Brahma gained a victory for the gods. As, however, they were disposed to ascribe the credit of their success to themselves, Brahma appeared for the purpose of disabusing them of their mistake. The gods did not know him, and commissioned first Agni, and then Vāyu, to ascertain what this apparition was. When, in answer to Brahma’s inquiry, these two gods represented themselves, the one as having the power to burn, and the other as able to blow away, anything whatever, he desired them to burn and to blow away, respectively, a blade of grass; but they were unable to do this, and returned without ascertaining who he was. Indra was then commissioned (Kena Up. iii. 11, 12; and iv. 1, 2):

It is also related in the Uttara Kūḍā of the Rāmāyana (sections 4–8, of which I shall give the substance in the Appendix) that a Rākshasa named Sukeśa had formerly received a boon from Mahādeva and Pūrvatī, and that his three sons, the lords of Lankā, had made an attack upon the gods, but had been driven back and defeated by Vīṣṇu, and compelled to take refuge in Pātāla. But neither does this, nor even the Linga-worship attributed to Rāvaṇa in the Uttara Kūḍā 31, 42 f., suffice to prove any special adoration of Śiva among the southern races more than among the northern.

198 Rodasī is his wife according to the Nirukta xi. 49; and xii. 46; Rodasī Rudrasya patni. Sāyaṇa, however, on R.V. i. 167, 4 and 5, says that she is the wife of the Maruts. On v. 4 his words are: Tasya (Rudrasya) stri Rodasī iti kechid āhuh | apare tu Maru’īṃ striyo Rodasī iti nāmadheyaṃ ity āhuh | ayam eva pakhah yuktah uttaratra evaṃ eyavahārūt | “Some say Rodasī is Rudra’s wife. Others say Rodasī is the name of the wife of the Maruts. This is the correct view, from the word being so applied afterwards” (in the next verse). On verse 5 Sāyaṇa says: Rodasī Maru-patnī vidyut vā. “Rodasī is the wife of the Maruts, or Lightning.” In this verse she receives the epithet of vishita-stukā, “having dishevelled hair,” and is said to seek the society of the Maruts (Joshiad yad im asuryā svaḥdheyaḥ vishita-stukā Rodasī niśvamāḥ). I doubt if she is much, if at all, noticed in the later literature. See the fifth volume of this work, pp. 148 and 345.
Atha Indram abrūvan “Maghavann etad vijānhi kim etad yaksham” iti | “tathā” iti tad abhyadavat tasmāt tirodāde | 12. Sa tasminn eva ākāśe striyam ājāgāma bahu sōbhāmānām Uṃāḥ Haimavatim | tām ha uācha kim etad yaksham iti | iv. 1. Sa Brahma iti ha uācha Brah- 
maṇḍa vai etad-vijaye mahāyadhvan iti | tato ha eva vidānchakāra Brahmeti |

They then said to Indra, ‘Maghavan, ascertain what this apparition is.’ He replied, ‘So be it;’ and approached that being, who vanished from him. In that sky he came to a woman who was very resplendent, Uṃā Haimavatī. To her he said, ‘What is this apparition?’ She said, ‘It is Brahma. In this victory of Brahma, exult.’ By this he knew that it was Brahma.”

In his remarks on this passage of the Kena Upanishad (Ind. Stud. ii. 186 ff.), Professor Weber supplies an interesting and ingenious contribution to the mythological history of Uṃā. He says: “The representation in sections 3 and 4 indicates that the Kena Upanishad was produced at a time when,—in place of the three principal gods, Agni, Vāyu, and Sūrya, who had become developed into the conjoint representatives of the divine principle on earth, in the atmosphere, and in heaven,—Agni, Vāyu, and Indra were regarded as such. These are properly only two, since Indra is essentially identical with Vāyu. Though I have found numerous examples of the first triad, especially in the two Yajur-vedas, I have noticed only one other of the second triad, which is properly only a duad, viz. in the Rik-text of the Purusha Sukta (R. V. x. 99, 13). Nor am I able to give a satisfactory

This is explained by the commentator: Tasya Indrasya yakshe bhaktim buddhavā 
Vidyā Uṃā-rūpiṇī prādurbhūt stri-rūpā | sa Indras tām Uṃām bahu sōbhāmānāṁ sarveśhāṁ hi sōbhāmānāṁ sōbhānātamaṁ Vidyāṁ tadā “bahu sōbhāmānā” iti viśeṣaham upapannam bhavati | Haimavatīṁ hema-kṛitābharaṇatāṁ īva bahu sōbhāmānāṁ ity arthaḥ | athāvā Uṃā eva Himavato duhitā Haimavatiḥ nityan eva sarvajñena Ṛṣvanā saha vartate iti jñātum samarthā iti kṛtvā tām upājasā Indras tām ha Uṃām kila uācha paprachha kim etad dārsayitrā tirobhūtanam yakshan |

Knowing Indra’s devotion to this apparition, Knowledge, in the form of a woman, Uṃā, appeared. Indra [came] to her who was very resplendent, to Knowledge who is the most resplendent of all the resplendent beings, and whose epithet ‘very resplendent’ is then established. ‘Haimavati’ means that she was very resplendent like a female with ornaments made of gold. Or, it was Uṃā Haimavati, the daughter of Himavat, who from continually dwelling with the omniscient Ṛṣvara (Maḥādeva) is able to know. With this belief Indra approached Uṃā, and said to her, ‘What is this apparition which appeared and vanished?’”

Already translated by Dr. Roer (Bibl. Ind. xv. 84 ff.).

See above, pp. 163 and 298.
explanation of it. On the other hand, the totality of the divine was already comprehended in Brahman (neuter), and it is the object of the legend here to make clear and to enforce the supremacy of Brahman over all temporary divine manifestations, and even over the triad of such.

"But how shall we explain the position of Umā Haimavatī, who comes forward as modiatrix between the eternal Brahman and the gods? According to Sankara, she is Vidyā (knowledge) who appears Umā-rūpinī (in the form of Umā) to Indra. The same explanation is found in Sāyaṇa, who (on Taitt. Ár. x. 1, 150, p. 787 of the text in the Bibliotheca Indica), when interpreting the word soma, cites this passage, and remarks: Himavat-putryāḥ Gauryāḥ brahma-vidyādhimāni-rupatvād Gaurī-vāchakaḥ Umā-sabdo brahma-vidyām upalakshayati | atuḥ eva Talavakāropanishadi brahma-vidyā-mūrtiḥ-prastāve brahma-vidyā-mūrtiḥ paṭhyate "bahu śobhamānām Umāḥ Haimavatiṃ tāṃ ha uvacā" iti | tad-vishayaḥ Paramātmā 203 Umayā saha vartamānatavāt Somaḥ | 'Since Gaurī, the daughter of Himavat, is the impersonation of divine knowledge, the word Umā, which denotes Gaurī, indicates divine knowledge. Hence in the Talavakāra Upanishad, in the passage on the impersonation of divine knowledge, the impersonation of divine knowledge is introduced in these words: 'He said to the very resplendent Umā Haimavatī. The supreme Spirit, who is the object of this Divine Knowledge, from his existing together with Umā, is called Soma (i.e. Sa+Umā')." 204 And again in the same commentary on Anuvāka 48, it is said: Umā brahma-vidyā tayā saha vartamāna Soma paramātmā | 'Umā is divine knowledge: thou who existest with her, O Soma, supreme spirit,' etc. Further in the same commentary on Anuvāka 18, in explanation of the term Ambikā-pataye, we have the words: Ambikā jāgānmatā Pārvatī tasyāḥ bharīre | 'Ambikā is Pārvatī, the mother of the world,—to her husband,' etc.; and the word Umāpataye (which stands in the Dravida, but not in the Āndhra, text of the Taitt. Ár.) is thus interpreted: Tasyāḥ eva brahma-vidyātmako dehaḥ Umā-sabdāno-chyate tasyāḥ svāmine | 'Her (Ambikā's) body, consisting of divine knowledge, is designated by the word Umā—to her (Umā's) husband,'

203 [The word Paramātmā is not in the text as given by Weber.]
204 [The same explanation of Soma is given in the Atharvasiras Upanishad. See above, p. 302.]
This last passage is the only one in the circle of the Vedic writings in which—with the exception of that in the Kena Upanishad—I have as yet directly met with the name Umā; for the expression ‘Umā-sahāya’ in the Kaivalya Upanishad (see above, p. 363) no longer belongs to the Vedic period; and further, though the commentaries in other places also explain ‘soma’ by ‘Umayā sahita,’ ‘accompanied by Umā’ (as Śāyana has done in the passage above cited), such an interpretation is just as groundless as in the texts commented on by Śāyana, where the word signifies simply the Somalibation. From the considerations just stated, therefore (i.e. partly from the unanimity of the commentaries, and partly from the very position which Umā here assumes in the Kena Upanishad), the signification of this word might seem to be fixed with tolerable certainty as denoting ‘Brahma-vidyā,’ ‘divine knowledge,’ and Umā might appear to be directly related to Sarasvatī, the divine word, and we might even be tempted to bring her into etymological connexion with the sacred word ‘om.’ There are, however, some additional points which seem to place the original signification of Umā in quite a different light. First of all, why is she called Haimavatī? What has she to do with the Himavat? Is it that the Brahma-vidyā (divine knowledge) came originally from the Himavat to the Arians dwelling in Madhyadeśa (the central region of Hindustan)? We have learnt from the Kaushitaki Brāhmaṇa (Ind. Stud. i. 153) that the north of India was distinguished by greater purity of speech, and that students travelled thither to learn the language (vācāṃ śikṣhitum), and on their return thence enjoyed great consideration and authority. Now it would have been quite natural if this state of things had not been confined to language, but had become extended to speculation also, and if the knowledge of the one, eternal Brahma, had been sooner attained in the peaceful valleys of the Himalaya than was possible for men living

205 [The entire text of the Anuvāka, and the part of its commentary which refers to the terms Ambikāpataye and Umāpataye, as given in the Bibi. Indica, are as follows: Text: Namo hiranyābhave hiranyavārṣya hiranyavāuppe hiranyapateye Ambikāpataye Umāpataye pāsaṃpataye namo namaḥ | Comm.: Ambikā jāgaṃmūtaḥ Pūrvatī | tasyāḥ pataye bhartre | tasyāḥ eva Ambikāyāḥ brahma-vidyātmaka dehaḥ Umā-śabdena uchhyate | tādṛṣṭavyāḥ Umāyāḥ pataye svāmīne Rudrāya pūrah pūrah namaskāro 'stū.']

206 e.g. Mahīdūra on Vāj. S. 16, 39, and Bhāṭṭa Bhūskara Miśra on the corresponding passage of the Taitt. Sanhitā.
in Madhyadeśa, where their minds were more occupied by the practical concerns of life. Such a view of Umā Haimavati appears to me, however, to be very hazardous. For—not to say that in our explanations of the ancient Indian deities we act wisely when we attach greater importance to the physical than to the speculative element—we are by no means certain that Umā actually does signify divine knowledge (brahma-vidyā); and, moreover, her subsequent position as Rudra's wife (in the Taitt. Ār.), and so Siva's, would thus be quite inexplicable.

Now there is among the epithets of this latter goddess a similar one, viz. Pārvatī, which would lead us in interpreting the word Haimavati, to place the emphasis not upon the Himavat, but upon the mountain (pārvata): and with this I might connect the epithets of Rudra which we have learnt from the Sātarudriya (see above, p. 322), Giriśa, Giriśanta, Giriśaya, Giritra, in which we recognize the germ of the conception of Siva's dwelling on Kailāsa. He is the tempest, which rages in the mountains, and his wife is therefore properly called Pārvatī, Haimavati, 'the mountaineer,' 'the daughter of Himavat.' At the same time it is not clear what we have to understand by his wife; and further she is, perhaps, originally not his wife, but his sister, for Umā and Ambikā are at a later period evidently identical, and Ambikā is Rudra's sister (Ind. Stud. i. 183). Besides, this identification of Umā with Ambikā leads us to a new etymology of the former. For as

207 Indian mythology, however, assigns wives to the gods, without always, or even generally, ascribing to the wives any specific cosmical function. Weber adds in a note: 'Does she perhaps denote the streams and torrents, poured forth by Rudra, the Storm, from the mountains and clouds? and does the name Ambikā stand in direct relation thereto? In the same way Sarasvati also, the goddess of streams and of speech, is called Ambitamā, is addressed with the word 'Amba,' and is said to be 'produced on the highest peak on the mountain top' (uttama śikhare jātā pārvata-mūrdhan). According to this view, Umā and Sarasvati, Ambikā and Ambitamā, Pārvatī and the pārvata-mūrdhanā jātā, would perhaps have been originally identical, and have only become gradually separated, in such a way that in the one the violent and destructive energy of nature had become concentrated, and in the other the harmonious music of the streaming waters? And should we thus have to seek in the Umā of the Kena Upanishad and, on the other hand, in the Varādā of the Taitt. Ār. two examples of the original identity of both? Kuhn, at least, as he has informed me, holds Ambikā to be decidedly identical with Sarasvati.' [Is not a certain confirmation of this supposed original connexion of Umā and Sarasvati to be found in the fact that in the mythology of the Rāmāyaṇa i. 36, 13 (quoted below in p. 430) Umā is the younger, while the river Gangā is the elder daughter of Himavat?—J.M.]

208 See above, p. 321.
Ambikā, ‘mother,’ appears to be merely an euphemistic and flattering epithet, employed to propitiate the cruel goddess (see Mahādhāra on Vāj. S. 3, 57)—just as Rudra was called Śiva), in the same way it appears that we must derive Umrā from the root ‘u,’ ‘av,’ ‘to protect.’ It is true that a final vowel before ‘ma’ commonly takes ‘guṇa,’ or is lengthened, but the words ‘sima’ and ‘hima’ show that this is not necessary, and the name of Rumā is perhaps (unless we derive it from ‘ram’) a perfectly analogous formation. It certainly remains a mystery how we are to conceive the cruel wife of Rudra coming forward here in the Kena Upanishad as the mediatrix between the supreme Brahma and Indra, for on that supposition this Upanishad would have to be referred to a period when her husband, Rudra, was regarded as the highest god, the Īśvara, and thus also as Brahma; i.e. it would belong to the period of some Saiva sect. But since this remains questionable and improbable, we must first of all hold to the view that the conception entertained by the commentators of Umā as representing ‘divine knowledge’ rests solely upon this passage of the Kena Upanishad, unless indeed the original identity of Umā with Sarasvatī, which in the last note was regarded as possible, is here again visible.

“I consider the present opportunity a favourable one for speaking of some other names of Śiva’s spouse. As in Śiva, first of all two gods, Agni and Rudra, are combined, so too his wife is to be regarded as a compound of several divine forms, and this becomes quite evident if we look over the mass of her epithets. While one set of these, as Umā, Ambikā, Pārvatī, Haimavatī, belong to the wife of Rudra, others, as Kālī, Karālī (see Ind. Stud. i. 287) carry us back to the wife of Agni, while Gaurī and others perhaps refer to Nirṛti, the goddess of all evil.

209 [The words of Mahādhāra here referred to are: Yo ’yaṁ Rudrākhyah krūro devas tasya virodhināṁ hantum ichhā bhave ṭadā anayā bhapinyā krūredevatayā sādhanaḥbhūtyā tain hinsti | “This cruel god called Rudra desires to slay his enemy. Then by the instrumentality of this sister, a cruel goddess, he destroys him.” Then follow the words quoted above in p. 321, note 40, at the end.]

210 “The most remarkable instance of this is to be found in Mahābhārata iv. 178 ff., in the hymn of Yudhishthira to Durgā, where he calls her Yasodā, Kṛishṇā, ‘born in the cowherd family of Nanda,’ ‘sister of Vāsudeva,’ ‘enemy of Kansa,’ and ‘having the same features as Sankarṣana,’ etc., etc. However late the date of this hymn may be, it is still in the highest degree remarkable.”
The Tenth Book of the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka, in which she is several times invoked under different names, is particularly important for a knowledge of her character. The principal passage in which these invocations occur has been already noticed above (Ind. Stud. i. pp. 75 and 228). It is, like the prayers which precede it, an imitation of the Gāyatrī, and runs thus: Kātyāyanāya vidmahe Kanyakumārī dāmahi | tan no Durgīḥ prachodayāt | [‘We think on Kātyāyana and meditate on Kanyakumāri; may Durgī advance us.’]

... "Now it is certainly difficult grammatically to find in this text the sense which Sāyaṇa puts into it, and which must have been traditionally connected with it, as that sense is the basis of the modification of the passage as found in the Atharva collection of Upanishads.

211 In the first of these passages (Ind. Stud. i. 75) the author remarks that the Nārāyaṇiya Upanishad (the part of the Taitt. Ar. in which the verse in question occurs) is also found among the Upanishads of the Atharva-veda, “but with remarkable variations, which indicate a later period. Thus the words quoted above according to the reading in the Taitt. Ar., viz. Kātyāyanāya vidmahe Kanyakumārīṁ dāmahi tan no Durgīḥ prachodayāt, are, in the Upanishad as it is given in the Atharva collection, changed into Kātyāyanāyai vidmahe Kanyakumārīṁ dāmahi tan no Durgā prachodayāt | This agrees with the sense which Sāyaṇa, in his interpretation, puts on the words.” In the passage of the Linga Purāṇa ii. 48, of which the commencement is given in the third volume of this work, p. 263 f., this invocation of Durgā occurs as follows in verse 26: Kātyāyaniḥ vidmahe Kanyakumāryai dāmahi tan no Durgā prachodayāt |

212 The author observes here that in Ind. Stud. i. 75, he had incorrectly given Kanyakumā्रīṁ as the proper reading. The text in the Bibl. Ind., p. 770, has Kanyakumārī Ṛ.

213 Sāyaṇa’s interpretation, as given by Weber i. 228, note, and here, is as follows: Āraṇyaka Durgā-gāyatrī | Hema-prakhyām indu-khandānka-maulīṁ [-śantamaulīṁ, in Bibl. Ind.] ity āgama-prastidā-śivam-dharāṁ [-rīṁ, B. I.] Durgāṁ prārthathāte “Kātyāyanāya” iti | kṛitiṁ vaste iti Kātya [Kārtyo, B. I.] Rudrāḥ | . . . sa eva ayaṁ adhishṭhāma yasyāḥ sū Kātyāyanī [Kārtyayani, B. I.] Athavā Kastasya rishi-vijñāpaya apatyaṁ Kātyah | . . . Kutsitaṁ anishtham nārayati iti kumārī kanyā dīpamāṇāṁ chāntu kumārī cha Kanyakumārī | Durgīḥ Durgā | lingādyatayah savatra chāntanā vṛddhāṭayāḥ [There are other variations in the text as given in the Bibl. Ind.] . . . . . . . . ‘Thou followst Durgā’s gāyatrī. In the words ‘Kātyāyanī,’ etc., he supplicates Durgā, bearing the form celebrated in the śāstras ‘as bright as gold, and having for a diadem the ornament of a section of the moon.’ Kātya is he who wears a skin, Rudra . . . . . . . . and Kātyānī is she whose path, support, is Kātya. Or, Kātya is the offspring of Kata, a particular rishi. . . . . Kumārī is she who destroys what is bad, undesirable. She who is both Kanyā, ‘shining,’ and Kumārī, is Kanyakumārī. Durgī is Durgā. Diversity in forms is to be seen everywhere in the Vedas.”
All the other gods who are invoked are male—viz. Rudra, Mahādeva, Danti, Nandi, Saṃmukha, Garuḍa, Brahman, Vishṇu, Nārasinha, Āditya, Agni; and it must therefore surprise us if we are to regard the twelfth deity as feminine, especially as the form is masculine. On the other hand, the sense of the words seems to compel us to adopt the traditional explanation. . . . Moreover, Kātyāyanī, Kanyākumārī, and Durgā, are already well known to us as names of Siva’s consort: and, indeed, they all appear to carry us back to the flame of fire. It is true that as regards Kātyāyanī this is somewhat difficult; though when we consider the great importance of the Kātya family in reference to the sacrificial system of the Brahmins, it does not seem very improbable that a particular kind of fire, which perhaps was introduced by one of the Kātysas, was called after him, and that this name was then associated with Kāli, Karāli, and Durgā, which are originally mere appellations of fire. Kanyākumārī, or ‘the maidenly,’ is a very fitting epithet of the holy, pure, sacrificial flame; and even at the time of the Periplus, i.e. if Pliny, we find her worship extended to the southernmost point of India, to the Cape which was then, as now, called after her Cape Comorin: but does it not appear that she was then no longer worshipped as the sacrificial flame, but as the wife of Siva himself (whose name Nilakaṇṭha Lassen [Ind. Ant. i. 194] finds rendered in the Nālakoṭa of the Periplus)? The hymn to Agni in the second ānūvāka of the Tattiriya Āraṇyaka (Āndhra recension) seems pretty decisive in favour of our connecting Durgā with the sacrificial fire. It is there said in the second verse (Bibl. Ind., p. 788): Tūm aṅgivarṇāṁ tapasā āvālantīṁ vāivoro-chaṇāṁ karma-phāleshu jūṣṭāṁ | Durgāṁ devīṁ bāraṇaṁ ahāṁ prapadye sutarasi tarase namaḥ | [‘I seek as my refuge the goddess Durgā, who is of the colour of fire, burning with austerity (or heat), daughter of the sun (or of fire), who is sought after for the reward of rites: adoration be to thy energy, O impetuous [goddess].’] The five following verses repeat (as does also the Durgā-stava in the Pariśishta) the same thought, which is also expressed in R.V. i. 99, that Agni

214 “This verse is also found in the Durgā-stava of the Kātipariśishta between the fourteenth and fifteenth divisions of the seventh section of the eighth Ashṭaka of the R.V.” (i.e. between Maṇḍala x. 127 and 128). See note in the Appendix.

215 This verse is as follows: Jñātavādass suņavōna samam arūṭityate niĎukāti vedaĎ | sa naĎ parshad aṭi durgōṇi viśvā nūvaśa sindhuṁ duritā ‘ti Agniḥ |
would help the suppliant over all 'durga' and 'durita' (difficulties and evils). Verse second could certainly be understood as if the worshipper turned to the personified Durgā (Evil) herself, and sought her protection, i.e. that thus Durgā would have arisen out of Nirṛiti. But it appears to me better to understand the passage of the violent flame of the fire, which, like the fire itself, delivers, atones, and frees from all 'durga' and 'durita,' is a 'durgā,' a protecting fortress, against them; so that this name would belong to the same class as Ambikā, Śiva, Umā. If at a later period Durgā decidedly appears to have taken the place of the evil goddess Nirṛiti, this is no proof that the case was so from the beginning, but only shows that the original signification had been lost; which is in so far quite natural, as the consort of Śiva bore a terrific character, both from her connexion with Rudra and also with Agni (compare Karāli).

"The last name of Śiva's consort which I find in the Taitt. Ār. x. is Varadā, in anuvākas 26 and 30. It is true that there it appears rather to be the name of Sarasvati, not of Durgā, when it is said: Āyātu varadā devī akṣharam brahma-sammitam | gāyatrīṁ [gāyatrī, Bibl. Ind.] chhandasām mātā idam brahma jushasva me | . . . sarvavarne mahādevi sandhyā-vidyā Sarasvati |. But the words in anuv. 30 are not so clear: Uttame śikhare jātā bhūmyām parvata-mūrdhāni| brāhmāgebhīyo 'bhyanuñjātā gachha devi yathāsukham | stuto (=stutā u) mayā varadā veda-mātā prachodayantī pavane dvi-jātā, etc.; where especially the first strophe reminds us of Pārvatī and Haimavatī, and one does not rightly comprehend how Sarasvati obtains such an epithet (unless we are to understand the waters streaming from the hills, since Sarasvati is, as is well known, at once a river goddess and the goddess of speech). In the same way the names Mahādevī and Sandhyāvidyā (see Wilson under Sandhyā) belong at a later period exclusively to the consort

\[216\] [The sense of these words, according to the reading in the Bibl. Ind., is: "May the boon-bestowing goddess (or the goddess Varadā) come: do thou, the mother of the Vedas, the letter equivalent to the Veda, the gāyatrī, receive with favour this my prayer . . . O thou who hast all letters, great goddess, Twilight-science, Sarasvati." The latter portion of this quotation is not found in the text in the Bibl. Ind.]

\[217\] [The sense is: "Born on the highest peak, on the earth, on the summit of the mountain, dismissed from the Brahmans, go, goddess, wherever thou wilt. Praised by me, the boon-bestowing goddess, the mother of the Veda, twice born in the air, stimulating us," etc. The latter part of this quotation does not occur in the text as given in the Bibl. Ind.]
of Śiva. The other names, however, ‘sarva-varṇā,’ ‘chhandasāṃmātā,’ ‘veda-mātā,’ and finally ‘Sarasvati’ itself, conduct us to Sarasvati; and so does also the liturgical usage, and the sense itself of anuvākas 26–30. Thus there only remains to us the possibility of assuming here a blending (and so a reminiscence of the possible original identity) of both goddesses; as we may perhaps also assume in the case of Umā Haimavati in the Kena Upanishad, agreeably to the conjecture intimated above, p. 189” (see p. 424, note 207, above).

Two of the names alluded to in the above extract from the Indische Studien, which were afterwards applied to the consort of Śiva, viz. Kālī and Karālī, occur in a passage of another of the Upanishads (the Muṇḍaka i. 2, 4), where they are appellations of two of the different tongues of fire: Kālī Karālī cha Manojāvā cha Sulohitā yā cha Sudhūmravārnā | Sphulinginī Viśvarūpī cha devī lelāyanānāḥ iti sapta jīvāḥ | which is thus translated by Dr. Roer (Bibl. Ind. xv. 153): “The seven flickering tongues [of the fire] are—Kālī (the black one), Karālī (the terrific one), Manojāvā (swift as the mind), Sulohitā (the very red one), Sudhūmravārnā (of purple colour), Sphulinginī (emitting sparks), and the Viśvarūpī (all-shaped) goddess.” The words “of the fire” are not in the original. The commentator, however, briefly remarks: Kālī Karālī Manojāvā cha Sulohitā cha yā cha Sudhūmravārnā Sphulinginī Viśvarūpī cha devī lelāyanānāḥ dahanasya jīvāḥ | Agner havir-āhuti-grasanārthāḥ etāḥ sapta jīvāḥ | “Kālī, Karālī, Manojāvā, Sulohitā, Sudhūmravārnā, Sphulinginī, and the goddess Viśvarūpī, are the seven flickering tongues of fire. These are the seven tongues which Agni has for devouring oblations of butter.”

On this passage Prof. Weber has the following remarks in his Indische Studien i. 286 f., which are thus of an earlier date than those above cited: “The first two of these names were at a later period personified, and came to represent Durgā (the consort of Śiva, who was developed out of Agni), who (Durgā), as is well known, became the object of a bloody sacrificial-worship under the names Kālī (the dark, black), Karālā, Karūlavadanā, Karālānanā, Karālamukhī. It is evident that a considerable time was required for the sense of the word to become developed from that of the ‘dark, terrific, tongue of fire’ to that of a goddess Kālī, Karūlā, worshipped with bloody sacrifices: and since
we find the latter in the drama of ‘Mālati-Mādhava,’ by Bhavabhūti, who is assigned by Wilson to the eighth century, the Mūndaka Upanishad must be considerably older; unless, indeed, the ancient signification of these names maintained itself at a later period alongside of the popular one. The worship of Durgā, Umā, and Pārvatī, may be shown in its beginnings, if not from this passage, at all events from the Upanishads of the Yajus, see Ind. Stud. i. p. 78.” In a note Weber adds: “The third name (Manojavā) reminds us of Manojavas, the appellation of Yama, the god of death, in the Vāj. S. 5, 11. Does it at a later period denote his wife? for Yama too, like Śiva, is one stage of Agni, the older, certainly, while Śiva is the more recent.”

In the passages quoted from the Bhāgavata and Vishṇu Purāṇas in section vi. (pp. 378, 385), the spouse of Mahādeva is said to have been originally the daughter of Daksha, and to have become the daughter of Himavat only when she was born the second time after her voluntary death at Daksha’s sacrifice. The following passage of the Rāmāyana says nothing of this double birth and parentage:

Rāmāyana i. 36, 13 ff. (ed. Schl.=Bombay ed. 35, 13 ff; Gorresio’s ed. 37, 14 ff.).—Śailendra Himavān nāma dātunām ākaro mahān | tasya kanyak-duṣṭaṁ jātaṁ rūpeṇāpratimam bhūvi | yā Meru-duhiṭā Rāma tayor mātā sumādhyaṁ | nāmnā Menā manojaṁ vai patiḥ Himavataḥ priyā | tasyāṁ Gangyam abhañj jyeshṭhaṁ Himavataḥ sūta | Umā nāma dovityā ’bhāt kanyā tasyaiva Rāghava | ... 19. Ya chaṁya Śaila-duhiṭā kanyā”ṣ tad Raghu-nandana | ugraṁ sā vratam āsthāya tapas tepe tapo-dhanā | ugraṁ tapasā yuktāṁ daduś Sāila-varāḥ sutām | Rudrāyāpratirūpāya Umāṁ loka-namaskritām | Ity ete Sāila-rājasya sute Rāma bhaṁvatulāḥ | Gangā cha saritāṁ śresṭhaṁ devināṁ chāpy Umā varā | “To Himavat, the chief of mountains, the great mine of metals, two daughters were born, in beauty unequalled upon earth. The daughter of Meru, Menā by name, the pleasing and beloved wife of Himavat, was their slender-waisted mother. Of her was born Gangā, the eldest daughter of Himavat; and his second daughter was called Umā. ... 19. The other daughter of the mountain, rich in austere observances, having undertaken an arduous rite, fulfilled a course of severe austerity. This daughter, Umā, distinguished by severe austerity, adored by the worlds, the chief of mountains gave to the matchless Rudra.
THREE DAUGHTERS OF HIMAVAT ACCORDING TO HARIVAṀŚA. 431

These, Rāma, were the two daughters of the king of mountains, Gangā, the most eminent of rivers, and Umā, the most excellent of goddesses."

The Harivaṃśa (vv. 940 ff.) gives the following history of Umā, which differs in some points from that of the Rāmāyaṇa, as it assigns three daughters to Himavat and Menā, among whom the Gangā is not included:

Eṣṭeḥāṃ mānasī kanyā Menā nāma mahāgirēḥ | patnī Himavataḥ śreshṭāḥ . . . 943. Tisrāḥ kanyās tu Menāyāṁ janayāmāsa Sāila-rāṭ | Aparṇām Ekaparnān cha trītyām Ekapāṭalām | tapaś charantyaḥ su-mahad duścharaṁ Deva-Dānavaḥ | lokān samātapaṁyāmāsas tās tisrāḥ sthāṇu-jangamān | āhāram eka-parṇaṃ Ekaparnā samācharat | pāṭalā-pushpam ekān cha ādādhāv Ekapāṭalā | ekā tatra nirāhārā tām mātā prayaschitayat | "u mā" iti nishedhantī mātṛi-snehana duḥkhītā | sā tathākāta tāt mātṛā devī duśchara-chārīṇī | Umēty evaḥharat khyāta trishu lokeshu sundarī | tathaiva nāmnā teneha viśrutā yogadharīni | etat tu trikumārikaṁ jagat sthāṇyati Bhārgava | tapaḥ-śārīras tāḥ sarvās tīrō yoga-balaṇvītāḥ | sarvās cha brahma-vādīnāḥ sarvās chaiva vādīh vṛetasāḥ | Umā tāsāṁ varīṣṭhāḥ cha jyesṭhāḥ cha vara-varṇīṇī | mahāyogabalaṇetā Mahādevam upasthitā | Aśītasyaikaparnā tu Devalasya mahātmanaḥ | patnī dattā mahābrahman yogāchāryāya dhīmate | Jaigīshavyāya tu tathā viddhi tām Ekapāṭalām |

940. "Their (the Pitṛis') mental daughter was Menā, the eminent wife of the great mountain Himavat. . . . 943. The king of the mountains begot three daughters upon Menā—viz. Aparṇā, Ekaparnā, and Ekapāṭalā. These three, performing very great austerity, such as could not be accomplished by gods or Dānavas, distressed [with alarm] both the stationary and the moving worlds. Ekaparnā (‘One-leaf’) fed upon one leaf. Ekapāṭalā took only one pāṭalā (Bignonia) for her food. One (Aparṇā) took no sustenance, but her mother, distressed through maternal affection, forbade her, dissuading her with the words u mā (‘O don’t’). The beautiful goddess, performing arduous austerity, having been thus addressed by her mother on that occasion, became known in the three worlds as Umā. In this manner the contemplative goddess became renowned under that name. But this world shall remain [distinguished by] having these three maids. All these three had mortified bodies, were distinguished by the force of contemplation, and were all chaste, and expounders of divine knowledge. Umā was
the eldest and most excellent among the three. Distinguished by the force derived from deep contemplation, she obtained Mahādeva [for her husband]. Ekaparṇa was given as a wife to the great Asita Devala, the wise teacher of the Yoga. And know that Ekapāṭalā was in like manner bestowed on Jaigishavya."

The following is the commencement of the hymn of Arjuna to Durgā which, as has been mentioned in p. 205, he uttered at the suggestion of Krīṣṇa: 218

Muhābhārata, Bhishma-parv. vv. 796 ff.—Arjunāḥ uvaca | namas te Siddhasenānī arye mandara-vāsini | Kumārī Kālī Kāpali Kapile Krīṣṇapinguale | Bhadrakāli namas tubhyam Mahākāli namo 'stu te | Chaṇḍi Chaṇḍe namas tubhyam Tārini Varavarṇī | Kāṭyāyani mahābhāge Karāli Vijaye Jaye | śīh-pichha-dvajā-ṭhare nānābharaṇa-bhūṣhitē | aṭṭa-sūla-praharage khadga-khetaka-ṭhāriṇī | gopendraṣyāṇaṇe jyesṭhe Nandagopa-kulūodbhava | Mahishāsriṃ-prīye nityām Kauṣiki pīṭa-vāsini | aṭṭaḥāse koka-mukhe namas te 'stu raṇa-prīye | Ume Śākambhari Svete Krīṣṇe Kaitabha-nāśini | Hiranyākṣi Virūpākṣi Dhūmaṛkṣi cha namo 'stu te | Veda-bruti mahāpuṇye brahmāntye Jātavedasi | Jambūkaṭa-chaityesu nityāṃ samihitālaye | tvam brahma-vidyā vidyānām mahānidrā cha dehitāṃ | Skandha-mātar bhagavati Durge kāntāravāsini | . . . Svāhākārāḥ Svadāḥ chaiva kalā kāśṭhā Sarasvatī | Saṃvitī Veda-mātā cha tathā Vedānta uchyate (uchyase?) | stubā 'si tvam Mahādevi viśuddhenāntarātmanā | Jayo bhavatu me nityāṃ tvat-prasādād ranājire | kāntāra-bhaya-durgasau bhaktānāṃ pālasehu cha | nityāṃ vasasi pātāle yuddhe jayasi dānāvān | tvam Jambhāni Mohinī cha Māyā Hṛīḥ Sṛṣṭi tathaiva cha | Sandhyā prabhāva śeśaiva Saṃvitī Janani tathā | Tūṣṭīḥ Pushṭīr Dhrīṣṭī Dīptiḥ chandrāditya-vivardhīni | bhūtār bhūtīmadāṁ sankhye vikṣhyase siddha-chāraṇaḥ | "Reverence be to thee, Siddhasenānī (Generaless of the Siddhas), the noble, the dweller on Mandara, Kumārī, Kālī, Kāpali, Kapile, Krīṣṇapinguale. Reverence to thee, Bhadrakāli; reverence to thee, Mahākāli; reverence to thee, Chaṇḍi, Chaṇḍā; reverence to thee, O Tārīṇī (deliveress), O Varavarṇī (beautiful-coloured), O fortunate Kāṭyāyani, O Karāli, O Vijaya, O Jayā (victory), who bearest a peacock’s tail for thy banner, adorned with various jewels, armed with many spears, wield-

218 The Bhagavadgītā, in which Krīṣṇa himself is so highly exalted and glorified, begins shortly afterwards in the twenty-fifth section of the Bhishma-parvan, vv. 830 ff.
ing sword and shield, younger sister of the chief of cowherds (Krishṇa), eldest, born in the family of the cowherd Nanda, delighting always in Mahisha’s blood, Kauśikī, wearing yellow garments, loud-laughing, wolf-mouthed, reverence to thee, thou delighter in battle, O Umā, Śākambhara, thou white one [or Svetā,] thou black one [or Krishṇā], O destroyer of Kaitabha. Reverence to thee, O Hīranyākṣi, Virūpākṣi, Dhūmrākṣi (golden-, distorted-, dark-eyed), O Vedāsruti (tradition of the Veda), most pure, devout, Jātavedasī (female Agni), who dwellest continually near to ( . . . . ?) mountain-precipices and sepulchres. Of sciences thou art the science of Brahma (or of the Veda), the great sleep of embodied beings, O mother of Skanda, divine Durgā, dweller in wildernesses. Thou art called Svāhā, Svadhā, Kalā, Kāśṭhā (minute divisions of time), Sarasvati,219 Sāvitrī, mother of the Vedas, and the Vedānta (or end of the Vedas). Thou, great goddess, art praised with a pure heart. By thy favour let me be ever victorious in battle. In deserts, fears, and difficulties, and in the preservation of thy devout servants, and in Pātāla, thou constantly abidest; and conquerest the Dānavas in battle. Thou art Jambhanī (destroyer?), Mohini, Māyā, Hṛi, Śrī, Sandhyā,220 the luminous, Sāvitrī, the mother, Tushṭi (contentment), Pushṭi (fatness), Dhṛiti (constancy), Dīpti (light), increaser of the sun and moon, the power of the powerful in battle,—[all this] thou art seen by the Siddhas and Chāraṇas [to be].”

In another part of the Mahābhārata, (fourth or) Virāṭa-parvan, 178 ff., there is another hymn (already referred to above, p. 425, note) addressed by Yudhishṭhira to Durgā, and very similar to the preceding. Among other things, she is there said to “have her perpetual abode on the Vindhyā mountains, and to delight in spirituous liquor, flesh, and sacrificial victims” (Virāṭe chaiva naga-śresṭhē tava sthānam hi sāsvatam | Kālī Kālī Mahākālī sidhu-māṁsa-paśu-priye).

In the Harivamsa, vv. 3236 ff., it is related by Vaiśampāyana that with the view of defeating the designs of Kansa in regard to the destruction of Devaki’s offspring, Viśṇu descended into Pātāla, where he sought the aid of Nidrā Kāla-rūpiṇī (Sleep in the form of Time); and

219 Compare what has been said by Prof. Weber on the relation of Umā and Sarasvati, above, p. 424, note, and p. 428.
220 See above, p. 428.
promised her in return that through his favour she should be a goddess adored in all the world (v. 3242). He desires her to be born as the ninth child of Yaśodā on the same night on which he was to be born as the eighth child of Devaki (3247), when he would be carried to Yaśodā and she to Devaki. He tells her that she would be taken by the foot, and cast out upon a rock; but would then obtain an eternal place in the sky, becoming assimilated to himself in glory; would be installed by Indra among the gods (3251 ff.), received by him as his sister under the name of Kauśikī, and would obtain from him (Indra) a perpetual abode on the Vindhyā mountain, where, thinking upon him (Vishṇu), she would kill the two demons Sumbha and Niśumbha, and would be worshipped with animal sacrifices (tatra evam bhaginy-arthe grahīshyati sa Vāsavaḥ | Kauśikasya tu gotreṇa Kauśikī tuṃ bhavishyasiṣvam | sa te Vindhyā naga-sreṣṭhe sthānāṁ dasyati sāsvatam | ityādi). Vaiśampāyana then (vv. 3268 ff.) repeats a hymn to Āryā (Durgā) which had been "uttered by rishis of old," beginning Nārāyaṇīṁ mamasyāmi devāṁ tribhuvaṇeśvarim | "I bow down before the goddess Nārāyaṇī, the mistress of the three worlds." She is here called by many of the names which we have already met in Arjuna's hymn (above, p. 432 f.), such as Śrī, Dhṛiti, Kṛiti, Hṛi, Sandhyā, Kātyāyanī, Kauśikī, Jayā, Vijayā, Tushṭi, Puṣṭi (3269 f.). She is also called the eldest sister of Yama (jyesṭhā Yamasya bhagīni, v. 3271); and it is worthy of remark that she is said to be worshipped by the [savage tribes of] Savarasa, Varvaras, and Pulindas (Savarair Varvaraiś chaiva Pulindaiś cha supūjitā, v. 3274). She is also described as fond of wine and flesh (sura-māṁsa-priyā, v. 3279), the goddess of wine (sura-devī, v. 3286), as being Sarasvatī in Vālmiki (comp. pp. 424 f., 428 f.), and Śrī (memory) in Dvāpāyana, i.e. Vyāsa (Sarasvatī cha Vālmike Śrīritir Dvāpāyane tathā, v. 3285), and among sciences, the science of Brahma or the Veda (vidyāṇām brahma-vidyā, v. 3291), and as pervading the entire world (tvayā vyāptam idam sarvaṁ jagat sthāvara-jangamam, v. 3293).

The object of this passage seems to be to take Durgā and her worship (the extensive prevalence of which could not be ignored by the Vaiṣṇavas) under the protection and patronage of Vishṇu.

221 Kauśikī is applied as an epithet to Indra in R.V. i. 10, 11. See the first volume of this work, p. 347 f., and the fifth volume, p. 219.
A hymn addressed to Durgā by Pradyumna, the son of Kṛṣṇa, is also to be found in Harivaṃsa vv. 9423 ff.; and another uttered by Aniruddha, son of Pradyumna and grandson of Kṛṣṇa, occurs in vv. 10235 ff. of the same work. The latter hymn is repeated by Vaiśampāyana after he had made obeisance to the “infinite, imperishable, celestial, eternal primeval-god Nārāyaṇa” (anantam akshayaṁ divyam adi-devam sanātanaṁ | Nārāyaṇam namaskṛtya, 10232); and he talks of the goddess as being “adored by rishis and gods with flowers of eloquence” (rishibhir āivatais chaiva vāk-pushpair architāṁ subhām, 10234). The hymn addresses Durgā as the sister of Indra and Vishṇu (Mahendra-Viṣṇu-bhaginī, v. 10235), as Gautamī, and by many of the names which we have already found in the preceding hymns, as well as by many new appellations, and goes on thus (v. 10256 ff.):

Brahmā Viṣṇuḥ cha Rudraḥ cha Chandra-sūryāgni-mārutāḥ | . . . .
krītmanā jāgad idam proktam devyāḥ nāmānukirtanat | “Brahmā, Vishṇu, Rudra, the sun, moon, and wind . . . all this world is pronounced by uttering the name of this goddess.”

The worship of this goddess reaches its climax in such works as the Devī-māhātmya in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, sections 81 ff.; where it is remarkable that she is connected with Viṣṇu, and not with her proper consort, Mahādeva. She is there called Mahāmāyā (the great Illusion), Yoganidrā (the Sleep of meditation), etc. It is there said of her (v. 47 ff.): Nityaiva sā jagana-mūrtir tasya sarvam idāṁ tatam | tathāpi tat-samutpattir bahuḥ āhāryatām mama | devānāṁ kārya-siddhy-arthām avirbhavati sā yadā | utpanneti tadā ṭoka sa nityā t'py abhidhiyate | “She is the eternal form (or substance) of the world; by her all this [universe] is stretched out; and yet hear from me her manifold birth. Whenever she is manifested to effect the purposes of the gods, she, though eternal, is said in the world to be born.” The narrative then proceeds, that when Viṣṇu was sunk in this sleep of contemplation (Yoganidrā) at the end of the Kalpa, two demons, Madhu and Kaiṭabha, sprang from his ear and were about to kill Brahmā; when the latter, seeing Viṣṇu asleep, with the view of arousing him, began to celebrate the praises of Yoganidrā, “his divine sleep who was abiding in his eyes, the mistress of the universe, the support of the world, the cause of its continuance and destruction” (Hari-netra-kritālayām | viśeṣvartāṁ jagadāhātriṁ sthiti-saṁhāra-kāri-
Some of the functions assigned to her are as follows (v. 56): Tvayaiva dhāryate sarvāṁ tvayaītāt srijyate jagat | tvayaītāt pālyate devi tvam atsy ante cha sarvādā | “By thee the universe is upheld; by thee the world is created, by thee it is preserved; and thou always devourest it at the end.”

Again, it is said of her (v. 63 ff.): Yacheha kinohit kvachid vastu sad asad vā'khilātmake | tasya sarvasya yā śaktiḥ sā tvam kim stūyate tada | yāya tvayā jagat-vaśashā jagat-patā 'tti yo jagat | so 'pi niḍrā-vaśam nītaḥ kas tvām stotum ihēśvaraḥ | Vishnuḥ śātvra-grahaṇam aham Īśāna eva cha | kārtās te yato 'tas tvām kaḥ stotum śaktimān bhavet | “Thou art the power (śakti) of whatever substance, existent or non-existent, anywhere is, O thou soul of all things: why art thou, then, lauded [by us who are unequal to the task]? Who is able to magnify thee by whom the Creator of the world, the Preserver of the world, and the Devourer of the world, have been subjected to sleep? Since thou hast caused Vishnu, and me (Brahmā), and Īśāna (Sīva) to become incorporate, who has the power to praise thee?”

The following is the beginning of a hymn addressed to her after her destruction of the demon Mahisha:

Mārk. Pur. sect. 84, 1 ff.—S'akrādayaḥ sura-gaṇāḥ nihate 'tivirya 
tasmin durātmani surāribale cha devyā | tām tushūwuḥ praṇati-namrā-
śirodurāṇumāḥ vāgbhīḥ praharsha-pulakodgama-chāru-dehāḥ | devyā yaya 
tatam idam jagad ātma-śaktiyā niḥsēsha-deva-gaṇa-śakti-samūha-murtiyā | 
tām Ambikām akhila-deva-maharshi-pājyām bhaktyā nataḥ sma vida-
dhātu śubhāni sā naḥ | yaṣyāḥ prabhāvam atulam bhagavān Ananto 
Brahma HaRaḥ cha na hi vaktum alam balanca | sā Chandikā 'khila-
jugat-paripāalanāya nāṣāya chāsubha-bhayasya matiḥ karotu | “When 
the goddess had slain this very powerful and malignant [demon] and 
the host of the enemies of the gods,—the deities, headed by Indra, 
with their necks and shoulders bowed down in obeisance, and their 
edges beautified by horrripilation, delighted, lauded her with [these] 
words: ‘We bow down with devotion before that goddess Ambikā, who 
stretched out this world by her own power, in whom are impersonated 
the various energies (śakti) of all the gods, who is to be adored by all 
the deities and rishis: may she confer upon us blessings. May Chand 
kā, whose unequalled majesty and might neither the divine Ananta 
(Viṣṇu), nor Brahmā, nor Hara (Sīva) is competent to express, de-
termine upon the preservation of the world, and the destruction of the fear of evil."

These specimens may suffice to show the dignity to which this goddess has eventually been elevated in the estimation of her worshippers; and a comparison of the characteristics which are here assigned to her with the descriptions quoted above from the Rāmāyana, Mahābhārata, etc. (pp. 364, 373 ff., 430 f.), will show that she has now attained a higher rank in the Indian pantheon than was originally enjoyed by the daughter of Daksha and Himavat.
APPENDIX.

NOTE A.—Page 33, line 19.

In the Uttarakanda, too, of the Ramayana (iv. 9, Bombay ed.), it is said: Prajapatiḥ pura srishṭvā apaḥ salila-sambhavah | tāsaṁ gopāyane sattvāṁ aṣṭijat padma-sambhavah | "The lotus-born Prajapati, sprung from the waters (or the source of the waters), having formerly created the waters, created beings to protect them;" who, from agreeing to undertake this function, were called Rakshasas (from the root raksh, "to protect").

On this verse the commentator remarks: "Apaḥ srishṭvā" bhūmer adho-bhāga-vartinār apaḥ srishṭvā ity arthāḥ | tatra "salila-sambhavah" Prajapātir abhūd ity anvayaḥ | . . . . "‘Having created the waters:’ the sense is having created the waters existing beneath the earth. In them the water-born Prajapati arose: such is the connexion." . . . He then quotes Manu i. 8 (see p. 30, above), and two other texts from the Veda. See above, p. 24, note.

NOTE B.—Page 65, line 25.

In the description of the regions to which the monkeys were sent to search for Sita after she had been carried off by Ravana, which is given in the Kishkindhā Kanda or fourth book of the Ramayana, the following reference occurs to the three steps of Vishnu; and it is of such a character as to preserve some trace of Aurabhava’s interpretation of those steps:

Sect. 40, vv. 54a ff. (Bombay ed.):—Tataḥ param hemamayah brīmān Udaya-parvataḥ | tasya koṭir divame srishṭvā sata-yojanam ayataḥ | jāta-

1 Gorresio, iv. 40, 59 ff., has several various readings in this passage. I have noted those which occur in the most important verses.
rupamaya divya virajati sa-vedika | . . . 57. Tatra yojana-vistaram uchhritaṁ dasa-yojanam | śringaṁ Saumanasam nāma jātarupamayaṁ dhruvam | 58. Tatra pūrva-padaṁ kṛtvā purā Vishnuḥ trivikrame (trivikramaḥ, Gor.) | deviśyaṁ śikhare Meroḥ chakāraḥ purushottamaḥ | 59. Uttareṇa parikramya Jambūdvipaṁ divākaraḥ | ċriśyo bhavati bhūyishthaṁ śikharam tad mahochhrayam (ćriśyo bhavati bhūtānaṁ śikharam tam upāśritaḥ, Gor.) | 54. “Beyond that is the glorious, golden, Udaya parvata [mountain over which the sun rises]; the divine and golden peak of which shines, touching the sky, a hundred yojanas long, and supported by a basement. . . . 57. There stands the firm, golden Saumanasa peak, a yojana broad and ten yojanas high. When Vishnu, the chief of spirits, formerly strode three paces, he planted his first step there, and his second on the summit of Meru. When the sun has circled round Jambūdvipa by the north [or, with his last (step)], he is mostly visible on that lofty peak;” (or, ‘he is visible to living beings, resting upon that peak,’ Gor.).

The commentator remarks on vv. 57 and 58: Tatra sata-yojana-dīrghe Udaya-giri-śikhare | 58. Tatra Saumanasa śringe trivikrame tribhiḥ padaśi trilokyaḥ ākramana-prastāve prathamam padaṁ tatra kṛtvā deviśyaāṇaḥ padam Meroḥ śikhare chakāra | On v. 59: Astānāntaram uttareṇa Jambu-dvipam parikramya tan mahochhrayāṁ śikharam Saumanasaṁ- bhuyam prāpya sthito divākaro Jambu-dvipa-vartināṁ bhūyishtham ċriśto bhavati Saumanasa-śikhare ity arthaḥ | idam satya-yugabhiprāyaṁ tretāyāṁ kṣhira-sāgara-madhyya-gasya dvāpara suroda-madhyya-gasya kalau Lanka-madhyya-gasya Jambūdvipa-stha-manushya-ćrisyatāyaṁ anyatrottatvāt | ‘‘There,’ on this summit of the Udaya-giri, a hundred yojanas long. 58. ‘There,’ on that peak Saumanasa, in his triple stride, on the occasion of his traversing the three worlds with three steps, [Vishnu] placed his first step, and his second on the summit of Meru.” On v. 59 he observes: “After sunset, when the sun has circled round Jambūdvipa by the north [or, with his last (step)], he is mostly seen by the inhabitants of that dvipa standing on the lofty summit called Saumanasa. This refers to the Satya yuga. For it is said in other books that in the Tretā age the sun is beheld by the men of Jambūdvipa to go through the ocean of milk, in the Dvāpara through the ocean of wine, and in the Kali through Lanka.”

The three steps of Vishnu are mentioned in other parts of the Rāma-
yaṇa. Thus in book vi. 39, 21 (Bombay ed.), it is said: Prāsādaiscā vimānaiś cha Lankā parama-bhūṣitā | ghanair ivātapāpāye madhyamaṁ Vaishṇavam padam | "Lankā was beautifully adorned with temples and palaces, as the middle step (or position) of Viṣṇu, with clouds, at the departure of the hot season [and commencement of the rains]." The commentator explains the middle position of Viṣṇu by ākāśa. This passage appears to refer to the zenith.

NOTE C.—Page 134, line 34.

It will be observed that in the text of the Bombay edition the two parts of the story, viz. (1) the request of the gods to Viṣṇu that he would assume the form of a dwarf, and (2) the petition of Kaśyapa to the same deity that he would become the son of himself and Aditi, are more closely connected than they are in Schlegel’s edition by the insertion of the words, "Bestow the boon which Aditi, the gods, and I solicit," which are wanting in Schlegel’s text. Further, in the Bombay edition Kaśyapa is made to allude to "the hermitage where the work was accomplished," as if he was himself present there, of which nothing is said in Schlegel’s edition. And again, as already noticed in note 129, p. 130, by the omission of the words "thus addressed by the deities," which occur at the beginning of verse 17 of Schlegel’s text, the Bombay edition harmonizes the two parts of the story, and removes the appearance of interpolation which Schlegel’s text exhibits.

NOTE D.—Page 175, line 33.

In this note I shall adduce some further evidence tending to confirm the supposition that Rāma may not have been originally represented in the Rāmāyaṇa as an incarnation of Viṣṇu.

In the summaries of the poem, contained in sections 1 and 3² of

² It is worthy of remark, that in the third section the poet is said to have "seen" all that he narrates in the poem; just as the Vedic rishis are said to have "seen" their hymns (see Nirukta ii. 11: Rishir darśanāt | stotān dadarśā ity Aupaman-

�avah | "Rishi comes from seeing: he is one who saw the hymns," so says Aupama-

anyakavan.” See the second volume of this work, pp. 195 and 196; also the third vol., p. 85). Rāmāyaṇa i. 3, 3: Rāma-Lakṣamāṇa-Stīrāhiḥ rojñā Dāsarathena cha|
the First Book, as given in the Bombay edition and in Schlegel’s, no allusion is made to the divine origin of Rāma; and the same is the case in the first and third sections in Gorresio’s edition also. In the fourth section, however, of the last-named recension (which the others do not contain), the plan pursued by the gods for the destruction of Rāvana, and the divine fluid through which the sons of Daśaratha were produced, are distinctly referred to (vv. 14, 15: Rāvaṇasya badhopye mantraṇāṁ samudāhritam | 15. Svargāvataraṇaṁ chaiva surāṇāṁ samudāhritam | divyā cha pāyasotpatiḥ putra-janma nirpaśya cha). In the first of the two summaries in Rāmāyaṇa i. 1, 13 and 18 (Bombay ed.), Rāma is described as “glorious like Prajāpati” (Prajāpati-samaṅ śṛtāṁ, v. 18), and as “resembling Vishnu in vigour, and pleasant to behold, like the Moon” (Vishnunā saḍṛśo virya soma-vat priyadarśanaḥ, v. 18). The first of the epithets in the last line would imply that he was not Vishnu. Otherwise, what necessity for the comparison? The commentator remarks thus on the expression in v. 18: Yadyapi Rāmo Vishnur eva sarva-rūpaḥ cha tathāpi mānushopādi-bhedat sarvatra saḍṛśyaṁ drashtavyam | yadvā Vishnunā saḍṛśaḥ ity ananvayālankāraḥ | “Although Rāma was no other than Vishnu, still, from the seeming distinctness of his humanity, resemblances may be regarded as existing in all points [between the one and the other]. Or, the comparison may be regarded as coming within the class of improper similes (ananvayālankāra).” See Professor Goldstücker’s Dictionary under this word. In regard to the other epithet, “glorious like Prajāpati,” v. 13, the commentator similarly observes: Yadyapi Rāmo Brahma eva tathāpi mānusha-dharmānāṁ śoka-mohānāṁ māyikānāṁ tatra darśanena aupādhikā-hedam adāya tat-samavatoktiḥ | Bhārgava-loka-pratibandha-rūpāj

sabhāryeṇa sarvaḥṣreṇa yat prōptāṁ tatra tatvataḥ | 4. Hasitam bhūṣhitāṁ chaiva gatir yāvaḥ cha cheshṭitam | tat sarvaṁ dharna-vīryeṇa yathāvat samprapanṭyati | 5. Strī-trīṭyena cha tathā yat prōptāṁ charatā vaive | satyasanthena Rāmeṇa tat sarvaṁ chāṇeṣvaiśkāta | 6. Tatāḥ paśyati dharmātmā tat sarvaṁ yogam āttāthāḥ | purā yat tatra nirvṛttam pāṇām āmalakaṁ yathā | 7. Tat sarvaṁ taṭvato drīṣṭvā ityādi | 3. “Whatever actually occurred to Rāma, Lakṣmaneṇa and Sītā, to king Daśaratha with his wives and dominions, (4) their laughing, their talking, their fates and their endeavours—all that he sees exactly by the power of righteousness. 5. He also beheld all that happened to the truthful Rāma while travelling in the forest with his wife as the third. 6. Then the righteous (bard), falling into a state of contemplation (yoga), sees all that had formerly happened, like an “āmalaka” fruit in his hand. 7. Seeing all this exactly,” etc.
APPENDIX.

Jaṭāyu-moksha-pradāna-rūpāt sevāna saha sarvāyodhīyā-vāsi-janasya sa-
śarīrasya Brahma-loka-nayana-rūpāch cha kāraṇāt tat-samattvam | sarvātā śvatantrasya eva idrīśeṣu yogyatāt | “Although Rāma was no other than Brahma, still, owing to the circumstance that grief, delusion, and other illusory human attributes, were seen in him,—in reference to this apparent distinctness,—a resemblance is predicated. From the fact that he deprived Bhārgava (Paśurāma, see above, p. 177) of his celestial abode, that he conferred final emancipation on Jaṭāyu (Rāmāyaṇa, Bombay ed., iii. 68, 37), and that he took with him to Brahmā’s paradise the whole of the inhabitants of Ayodhyā in an embodied state, there is a similarity (between Rāma and Prajāpati); since only a being who was in all respects independent of others could be capable of such acts.” As instances of Rāma’s “illusory human attributes,” I may mention his ignorance of Sītā’s locality when she had been carried off by Rāvaṇa (Ār. Kāṇḍa 58, 1 ff., Bombay ed.—Gorr. sect. 65), and the consequent search instituted for her discovery (Kishkindhā K. 40, 11 ff., Bombay ed.—Gorr. ed. 40, 9 ff.), and his doubt regarding her purity after she had been rescued from the Rākshasa’s palace (Bāla Kāṇḍa 1, 81 ff., Bombay ed.). There are some phrases in the summary of the poem, in the first chapter of the first book, which are of a hyperbolical character, and do not necessarily point to a divine character in Rāma. Thus, in verse 4 the hero about whom inquiry is made is described as one of whom the gods are afraid (kasya bibhyati devās cha). In v. 84 Rāma is said to have been honoured, or worshipped, by all the gods (pūjitaḥ sarva-devataiḥ); while on the other hand he is said, v. 86, to have received a boon from the gods (devatābhya varam prāpya). In verse 32 Rāma and his party, while living at Chitrakūṭa, are compared to gods and gandharvas (deva-gandharva-sankūśāḥ). In section 2, verse 32, the epithets dharmatmam bhagavataḥ, and dhīmataḥ, “righteous,” “divine or venerable” (an epithet constantly applied to Krishṇa, as well as to Buddha), and “wise,” are assigned to Rāma. “Bhagavat” need not necessarily mean “divine.”

In the text, pp. 170 ff. (see also pp. 165 ff.), following Lassen, I have pointed out that the second sacrifice described in the fourteenth section in Schlegel’s edition has some appearance of not having formed a portion of the original poem. It will also be seen from note 164
in p. 165, as compared with the quotation given in the text in the same and the following pages, that the Bombay edition, which frequently differs in its readings from Schlegel’s, omits vv. 5–11 of the section in question (the fourteenth), as given in the latter, and passes at once from the fourth to the twelfth verse. In the account which follows of the request preferred by the gods to Vishnu to become incarnate in the sons of Dašaratha, etc., the two editions differ in their arrangement of details, but not in the substance. In the Bombay edition the words pitaram rochayāmāsa tadā Dašaratham nriṇam (“he accepted as his father the king Dašaratha”), which occur in section 15, 32, are repeated in section 16, 8.

In the text, pp. 174 ff., I have given the account of the birth of Dašaratha’s sons according to Schlegel’s edition. I now subjoin the description of the same event as found in the Bombay edition and in Gorrésio’s:

[Bombay ed., sect. 18, vv. 8 ff.]


strakusalau Vishnur artha-saman-vitau | 15. Pushye jatas tu Bharato
minalagnosprasannadhi | Sarpe
jatav tu Samkrit kultre bhudite
ravau | 16. Ragnah putra mahat-
malam chatvairo jainire prithak
gunavantonurupashoahurohyapros-
sthapadopamanah |

[Bombay edition.]
8. “After the sacrifice had been completed, the six seasons passed; and then in the twelfth month, in Chaitra, on the ninth lunar day, (9) in the lunar mansion of which Aditi is the deity, when five planets were culminating, when Jupiter was rising with the moon in the sign of Cancer,— (10) Kausalya brought forth Rama, the lord of the world, adored by all worlds, possessed of celestial marks, (11) a son of high destinies, the half of Vishnu, and gladdener of the race of Ikshvaku, with red eyes, great-armed, with red lips, and with a voice like a kettle-drum. 12. Kausalya received lustre from this son of unbounded might, as Aditi did from the chief of the gods who wields the thunderbolt. 13. [A son] called Bharata, of real valour, possessed of all virtues, was born of Kaikeyi, who was manifestly the

Bharatano mahakaikesyayah putra
satya-parakrama | dharmatma cha
mahatma cha prakhyata-bala-vikrama
| \ldots 19. Sa chaturbhir mahabhagai
putair Dasarathavo ritah
babhava parama-prito devair iva
Pitamahah | 20. Tesham ketu rva
sheshtho Ramo loka-hite rata
Svayambhur iva devanam sarvesham
sama-darsanah |

[Gorresio’s edition.]
After naming Dasaratha’s wives, the narrative proceeds:

10. “To them were born four sons, of boundless might, Rama, Lakshmana, Satrughana, and Bharata, in fashion like the gods. 11. Kausalya brought forth Rama, a son of unparalleled vigour, the first in birth, might, and qualities, equal in valour to Vishnu. 12. (=v. 12. of the Bomb. ed.) 13. For this lotus-eyed Rama was born from the half of Vishnu’s generative power, for the good of the worlds, and the destruction of Ravana. 14. This glorious hero, a mine of virtues, excelled in fire and energy, and in manly vigour was not inferior to Indra and Vishnu. 15. So too Sumitrah bore two sons, Lakshmana and Satrughna, firm in devotion, of great energy, second to Rama in virtues. 16. These two also, combined, were two

3 This verse, though not in the Bombay edition, is to be found in Schlegel’s as the fifth.”
fourth parts [i.e. were, together, the fourth part] of Vishnu. From the other fourth part there was born (17) to Kaikeyi, one son named Bharata, of real valour, righteous, high-souled, renowned for power, and energy. 

... 19. Daśaratha, surrounded by his four sons of high destinies, was highly pleased, like Piṭāmaha, attended by the gods. 20. Rāma, devoted to the good of the worlds, was, like a banner, the most eminent among them, like Sva-yambhū among the gods, and impartial to all."

The Bombay edition has not the verse which is found as the fifth in Schlegel's edition, and the thirteenth in Gorresio's, but it, equally with the others, asserts in its eleventh verse (which is not in Schlegel's edition) that the half of Vishnu was incarnate in Rāma. The same remark which in p. 175 I have made on the passage as given in Schlegel's edition, applies to this recension also—viz. that the verses which refer to Daśaratha's sons being incarnations of Vishnu might be omitted with little injury to the connexion. The account of Bharata, Lakṣmaṇa, and Satruighna, given in vv. 13-15 (as they now stand), has a certain awkwardness, inasmuch as after leaving Bharata, and introducing (v. 14) Lakṣmaṇa and Satruighna, the narrator, recurs (v. 15) to Bharata, to give further particulars of his birth, and then goes back again to the other brothers. If, however, vv. 13 and 14 have been interpolated, it is possible that some other lines, which seem necessary to complete v. 15, and to tell the name of Bharata's mother, and the names of Sumitrā's sons (which that verse does not contain), may at the same time have been left out. In Gorresio's text of this passage, the verses describing the astrological influences under which Daśaratha's

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4 Which had been communicated to their mother. See sect. 15, 21, Schlegel.
sons were born, are left out; though these are not unlikely to have formed part of the original text of the poem. The twelfth verse of this (as well as the corresponding verses of the other two recensions), where Rāma is compared to Indra, and also the fourteenth verse (Gorr.), in which he is said to be not inferior to Indra and Viṣṇu [these two verses, I say, if original portions of the poem, as is not unlikely], sound somewhat strangely as part of a work in which the incarnation of Rāma was originally contemplated, as it would not exalt the reader’s conception of the dignity of the hero (supposed to be an incarnation of Viṣṇu) to compare his might to that of Indra, an inferior god. On this subject Gorresio remarks, in note 90, p. 423 f. of his sixth volume, as follows: “This is one of the passages in the poem from which it might be inferred that the avātara of Viṣṇu in Rāma was an interpolation in the epopee. If Rāma was a corporeal manifestation of Viṣṇu, and consequently Viṣṇu himself in a human form, the epithet ‘not inferior to Viṣṇu,’ which is here assigned to him, has neither appropriateness nor sense. It would be as if it were said to any one that he was not inferior to himself. But we shall not anticipate the judgment of a question which has need to be maturely considered.”

Again, it is related in the Āraṇya K., or Third Book, 30, 20 ff. of Gorresio’s edition, that when the Rākshasas were about to attack Rāma, the gods and other beings became very anxious about his safety: Tato devarshi-gandharvāḥ siddhaḥ cha saha chāraṇaiḥ | uchuh parama-sanstrastōḥ guhyakāśaḥ cha parasparam | chatur-dāsa sahasrāṇi rakshasāṁ bhima-karma-ṇām | ekāḥ cha Rāmo dharmaṁ kathāṁ yuddham bhavishyati | Rāmo non viḍito yo ’yaṁ yathā cha vasudhāṁ gataḥ | manushyaṁ tu matva ’syā kāruntuḥ vyāhitaṁ manaḥ | nardantiva chaṁus teshāṁ rakshasāṁ kāma-ṛpiṇām | nānā-vikrita-veśānāṁ Ramāśramam upagamat | “Then the gods, rishis, Gandhārvas, Siddhas, Chāraṇas, and Guhyakas, being greatly terrified, spoke thus among themselves: ‘There are fourteen thousands of Rākshasas, terrible in their deeds, and the righteous Rāma is but one: how shall they fight together? We know who

5 Signor Gorresio, on the other hand, thinks they are superfluous (Preface, vol. i., p. lii.).
6 In the Āraṇya Kūṇḍa 68, 38 (Bombay ed.), Rāma and Lakshmana are compared to the chief of the gods, Viṣṇu and Viṣṇa (Indra, suṇendrāv iva Viṣṇu-vaśo vau) The commentator makes no remark on this.
this Rāma is, and how he went to the earth; but considering his human nature, our minds are distressed from compassion. The army of these Rākshasas, who take any shape they will, and who have assumed various disguises, has approached the hermitage of Rāma, as if shouting.

In the Bombay ed. iii. 24, 19 ff., however, most of the words ascribed to the gods, etc., are quite different: Tuto devāḥ sa-gandharvah śiddhās cha saha chāraṇaṁ | sameyusha mahātmāno yuddha-darśana-kāṁkṣhayā | 20. Rishayaś mahātmāno loke brahmaśri-sattamāḥ | sametya chocchuḥ sahitās te 'nyonyam punya-karmanāh | 21. Svasti go-brahmaṇānāccha lokānām cheti samsthitāḥ | jayatāṁ Rāghavo yuddhe Paulastyān rojanīcharan | 22. Chakra-hasto yathā yuddhe sarvān asura-pungavān | evam uktvā punah prochur ālokyā cha parasparam | 23. Chaturdāsa sahāserāni rākṣasāṁ bhima-karmanām | ekaś cha Rāmo dharmātmā kathāṁ yuddham bhavishyati | 24. Iti rājarṣayaḥ siddhāḥ sa-gaṇās cha devijarethabhaḥ | jāta-kautāhalās tathur vimāna-sthās cha devatāḥ | 25. Āvishṭāṁ tejasā Rāmaṁ sangrāma-sirasi sthitam | ċhṛṣṭeśa sarvāṇi bhātāṁ bhavād vivayathre tada | 26. Rūpaṁ apratimaṁ tasya Rāmasyākliṣṭa-karmanāḥ | babhūva rūpaṁ kruddhaśya Rudrayeva mahātmanaḥ | ......... 35. Tasya rūṣṭasya rūpaṁ tu Rāmasya ādṛīse tada | Dakṣayaśeva kruṭum hantam udyatasya Pīnākinaḥ | 19. “Then the great gods, Gandharvas, and Siddhas, with the Chāraṇas, (20) and the great rishis, the most excellent Brahman rishis, assembled in the world, eager to witness the battle: and being assembled, these holy beings thus spoke to one another: 21. ‘Blessings be upon cows and Brahmons, and upon the worlds! may Rāma conquer in battle the Rākshasas, the descendants of Pulastya, (22) as the god who bears the discus (Vishṇu) [overcame] the chiefs of the Asuras.’ Having thus spoken, and looked at each other, they said again: 23. ‘There are fourteen thousands of Rākshasas, terrible in their deeds, and the righteous Rāma is but one:

7 Adhyātmaṁ ārham | Comm.
8 The following is the commentator’s note on the last four words of this line, of which it is difficult to make any sense as they stand: “Lokānāṁ ye bhisangataḥ” iti pāthe lokānāṁ lokapātānāṁ sangataḥ havir-homaditi-devāṁ nyapārakāṁ ity arthaḥ. “According to another reading, lokānāṁ ye bhisangataḥ, the sense is, ‘and upon those guardians of the world who have arrived, who aid us by means of oblations, sacrifices,’ etc.”
9 This verse, as given in Gorresio’s edition, will be found above, p. 373, note.
how shall they fight together?" 24. [Having] thus [spoken], the royal rishis, Siddhas, and Brahman rishis with the [other] hosts, stood in curious expectation, together with the gods in aerial cars. 25. Beholding Rāma, full of might, standing in the front of the battle, all creatures were agitated with fear. 26. The unparalleled form of Rāma, vigorous in action, was like that of the great Rudra when incensed. . . . 35. The form of Rāma, incensed, was beheld then, like that of Pinākin (Rudra) when prepared to destroy the sacrifice of Daksha."

From a comparison of these passages, as given in the two different recensions, it appears probable that the speech which is put into the mouths of the gods and other spectators, in the Bombay edition, is the most ancient and original, as no mention is there made of the divine nature of Rāma, the reference to Vyishyu in the twenty-second verse being introduced only by way of illustration, in the same way as the allusions to Rudra in the twenty-sixth and thirty-fifth verses. In Gorresio's edition, on the other hand, there is a distinct reference to the divine nature of Rāma; and I therefore conjecture that the short speech which it contains has been substituted for the other somewhat longer one, by a subsequent editor in support of this later conception.

The career of Rāma in his conflicts with the Rākshasas was not entirely unchequered by reverses. In the forty-fifth section of the sixth, or Yuddha Kāṇḍa, Bombay ed. (corresponding to section 20 of Gorresio's recension), it is related that both he and his brother Lakshmana were severely wounded and rendered senseless by a cloud of serpents transformed into arrows, which were shot by Indrajit, son of Rāvana.

In the following citations I shall use the Bombay edition only, except when I specially refer to Gorresio's. In vv. 7 ff. (sect. 45) it is said: Rāma-Lakshmanayor eva sarva-deha-bhīdaḥ sarāṇ | bhṛtām avesāyāmāsa Rāvanīḥ samitinjayah | nirantara-sarīrāu tu āv ubhau Rāma-Lakshmanāu.10 | kruddhenendrajītabhītāv pannagaiḥ saratām gataiḥ | tayoḥ kshata-ja-mārgena susrāva rudhiram bahu | . . . 16. Baddhau tu sarabandhena āv ubhau rāṇa-mūrdhāni | nimeshāntara-mātreṇa na ṣekatār avesēhitum | . . . 22. Papāta prathamaṁ Rāmo viddha marmasau mārgaṇaiḥ | krodhād Indrajītabhītāyena purā Saṅkar 'pi nirjītaḥ | "The son of

10 Instead of āv ubhau Rāma-Lakshmanāu, Gorresio's edition (vi. 20, 8) reads kṛitaṁ tuśa yāyakāṁ tadā.
Rāvana, victorious in battle, discharged numerous arrows which pierced the whole bodies of Rāma and Lakshmana. Both of these two heroes had their bodies [wounded] in every spot by the incensed Indrajit with serpents\(^\text{11}\) which had taken the form of arrows. Much blood flowed through the openings formed by their wounds. . . . 16. Bound by the chain of these arrows in the front of the battle, those two could not look up even for a moment.\(^\text{12}\) . . . 22. Rāma first fell, pierced in the most vital parts, in anger, by Indrajit, by whom even Indra had formerly been conquered.”\(^\text{13}\) Their allies the monkeys arrive and find the two brothers lying helpless. Sect. 46, 3 ff. . . . Anvāśocharita

Rāghavau| acheshtau manda-nīvāsaun soṇitena pariplitau| sara-jalāchitau\(^\text{14}\) stabdhau sayānau sara-talpa-gau | nīvāsantau yathā sarpaui nīcheshtau dina-vikramau | ityādi | “They bewailed the two descendants of Raghu, incapable of effort, breathing slowly, bathed in blood, encompassed with a net of arrows, stiff, lying on a bed of arrows, breathing like serpents, helpless, their vigour quelled,” etc. Vibhishana comforts the monkeys by saying that the good fortune of Rāma and Lakshmana would not forsake them (vv. 38 ff.): Athavā rakṣhyatām Rāmo yāvat sanjā-viparyayaḥ | labdha-sanjnau hi Kākutsthau bhayaṁ nau vyapatneshyataḥ | naitat kinchana Rāmasya na cha Rāmo mumūrshati | na hy enaṁ hāsyato Lakṣmīr durlabhā yā gatayushām | “Or, let Rāma be guarded while his insensibility continues. When the two descendants of Kākutsthā have recovered their senses, they shall remove our fear. This [mishap] of Rāma is nothing; he is not about to die: for Good Fortune (Lakṣmī), who is beyond the reach of the dead, will not abandon him.”

\(^{11}\) The edition of Gorresio (see preceding note) supplies the word “arrows.” Böhltingk and Roth, s.v. nirāntara, translate the clause thus: “There was no spot on their bodies in which an arrow was not sticking.”

\(^{12}\) On this the commentator, in conformity with his dogmatic views regarding the divine nature of the two heroes, remarks: Na lekatur avēkṣhitum | tāḍrēvā eva sthītau manuṣhyatvam-naṣṭaniya iti bodhyam | “Could not look up:” remained, as it were, in this condition. This is to be understood as done to act (i.e. simulate) humanity (i.e. that they were mere men).”

\(^{13}\) Indrajit’s victory over Indra is related in the Uttara Kānda, section 27. He was originally called Meghānāda, but after he had taken Indra captive, he received from Brahmā the name of Indra-jit, or the “conqueror of Indra,” ibid. section 30. A summary of the story will be found further on.

\(^{14}\) Gorresio’s ed. reads sara-jālaṣṭhitau.
APPENDIX.

It will be observed that nothing is here said of the divine nature of Rāma; and nothing is said of Lakshmī being his spouse, though she is regarded in Hindu mythology as the consort of Nārāyaṇa (see the commentator's remark on Uttara Kāṇḍa, 17, 35, which will be quoted below).

In the next section (the forty-seventh) of the Yuddha Kāṇḍa it is related that Rāvaṇa sent Sītā on his car Pushpaka, with the Rākshaśī Trijaṭā (v. 14), to the spot where Rāma and Lakshmāṇa were lying wounded and helpless; and that on seeing these brothers, "powerful as the sons of the gods" (deva-suta-prabhāvau, v. 23), she broke out into lamentations, supposing them to be dead. The forty-eighth section contains her lament, in the course of which she says: 16. "Did not the two sons of Raṅgu possess the supernatural weapons of Varuṇa, Agni, Indra, and Vāyu, and the Brahma-siras?" 17. My two lords (though I am now lordless), Rāma and Lakshmāṇa, the equals of Indra, have been slain in battle by an unseen foe, by enchantment. 18. For no foe, though swift as thought, could return living, after he had once been beheld by Rāma in the fight. 19. Nothing can counterbalance the power of Time, and Fate is invincible" (vv. 16 ff.: Nanu Vāruṇam Āgneyam Aindraṁ Vāyavyam eva cha | astram Brahma-sīrṣā chaiva Rāghavau pratyaṇapad-yata | 17. Adṛśyaṁāṇena raṇe māyāyā Vāsasvopamaṇau | mama nāthāv anāthāyāḥ nihatat Rāma-Lakshmāṇau | 18. Na hi drīṣṭi-patham prāpya Rāghavasya raṇe ripuḥ | jīvan pratinicarteta yādyapi syād manojavaḥ | 19. Na Kālaśātihāyo 'sti kritāntaḥ cha suñjayaḥ). Sītā is then consoled by the Rākshaśī Trijaṭā, who tells her (v. 22) that her husband is not dead; and explains why she thinks so. In vv. 30 ff., she says: Nemanu śakyau raṇe-jetuṁ sendraṁ api surāswaiḥ | tādiśaṁ darśanam drīṣṭvā mayā chodiritāṁ tava | idam tu sumahach chitraṁ śaraṁ paśyasva Maithili | visanjanau patītaṁ etau naiva Lakṣmīr vimun-chati | prāyenā gata-sattvānām purushāṇāṁ gatāyusmaiḥ | ċrīśyāmāneshu vaktreshu param bhavati vaikritam | "These two cannot be conquered in battle even by the Suras and Asuras, Indra included. Such a sight I have seen, and declared to thee. But behold this great wonder, that though they are lying senseless from the arrows, Fortune (Lakshmī)

15 The commentator says on this verse: Pratyapadvatam pratyapadyatām | eka-vacchanam ārsham | "nānu" itaḥ pūrvaṁ tat kim idāniṁ na sṛṣṭam iti śeṣaṁ.
does not abandon them. There is generally a great change in the countenances, when beheld, of men who have lost their lives, and whose breath has departed.” While the monkeys were watching Rāma, he recovers his consciousness (sect. 49, v. 3): Elasminn antare Rāmo pratyabudhyata viryavān | sthiratvā satva-yogādhehaḥ 16 saraiḥ sandaṇito 'pi san | “In the mean time the heroic Rāma awoke, owing to his firmness and robustness of frame, though he had been bound by the arrows.” He then begins to lament the loss of his brother Laksmana, whom he supposes to be dead; and ascribes the misfortune to his own bad generalship (v. 18: Imām adya gato 'vasthām mamānāryasya durnayaḥ).

In sect. 50, Vībhishana laments the condition of Rāma and his brother, and the disappointment thereby caused to his own hopes of becoming king of Lankā; but is comforted by Sugrīva, who says to him (vv. 21 f.): Rāyyam prāpyasi dharma-jña Lankāyāṁ neha saṁsayaḥ | Rāvaṇaḥ saha putreṇa sva-kāmāṁ neha lapsyate | 22. Garuḍādhishṭhitāv etāv ubhau Rāghave-Lakṣmānau | tyaytāv moham badhishyete sa-gaṇāṁ Rāvaṇaṁ raṇe | “Thou, O [prince], well skilled in duty, shalt without doubt obtain sovereignty in Lankā; but Rāvaṇa and his son shall not obtain the object of their desire. 22. Both Rāma and Laksmana are watched over by Garuḍa: having escaped from their swoon, they shall slay Rāvaṇa with his hosts.” Sugrīva, however, proposes to his father-in-law Sushena, to remove Rāma and Lakṣmāṇa from the scene of action to Kishkindhā; and promises that he himself will slay Rāvaṇa, his sons and kinsmen, and bring back Sītā, as Indra recovered the lost Sītī (24 f.: Saha śūrair hari-gaṇair labdha-sanjnāv arindamau | gachha tvam bhrātarau grihya Kishkindhāṁ Rāma-Lakṣmānau | ahaṁ tu Rāvaṇaṁ hatvā sa-putraṁ saha-bändham | Maithilīn ānayishyāmi Sakra nāṣṭāṁ iva S'Riyan).17

Sushena, however, then relates (vv. 26–32) that once when the gods had been wounded with arrows and rendered senseless, in a combat with the Dānavas, they had been cured by Bṛhaspati by his knowledge and the use of herbs aided by sacred texts; and suggests that some of the monkeys should be sent to the ocean of milk to bring

16 Mahā-bala-yuktatvaḥ | Comm.
17 In Gorgesio's edition fifteen more verses (vi. 25, 27–41) follow, in which Sugrīva boasts further of what he will accomplish; but they are not found in the Bombay ed,
those herbs. The Bombay edition then goes on at once in vv. 33 ff. to relate that a tempest arose, attended with lightnings, and announces the arrival of the celestial bird Garuḍa for the purpose of curing Rāma and his brother. In Gorresio's text the following verses are introduced between those which correspond to the thirty-second and thirty-third of the Bombay edition:

Gorresio, sect. 26, vv. 8, 9, 10, 11a.—Athainam upasangamyaya Vāyuḥ karṇe vacho 'bravīt | Rāma Rāma mahābāho ātmānaṁ smara vai hridā | Nārāyaṇas tvam bhaṭavān Rākshastārthe 'vatāritaḥ | smara sarpa-bhujam devam Vainateyam mahābalam | sa sarpa-bandhād ghorat tu yuvām sammochayishyati | sa tasya vachanaṁ śrutvā Rāghavo Raṛghu-nandanaḥ | sasāra Garuḍaṁ devam bhujagānāṁ bhayāvaham | "Then Vāyu, approaching him, spoke this word in his ear: 'Rāma, Rāma, great-armed, recollect thyself in thy heart: thou art the divine Nārāyaṇa, who hast descended [to earth] on account of the Rākshasas. Call to mind the snake-devouring god, the strong Vainateya (the bird Garuḍa); he shall deliver you twain from the dreadful bonds of the serpents.' Hearing Vāyu's words, Rāma called to mind the god Garuḍa, the terroriser of serpents."

The absence of these verses from the Bombay edition renders it probable that they formed no part of the original Rāmāyaṇa. But in addition to this fact, another proof to the same effect is to be found in the circumstance that in the verses which follow shortly after in both recensions Rāma, after being cured by Garuḍa, is represented as inquiring, and consequently, as being ignorant, who his benefactor is, although, according to Gorresio's edition, he had just before called Garuḍa to mind, i.e. summoned him. It is true Rāma had been senseless; but he had regained his consciousness so far as to call upon Garuḍa: so that in Gorresio's text it must be implied,—unless we are to suppose it to be inconsistent with itself—that he again became unconscious. The verses in which this is shown are as follows (Bombay ed. 50, 37 ff. =Gorr. ed. 26, 16 ff.):—

Tam āgatam abhipreksya nāgaṁ te viprādu-druvuh | yais tu tato purushau baddhau śara-bhūtair mahābalaṁ | tataḥ Suparnaḥ Kākutsthau sprishiṇvā prayābhinandya cha | vimmarṣa ca cha pānībhyāṁ muhe chandra-sama-prādhe | Vainateyena saṃprishiṇtās tayoḥ samruruḥ | vṛṇaṁ | swarne cha tanuśa snidghe tayer āśu babhūvatuḥ |

18 Yathā-pūrvam saṁrūḍha-māṁsāḥ abhūvan | Comm.
40. Tejo viryam balaṁ chaujaḥ utsāhaśca mahāgunaḥ | pradarśananccha buddhishtaṃ smṛitiś cha dviguṇaḥ ¹⁹ tayoḥ | āv visthīṣya mahātejaḥ Garuḍo Vāsukrapanau | ubhau cha sasvoje hriṣṭo Rāmaś chainam uvāca ha | bhavat-prasādaḥ vyasanāṁ Rāvaṇi-prabhavam mahat | upāyena vyati- krāntau śighraṁ cha balinau kriṭau | yathā tātaṁ Daśarathaṁ yathā 'juncaḥ pitāmaham | tathā bhavantam āsādaya hridayam ma prasidati |

44. Ko bhavān rūpa-sampanno divya-srag-anulepanaḥ (The last line is identical with that in Gorresio's edition) | "Beholding him arrived, the powerful serpents by whom, in the form of arrows, these two heroes had been bound, took to flight. Then Garuḍa, having touched and saluted the descendants of Kakutstha, soothed with his hands their faces brilliant as the moon. Touched by Garuḍa, their wounds closed up, and their bodies became speedily sleek and of a beautiful colour. 40. Their fire, strength, force, vigour, and energy became many degrees greater, and their insight, understanding, and memory, were doubled. The powerful Garuḍa raised up and embraced those two [princes] resembling Indra; and Rāma, delighted, thus addressed him: 'By thy favour, and through thy appliances, we have nickly got over the great calamity inflicted by the son of Rāvaṇa, and have become strong. Since I have found thee, who art as my father Daśaratha, and my ancestor Aja, my heart rejoices. 44. Who art thou, distinguished by beauty, adorned with celestial garlands, and unguents?'" etc.

¹⁹ In his remarks on vv. 40, 41, the commentator, in the Bombay ed., explains this as follows: "Dviguṇaḥ Vaivāṇya-sparsūt pūrvato 'py adhiśkaḥ | atra anyair devair avatīrya bhāga-vato Rāmaśya mūla-mūrtiḥ ānāyaḥ upakāraḥ sampūdito Garuḍena tu eva-rūpataḥ eva iti bodhyan | . . . . "Though formerly great, their insight, etc., became doubled from the touch of Garuḍa. Here it is to be understood that the assistance was rendered by the command of the divine Rāma, the root [of all things] by other gods descending to the earth, but by Garuḍa in his own form."
The corresponding passage in Gorresio’s edition (sect. 26, vv. 16 ff.) does not, as I have intimated, differ materially from the above, and in it, in like manner, Rāma is distinctly represented as inquiring who Garuḍa is.

In reply to Rāma’s question, Garuḍa tells him (vv. 46 ff.) who he is, says he is his friend, and that no one but himself, whether god or Asura, could have delivered Rāma from the bonds of the serpents, which had been turned into arrows by the magic art of Indrajit. He warns him that in dealing with the treacherous Rākshasas he must proceed warily, and finally assures him that he shall slay Rāvaṇa and recover Sītā; and then departs after walking round and embracing him (v. 60: Pradakṣiṇāṁ tataḥ kṛtvā parishvajya cha).21

There is another passage in Gorresio’s edition (book vi., sect. 33) in which it is related that after the fall of Praḥasta, one of the Rākshasas, Mandodari, Rāvaṇa’s queen, went into the assembly to dissuade her husband from contending any further against Rāma, when she is introduced as saying (v. 25 f.): Na cha māṇusha-mātro ‘sau Rāmo Daśarathātmanaḥ | ekena yena vai pūrvam bahavo rākshasaḥ hatāḥ | “Nor is this Rāma a mere man, he by whom singly many Rākshasas have formerly been slain.” The same idea is repeated in the two following verses, where the number of the slain and the names of some of them are given.

The passage in which these verses occur is not, however, to be found in the corresponding section (the fifty-ninth) of the Bombay edition, which omits verses 6–51 of the thirty-third, and the whole of the thirty-fourth sections of Gorresio’s edition.

In the fifty-ninth section of the same book (Bombay ed.) it is related that Lakṣhmaṇa was wounded by Rāvaṇa with an iron lance given to the latter by Brahmā (v. 105–7); but that when Rāvaṇa tried to lift his fallen foe, he was unable (v. 109 f.): Himavān Mandaro Merus trilokynaḥ vā sahāmaraiḥ | sakyam bhūjābhyaṁ uddhartuṁ na sako Bhārata-nujaḥ | sakteṣā brāhmyā tu Saumlitrīs tādīto ’pi stanāntare | Viṣṇor anīmāṁsa-yābhāgam ātmānam pratyānusmartat | “Himavat, Mandara,

21 From this last circumstance the commentator infers the divine nature of Rāma. His words are: Pradakṣiṇāṁ kṛtvā iti amena deva-devatāvātīro Rāmaḥ iti sarvān prākṛta-kapīṁ praty api bodhitam | “By these words, ‘having walked round him, with the right side towards him,’ it is intimated even to all the ordinary monkeys that Rāma was an incarnation of a celestial deity.”
Meru, or the three worlds with the immortals, might be lifted by him with his arms, but not the younger brother of Bharata. But Lakshmana, though smitten on the chest with the lance given by Brahma, recollected himself to be an incomprehensible portion of Vishnu."22 Similar words are again ascribed to him in v. 120: *Vishnur bhūgam amūṁśayam ātmānam prayanyumaran.* Expressions of the same purport occur in the parallel verses in Gorresio’s edition, sect. 36, vv. 86, 88, and 98. The words in v. 88 are *Vishnur achintyo yo bhūgo mānushām deham āsthitāḥ* | “The inconceivable portion of Vishnu residing in a human body.” The expressions, however, may be later interpolations in both editions. In vv. 122 f. of the same section

22 The commentator’s note on v. 110 is as follows: *Amoghayā Brahma-dattaya stanaṁtare āhataḥ Saumitrir Vishnur amūṁśayam niślaṁsaya-Vishnu-bhūgamvavantam iyattayā chinayitum adakyaṁ eva Vishnur bhūgam ātmānam prayanyumarsat anuvumarat| na hi svayāṁ svain hinaṣṭy ity ālayena Brahma-sakti-mūraya (?) trāguśtham bhagavat-tejo ‘matāḥ eva aham asmi iti dhyātvaṁ| naṭa-vad angūṭita-manushyatasya itareshāṁ dṛśitaḥ-praśita-artha-parāṇa na sarvādā tathā dhyāyam evaṁ cha Brahma-bhūvanaya Lakṣmaṇayena svadāvṛtasya garīvastevam āpūraṁ ity uktam bhavati | “Being struck on the breast with the unfalling (dārt) given by Brahma, Lakṣmaṇa recollected himself to be indubitably a portion of Vishnu, or to be a portion of Vishnu which could not be conceived of as being of such and such magnitude. With reference to the principle that nothing destroys that which belongs to itself, he reflected, with a view to his preservation from the lance of Brahma (?), that he was a part of the divine energy. As he had, like an actor, assumed the human form, this reflection of his had the object of confirming the belief of others, and it is not (to be imagined) that he always so reflected. And so too by conceiving himself as Brahma, he made his body very ponderous.” It is afterwards said in verse 117 that Hanumat took Lakṣmaṇa in his arms and carried him to his brother, and that, though he could not be moved by his enemies, he made himself light to Hanumat in consequence of the latter’s friendship and devotion. On this the commentator remarks: *Idam cha bhakta-mātrasyagrahataṁ bhagavato bhagavat-avatūraṇāṁ cha svabhāva-siddham eva iti bodhyam| evaṁ cha Rāma-Lakṣmaṇayor ajñāna-saktinaita-āṛtaryatayā bhūsamāṇī vachanāṁ mānusa-vaśyasahāya-mātrā-parāṇī iti bodhyam | tad uktam Bhāgavate | “Martyāvātārāṁ tu hi martya-dīkṣhayaṁ raksho-badāyaiva na kvaivaṁ vibhūḥ | kuto ’nyathā syuh ramataḥ eva ātmanāḥ Sītā-ṛṣtriṇi vyasanānimśarasya | “This capability of being taken up by a devoted person alone is to be understood as resulting from the nature of the Śivīty and of His incarnations. And so it is to be understood that the expressions which seem to ascribe the capability of ignorance to Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa are only intended to serve the purpose of carrying out their characters in their human disguise. This is declared in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa (the verse occurs in v. 19, 6, as I learn from Böhtlingk and Roth’s reference, s.v. śikṣhaya), ‘The Lord’s incarnation as a man on this earth was meant for the instruction of men, and had not merely in view the slaughter of the Rākṣasa. Otherwise, how could the Lord, the Spirit, whose delight is in himself, have undergone the sufferings arising from Sītā?’"
APPENDIX.

(59th-ninth, Bombay ed.) Hanumat tells Rāma to mount on his back, as Vishṇu on that of Garutmat or Garuḍa (Vishṇur yathā Garutmantam āruḥya); and in verse 125, Rāma is said to have rushed on Rāvaṇa as Vishṇu rushed on Vairochana (Vairochanāṁ iva kruddho Vishṇur ityādi).

In the same sect. (59, 135 ff., Bombay ed.) it is related that Rāvaṇa was defeated by Rāma, but spared, and sent back to Lankā. After his return he thus speaks (sect. 60, v. 5 ff.): Sarvaṁ tat khalu me moghaṁ yat taptam paramaṁ tayaḥ | yat samāno Mahendreṇa mānushena vinirjitaḥ | 6. Idam taṁ Brahmaṇo goram vākyam māṁ abhyupasthitam | "mānushebhyo viśāntiḥ bhayaṁ tvam iti tat tathā | 7. Deva-dānava-gandharvair yaksha-ṛkṣasā-pānnagaiḥ | abadhyatvam mayaḥ proktam mānushebhyo na yāhikam" | 8. Tam imam mānusham manye Rāmaṁ Daśaratātmajam | Ikṣvāku-kula-jātena Anaranyena22 yat purā | 9. "Utpatsyati hi mad-vāṃśe purusho rākṣasādhamā | yas tvāṁ sa-putrāṁ sāmātyam sa-balāṁ sūva-sārathim | 10. Nihanisyati sangrāme tvāṁ kulādhama durmataḥ" | śapto 'ham Vedavatya cha yathā sa dharshitā purā | 11. Seyaṁ Sītā mahābhāgā jātā Janaka-nandini | Uma Nandīśvarāṁ chāpi Rambhā Vaṇuṇa-kanyākā | 12. Yathoktāṁ24 tan mayā prāptaṁ na mithyā rishi-bhāshitam | etad eva samāgamyam yatnaṁ kartum iḥārathaḥ | "All the extreme austerity that I have undergone is then vain, since

22 See Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, p. 371: "Whose (Sambhūta's) son was Anarany, who was slain by Rāvaṇa in his triumphant progress through the nations" (tato 'naranyas | tam Rāvaṇo dīg-vijaya jagāṇa). Here, and in the legend related in the second volume of this work, p. 421, note 129, a set of events different from those narrated in the earlier books of the Rāmāyana, is referred to.

The story of Anarany is, however, told in the Utara Kṛṣṇa of the Rāmāyana, section 19. Dushkanta (sic), Suratha, Gādhi, Gaya, Purūravas (though, as the commentator remarks, they lived at different periods [bhūna-bhūna-kāla-vartino 'pi Dushkantadiyāḥ svā-svā-kāle Rāvaṇam prati jītavā-vādaṁ vara-dānād uktavantaḥ], yet they all in their own times) submitted, without fighting, acknowledging themselves conquered, to Rāvaṇa on his victorious march through the world in consequence of the boon Brahma had given to him (v. 8). Anarany, a descendant of Ikṣvāku, and king of Ayodhyā, however, when called upon either to fight, or acknowledge himself conquered, prefers the former alternative (v. 9); but his army is overcome, and he himself is thrown from his chariot (v. 21). When Rāvaṇa triumphs over his prostrate foe, the latter says that he has been vanquished, not by him, but by fate, and that Rāvaṇa is only the instrument of his overthrow (v. 26); and he predicts that Rāvaṇa should one day be slain by his descendant Rāma (v. 29: Utpatsyate kule hy asmin Ikṣvākūṇāṁ mahātmanām | Rāma Daśarathir nāma yas te prāṇān harishyati).

24 Yathoktavantaḥ . . . . yad uchus tan mayā iti pūṭāntaram | Comm.
I, though the equal of Indra, have been overcome by a man. This is the direful word of Brahmā that has now reached me, [when he said]: ‘Know that thy great cause of apprehension is from men. I have decreed thy indestructibility by gods, Dānavas, Gandhārvas, Yakshas, Rākshasas, and Pannagas: but thou hast asked no [security] from men.’ This man I consider to be Rāma, the son of Daśaratha, since I was formerly thus cursed by Anaranyā of the race of Ikshvāku; ‘There shall arise among my posterity a man who shall slay thee in battle, thou lowest of Rākshasas, and wicked wretch, along with thy sons, ministers, hosts, and charioteers.’ And I was also cursed by Vedavati when she was insulted by me: it is she who has been born as the great Sītā, the gladdener of Janaka. And that which Umā, Nandiśvara, Rambhā, and the daughter of Varuṇa triturī (Punjikasthālā) uttered, has befallen me. What has been spoken by rishiis is never falsified. Wherefore, ye must assemble, and make exertions.”

In this passage it will be observed that there is no express reference to the divine nature of Rāma: and it is conceivable that the original legend may have represented him as being, even in his human capacity, of sufficient prowess to slay the king of the Rākshasas.

[Most of the stories referred to in the preceding passage are given in the Uttara Kāṇḍa, and I shall supply an abstract of them here. That of Anaranyā will be found in note 23.

The rather pretty story of Vedavati is related in the seventeenth section of that book, vv. 1 ff., as follows: Rāvana, in the course of his progress through the world, comes to the forest on the Himālaya, where he sees a damsel of brilliant beauty, but in ascetic garb, of whom he straightway becomes enamoured. He tells her that such an austere life is unsuited to her youth and attractions, and asks who she is, and why she is leading an ascetic existence. She answers that she is called Vedavati, and is the Vocal daughter (vānmayī kanyā) of Vṛhaspati’s son, the rishi Kuśadhvaja, sprung from him during his constant study of the Veda. The gods, gandharvas, etc., she says, sought to woo her, but her father would give her to no one else than

25 The stories connected with all these names are briefly referred to by the commentator.
26 The commentator remarks here: Rishi-padene tapo-yuktāḥ uchyante | “The word “rishi” denotes persons distinguished by austerity.” It would thus refer to Vedavati and others.
to Vishṇu, the lord of the world, whom he desired for his son-in-law (v. 12: Pitu tu mama jāmatā Vishṇuḥ kila sureśvarāḥ | abhipretas trilokeśas tasmān nānyasya me pitaḥ | datum ichhati tasmai tuḥ). This resolution provoked Sambhu, king of the Daityas, who slew her father, Kuśadhva, while sleeping, on which her mother (whose name is not given), after embracing his body, entered into the fire (15). Vedavatī then proceeds (v. 16): Tato manorathāṁ satyam pitur Nārāyaṇaṁ pratiḥ karomiti tam evaḥm hridayena samudvāhe | iti pratijñāṁ āruhya charāṁ vipulaṁ tapaḥ | . . . . 18. Nārāyaṇo mama patir na tv anyaḥ purushottamāt | āśraye niyamaṁ ghoraṁ Nārāyaṇa-parīpsayā | “In order that I may fulfill this desire of my father in respect of Nārāyaṇa, I wed him with my heart.” Having entered into this engagement, I practise great austerity. Nārāyaṇa, and no other than he, Purushottama, is my husband. From the desire of obtaining him, I resort to this severe observance.” Rāvaṇa’s passion is not in the least diminished by this explanation, and he urges that it is the old alone who should seek to become distinguished by accumulating merit through austerity; prays that she who is so young and beautiful will become his bride; and boasts that he is superior to Vishṇu (v. 24). She rejoins that no one but he would thus contemn that deity. On receiving this reply, he touches the hair of her head with the tip of his finger (27). She is greatly incensed, and forthwith cuts off her hair, and tells him that as he has so insulted her, she cannot continue to live, but will enter into the fire before his eyes. She goes on (v. 31 ff.): Yasmāt tu dharṣhitā chaḥmaṁ tvayā pāpāmanā vane | tasmāt tava badhārthaṁ hi samutpsatyay aham (samutpsatyati samut- patsye ity arthaḥ | Comm.) punah | nahi śakyaṁ striyā hantum puruṣaḥ pāpa-nīśchayaḥ | śāpe tvayi mayotrishta tapASAḥ cha vyayo bhaveti | yaḍi tv aeti mayā kincita kritaṁ dattaṁ hutam tathā | tasmāt tv ayoni- jā sādhvī bhavayaṁ dharmaṁ suṭā | evam uktā pravishṭā sā jvalitaṁ jātavedasam | papāta cha divo divyā pushpa-vrīṣṭiḥ samantataḥ | saishā Janaka-rājasya prasūta tvayā prabho | tava bhūryā mahābhāho Vishṇus tvam hi sanātanah | pūreṣaṁ krodha-hataḥ śatruḥ yayaḥ sau nihatas tayoḥ | upāsravyitvā sālabhas tava vyram umānusham | “Since I have been insulted in the forest by thee who art wicked-hearted, I shall be born

27 This language offers an exact parallel to that of devout female ascetics in other parts of the world.
again for thy destruction. For a man of evil designs cannot be slain by a woman; and the merit of my austerity would be lost if I were to launch a curse against thee. But if I have performed, or bestowed, or sacrificed, aught, may I be born the virtuous daughter, not produced from the womb, of a righteous man.' Having thus spoken, she entered the blazing fire. Then a shower of celestial flowers fell from every part of the sky. It is she, lord, who (having been Vedavati in the Kṛita age, v. 38) has been born (in the Tretā age, v. 38) as the daughter of king Janaka, and [has become] thy bride; for thou art the eternal Vishṇu. The mountain-like enemy who was [virtually] destroyed before by her wrath, has now been slain by her, after she had associated herself with thy superhuman energy.” On this the commentator remarks: Anena Sitā eva Rāvaṇa-badhe mukhyaṁ kāraṇam Rāme tu kāntīvam āropitam iti sūchitam | “By this it is signified that Sitā was the principal cause of Rāvaṇa’s death; but the function of destroying him is ascribed to Rāma.” On the words “thou art Vishṇu,” in the preceding verse, the same commentator remarks: Anena Sitāyāḥ Lakṣmītaṁ sphutam evoktam | tād uktam Parāśareṇa “Rāghavatve bhavat Sitā Rukminiḥ Krīṣṇa-janmani” iti | “By this it is clearly affirmed that Sitā was Lakṣmī. Parāśara says: ‘In the god’s life as Rāma, she became Sitā, and in his birth as Krīṣṇa [she became] Rukmini.’”

I have not noticed in the Uttara Kāṇḍa any separate legend about Umā, but the commentator connects this allusion to her in the preceding passage (vi. 60, 11) with the following story about Nandīśvara, which is thus told in the sixteenth section of the Uttara Kāṇḍa (v. 1 ff.): After his victory over Kuvera, Rāvaṇa went to Saravana, the birthplace of Kārttikeya. Ascending the mountain, he sees another delightful wood, where his car Pushpaka stops, and will proceed no further. He then beholds a formidable dark tawny-coloured dwarf, called Nandīśvara, a follower of Mahādeva, who desires him to halt, as that deity is sporting on the mountain, and has made it inaccessible to all creatures, the gods included (v. 10). Rāvaṇa angrily

28 His words are: Tatra Umā-tāpaḥ Kailāsa-sikhara-chulana-vēlāyāṁ Rāvaṇasya śrī-mānītām māraṇam ity evāṁ-rūpam ity āhūḥ | “They say that at the time when he shook the summit of Kailāsa, a curse was pronounced on Rāvaṇa that he should die on account of a woman.”
demands who Śaṅkara (Mahādeva) is, and laughs contemptuously at Nandiśvara, who has the face of a monkey. Nandiśvara, who was another body (aparā tanuḥ) of Śiva, being incensed at this contempt of his monkey form, declares that beings, possessing the same shape as himself, and of similar energy, monkeys, shall be produced to destroy Rāvaṇa’s race (v. 17: Tasmād mad-vīrya-saṁyuktāḥ mad-rūpa-sama-tejasāḥ | utpatsyanti badhārthām hi kulasya tava vānarāḥ). Nandiśvara adds that he could easily kill Rāvaṇa now, but that he has been already slain by his own deeds (v. 20). Rāvaṇa threatens (v. 23 ff.) that as his car has been stopped, he will pluck up the mountain by the roots, asking in virtue of what power Śiva continually sports on that spot, and boasting that he must now be made to know his danger. Rāvaṇa then throws his arms under the mountain, which, being lifted by him, shakes, and makes the hosts of Rudra tremble, and even Pārvatī herself quake, and cling to her husband (v. 26: Chachāla Pārvatī chāpi tadā ślishtā Mahēsvaram). Śiva, however, presses down the mountain with his great toe, and along with it crushes the arms of Rāvaṇa, who utters a loud cry, which shakes all creation. Rāvaṇa’s counsellors then exhort him to propitiate Mahādeva, the blue-throated lord of Umā, who on being lauded will become gracious. Rāvaṇa accordingly praises Mahādeva with hymns, and weeps for a thousand years. Mahādeva is then propitiated (v. 35), lets go Rāvaṇa’s arms, says his name shall be Rāvaṇa from the cry (rāva). he had uttered, and sends him away, with the gift of a sword bestowed on him at his request (v. 43).

The legend of Rambahā is narrated in the twenty-sixth section of the Uttara Kāṇḍa. Rāvaṇa goes with his army to Kailāsa, to conquer the gods. He there sees the Rambahā, the most beautiful of all the Apsarases, and is smitten with her charms (v. 20). She says she is properly his daughter-in-law, being the wife of Nalakūvara (son of his brother Kuvera), with whom she has an assignation, and cannot therefore receive his addresses (v. 34). Rāvaṇa says the Apsarases are mere courtezans, without any husbands, and ravishes her (v. 41). She goes and reports the outrage to Nalakūvara (46), who, after touching all his organs of sense (chakshur-ādindriya-gaṇaṁ sarvac | Comm.) with water, launches the following curse against Rāvaṇa: v. 54.

Akāmā tena yasmāt tvam balād bhadre pradhārshita | 55. Tasmāt sa
yuvatim anyāṁ nākāmāṁ upayāsyati | yadā hy akāmāṁ kāmārto
dharshayāhyati yoshitam | mārdhā tu saptadhā tasya śakalibhavitā tada |
"Since thou, kind lady, who hadst no passion for him, hast been
forcibly insulted by him, he shall not approach any other damsel who
does not reciprocate his passion. For when through passion he shall
ravish any woman who has no passion for him, his head shall split
into seven fragments." Hearing of this curse, Rāvaṇa resolves to
abstain from offering violence to women.

I have not noticed in the Uttara Kāṇḍa any story about the daughter
of Varuṇa, but the commentator on the text (vi. 60, 11) explains the
allusion to her thus: Varuṇa-kanyāḥ Punjikasthalā tan-nimittam
brahma-śāpah śrī-ghanāḥ maraṇa-rūpaḥ | "The daughter of Varuṇa-
was Punjikasthalā. On her account, a curse of Brahmā, involving
the penalty of death, [was pronounced] on the rape of women."]

After expressing himself as above (p. 458), Rāvaṇa desires his
brother Kumbhakarṇa (a monster who, owing to the curse of Brahmā,29
slept for six months at a time, and remained awake for a single day)
to be awakened. This is with immense difficulty effected. Kumbha-
karṇa asks (book vi., sect. 60, Bombay ed., vv. 67 ff.) why they have
awakened him, and is told that they stand in dread, not of the gods,
but of a man, Rāma (v. 72: Mānushāṇ no bhayaṁ rājan tumulaṁ
samprabāḥate | ityādi); when he assures them that he will destroy
their foes, and himself drink the blood of Rāma and Lakshmana.
After drinking two thousand jars of liquor, he goes to see and consult
with his brother Rāvaṇa; who, in answer to his inquiry, describes to
him (sect. 62) the present position of affairs, and the necessity there
is to obtain his assistance. Kumbhakarṇa, in reply, delivers (sect. 63,
Bombay ed., vv. 2–21) a moral discourse on the wickedness of Rāvaṇa's
conduct, such as we should scarcely have expected from the speaker's
antecedents;29 and is told by Rāvaṇa in answer (vv. 23–27) that this
is not the time for such laboured lectures, but for action, to which he
calls upon him to proceed, if he has any regard for him, or pretensions
to valour. Kumbhakarṇa then promises (vv. 30 ff. of the same
section) to destroy the enemies of his brother. But before this last
speech of Kumbhakarṇa, which is given in the forty-second section
of Gorresio's recension, that text introduces another speech of

29 See sect. 61, vv. 19 ff.
the same personage, which occupies vv. 30–53 of the fortieth section, and a further speech of Rāvaṇa which fills the forty-first section; both of which are wanting in the Bombay edition, and even in one of the MSS. consulted by Signor Gorresio, as we learn from his Preface, vol. v., p. xlvi.; and might, as he thinks, be omitted without detriment, or perhaps with advantage, to the connexion of the ideas, and the march of the poem. Some mention must, however, be made of this speech, as in it Kumbhakarṇa gives the same account of the divine origin of Rāma, as we have already met with in the earlier part of the poem (see p. 168 ff., above). He says that one day he had seen the divine sage Nārada, who had told him that he had just returned from an assembly of the gods who had met to take counsel for the destruction of the Rākshasas, on which occasion Brahmā had spoken as follows (sect. vi. 40, 44 ff., ed. Gorr.): Eваm uktе tu vачhаnе Bраhmа dеvān uvācha ha | abadhyatvam mayā dаttаm dеvа-даityaśаchа rākshасаīḥ | mаnushebhyo bhayaṁ тасya vānаrebhyaśаchа dеvаtаḥ | sура- sура-sаmаhе’pi bаdhаs тасya nа vidiyаtе | tаsmаd esha Hаriv devаḥ pаdмаnаbхаs trvikramaḥ | putro Dаsаrаthаsа�аtutа chаturbахuḥ sanаtаnаḥ | bhаvаntо vаsudhаm gаtvа Vіshnu аsya mаhаtмаnаḥ | vаnаrаnаṁ tаnум krtvа sаhаyаtаm kаrіshyathа | “When [the priest of the gods Vrihas- pati] had thus spoken, Brahmā said to the gods: ‘I have conferred [on Rāvaṇa] indestructibility by gods, Daityas and Rākshasas: he has, O gods, to fear men and monkeys. Nor can he be killed by all the Suras (gods) or Asuras. Wherefore let this god (devaḥ) Hari (Vіshnu), from whose navel sprang a lotus, who is thrice-striding, four-armed, and eternal, become the son of Daśaratha. You, gods, repairing to the earth, and assuming the form of monkeys, shall assist the mighty Vіshnu.’” Kumbhakarṇa says that Vіshnu has taken the human form of Rāma, and come to slay them. He therefore advises that Sitā should be restored, and peace made with Rāma, before whom the three worlds bow down.

In reply to this exhortation, Rāvaṇa utters the following defiance of Vіshnu (sect. 41, 2 ff., ed. Gorr.): Kо ‘sаu Vіshnu riti khyātо yasyа tvaṃ tātu bhīyaśe | devaṁltе nаnаsаyо tаm tаthā ’nyаn dеvаtа-gаnаn | mаnushyаtаvаṁ gаte таsmаn kіm bхаyаm tаvаm upаsthitаm | nityаm sаmаrа-bhī- tаs tа mаnushаṁ suṃаhаbаlа | kхаdаyіtvа tаr таn pурvаṃ kаthаm pаshhаd nаmаnу аhаm | pгаnаmа yа mаnushaṁ Rаmаṁ Sіtām dаtvа tаsya vаi |
hāsyā-bhūtas tu lokānām anuyāyāmi prishṭhataḥ | Rāghavāṁ tam mahā-
bhāho dīna-rūpo 'tha dāsa-vat | riddhīṁ cha paśyāmōno 'syā kathāṁ sakṣh-
yāmi jivitum | hṛtva tasya purā bhāryāṁ mānaṁ kriyā sudarṣaṇam | praṇāmed Rāvana Rāmam esha te buddhi-nirnāyāḥ | yadi Rāmaḥ svayam Viṣṇu Lakṣaṇaṁ 'pi Satakratuḥ | Sūgrivaṁ Tryambakaḥ sākṣhāt svayam Brahmā tu Jāmbavaṁ | ahaśāstraṁ adhitāni yasya te buddhir idrīṣī | atitāśramaṁ Rāmaṁ yo namaskartum ichchasi | devatvāṁ yathā parītyajjya mānushāṁ yonim āśritaḥ | aśmaṁ hantuṁ kihlāyaṁ sa sandhyāṁ kathām māyaḥ | yadi vā Rāghavo Viṣṇu vyaktam te śrotām āgaṭaḥ | devatānāṁ hi tārthāṁ tu pravishto mānushāṁ tanum | sa vānaraṁ rājānaṁ Sūgri-
vaṁ saraṇaṁ gataḥ | ahaśāstraṁ sakhyāṁ tiryagyoni-gataṁ saha | viṛya-hinas tu kim Viṣṇu yathā śritaḥ rikṣa-vānān | athavā viṛya-
hīno 'sau yena pūrvam mahāsuraḥ | vāmanaṁ rūpaṁ āsthāya yāchitaṁ tripadaṁ padam | Balī tu dikṣhito yajno tena tvam sakhyāṁ ichchasi | yena dattā mahī sarvā sa-sāgara-vanānvaḥ | upachāra-kṛtā pūrvam sa baddho yajna-dikṣhitāḥ | upakāri hatas tena so 'smān rakṣhāt vairīnaḥ | yadā me nirjītaṁ devaṁ svargaṁ gataṁ tvaya sāha | tādā kim nāsti Viṣṇutilaṁ tasya devasya Rākṣasa | saṃpratāṁ kutāḥ āyataḥ sa Viṣṇu yasya bibhayase | sāvīra-rakṣaṇārthāya brūse tvāṁ vāyam ādṛśiṁ | nāyaṁ klīvayitum kālaḥ kālo yoddhuṁ nisāchara | svāmīyam Pitāmahāt prāptaṁ trālokapāṁ vasa-gaṁ kriyām | Rāghavaṁ praṇāme kasmād hīna-viṛya-parākramam | tad gaccha sayanīyaṁ tvam piva tvam vigata-jvaraḥ | sayamānaṁ na hanyāt tvāṁ Rāghavo Lakṣaṇaṁ tathā | ahaṁ Rāmaṁ badhīṣhyaṁ Sūgrivaṁ sa-Lakṣaṇaṁ | vānaraṁścha hanishyaṁ tato devān mahā-
raṁ | Viṣṇunchaiva badhīṣhyaṁ ye cha Viṣṇu-anuyāyinaḥ | gaccha gacchayaṁ tat kṣetram chirāṁ jiva sukhi bhava | bhṛataram tv evam uktvā 'sau Rāvanaḥ Kāla-choditāḥ | sāvāleṣam sa-garjanaḥ punar vachanam abravit | jānāmi Sītāṁ dharaṇī-prasūtāṁ jānāmi Rāmaṁ Madhūśu-
danaccha | etad hi jāne tv aham asya badhyan tenāhritā me Janakātma-
jaśāḥ | na kāmāchechaṁ na krodhād harāṁ Janakātmaṁ | nihato gantum ichchāṁ tad Viṣṇoḥ paramam padam |

30 A verse resembling this in most of its clauses had previously occurred in a similarly defiant speech of Rāvana's in sect. 34, 7, of Gorresio's recension: Jānāmi Sītāṁ Janaka-prasūtāṁ jānāmi Rāmaṁ Madhūśudanaṁ cha | Etad hi jānāmi aham asya badhyan tathāpī sandhiṁ na karomy anna | “I know Sītā to be Janaka's daughter, and Rāma to be Madhūśudana; and I know this that I shall be slain by him; and yet I cannot make peace with him.” Gorresio regards both passages as of doubtful authenticity. In explanation of the epithet dharaṇī-prasūtām applied to Sītā, I may quote these lines from the Rāmāyaṇa (Bombay ed.) i. 66, 13 ff., where
‘Who is that being called Vishnu, whom thou fearest? In his
divinity I reverence neither him, nor any of the other hosts of gods:
what fear is this, then, which has seized you, now that he has become
a man? Men are always afraid of battle. When I have formerly
eaten them, how can I afterwards bow down before them? Paying
reverence to the mortal Rama, and restoring Sita, how could I,—
an object of derision to the universe,—follow behind Raghava in
humility like a slave? and beholding his prosperity, how could I live?
This is thy opinion, that after carrying off Rama’s wife, and manifest-
ing terrible haughtiness, Ravana should bow down before him! Even
if Rama were Vishnu himself, and Lakshmana were Indra, if Sugriva
were Tryambaka (Siva), and if Jambavat were Brahma—O thou hast
[well] studied the Sastras, thou who so thinkest, and who desirest to
make obeisance to Rama who stands without the four orders of society;
who, abandoning his divine nature, has entered into a mortal womb!
How can I make peace with him who has come to kill us? or if it
has distinctly reached thy ears that Rama is Vishnu, and has entered
into a mortal body for the welfare of the gods, [still] he has resorted
[for help] to Sugriva the king of the monkeys. How suitable is his
friendship with brutes! Is then Vishnu destitute of valour that he
has sought [the aid of] bears and monkeys? or, he is [certainly]
deoivd of valour who formerly assuming the form of a dwarf, de-
manded of the great Asura Bali three paces of ground, while he was
consecrated for the sacrifice: with such a person thou desirest friend-
ship.

Janaka says of his daughter: Attha krishtah kshetra
lango-laid utthita tatah | 14.
Kshetraṁ sodhagataṁ labdhā nāmāṁ Sītēti viṣrutā | bhutālaṁ utthitaṁ sā tu vyavardhata mamātmaṁjā | etc. 13. “Now as I was ploughing my field, there sprang
from the plough (a girl), (14) obtained by me while cleansing my field, and known
by name as Sita (the furrow). This girl, sprung from the earth, grew up as my
daughter.” In the next verse she is styled ayonijā, “not born from the womb.”
The commentator quotes the following lines from the Padma-purana on the
same subject: Attha lokācarē Lakshmir Janakaasya pure svatāh | śubha-kshetra halotkāte
tāre chottara-phālguṇa | ayonijā padma-karā bālārka-sata-sannibbāhā | Sītā-mukhe
samudpannā bālā-bhāvena sundarī | Sītā-mukhodbhavatī Sītā ity asyaṁ nāma chākaroṁ |
tato ’bhūd aurasi tasya Urmilā nāma kanyakā | iti | “Now Lakshmi, the mistress
of the worlds, was born by her own will in the city of Janaka, in a beautiful field
opened up by the plough, under the star in the second half of the month Phālguna.
She sprang from the womb of no female, with a lotus in her hand, like a hundred
young suns, but arose from the opening of the furrow, beautiful, in the form of a
child. He gave her the name of Sita, because she sprang from the opening of the
furrow (sīta). Then his daughter Urmila was born by ordinary generation.”
ship! He (Bali) who formerly presented to him the whole earth with its oceans, forests, and seas, was bound by him when consecrated for sacrifice! A benefactor was destroyed by him, and he is to deliver us who are his enemies! When I went to heaven with thee and conquered the gods, had not this god then his character of Vishṇu? Whence has this Vishṇu now come, whom thou fearest? Thou speakest in this strain to save thy body [from injury in battle]. This is not the time for timidity, Rākshasa, but for fighting. I have obtained dominion from Brahmā; the three worlds are subject to me; why should I bow down before Rāma who is destitute of energy and valour? Go, therefore, to thy couch; drink, free from disquiet. Neither Rāma nor Lakṣmana will kill thee when thou art sleeping. I shall slay Rāma, and Sugrīva, and Lakṣmana, and the monkeys, and then the gods also in a great battle. I shall kill Vishṇu too, and all Vishṇu’s followers. Go, go then to thy abode, live long, live at ease.’ Having thus, impelled by fate, spoken to his brother with arrogance and in a loud tone, Rāvana said again: ‘I know Sītā to be sprung from the earth; I know Rāma to be Madhusūdana. And this I know, that I am to be slain by him; and therefore have I carried off this daughter of Janaka. It is not from passion or from anger that I retain her: I desire, being slain, to go to that highest abode of Vishṇu.’" Compare the quotation from the Vishṇu Purāṇa, given above, regarding Śiśupāla, pp. 215 f., note 212.

The change of tone in this last short speech is remarkable. The defier of Vishṇu all at once acknowledges his deity and becomes his humble worshipper. This looks like a still later addition to the preceding part of the section, inserted by some editor who considered the earlier portion to be too blasphemous to be allowed to stand without some qualification, or recantation.

Again, after Rāvana’s death, Mandodarī, the highest in rank of his queens, in the lament which she utters for her husband’s loss, speaks as follows (sect. 113, 5 ff., Bombay ed.): Sa tvam mānusha-mātreṇa Rāmeṇa yudhi nirjitaḥ | na vyapatrapase rājan kim idāṁ rākṣasaśvaram | 6. Kathaṁ trailokyam ākramya ēriyā viryena chānvitaṁ | avishahyāṁ jaghāna tvām mānusho eva-gocaraḥ | 7. Mānushānām avishaye charataḥ kāmarūpīṇaḥ | vināśas tava Rāmeṇa saṁyuge nopaḍayate | 8. Na cha itat

Such is the sense—apparently not a very suitable one—of the words.
karma Rāmasya śraddadhāmi chaman-mukhe | sarvataḥ samupetasya tava
tenābhinārānam | 9. Athavā Rāma-rūpeṇa Kṛitāntaḥ svayam āgatāḥ |
mayāṁ tava vināśaya vidhāyāpratītārkitām | 10. Athavā Vāsavana tvam
dharshito 'si mahābala | 11. Vāsasya tu kā saktis tvāṁ drasήtum api
sāmyuge | Mahābalaṁ mahāvīryaṁ deva-satrūm mahaujānaṁ | 12. Vyā-
ktam esha mahāyogī paramāṁ sanātanaṁ | an-ādi-mādhyā-nidhāno
mahataḥ paramo mahān | 13. Tamasāḥ paramo dhātā śankha-chakra-gada-
dharaḥ | 14. Śrīvatsa-vakshāṁ nītya-śīr ṣaṁyayaḥ śūvato dhruvāḥ | mā-
nuṣṭeṁ rūpaṁ āsthāya Vishuṁ satya-parākramaṁ | 15. Sarvaṁ pār-
vṛito devāṁ vānaraṇvam upāgataḥ | sarva-lokeśvaraḥ śrīmān lokāṁ
hita-kāmyayaḥ | sa-rākshasa-parivāram deva-satrūm bhayāvahan | 16.
Indriyaṁ puruṣa jīto jītam tribhuvanaṁ tvayā | smaradbhir iva tad
vairam indriyaṁ eva nirjītaḥ | 17. Yadaiva hi Janasthaṁ Rākshasair
bahubhir vṛīṁ | Kharas tu nihato bhrātā tādā Rāma na mānṣeṇaḥ |

"5. Art not thou ashamed, O king, to have been conquered by
Rāma, a mere man? What is this, lord of the Rākshasas? 6. How
did a man frequenting the forests slay thee who hadst assailed the three
worlds, who wast distinguished by good fortune and heroism, and unconquerable? 7. That thou who movedst at will, invisible to men,
shouldst have been destroyed by Rāma, is inconceivable. 8. I do not
credit this act of Rāma in the front of the battle, the overthrow by him
of thee who wast endowed in every way. 9. Either Death (Kṛitānta)
came in the form of Rāma, applying an unimagined magic for thy
destruction, (10) or thou hast been overwhelmed by Vāsava (Indra).
11. But what power had Vāsava in battle even to look at thee, who
wast the mighty in force and heroism, the glorious enemy of the gods?
12. This was manifestly the great contemplator (Mahāyogī), the
supreme spirit, the eternal, without beginning, middle, or end, the
great Being superior to the great (or to Mahāt, i.e. Prakṛiti or matter),
(13) superior to darkness, the sustainer, the wielder of the shell, the
discus, and the club, (14) who bears the śrīvatsa on his breast, who

32 Śvābhāvikā-sarva-śakti-yuktaḥ | Comm.
33 This knowledge of the truth, says the commentator, was derived by Mandodari
from the divine favour (satyaṁ evam Mandodari jānīte Bhagavat-kripayā).
34 The commentator does not say in what sense the word mahat should be taken.
35 The commentator says that tamasaṁ paramaṁ means prakṛiteḥ pravartakaṁ, "he
who causes the activity of Prakṛiti (or matter)." Instead of tamasaṁ, he adds, some
read tapasāṁ.
enjoys perpetual prosperity, the invincible, everlasting, unchanging, Vishnu, of genuine prowess, who had assumed a human form, (15) and was attended by all the gods in the shape of monkeys, the glorious lord of all the worlds, who desired the good of all the worlds. [He slew thee], the terrific enemy of the gods, with thy attendant Râkshasas. 16. Formerly, by subduing thy senses, thou didst subdue the three worlds; but thou wast [afterwards, i.e. when thou didst carry off Sitâ, etc.] overcome by thy senses, which, as it were, remembered [and revenged] that [former] hostility [of thine towards them]. 17. For since thy brother Khara, attended by many Râkshasas, was slain [by Râma] in Janasthâna, Râma is not a mere mortal."

If this quotation from the Bombay edition be compared with the corresponding passage of Gorresio’s text (sect. 95), it will be found that, on this occasion, the former is more diffuse than the latter. Verses 5–8 are nearly the same in both recensions; but instead of two verses (the ninth and tenth) affirming the divine character of Râma, which we find in Gorresio’s edition, there are in the Bombay recension seven verses, in most of which, at least, the same idea is enforced. The ninth and tenth verses of Gorresio’s edition are as follows: 9. Athavâ Râma-rûpeṇa Vishnû cha svayam âgataḥ | tava nāśāya mâyābhiḥ pra-visyānupalakshitâḥ | 10. Yadavia hi Janasthāne râkshasair bahubhir vriṇâḥ | Kharas tava hato bhṛtā tadavâsau na mānushḥah | "Or Vishnu himself came in the form of Râma, having entered into him unperceived, through supernatural powers, for thy destruction. 10. For since thy brother Khara, attended by many Râkshasas, was slain by [Râma] in Janasthâna, Râma is not a mere mortal." It will be observed that here a verse (the tenth), which corresponds to the seventeenth of the Bombay edition, immediately succeeds the ninth, and that consequently there is in Gorresio’s text no such development of the idea contained in the ninth verse as we find in vv. 10–15 of the other edition. Now if we are to suppose that the original text of the Râmâyâna made no allusion to Râma being an incarnation of Vishnu, it might at first sight seem as if the ninth and tenth verses of the Bombay text,
which represent Death (Krītānta), or Indra, as taking the form of Rāma, were more genuine than the corresponding verse of Gorresio’s edition, which declares that Vishṇu assumed the form of that hero. In this case, verses 12 ff. of the Bombay edition, which represent Rāma as an incarnate deity, would be a subsequent interpolation. But the twelfth and following verses appear, on examination, to hang well enough together with those which precede; and if the entire passage thus forms one connected whole, we can only (on the hypothesis that Rāma’s divine nature was foreign to the original poem) suppose that the interpolation, or alteration, has extended over a wider surface. It is worthy of remark that the hundred and thirteenth section of the Bombay edition is in other parts also more developed than Gorresio’s. Thus after verse 40 of the Bombay edition, corresponding to verse 28 of Gorresio’s, eighteen verses are inserted which are not in the latter, and after verse 59 of the Bombay edition—verse 29 of Gorresio’s, twelve verses are found which are wanting in the latter. From this it would appear that both recensions have, in different places, received developments after they began to be separately handed down, unless, indeed, we are to assume that that followed by Gorresio omitted passages which had previously existed in the common source of both.

In the passage which I shall next quote, the legend makes no mention of the incarnation of Vishṇu, but specifies the birth of Sītā as the means whereby Rāvaṇa is to be destroyed. After the Rākshasas had been defeated by Rāma and driven back into Lankā, their females loudly bewailed the calamities by which their race had been overtaken. In the course of this lament they say (sect. 95, vv. 25 ff., Bombay ed. = sect. 74, vv. 27 ff., Gorresio): Rudro vâ yadi vâ Vishṇur Mahendro vâ S’atakratuh | hanti no Rāma-rūpeṇa yadi vâ svayam Antakaḥ | 26. Hata-pravirāḥ Rāmena nirāśāḥ jīvite vayam | apaśyanto 38 bhayasyāntam anāthaḥ vilapāmahe | 27. Rāma-hastāḥ Daśagrīvaḥ śūro datta-mahāvarah | idam bhayam mahāghoraṁ samutpannam na budhyate | 28. Tam na devah na gandharvah na pīśāchaḥ na rākshaḥ | upārishtam 39 paritrātum saktaḥ Rāmena sañyuge | 29. Utpātaśchāpi driśyante Rāvanasya rane rane | kathayanti hi Rāmena Rāvanasya nibharaham |

38 Apaśyanto ’paśyuntyaḥ | Comm.
39 Upārishtaṁ hantum arabdham | Comm.
30. Pitāmahena pritena deva-dānava-rākshasaiḥ Rāvaṇasyāḥbhayaṁ dattam manushhebhyyo na yāchitam | 31. Tad idam mānusham manye prāptaṁ niḥsaṁśayam bhayaṁ jivitānta-karaṁ ghoraṁ rākṣasaiṁ Rāvaṇasya cha | 32. Piḍyamāṇās tu balinā vara-dānena rākṣasai | ṛiptais tapobhir vibudhāḥ Pitāmaham apājayan | 33. Devatānāṁ hitārthaya mahātmā vai Pitāmahah | uvācā devatās tusṭaṁ idam sarvāḥ mahad vachoḥ | 34. Adya-prabhriti lokāṁs tin sarve dānava-rākṣasaiḥ bhayena prabhritaiḥ nityam vicharishyantī śāsvataṁ | 35. Daivatais tu samāgamya sarvaiś chendra-purogamaṁ | vṛishā-dhvaṁs Tripura-hā Mahādevaṁ pratoshitaḥ | 36. Prasannas tu Mahādeo devān etad vacho 'bravīt utsatyati hitārtham vo nāri rākṣaṁ-kshayāvahā | 37. Eṣā devaiḥ prayuktā tu kshud yathā daṇvān purāḥ bhakṣa-yishyati naḥ sarvāḥ rākṣasa-gnī sa-ravaṇān | 38. Rāvaṇasyāpyanitena durvīsatasya durmatheḥ ayaṁ nisṛtanako ghorāḥ sokena samabhiplutaḥ | 39. Tān na paśyāmahe loke yo naḥ sarana-do bhavet Rāghavenoparishṭānāṁ kāloneva yugakshaye | 25. "Either Rudra, or Vīṣṇu, or the great Indra Satakṛatu, or Death himself, slays us in the form of Rāma. 26. Having had our heroes destroyed by Rāma, we despair of life. Seeing no end of our apprehension, we lament, deprived of our protectors. 27. The heroic Daśagrīva (Rāvaṇa), who had received a great boon [from Brahmā] does not perceive this great cause of alarm which [comes] from the hand of Rāma. 28. Neither Gods, nor Gandharvas, nor Pīṣāchas, nor Rākṣasas, are able to deliver him when assailed by Rāma in fight. 29. Portents, too, regarding Rāvaṇa are seen in every battle, which foretell his destruction by Rāma. 30. Pitāmaha, gratified, granted to Rāvaṇa security against Gods, Dānavas and Rākṣasas, but he did not ask [to be secured] against men. 31. This dreadful danger from men has now, I think, without doubt arrived, which shall

40 These words are thus explained by the commentator: Dānavāṁ rākṣasaṁ cha bhayena prabhritaiḥ deveḥbhī bhayam bhūṣṇyai eva vīcharishyantī | deveḥ svataḥ parato tāśevāṁ piḍyāśirṣyantī ity arthaḥ | "The Dānavas and Rākṣasas shall roam about entertaining fear of the gods: viz. that the gods themselves, or through others, would distress them." This verse is thus given in Gorresio's edition (74, 36 l.): Adya-prabhriti lokahṣu yo bhūtāḥ bhaya-vārjītāḥ bhayaṁ rākṣaṁ kshud yathā deveḥ dānavāṁ karati suva | "As formerly," in a former Kalpa, Hunger, being appointed by the gods for the destruction of the Dānavas, carried them off." 41 "Purāṁ" pīrva-kalpe deveṁ dānava-nāśārtham prayuktā kshud yathā dānavāṁ karati suva | Comm. 42 Apanitena anayena | Comm. 43 Nisṛtanako nāśāḥ | Comm.
terminate the life of Rāvaṇa and the Rākshasas. 32. Now the gods, when oppressed by the Rākshasa (Rāvaṇa), who was mighty through the boon which [Brahmā] had conferred on him, worshipped Pitāmaha (Brahmā) with ardent austerities. 33. The great Pitāmaha, pleased, addressed this great word to all the deities for their benefit: 34. ‘From this day forward all the Dānavas and Rākshasas shall roam continually through the three worlds, influenced by fear.’ 35. But all the gods, with Indra at their head, assembled and propitiated Mahādeva, whose banner is a bull, and who destroyed Tripura (or, the three castles). 36. He, being pleased, thus spake to them: ‘For your benefit there shall arise a female who shall bring destruction to the Rākshasas.’ 37. This female slayer of Rākshasas, being commissioned by the gods, shall [now] devour all of us, including Rāvaṇa; as Hunger formerly [devoured] the Dānavas. 38. Through the folly of the misguided and wicked Rāvaṇa this dreadful destruction, accompanied by affliction, has come upon us. 39. We see no one in the world who shall afford protection to us assailed by Rāma, as it were by Time at the end of the ages.’

Compare with the preceding passage the story of Devavatī, extracted above (p. 458 ff.) from the Uttara Kāṇḍa. Both of these forms of the legend appear to regard Sītā, and not Vishṇu, as the real destroyer of Rāvaṇa.

In an earlier part of the poem it is related that after Rāma had slain the Rākshasa Khara, he was congratulated by the gods in a way which, strictly speaking, is scarcely consistent with the idea that the poet regarded him as an incarnation of Vishṇu:


44 The commentator remarks here: Evam Brahmanah prāśādāt sabhayatca-mātraṃ prāptam | sābhārūdhikṛita-Rudra-prasādena tu nāṇah evāśmākam ity āhuk | “Thus by the favour of Brahmā, the gods only obtained that the [Dānavas, etc.] should be terrified: but through the favour [granted to them] by Rudra, whose function is destruction, we shall be destroyed.”

45 Said to be Sītā, according to the commentator (sū esā Sītā eva ity āhuk). Gorrosio’s text has Saśā daiva-prasṛṣṭā tu kṣudhitā Janakātmājā, etc.
antaro devaḥ chāraṇaḥ saha sangataḥ | dundubhitāḥ śaḥbhāhinīghnantatāḥ
pushpa-varshaṁ samantataḥ | 30. Rāmasyopari saṁḥriṣṭaḥ vavarshur
vismitās tadā | ardhādikā-muhūrtena Rāmeṇa niśitaḥ saraiḥ | 31.
Chaturdasa sahasrāṇi rakshasāṁ kāma-rūpināṁ | Khara-Dūshaṇ-
mukhyānāṁ niḥatāni mahāmrdhe | 32. Aho bata maḥat karma Rāmasya
viśitātmanāḥ | aho viṣyaṁ aho dārghyaṁ Vishno iva hi drisyate | 33.
Ity evam uktvā te sarve yayur devaḥ yathāgatam | 27. "Burnt up by
the fire of the arrow, Khara fell like Antaka, who was formerly con-
sumed by Rudra in the Sveta (white) forest." 28. He fell like Vītra
smitten by the thunderbolt, like Namuchi by the foam, or like Bala
by the lightning of Indra. 29. At this moment the gods, joined with
the Chāraṇa, beating kettle-drum, delighted, (30) rained on Rāma
a shower of flowers all round, and [said] in astonishment: 'In a
muhūrta and a half (two hours) (31) fourteen thousand Rākshasas,
changing their shapes at will, headed by Khara and Dūshaṇa,
have been slain by Rāma with sharp arrows in a great fight. 32. O what
a mighty exploit of Rāma, who knows himself! O, his valour and
his firmness are seen to be like those of Vishṇu!' 33. Having thus
spoken, all those gods went as they came."

If the writer of these verses regarded Rāma as an incarnation of
Vishṇu, it would seem to have been superfluous to compare him with
that deity. In the corresponding section of Gorresio's edition (the
thirty-fifth) the several classes of rishis are introduced as [among

46 On this legend the commentator informs us as follows: Andhakāṃsuraḥ Svētā-
ranye Rudreṇa hataḥ iti purāṇa-prasiddham | . . . "Svētāranye yathā 'ntakaḥ" iti pračharaḥ pāṭhaḥ | tatra Kuveri-tīra-varttini Svētāranye Mārkaṇḍeya-chhajvīvit-
vāya Antaka-saṁhūro Rudreṇa kṛitaḥ iti tan-māhātmya prasiddhīḥ | Kuṃrme tu
uttarākhanda Svētasya rājarvaheḥ paramāśivasya Kālanjare parvate tapasy abhi-
ratasya maṇḍeya ṣagatasya Antakasya Svēna vīma-pōda-prahūreṇa saṁhūrapy kṛitaḥ
iti śatṛṣṭiśe 'dhyāya uktam | "The asura Andhaka was slain by Rudra in the Svēta
forest, as is well known from the Purāṇa. . . . The reading, 'as Antaka in
the Svēta forest,' is frequently met with. Regarding him it is told in the Glorifica-
tion of Mārkaṇḍeya that, to prolong the life of that sage, Antaka (the Ender, Death)
destroyed by Rudra. But in the latter part of the Kūrma-purāṇa, sect. 36, it
is related that Antaka, who had come to kill the royal rishi Svēta, an eminent votary
of Śiva, who was addicting himself to austerities on the Kālanjara mountain, was
destroyed by a blow of Śiva's left foot." Compare A.V. xi. 2, 7, quoted above,
p. 336, where Rudra is called "the slayer of Andhaka."

47 See above, p. 261, and note 269.
48 Viśiṭṭitaṁnāḥ. This epithet is not explained by the commentator.
other things] applauding Rāma for displaying the qualities of a Kshatriya (dharmajna vardhāṣe dishtyā kṣhatra-dharmena Rāghava, v. 99), and as saying to him (vv. 105 ff.) that all the gods, Gandharvas, etc., were saluting him with congratulations on his victory (jayā-śīrṣhīḥ), and that Brahmā and Mahādeva were paying him honour. Rāma is then said to have “made obeisance to the gods whom he saw not far off standing on their celestial cars” (namaś chakre vimānasthān drīṣṭvā ‘dāre dvākatasāh).

The following is another passage of the sixth or Yuddha Kāṇḍa occurring in the Bombay edition, but not in Gorresio’s, in which Rāma, when about to engage in battle with Rāvaṇa, is recommended by Agastya to utter a hymn to the Sun, which will insure his victory over his enemy. Not a word is said of Rāma’s own divinity, and in fact the use of such a prayer does not seem to harmonize with such a character:


⁴⁹ Akṣharaḥdhiyum årṣham | Comm.
śuchir bhūtvā dhanur ādāya viryavān | 30. Ravaṇam prekṣhyā hrīṣṭātmā javarthaṁ samupāgamat | sarva-yatnena mahatā vṛitas tasya badhe 'bhavat |
31. Atha ravir avadād nirikṣhya Rāmam mūḍita-manāḥ paramam pra-hrishyamānaḥ | niścharapati-sankshayāṁ viditvā sūra-gāna-madhya-gato vachas tevareti |

"The divine Agastya then beholding [Rāma] fatigued with the conflict, standing anxious in the battle, and in his front Ravaṇa, who had drawn near to the combat, [Agastya, I say], (2) who had arrived to see the conflict, joining the gods, and coming near to Rāma, said: 3. 'Rāma, Rāma, great-armed, hear the eternal mysterious [prayer], by which, my son, continually muttering it,—(4) the holy Āditya-hridaya ('heart of the sun'), which destroys all enemies, brings victory, is undecaying, supreme, beneficent, (5) the auspiciousness of all auspicious things, the destroyer of all sins, the allayer of anxieties and sorrows, the prolonger of life, the most excellent—thou shalt conquer all thine enemies in battle. 6. Worship the rising Vivasvat, the radiant sun, adored by gods and Asuras, the lord of the world. 7. For he possesses the essence of all the gods, is fiery, the producer of rays. He by his beams sustains the gods, the Asuras, and the worlds. 8. He is both Brahmā and Vishṇu, Śiva and Skanda, Prajāpati, Indra, Kuvera, Kāla (Time), Yama, Soma, and the lord of waters (Varuṇa), (9) the Pitrīs, Vasus, Śādhyas, Áśvins, Manu, Vāyu, Agni, created beings, breath, the former of the seasons, the producer of light, (10) Āditya, Savitri, Sūrya, moving in the sky, Pūshan, the radiant,

50 The commentator will not allow this apprehension to be real: Evaṁ bhaya-nātanaṁ tan-mūlakam Agastyād upadesa-prahayāṁ lokamgrahāya lokasya jaya-sādhana-vastu-prakāśanārtham iti tattevam | "The truth is that this acting (or simulation) of fear, and the acceptance of instruction from Agastya founded thereon, originated in kindness to mankind, and in a desire to reveal to them the means of gaining victory."

51 See above, p. 380, how much Brahmā was offended by having this appellation, euthe, "my son," applied to him by Vishṇu. If, then, the poet here intended to represent Rāma as possessing a divine nature, he must have conceived of Vishṇu as less susceptible than Brahmā, when he makes Agastya address him thus.

52 Compare the hymn to Sūrya in the Mahābh. iii. 166 ff., of which some specimens are given in the fifth volume of this work, p. 161. It is there said, v. 190: Tvām Indrayāḥ aha tvāṁ Vishṇus tvāṁ Rudrasya tvāṁ Prajāpateḥ | tvam Agnis tvam manāḥ sūkṣmanāṁ prabhas tvam Brahma śāvatām | "They call thee Indra; thou art Vishṇu, Rudra, Prajāpati: thou art Agni, the subtile Mind, thou art the lord, the Eternal Brahma."
of golden hue, the shining, who has golden seed, the maker of the
day.’’ Then follow (vv. 11–15) many other titles of the Sun, suc-
cceeded (vv. 15–21) by invocations addressed to him under various
appellations, among which is (v. 19) Brahmeśānāchyutesāya,53 “to the
lord of Brahmadeśa, Īśāna (Śiva), and Achyuta (Vishṇu).” After some
further eulogies of the Sun, Rāma is again exhorted to worship this
deity (vv. 26 ff.): “Worship with fixed mind this god of gods, the
lord of the world. Having thrice muttered this [hymn], a man shall
conquer in battles. 27. In this moment, O great-armed, thou shalt slay
Rāvana.’ Having thus spoken, Agastya went as he had come. 28.
After hearing this, the vigorous Rāma became then freed from grief;
and, with well-governed spirit, bore it in his memory. 29. Beholding
the Sun, and muttering this hymn, he attained the highest joy.
Having thrice rinsed his mouth, and become pure, the hero took his
bow. 30. Beholding Rāvana with gladdened spirit, he approached
to vanquish him; and with great intentness became bent upon his
slaughter. 31. Then the Sun, with rejoicing mind, exceedingly exult-
ing, looking upon Rāma, knowing the [approaching] destruction of the
chief of the Rākshasas, and standing in the midst of the gods, uttered
the word ‘speed.’”

This extract, as I have said above, is entirely wanting in Gorresio’s
edition, in which a verse (the last of its eighty-ninth section) corre-
sponding with the last in the hundred and fifth section of the Bombay
edition, is succeeded immediately by one (Gorr. 90, 1) corresponding
to the second half of the fourth verse of the hundred and seventh
section of the Bombay edition. The whole of the matter which is
wanting in Gorresio may be omitted without detriment to the con-
nexion; and in fact the recurrence at the beginning of the hundred
and seventh section (Bombay ed.) of an expression repeating in sub-
stance what had been said at the close of the hundred and fifth might

53 Brahmeśānāchyutesāya sṛiṣṭi-saṁhāra-sthiti-kartrāṇām Īśāya svāmine| “sṛiṣṭi-
sthity-aute-karṇām Brahmadeśa-Vishṇu-Svētāmikāṇa sa sajnāṁ yūtī bhagavān ekāḥ eva
Janārddanāḥ” tītram | “To the lord of Brahmadeśa, Īśāna, and Achyuta, who are
the authors of the creation, destruction, and continuance (of the world); according
to the Sāṃkha text: ‘The divine Janārddana alone receives the conjoint title of
Brahmadeśa, Vishṇu, and Śiva, representing the causes of the creation, continuance and
end (of the universe).’” Such is the manner in which the commentator chooses to
explain away his text.
lead to the conclusion that the whole of the hundred and sixth section was interpolated. On the other hand, it seems strange that a passage which appears to militate against Rāma’s divine character should be a later addition. The only conceivable motive for such an interpolation would be to glorify the Sun by the insertion of this hymn in celebration of his praise, an object which does not bear upon the main design of the Rāmāyaṇa.

The following is, on the other hand, a passage which may be understood as ascribing a superhuman nature to Rāma. After Vibhishana had deserted his brother Rāvana, and come over to Rāma’s side, a consultation took place among the friends of the latter, whether the deserter was deserving of confidence or not. Some regarded him with suspicion, but Rāma himself was in favour of receiving him with open arms. In the course of the conversation he asks (Yuddha Kāṇḍa 18, 22 f., Bombay ed.): Sa duṣṭo vāpy aduṣṭo vā kim eṣa rajanīcaraḥ | sūkham apy ahitāṁ kartum mama saktāṁ kathoṣchana | piśāchān dānavaṁ yakṣāṁ prathivyāṁ chaiva rākṣasān | anguly-agneśa tāṁ hanyāṁ ichhaṁ hari-gāṇesvaram | “Whether the Rākshasa be good or bad, what, even the smallest, injury can he do to me in any way? If I wish, I can destroy Piśāchas, Dānava, Yakṣas, and Rākshasas on the earth, with the tip of my finger.”

54 On this the commentator remarks: Ṛṣeṇa sankalpa-siddhir aiśvarāṁ cīhnam uktam | yady evam asmaḍādhi-sangrahā vyarthas tatāra uha “ichhāṁ” iti | svaya nirādhiya-mahinānaṁ tattvoktam Brahma-bhāvan prakaśitakartum ichhaṁ yadi syāṁ tadā tathaiva kuryām | samprati tu deva-bhāvopeta-nīpa-vilāsair aleyhaṁ “abadhyaḥ-vam asya maṁśva dattam” iti tat-paripālenāya soa-dīvya-bhāmaṁ soa-saktiyā eva antardhāya maṁśha-maryādayāṁ sthitā eva bhāva-prakāṣitāya eva Sitā-viyojaka-prayukta-rodaya-vad bhavādīṣa-sahāya-melanam | svatuto ma svātīrṣṭa-sahā-yunantāpekaḥ mama | manushyāṁ saṁśa-ra-maryāda-jñopanaṁ tad-evyavāha-ro dayaṁ iti bhūvaḥ | “By this [phrase ‘with the tip of my finger’] the accomplishment of an intention is declared to be the mark of the Deity. If thus the efforts of persons such as we [men] are, be vain,—in regard to this the author says, ‘If I wish.’ If I be desirous to manifest my own surpassing greatness, my real character as Brahma, then I can do this. But now, with the view of maintaining my fiat, [declared in the words] ‘I have conferred [on Rāvana] indestructibility,’ which I issued agreeably to all the sportive manifestations of my divine nature, suppressing that celestial nature through my own power by remaining within the limits of humanity, with the view of displaying that character, I have associated with myself such allies as you, (Sugrīva), just as I wept for my separation from Sitā. In reality I have no need for any other ally but myself. To show to men the limitations of worldly existence is the fruit of my so acting. Such is the purport.” The meaning of this passage is clear, though we may not have succeeded in accurately rendering all the phrases in it.
rather points to an inherent divine power. In Gorresio’s edition the expression is somewhat different. Rāma there says (Sundara K. 91, 3) that he could destroy all those beings “forthwith, and by the power of a divine weapon” (saktṛ hāṃ sakāsā hantum divyenāstra-balena cha), which may be understood of a derived power. However this may be, it turned out upon trial that Rāma was unable to dispose of his enemies so summarily, as we have seen above in the case of his conflict with Indrajit (p. 383 ff.).

The termination of Rāma’s terrestrial career is thus told in sections 103 ff. of the Uttara Kāṇḍa. Time, in the form of an ascetic, comes to his palace-gate (103, 1 ff.), and asks, as the messenger of the great Rishi (Brahmā), to see Rāma. He is admitted and received with honour (v. 8), but says, when asked what he has to communicate, that his message must be delivered in private, and that any one who witnesses the interview is to be slain by Rāma (v. 11 f.). Rāma promises to abide by this, informs Lakshmana of it, and desires him to stand outside (v. 13 f.). Time then tells Rāma (104) that he has been sent by Brahmā to say that when he (Rāma, i.e. Vishṇu), after destroying the worlds, was sleeping on the ocean, he had formed him (Brahmā) from the lotus springing from his navel, and committed to him the work of creation (vv. 4–7); that he (Brahmā) had then entreated Rāma to assume the function of Preserver, and that the latter had in consequence become Vishṇu, being born as the son of Aditi (v. 9 f.), and had determined to deliver mankind by destroying Rāvana, and to live on earth ten thousand and ten hundred years (v. 11 f.): that period, adds Time, was now on the eve of expiration (v. 13), and Rāma could either, at his pleasure, prolong his stay on earth, or ascend to heaven and rule over the gods (v. 14 f.). Rāma replies (v. 18) that he had been born for the good of the three worlds, and would now return to the place whence he had come, as it was his function to fulfil the purposes of the gods. While they are speaking, the irritable rishi Durvāsas comes to visit Rāma, and when Lakshmana asks him to wait a little, insists on being introduced into the presence of the former immediately, under a threat, if refused, of cursing Rāma, his city, kingdom,

55 All the references to this Kāṇḍa apply to the Bombay edition. I have not seen Gorresio’s edition of this book.
56 Compare p. 196, above.
and all his family (105, 1 ff.). Lakshmana, preferring to save his kinsmen, though knowing that his own death must be the consequence of interrupting the interview of Rāma with Time, enters the palace, and reports the rishi’s message to Rāma (v. 9). Rāma dismisses Time, comes out, and receives Durvāsas, and when the sage has got the food he wished, and departed, Rāma reflects with great distress on the words of Time, which require that Lakshmana should die (vv. 10–16). Lakshmana, however (106, 2 ff.), exhorts Rāma not to grieve, but to slay him, and not break his own promise. The counsellors who are consulted concurring in this advice (vv. 5 ff.), Rāma abandons Lakshmana, (v. 13) who goes to the river Sarayu, suppresses all his senses (nigrihyā sarva-srotāṃśe), and after the gods had showered down flowers upon him, is conveyed bodily by Indra to heaven (vv. 15 ff.). The gods are delighted by the arrival of the fourth part of Vishnu (v. 18). Rāma then resolves to install Bharata as his successor, and retire to the forest and follow Lakshmana (107, 1 ff.). Bharata, however, refuses the succession, and determines to accompany his brother (v. 5 f.). Rāma’s subjects are filled with grief, and say they also will follow him wherever he goes (vv. 9 ff.). Kuśa and Lava, Rāma’s two sons,57 are then installed as kings of the Southern and Northern Kośalas (vv. 17 ff.). Messengers are sent to Satrughna, the other brother, at Madhurā, and he also resolves to accompany Rāma (108, 1–14); who at length sets out in procession from his capital with all the ceremonial appropriate to the “great departure” (maha-prasthāna, 109, 1 ff.), silent, indifferent to external objects, and to case, with Śrī on his right, the goddess Earth on his left, Energy in front, attended by all his weapons in human shapes, by the Vedas in the form of Brahmans, by the all-protecting Gāyatṛī, the Omkāra, the Vashatkāra, by rishis, by earthly divinities (i.e. Brahmans, mahīśurāḥ), by his women, female slaves, old and young, eunuchs (varśavarāḥ), and servants. Bharata with his wives, and Satrughna, follow, together with Brahmans bearing the sacred fire, and accompanied by their families, with the ministers of state, and the whole of the people of the country, and even with animals, and birds, etc., etc. Rāma, with all these attendants, comes to the banks of the Sarayu (sect. 110). Brahmā, and all the gods, in innumerable celestial cars, now appear,

57 See Wilson’s Vishnu Purāṇa, vol. iii. p. 318 (Dr. Hall’s ed.).
and all the sky is resplendent with the divine splendour of their apparition. Pure, fragrant, and delightful breezes blow, a shower of flowers falls, thrown by the gods. While hundreds of musical instruments sound, and the air is crowded with Gandharvas and Apsarases, Rāma enters the waters of the Sarayū; and Brahmā utters a voice from the sky, saying: “Approach, Vishṇu; Rāghava, thou hast happily arrived, with thy god-like brothers. Enter whatever body thou pleasest, thine own body as Vishṇu, or the eternal ether. For thou art the abode of the worlds (loka-gatiḥ): no one comprehends thee, the inconceivable and imperishable, except the large-eyed Māyā, thy primeval spouse.” Hearing these words, Rāma enters the glory of Vishṇu (Vaishṇavam tejas) with his body and his followers; and is worshipped by the gods, rishis, etc. He then asks Brahmā to find an abode for the people who had accompanied him from devotion to his person, and Brahmā appoints them a celestial residence accordingly (lokān santānakān).56

Instead of describing any such resumption of his divine nature, the Mahābhārata, which in the Droṇa-parvan 2224–2248, refers to Rāma as one of the great kings of old, merely speaks in v. 2246 of his going to heaven with four kinds of creatures (chaturvidhāḥ prajāḥ Rāmāḥ svargaṁ nītvā dīvam gataḥ). He is, however, celebrated in the most hyperbolical language, as where he is said (v. 2235) to “have transcended all beings, rishis, gods, and men” (Ati sarvāṇi bhūtāni Rāmo Desaratḥir babhaḥ | rishīṇāṁ devatānāṁ cha mānushāṇāṁ cha sarvasaḥ), but no reference is made to his being an incarnation of Vishṇu. The word īśvara applied to him in v. 2242 may mean only “lord,” and need not be employed in the sense of “god.” (This passage is referred to in Professor M. Williams’s Indian Epic Poetry, p. 104.) The Rāmopākhyāna (see further on) in the Mahābhārata does not describe the apotheosis of Rāma at all.

The probability that many of the verses in the preceding passages which I have above suspected to be spurious may really be such, is

56 These worlds are explained by the commentator as realms an abode in which gradually leads to final liberation by the attainment of Brahmā’s heaven (Krameṇa Brahma-loka-prōpti-dvārā mukti-janakān).
greatly strengthened by the fact that the commentators on the poem themselves note various texts which they regard as interpolated. Thus the commentator an Kishk. K., sect. 43 (Bombay ed.), remarks on 46 ff.: *Itāḥ uttaram kechit ślokāḥ* “ramante satataṁ tatra nāribhiḥ bhāsvara-prabhāḥ” (v. 50) ity antāḥ ślokāḥ prakshiptāḥ prācīṇa-pustakeshv anupalambhād iti Katakah | “Kataka (a previous commentator) says that after this some verses ending with the words (in the fiftieth verse) ‘They sport there resplendent, along with their women,’ are rejected, because they are not found in the old copies.”

At the end of the twenty-third section of the Uttara Kāṇḍa the commentator remarks: *Itāḥ param pancha-sargāḥ prakshiptāḥ bodhyāḥ* | “After this five sections are to be regarded as rejected.” On these sections, to which he assigns separate numbers, he gives no commentary. In the first of these sections, v. 42, Kansa is mentioned by anachronism.

At the end of the thirty-seventh section of the same book the commentator furnishes the following piece of sensible criticism: *Etad uttaram Bāli-Sugrīvotpatītiḥāso Rāvaṇasya Sveta-dvipa-gamanetihāsaś cha katipayaāḥ sargair Agastyoktitayā kvachit pustakeshu drīṣyante | te tu pūrva-sargānte eva Agastyasya svāśrama-gamana-kathanād asangataḥ Katakā-Tīrthādy-anādritavāc cha mayā 'pi na vyākhyātāḥ | “That which follows—viz. the tale of the birth of Bāli and Sugrīva, and the story of Rāvaṇa’s journey to Sveta-dvīpa—is found in some copies, as being related by Agastya in several sections. But as these sections are inconsistent with the account [given] at the end of the previous section (36, vv. 51, 58 f.) of Agastya’s departure to his hermitage, and have not been received by Katakā, Tīrthā, and other [previous commentators], I also have left them uncommented.” These sections are accordingly without any commentary.

Again, at the close of section 59, he remarks: *Etad uttaram śvamātur akhyānāṁ gridhrolūkākhyānyānachcha kvachid drīṣyate | Tīrthakatakādy-asprisktatvena prakshiptam iti na vyākhyātam | “The story of the dog’s mother and that of the vulture and owl which follow, are found in some copies: but as they are left untouched by Tīrthā, Katakā, and others, they are rejected, and consequently have not been explained.”

From these extracts it is clear that various passages which are still preserved in the Rāmaśāna were regarded by the commentators as
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spurious because they were not to be found in the oldest MSS. extant in their day, or because they contained something inconsistent with the context in which they occur. The judgment of these commentators is no doubt correct, especially as they must have been well acquainted with the habit which, we need not hesitate to assume, prevailed in their day, of interpolating legendary works such as the Purāṇas and Itihāsas, the style of which, from its simplicity, offers the greatest facilities for imitation. But if such interpolation be admitted by the commentators as practised in their time, it is natural to suppose that it must have been practised at an earlier period also. And the example of the Mahābhārata confirms this supposition.

After reviewing most of the passages, which I have cited above, in which Rāma's divine character is alluded to, as they are given in his own edition, and, in addition, the section which I have cited in p. 180 ff., Signor Gorresio remarks as follows (vol. v., Preface, p. xlvii. f.): "What are we to conclude from all this? Notwithstanding the citations adduced, I would not yet venture to pronounce a definitive judgment on this question" (whether the idea of the incarnation of Viṣṇu in Rāma was an original part of the conception of the poem, or interpolated). "The passages quoted only prove that the interpolation, if it be such, has been made with great study and much art. But in order thoroughly to elucidate this question, we must have recourse to other documents, and seek for other proofs and indications than the poem itself supplies. Our sentence, therefore, remains suspended."

The Mahābhārata also contains a history of Rāma, (Rāmopākhyāna) which is told to Yudhishṭhira by the sage Mārkandeya, in the Vanaprav, vv. 15872–16602. In this episode it is briefly related (v. 15878 f.) that Daśaratha had four sons, born of his three queens.

59 On this passage he observes (p. xlvii.): "Among the names here assigned to Viṣṇu some of a sufficiently suspicious character are found, such as that of Kṛṣṇa, which I do not recollect to have discovered in any other part of the poem. Besides, this chapter has no close bond to connect it with the context, and might be removed without the least injury to the poem."
The birth and history of Rāvana and his brothers are described in much greater detail (vv. 15881–15928), and many particulars are given which do not occur in the earlier part of the Rāmāyaṇa, though the Uttara Kāṇḍa contains a similar account. According to the episode in the Mahābhārata, Brahmā had a mental son Pulastya, who again had a son Gaviputra Vaiśravana (v. 15883). The latter deserted his father and went to Brahmā, who as a reward made him immortal and appointed him to be the god of riches, with Lankā for his capital, and the car Pushpaka for his vehicle (vv. 15886 ff.). His father, Pulastya, however, being incensed at this desertion of himself, reproduced the half of himself in the form of Viṣravas, vv. 15884 (tasya kopāt pitā rājan sasarjātmānam ātmānaḥ | sa jajne Viṣravāḥ nāma tasyātmārdhena vai dvījaḥ | and again, v. 15889 : Pulastyasya tu yaḥ krodhād arāhadeho 'bhavād muniḥ | Viṣravāḥ nāma ētyādi). This Viṣravas looked upon Vaiśravana with indignation. The latter strove to pacify his father (v. 15890 ff.), and with this view gave him three elegant Rākshasīs to attend on him: Pushpotkaṭā, who had two sons, Rāvana and Kumbhakarna; Mālini, who bore Vibhīshana; and Bākā, who bore Khara and Sūrpanākhā. These sons were all valiant, skilled in the Veda, and observers of religious rites; but perceiving the prosperity of Vaiśravana, they were filled with jealousy. They accordingly (except Khara and Sūrpanākhā) began to practise austerities to propitiate Brahmā, and at the end of a thousand years Rāvana cut off his own head and threw it as an oblation into the fire (v. 15908). Brahmā then appeared to stop their austerities and offer them boons (except that of immortality). He ordained that Rāvana should have heads and shapes at will, and should be invincible, except by men; that Kumbhakarna, who was influenced by the quality of darkness (tamas), should, according to his request, enjoy long sleep (sa vaḥre Viṣravas is here meant, although according to v. 15883 ff. Pulastya reproduced himself as Viṣravas after the birth of Vaiśravana, and in consequence of the latter having deserted his father in his original form as Pulastya. Vaiśravana means the son of Viṣravas, and in v. 15925, Vaiśravana (Kuvera) is said to be the brother of Vibhīshana, who must have been the son of Viṣravas, as his brother Rāvana is called in v. 15930.

61 See above, p. 223 and p. 488, below.

62 This disagrees with the statement in the Rāmāyaṇa (quoted above, p. 462) that he was doomed to long sleep as a curse.
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mahatîṁ niḍrāṁ tamaśa grasta-chetanaḥ, v. 15916). Vibhīṣaṇa asks that even in the greatest misfortunes he may never meditate any un-righteousness, and that the Brāhmaṇ’s weapon may become manifest to him without being learned.63 Brahmā promises him immortality. Having obtained the power above described, Rāvaṇa expels Vaiśravaṇa (Kuvera) from Lankā (v. 15920). The righteous Vibhīṣaṇa follows his brother64 (v. 15925) Kuvera, who had retired to Gandhamadana (v. 15921). Rāvaṇa having been installed as king, and begun to exercise his power tyrannically, the richis resort for deliverance to Brahmā (v. 15929 ff.), who promises that as Rāvaṇa could not be killed either by gods or Asuras, the four-armed Viṣṇu, the chief of

63 Aśīkshitanca bhagavan Brahmāstram pratiḥātu me | See the second volume of this work, 2nd ed., p. 416, where the sense of the line is not correctly rendered. See the note on a similar line from the Uttarā Kāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa below in p. 489. In v. 16897 Vibhīṣaṇa is said to be the homest of Pulastya’s sons (rūpena saryebhaya ’bhyaḥbikāh), and a protector of righteousness, and practiser of religious rites (dharma-gopa-kriyāratīḥ).

64 In v. 16157 f. Vibhīṣaṇa is said to dwell, shaded by a white umbrella, and with white garlands, on the Svetaparvata, or, “white mountain,” attended by his four counsellors, and apart from his disreputable brothers Kumbhakarna, etc., who, naked, with dishevelled hair, and red garlands, frequented the south. In v. 16314 f. he is said to join Rāma, and it is not mentioned whence he comes; but as his treachery is at first suspected by Sugrīva, it might appear to be implied that he came from Lankā, as is expressly related in the Rām., vi. 17, 1, Bombay ed. In Gorr. ed. (Sundara Kāṇḍa, 89, 1–43) forty-two verses are introduced between the two lines which make up the first verse of the 17th section of book sixth in the Bombay ed. That verse states that after addressing some harsh words to Rāvaṇa, Vibhīṣaṇa came immediately to Rāma. Gorresio’s text adds that after leaving his brother, Vibhīṣaṇa first tells his mother all that had happened, and then went through the air to Kailāsa, the residence of Vaiśravaṇa (Kuvera, v. 4). Before his arrival, however, Mahādeva had gone with Umā and his attendants to the abode of Kuvera (vv. 6 ff.), had dismounted from his bull, and entered the assembly; when the two gods embraced each other, sat down, and began to play at dice. At this juncture Mahādeva sees Vibhīṣaṇa approaching, and tells Kuvera that he has come to seek his protection; but that he ought to go to Rāma, who would install him as monarch of the Rākshasas (vv. 11 ff.). Vibhīṣaṇa arrives, kneels and touches the ground with his forehead, when the two gods give him the advice which Mahādeva had proposed (vv. 21 ff.). Vibhīṣaṇa remains thoughtful (v. 36). Mahādeva again addresses him (v. 37), and tells him to “rise and resort to the ancient lord, the imperishable, the support of all beings, the eternal, the irresistible, the treasury of righteousness, the refuge of those who seek him, the root of the whole world, Rāma” (v. 39) (Tasmad uttihṣṇa gaccha teṣam puraṇam prabhun avyayam | adhāraṁ savva-bhūtanāṁ śāśvataṁ nīveṇagraham | 40. Sa hi dharmā-midhānāṁ cha gatir gatimatāṁ evaḥ | kṛitoṣṇaya jagato mūlāṁ tasmāḥ gachha eva Rōghavam). Vibhīṣaṇa hereupon rises, makes obeisance to the two gods, and goes to Rāma through the sky (vv. 41 ff.).
warriors, should, by his (Brahma’s) appointment, descend to earth for
his destruction (tad-arthaṃ avatīrṇa ‘saṃ man-nyogāḥ chaturbhujāḥ | Vīshṇuḥ praharataṁ śreṣṭhaḥ sa tat karma karishyati). No account
is, however, given of the way in which Vīshṇu was to become in-
carnate in one or more of the sons of Daśaratha; or how this was ac-
complished. Brahma also desired Indra and the other gods to be born
on earth, and beget on the she-bears and she-monkeys sons who should
assist Vīshṇu, which they accordingly did. He also gave injunctions
and instructions to a Gandharvī called Dundubhi, who was born on
earth as the hunchbacked Mantharā, and stirred up enmity by urging
Kaikeyī to claim the succession to Daśaratha’s throne for her own son
Bharata (vv. 15934 f., and 15960 ff.).

Whether the portion of the episode which relates the earlier history
of Rāvana, and the means adopted by Brahma for his destruction,
formed an original part of the poem, I need not attempt to decide;
but an allusion is afterwards made in a later part of it to the monkeys
of Rāma’s army having been begotten by the gods (v. 16309), where
Sāgara, the Ocean, who had appeared to Rāma, is introduced as saying:
Asti tatra Nalo nāmo vānaraḥ śilpi-sammataḥ | Tvashṭur devasya tanayo
balavān Viśvakarmanāḥ | “There is there a monkey called Nala, ap-
proved by artizans, the strong son of the god Tvashṭpti Viśvakarman.”

The main incidents in this episode agree, as far as I have examined
them, with those of the Rāmāyaṇa: though there are some minor
points in which there is a difference between the two. Thus the
larger poem appears (as far as I have looked into it) to say nothing of
Mantharā being the incarnation of a Gandharvī, though this is allud-
ed to by the commentator in ii. 7, 1 of the Bombay edition, in these
words: Atha Sitāyāḥ Lankā-pura-praveśaṁ vinā Rāvana-badhasyaśak-
yatayā tat-siddhaye devaiḥ preritāyāḥ kriṣṭa-kubjā-veshayāḥ Mantharāyāḥ
Rāmabhishēka-vighna-pravrīttīḥ . . . . vaktum upakramate | “Now
since Rāvana could not be killed unless Sitā entered into Lankā,—with
a view to the accomplishment of that, he (the poet) begins to relate
how Mantharā, who had been sent by the gods, and had taken the
disguise of a hunchback, threw obstacles in the way of Rāvana’s in-
auguration, etc.” Again, as we have already seen, long periods of
sleep are said, in the larger poem, to have been inflicted by Brahma on
Kumbhakarṇa as a curse, but in the episode to have been granted as a
boon.\textsuperscript{65} The account which will be given below from the Mahābhārata is a sort of reconciliation of these two statements. Another discrepancy noticed by the commentator has been already cited above, p. 415, note 193.

In the sequel of the story, as given in the Mahābhārata, it is said that, after the destruction of Rāvana, and the appearance of the gods to persuade Rāma to take back his wife Sītā, Brahmā offered Rāma any boons he might choose, and that Rāma accordingly desired that he might continue steadfast in righteousness, and unconquered by his enemies; and solicited the resurrection of the monkeys who had been killed by the Rākshasas (vv. 16570 ff.). The poet, who represents Rāma as consenting to receive these boons from Brahmā, could scarcely have regarded him as the Supreme Spirit, as he is declared in some parts of the Rāmāyaṇa to have been (see above, p. 180 ff.). The last act of his which is described (vv. 16600 ff.) is the celebration of ten aśvamedhas. No reference is made to his death.

As I have noticed above, the Uttara Kāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa contains an account of the birth, and a sketch of the earlier history, of Rāvana and his brothers, which varies in some particulars from the narrative in the Mahābhārata. We are there told how after Rāma had returned to Ayodhya, and taken possession of the throne, the rishis assembled from the east, west, north, and south, to greet him (1, 1 ff.), and Agastya, in answer to his questions, recounted many particulars regarding his old enemies. In the Kṛta Yuga (or Golden Age) the austere and pious Brahman-rishi Pulastya, a son of Brahmā, and who was like his father, being teased with the vicinity, sports, singing, and dancing of different damsels, who interrupted his austerities,\textsuperscript{66} proclaimed that any one of them whom he again saw near his hermitage, on the side of Mount Meru, should become pregnant. The others kept

\textsuperscript{65} The story of Rambhū, which is related in the passage referred to above (461 f.), is in this episode briefly sketched in these words (v.16151 ff.): *Naḷakūvara-sūpena rakṣitā hy asi nandini| šapto hy eṣa purā pāpo badhūṁ Rambhūṁ parāṃrishaṁ| na śāṅkotya avaśāṁ nūrīṁ upaitum ajītenādriyaḥ| “Thou art protected, charming one, (i.e. Sītā) by the curse of Naḷakūvara. For this wicked being of unrestrained passions (Rāvana), having formerly been cursed when insulting his (N.‘s) wife Rambhū, is unable to approach a helpless woman.” See also v. 16663 f.; and p. 461 f., above.

\textsuperscript{66} “Not intentionally,” says the commentator on v. 8, “but like (dried) grass and fire” (ṭriṅgāṇi-nyāyena na tu buddhi-pūrvam).
at a distance, but the threat had not been heard by the daughter of the royal-rishi Trīṇavindu, who one day came into Pulastya’s neighbourhood, and her pregnancy was the result (sect. 2, vv. 14 ff.). After her return home, her father, seeing her condition, took her to Pulastya, who accepted her as his wife; and she bore a son who received the name of Viśravas (v. 32). This son was, like his father, an austere and religious sage. He married the daughter of the muni Bharadvāja, who bore him a son, to whom Brahmā gave the name of Vaiśravaṇa—Kuvera (sect. 3, vv. 1 ff.). The latter performed austerity for thousands of years, when he obtained from Brahmā as a boon, that he should be one of the guardians of the world [along with Indra, Varuṇa, and Yama] and the god of riches (vv. 11 ff.). He afterwards consulted his father Viśravas about an abode, and, at his suggestion, took possession of the city of Lankā, which had formerly been built by Viśva-karman for the Rākshasas, but had been abandoned by them through fear of Vishṇu, and was at that time unoccupied (vv. 23 ff.). Rāma then (sect. 4) says he is surprised to hear that Lankā had formerly belonged to the Rākshasas, as he had always understood that they were the descendants of Pulastya, and now he learns that they had also another origin (v. 4. Pulastya-vamśād udbhutāḥ rākṣasāḥ iti nāḥ śrutam | idānāṃ anyataḥ chāpi sambhavaḥ kṛtītas tvayā). He therefore asks who was their ancestor, and what fault they had committed that they were chased away by Vishṇu. Hearing the polished (saṁskārālakrītam) 67 words of Rāma, Agastya replies (vv. 9 ff.) that when Brahmā created the waters, he formed certain beings—some of whom received the name of Rākshasas—to guard them. 68 The first Rākshasa kings were Heti and Praheti (v. 14). Heti married Bhayā, the sister of Kāla (Time). She bore him a son Vidyutkeśa (v. 17), who in his turn took for his wife Śalankatankaṭā, the daughter of Sandhyā (v. 21). She bore him a son Sukesa (v. 32), whom she abandoned (v. 24), but he was seen by Śiva, as he was passing by with his wife Pārvati (v. 27 ff.), who made the child as mature as his mother, and immaterial, and gave him a city which moved through the ether. Pārvati, too, gave as a boon to the Rākshasa women the power of immediate conception and parturition, and to their children instant maturity equal

67 See the second volume of this work, pp. 157–159.
68 See Note A, p 439.
to that of their mothers (v. 30 ff.). Sukeśa married a Gandharvī called Devavatī (sect. 5, v. 3), who bore three sons, Mālyavat, Sumāli, and Māli (v. 6). These sons practised intense austerities (v. 9), when Brahmā appeared (v. 12), and conferred on them invincibility and long life (15). They then harassed the gods and Asuras (16). Viśvakarman, at their request, gave them a city, Lankā, on the mountain Trikūṭa, on the shore of the southern ocean, which he had built (vv. 18 ff.). They marry the three daughters of the Gandharvī Narmadā. Mālyavat's wife, Sundari, bears Vajramushṭi, Virūpāksha, Durmukha, Suptaghna, Yajnakopa, Matta, Unmatta, and one daughter Anāla (v. 35 ff.). Sumāli's wife, Ketumati, bears Prahasta, Kampana, Vīkāta, Kālikāmukha, Dhūmrāksha, Daṇḍa, Supārsva, Sanhrādi, Praghasa, Bhāsakarna, and four daughters, Rākā, Pushpotkaṭā, Kaikasi, and Kumbhīnāśi (vv. 39 ff.). Māli's wife, Vasudā, bore Anala, Nila, Harā, and Sampāti (v. 43). The three Rākshasas, Mālyavat and his two brothers, with their sons, continue to oppress the gods, rishis, etc. (v. 44), who (sect 6, v. 1 ff.) in consequence resort for aid to Mahādeva, "the creator and destroyer of the world, the unborn, imperceptible, the support of all worlds" (Jagat-srishty-anta-kartāram ajām avyakta-rūpinam | ādhāram sarva-bhūtānāmi), who, having regard to his protégé Sukeśa (the father of Mālyavat, etc., see above), says that he cannot kill the Rākshasas (v. 10); but advises the suppliants to go to Viṣṇu, which they do (v. 12), and receive from him a promise that he will destroy their enemies (v. 21). One of the three Rākshasa kings, hearing of this, informs his brothers, and, after consultation (v. 23 ff.), they proceed to heaven to attack the gods (v. 46), unterrified by the portents which were manifested. (vv. 53 ff.). Viṣṇu prepares to meet them (v. 63). The battle is described in the seventh section. The Rākshasas are defeated by Viṣṇu with great slaughter, and driven back to Lankā, one of their leaders, Māli, being slain (vv. 42 ff.). Mālyavat remonstrates with Viṣṇu, who was assaulting the rear of the fugitives, on his unwarriorlike conduct (na jānishe kṣhātraṁ dharmam purātanam),69 and wishes to renew the combat (sect. 8, v. 3 ff.).

69 The next verse (4) adds: Parāṁmukha-vadham pāpana yaḥ karoti sureśvara | sa hantā na gataḥ sevgaṁ labhate punya-karmam | "The slayer who wickedly slaughters foes who have turned their backs, after his death does not attain to the heaven of the meritorious."
Vishnu replies that he must fulfil his promise to the gods by slaying the Rākshasas, and that he would destroy them even if they fled to Pātāla (v. 7 ff.). The battle is renewed, but Mālyavat and Sumāli are driven into Lankā (v. 20), and being unable to withstand Vishnu, at length retire to Pātāla (v. 22). These Rākshasas, Agastya says, were more powerful than Rāvana, and could only be destroyed by Nārāyana, i.e. by Rama himself, the eternal indestructible god (v. 24 ff.). Sumāli with his family lived for a long time in Pātāla, while Kuvera dwelt in Lankā (v. 29). In section 9 it is related that Sumāli once happened to visit the earth, when he observed Kuvera going in his chariot to see his father Viśravas. This leads him to consider how he might restore his own fortunes. He consequently desires his daughter Kaikasi to go and woo Viśravas (v. 12), who receives her graciously (vv. 18 ff.). She becomes the mother of the dreadful Rāvana (v. 29) whose birth was succeeded by portents, of the huge Kumbhakarna (v. 34), of Sūrpanakha, and of the righteous Vibhiṣaṇa, who was the last son (v. 35),70 and whose nativity was followed by a shower of celestial flowers, by the sound of celestial drums, and exclamations of delight in the air (v. 36). These children grow up in the forest. Kumbhakarna goes about eating rishis (v. 38). Vibhiṣaṇa lives in the practice of duty, the study of the Veda, and temperance, and controls his senses (v. 39). Kuvera comes to visit his father (v. 40), when Kaikasi takes occasion to urge her son Rāvana to strive to become like his brother (Kuvera) in splendour. This Rāvana promises to do (v. 45). He then goes to the hermitage of Gokarna with his brothers to perform austerity (v. 47). In section 10 their austere observances are described. After a thousand years' penance, Rāvana throws one of his heads as an offering into the fire (v. 10). He performs this oblation nine times at equal intervals, and is about to do it the tenth time, when Brāhma appears (v. 12 ff.), and offers a boon. Rāvana asks immortality, but is refused (17). He then asks that he may be indestructible by all creatures more powerful than men, etc.; which boon is accorded by Brāhma (v. 22), together with the recovery of all the heads he had sacrificed, and the power of assuming any shape he pleased. Vibhi-

70 This account varies from that of the Mahābhārata (above, p. 482), according to which the mothers are different, and Khara (who is not named here) is also a son of Viśravas.
shaṇa (nearly as in the Mahābhārata, see above, p. 483) asks as his boon (v. 30 f.) that “even amid the greatest calamities he may think only of righteousness, and that the Brahman’s weapon may become manifest to him without being learned; and that in every stage of life his aims may be righteous” (paramāpad-gatasyāpi dharme mama matir bhavet | aśikshitancha brahmāsttram bhagavan pratibhātu me71 | yā yā me jāyate buddhir yeshu yesvo āśraveshu cha | sā sā bhavatu dharmishthā taṁ taṁ dharmam cha pālaye). The god grants his request, and adds the gift of immortality. When Brahmā is about to offer a boon to Kumbhakarna, the gods interpose (v. 35 ff.), as, they say, he had eaten seven Apsaras and ten followers of Indra, besides rishis and men; if he has done this without receiving any boon from Brahmā, he would, if he should obtain such a favour, devour the three worlds; and they end by suggesting that under the guise of a boon stupefaction should be inflicted on him (v. 39). Brahmā thinks on Sarasvatī, who arrives (v. 40), and by Brahmā’s command (v. 42. Vāṇi tvāṁ Rākṣasaṇḍrasya bhava vāg-devatepsitaḥ) enters into Kumbhakarna, that she may speak for him. Under this influence he asks, when desired to choose a favour, that he may receive the boon of sleeping for many years, which is granted (v. 45).72 When, however, Sarasvatī has left him, and he recovers his own consciousness, he perceives that he has

71 The commentator explains these last words thus: Aśikṣitaṁ sad-gurūpadeśaṁ vināpiṣṭa arthaḥ | brahmāsttram brahma-vidyā | etad varṇaṁ aśeṣa-brahma-vidyā-siddhi-pratibandhaka-nirvittaya | “Unlearnt, that is, [may it appear to me] even without the instruction of a good teacher. The Brahman’s weapon is the science of Brahma (or of the veda). This choice of a boon seeks the removal of all obstacles to the attainment of divine knowledge.” The commentator also says that by dharme (“righteousness”) in the first line is meant Nārāyaṇa (Vishṇu), according to the saying, ‘Rāma is the incarnate righteousness’: as looking to what follows, the passage would otherwise be tantological (“Dharme” Nārāyaṇe matir bhavet | “Rāma vignāhavān dharmāḥ” ity ukter atra dharmā-padena Nārāyaṇaḥ | anyatha “sā sā bhavatu dharmishthā” ity anena paumaruktyaṁ yāt |”

72 The commentator remarks here: Evaṁ iti | atra śaṅc-māśaṁ arvāk jāgaraṇaṁ na iti niyamaḥ | tad-adhiḥkā ‘pi nidrā tu bhavaty eva iti varā-varūpam bodhyam | atāḥ eva śaṅc-māśaṁ svapitī iti pūrvaṁ Viśhīṣṭaṁkiśyā varāhāṇaṁ anekāni iti Kumbha-kṛṇoktyā cha pūrvaktyasya na vīrodhaḥ | “In these words of Brahmā (v. 45) there is no condition that Kumbhakarna should wake after six months, but it is understood as the nature of the boon that he might sleep for even a longer time. Wherefore, although it was formerly said by Viśhīṣṭaḥ that ‘he sleeps six months,’ and Kumbhakarna here speaks of sleeping many years, there is no discrepancy between the latter and the former.”
been deluded (v. 47). Kuvera, on the demand of Rāvaṇa, and by his father's advice, gives up the city of Lanka to Rāvaṇa (sect. 11; v. 39 ff.).

The Uttara Kāṇḍa, sect. 36, vv. 44 ff., contains in its description of the monkey Hanumat's history the following testimony to his literary merits: 44. Aśau punar evākaraṇaṁ grihiṣhyaṁ suryomukhaḥ prasūta-mānāṁ kapindraḥ | udyad-girer asta-giriṁ jagāma grantham mahād dhārayan aprameyaḥ | 45. Sa-sūtra-vṛitti-artho-padam mahārthaṁ sa-sangrahaṁ sidhyati vai kapindraḥ | na hy asya kaśchit sādṛśo 'sti śāstre vaisārade chhanda-gatau tathaiva | sarvāsū vidyāsa tapo-viśhāne prasparāhete 'yaṁ hi guruṁ suraṇām | 44. "Again the chief of monkeys (Hanumat), measureless, seeking to acquire grammar, looking up to the sun, bent on inquiry, went from the mountain where the sun rises to that where he sets, apprehending the mighty collection—(45) viz. the aphorisms (sūtra), the commentary (vṛitti), the vārttika (arthapada), the Mahārtha, and the Sangraha [of Vyādi]. The chief of monkeys is perfect, no one equals him in the śāstras, in learning, and in ascertaining the sense of the Scripture, [or in moving at will]. In all sciences, in the rules of austerity, he rivals the preceptor of the gods."

The following is the commentary on the above passage: Udyad-girer udaya-girer mahād grānthaṁ dhārayan arthaṁ pāṭhataṁ cha grihyan | dhārayan aprameyaḥ iti nūd-abhāva ārshaḥ | sūrya-saṃmukhyārthāṁ tāvad gamanam | 45. Ko 'saun grānthas tatrāha "sa-sūtra" iti | sūtram ashtādhyāyi-lakshanam | vṛittis tātākāla-sūtra-vṛittīḥ | artho-padam sūtrārtha-bodhaka-padaavā vārttikam mahārthaṁ mahābhāshyam Paṭanjali-kritam | "sa-sangrahām" Vyādi-kṛita-sangrahākhyā-granthasahitam | "śādhyati vai" siddho bhavati sāstrāntaresv apīty arthaḥ | tad evāḥ | na hy asya sādṛśośo śāstre kaśchit "chhanda-gatau" pūrvottara-māmānā-mukhena vedārtha-nirṇaye "vaisārade" vaiṣudhaye | viśishya navama-vyākaraṇa-kartā Hanumān iti cha prasiddhir iti katakaḥ | "From the mountain where the sun rises, 'holding,' apprehending in sense and in text 'the great collection.' The absence of the reduplicated n in dhārayan aprameyaḥ is vedic (ārsha). He went to face the sun. 45. In the words 'with the sūtras,' etc., he describes what the book was. The sūtras mean the eight books of Pāṇini (ashtādhyāyi). The vṛitti is the contem-
poraneous gloss on the sūtras (sūtra-vṛitti). The artha-pada is the vārttika, containing sentences explaining the sense of the sūtras; the Mahārtha is the Mahābhāṣya composed by Patanjali. ‘With the sangraha’ means with the book called Sangraha, composed by Vyāḍi. ‘He is perfect’ means he excels in other śāstras also, as the author goes on to say: ‘for no one is like him in the śāstras, in ascertaining the sense,’ in determining the meaning of the Veda by the mouth of the Purva and Uttara Mīmāṃsā. ‘In skill,’ i.e. in learning. When specifying, it is well known that Hanumat was the ninth author of Grammar; such is Katakā’s explanation.”

The other eight grammarians are mentioned by Colebrooke—Essays, ii., pp. 39, 48 (ed. 1837).

NOTE E.—Page 261, note 229, line 3 from bottom.

With this compare the Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa xiv. 11, 28, where it is said: Indro Yatīn sālavirekebhyaḥ prāyaḥḥat | tam asīlā vāg abhyavadat | so ’suddho ’manyata | sa etat sūdhāsuddhiyam apasyat | tena asūdhyat | “Indra gave up the Yatis to the jackals. An evil voice addressed him” [charging him with the murder of Brāhmans, according to the Commentator]. “He recognized himself as unclean. He beheld this ‘Sūdhāsuddhiya,’ [a particular sāman text] and became purified.” The story is repeated further on in the same Brāhmaṇa xviii. 1, 9, where it is said that instead of beholding the “Sūdhāsuddhiya,” Indra went to Prajāpati, who gave him the “Upahavya” (Prajāpatim upādhāvat | tasmai etam upahavyam prāyaḥḥat). This story of Indra and the Yatis is alluded to in Ait. Br. vii. 28, which is quoted in the first volume of this work, pp. 437 f. It is also referred to in the Tāṇḍya Br. viii. 1, 4, and xiii. 8, 17.

The latter passage is as follows: Indro Yatīn sālavirekebhyaḥ prāyaḥḥat | teshām trayaḥ udāśishyanta Pṛthuṛaśmir Bṛihadgiriḥ Rayovājaḥ | te ‘bruvan “ko naḥ imān putrān bharishyati”’ iti | “aham”. iti Indro ’bravīt | tān adhinidhāya parichārya charan vṛdhayaṁ tān vṛdhayītvā ’bravīt “kumārakāḥ varāṁ vrinidhvaṁ”’ iti | “khatram mahyam” ity abravīt Pṛthuṛaśmiḥ | tasmai etena pārtharaśmena khatram prāyaḥḥat | khatrakāmaḥ etena stuvita | khatrasya iva asya prakāśo bhavati | “Brahmavarchasam mahyam” ity abravid Bṛihadgiriḥ | tasmai etena bārhadgireṇa brahmavarchasam prāyaḥḥat | brahmavarchasa-kāmaḥ etena stuvita | brahmavarchasī bhavati | “paśūn mahyam” ity abravid
Rāyovājaḥ | tasmai etena rāyovājiyena paśūn prāyahchat | paṇukāmaḥ  
etena stuvāta | paṇumān bhavati | 18. Pārtharāsmān rājanyāya brahma-
sāma kuryāt bārhagiram brāhmaṇāya rāyovājiyaṁ vaiśyāya | sena eva  
enāṁs tad-rūpeṇa samardhayati stomaḥ | "Indra gave up the Yatis to 
the jackals. Three of them were left, Pṛthuraśmi, Bṛihadgiri, and 
Rāyovāja. They said, 'Who will cherish these persons, us, as sons?' 
'I,' said Indra. Having placed them [on his car, according to the 
comm.], he went on tending and rearing them. When he had reared 
them, he said, 'Youths, choose boons.' Pṛthuraśmi said, 'May regal 
power be mine!' He accordingly gave him regal power by means of 
this 'pārtharāsmā' sāman. Let the man who desires regal power offer 
praise with this sāman; and he obtains distinction like that of regal 
power. Bṛihadgiri said, 'May Brahmanic lustre be mine!' He gave 
him Brahmanic lustre by means of this 'bārhagira' sāman. Let him 
who desires this characteristic offer praise with this sāman; and he 
obtains it. Rāyovāja said, 'Let me have cattle!' He gave him cattle 
by means of this 'rāyovājiya' sāman. Let him who desires cattle offer 
praise with this sāman; and he obtains them. 18. Let a 'pārthara-
śma' be the 'brahma-sāman' performed for a Rājanya, a 'bārhagira' 
that for a Brahman, and a 'rāyovājiya' for a Vaiśya. The 'stoma' 
thus brings prosperity to each of them after his own fashion." The 
Yatis are declared by the commentator on Tāṇḍya Br. viii. 1, 4, to be 
persons "who practised observances contrary to the Veda" (vedā-
viruddha-niyamopetā); on xiii. 4, 17, to be "the persons so called who 
were hostile to sacrifices" (etāt-sanjnakān yajna-virodhī-jaṇān); on 
xiv. 11, 28, to be "persons hostile to rites" (karma-virodhī-jaṇān); and 
on xviii. 1, 9, to be "Brahmans who did not celebrate the jyotishṭoma 
and other sacrifices, but lived in another way" (jyotishṭomādy akritvā 
prakārāntareṇa vartamanāṁ brāhmaṇān). The Yatis are also 
mentioned in the Taitt. Sanhitā ii. 4, 9, 2, in these words: Yatināṁ adya-
mānānāṁ śirshāṁ pārāpatan | te kharjurāḥ abhavan | "The heads of 
the Yatis who were being eaten fell off. They (the Yatis) became date-
trees." In the same Sanhitā, vi. 2, 7, 5, they are again referred to 
thus: Indro Yatin sālāvrikobhyāḥ prāyahchat | tān dakshinataḥ uttara-
vedyāḥ ādan | "Indra gave up the Yatis to the jackals: they devoured 
them on the south side of the northern altar." On the former of these 
texts the commentator remarks as follows: Pāramahāmsya-rūpaṁ cha-
turthāśramam prāptānāṁ yeshāṁ Yatināṁ mukhe Brahmātmaka-pratipādako viśānta-sādō nāsti tān Yatin Indraḥ āranyebbhyāḥ svabhyaḥ prayachhat | tathā Kaushātakibrāhmaṇopanishadi Indrasya pratijñā samānnāyate “Arunmukhān Yatin sālavrikṣobhyaḥ prayachham” iti | patitātāt teshāṁ tathātvāṁ yuktam | tathā cha smaryate “nitya-karma parityajya vedānta-śravaṇāṁ vina | vartamānas tu sannyāśi pataly eva na samśayaḥ” iti | teshāṁ cha sālavrikṣair bhakṣaṇāṁ shashṭha-kānde samānnāyate . . . . iti | vedānta-śravaṇa-vānchhāṁ vina nitya-karma-parityaktatvāṁ bhavatām api ādṛśī gatīr iti darśayitum vedi-samipē bhakṣaṇam eva | “Indra gave up to the wild dogs those Yatis in whose mouth (although they had attained the fourth stage of life [āśrama], that of Paramahaṁsas) the word of the Vedānta [or Upanishads] which sets forth that the soul is Brahma, was not found. Accordingly Indra’s declaration that he ‘gave up the Arunmukha Yatis to the jackals is recorded in the Kaushātaki Brāhmaṇa Upanishad” (iii. 1; see p. 161 of Prof. Cowell’s translation in the Bibliotheca Indica). “In consequence of their fallen condition, it was fit that this should have been done: according to the text of the Smṛti, ‘A Sannyāsin who lives in the neglect of the fixed observances, and without hearing the Vedānta [or Upanishads], sinks without doubt into a fallen condition.’ And the fact of the Yatis being eaten by jackals is recorded in the sixth book (of this Sanhitā, as quoted above). The circumstance of their being devoured near the altar is intended to show that the same fate awaits you gentlemen also, who live without desiring to hear the Upanishads, and in the neglect of the fixed ceremonies.” From Prof. Cowell’s note in the Kaushātaki Br. Up. transl., p. 161, it appears that Sāyaṇa, the commentator on the Ait. Br. vii. 28, regarded the Yatis there mentioned as being Asuras in the disguise of devotees, and the Ārurmaghas referred to there as being Asuras in the form of Brahmāns. Prof. Cowell adds in a second note that the commentator (in the Kaush. Br. Up.) “explains the Arunmukhas” (there mentioned) “as those in whose mouths the reading of the Vedas is not;” and observes that “they and the Arurmaghas of the Ait. Br. are equally obscure.” See the remainder of the note, and Prof. Hauge’s note on the latter passage in his translation of the Ait. Br., p. 483 f. He thinks the Arurmaghas “were no doubt a kind of degraded Aryas, very likely a tribe of the ancient Iranians,” etc.
NOTE F.—Page 310, note 19

In regard to this note I have been favoured with a communication from Prof. Roth, who is of opinion that there are two substantives śravas, as there are two roots śru. There is not only, he considers, a root śru, "to hear," but a second śru—śru; and there are, he adds, a number of passages where the sense "renown," traditionally ascribed to śravas, however wide this idea is, and in however forced a manner it may be applied, does not suffice. The forthcoming fasciculus of his Lexicon will, Prof. Roth informs me, supply details on this subject.

Wilson, Westergaard, and Williams, in their Dictionaries, give a second śru as equivalent to sru, "to move," "to flow," etc. Prof. Aufrecht is of opinion that in addition to śru, "to hear," there is another root śru, with the meaning "to quake," "to shake," "to tremble." This root, he states, occurs only twice in the whole Vedic literature which we have before us. The passages in which it is found are R.V. i. 127, 3: Vilu chiḍ yasya samṛītou śravat vaneva yat sthiram | "Even the strong quakes at his attack, and even the firm shakes like trees;" and R.V. i. 39, 6: Ā vo yāmāya prathīvī chiḍ abrot | "Even the earth trembled before your rush." From this root is derived grona, "lame." Prof. Aufrecht does not think that in any Vedical passage the root gru has the meaning of śravati, "to flow." In his note on the former of these two passages, Sāyaṇa explains śravat by gachhit, śryeta, i.e. "will move," "will crumble."

NOTE G.—Page 412, line 19.

In her lamentation for Rāvaṇa (Rām., Bombay ed. vi. 113) his queen Mandodarī, among other attributes which she ascribes to him, speaks of him (v. 49) as jetāraṁ lokapālānām ksheptāraṁ Śankarasya cha, "conqueror of the guardians of the world, and caster down (or, contemner) of Sankara." Sankara could not therefore have been looked on by the writer of this as the Supreme Deity. From the story of Nandīśvara, quoted in the Appendix, above, p. 460 f., it will have been seen, however, that Rāvaṇa was really no match for Sankara.

NOTE H.—Page 418, note 196

The following is a summary of the story of Indra and Indrajit, as
given in the twenty-seventh and following sections of the Yuddha Kāṇḍa. Rāvaṇa in the course of his expeditions goes to Indra-loka. Indra tells the gods to get ready for battle; but, being afraid, resorts to Vishnu (sect. 27, 6), whom he glorifies as the Creator and the Being into whom all things are absorbed at the end of the world, and asks his advice (v. 13). Vishnu reassures him; but says that he could not interfere without killing Rāvaṇa,—which he is unable to do on account of the boon conceded to the Rākshasa chief by Brahmā (v. 18); but he would slay him at the proper time (v. 20). Meanwhile he tells Indra to fight with Rāvaṇa (v. 21). A battle takes place between the gods and Rākshasas (v. 26 ff.). The eighth Vasu Śāvitrā comes on the field (vv. 34 and 43), fights with Sumāli, one of the Rākshasas, and grandfather of Rāvaṇa, who had routed the gods, kills him, reducing to ashes his bones and all the rest of him (v. 50), and puts the Rākshasas to flight. They are, however, rallied by Indrajit (sect. 28, 1 ff.), and the gods repulsed. Indra’s son, Jayanta, enters the fray (vv. 6 ff.). The gods are furiously assailed by Indrajit. Both sides, in the confusion, smite their own warriors (vv. 17 f.). Jayanta is carried off by his grandfather, his mother Sachi’s father, Puloman, the Daitya, who enters with him into the sea (vv. 19 f.). The gods, thinking that Jayanta had been killed, take to flight (v. 21), and are pursued by Indrajit. Indra himself now comes upon the scene (v. 23), and is opposed by Rāvaṇa (vv. 29 ff.), whom he eventually captures (sect. 29, v. 18 f.). Meghanāda (son of Rāvaṇa), afterwards called Indrajit, becoming invisible by his magical power, which he had obtained from Mahādeva, binds Indra and carries him off (v. 27). The gods, headed by Brahmā, follow them to Lankā (sect. 30). Brahmā praises Meghanāda’s valour, and declares that he shall be called Indrajit (“the conqueror of Indra,” v. 5). Brahmā then asks that Indra shall be released (v. 7). Indrajit, as a condition, requires the boon of immortality (v. 8). This Brahmā refuses (v. 9).73 Indrajit then says, v. 11: Srīya-tām vā bhavet siddhiḥ Satakratu-vimokshane | 12. Mameshtāṁ nityāto havyair mantraiḥ sampājya Pāvakam | sangrānam avatartum cha satru- nirjaya-kāṅkṣāṁ | 13. Āśva-yukto ratho mahyam uttisṣṭhet tu Viśhāvasaḥ | tat-sthASYāmaratā syād me esha me niśchito varaḥ | 14. Tasmīn yady asamāpte cha japyahome Viśhāvasau | yudhyeyāṁ deva-saṅgrāme

73 See similar cases above, pp. 223 and 482.
tadā ma syād vināśanam | 15. Sarvo hi tapasā deva vṛṇoty amaratām
punān | vikramena mayā tv etad amaratvam pravartitam | 16. Evam
astu iti tam chaḥ vākyāṁ devaḥ Prajāpatiḥ | muktas chendrajitā S'akro
gatāḥ cha tridivaṁ surāḥ | 11. "Listen: or let me attain perfection
by releasing Satakratu (Indra). 12. My wish is,—desirous as I am
of conquering my enemies,—to enter into battle after constantly wor-
shipping Agni with texts and oblations: (18) and the boon I have
fixed to ask for is that (whenever I shall do so) a chariot with horses
may rise up for me out of the Fire, and that while I stand in it I may
remain immortal: (14) and if I fight in it against the gods before I
have finished my prayers and oblations to Agni, let me perish. 15.
For, O god, every man desires by austerities to attain immortality.
And by my valour I have sought for this immortality. 16. ‘So be it,’
said Brahmā. Then Indra was released by Indrajit, and the gods went
to heaven.” Brahmā then tells Indra (vv. 17–48), who was standing
humiliated and thoughtful, that he had incurred this misfortune be-
cause he had corrupted Ahalyā (v. 46), the first woman, whom Brahmā
had made and had given to the sage Gautama (v. 27), as a reward for
his austere virtue. For this he had been cursed by the sage (vv. 31 ff.).
Ahalyā, too, was reprehended by the sage, expelled from his hermitage,
and condemned to lose her prerogative of being the only beautiful
woman in the world (vv. 36 ff.). She excuses herself by saying that
Indra had assumed the form of her husband, and thus deceived her,
and that she had not yielded to illicit passion (vv. 40 f.). She is then
assured that she would be restored to purity by the vision of Vishnu
incarnate in Rāma, and received again by her husband (vv. 41 ff.); and
Indra himself was enjoined to offer a Vaishnava sacrifice by which he
would be purified (v. 47 f.).

The commentator remarks on verse 49, where the performance of this sacrifice
is mentioned: Devānāṁ na yajneshu adhikāraḥ iti Jaiminy-uktāṁ tu pramādad iti
nirūpitam prāk | “The saying of Jaimini that the gods have not the prerogative of
sacrificing has been before determined to be founded on an inadvertence.” The end
of the remarks on Rāmāyaṇa i. 29, 7, quoted above, p. 131, note 131, may be here
referred to by the commentator. Besides the text cited in p. 262, note, mention is else-
where found of sacrifice being offered by Indra. See the story of Nahusha adduced
in the first volume of this work, pp. 307 ff., where such a sacrifice is referred to
(p. 310). The lines of the Udyoga-parvan (414 f.) in which this is mentioned are as
follows: Mūṁ eva yajatūṁ S'akraḥ pāvayishyāmi vajriṇam | punyena hayamedhenā
māṁ ishtvā Pākaśārayah | punar eshyati devānāṁ indratvam akutobhayah | Vishnu
ninth sections of the first book of the Rāmāyaṇa, Bombay ed., the note in p. 49, above; and a similar purification of Indra for another sin, above, p. 262, note, and the beginning of Note E., p. 491.) I quote the verses in which Brahmā here describes the creation of the first woman Ahalyā:

Sect. 30, 19 ff.—Amarendra mayā buddhyā prajāḥ srīṣṭās tatha prabhō | eka-varnaḥ samābhāsāḥ eka-rūpās cha sarvaśaḥ | 20. Tāsāṁ nāsti viśēsho hi darśane lakṣaṇo 'pi vā | tato 'haṁ ekāgra-manaś tāḥ prajāḥ samachintayam | 21. So 'haṁ tāsāṁ viśēshārthaṁ striyaṁ ekāṁ vinirnāme | yad yat prajānāṁ pratyayam viśēṣṭāṁ tat tad uddhritam | 22. Tato mayā rūpā-guṇair Ahalyā strī vinirnītā | Halaṁ nāmēha vairūpyaṁ halyaṁ tat-prabhavam bhavet | 23. Yasyāḥ na vidyate halyam tenāhalyetī visṛuta | Ahalyetī eva cha mayā tasyāḥ nāma prakṛtitam | 19. "O chief of immortals (Indra), all creatures were by my understanding formed by me of one caste, of the same speech, and of one form in every respect. 20. There was no distinction of them in appearance or characteristic (sexual) mark. I then, with intent mind, reflected on these creatures. 21. In order to distinguish them, I formed one woman. Whatever there was most distinguished (excellent) in the several members of [different] creatures was taken [to compose her]. 22. A woman faultless (ahalyā) in form was then fashioned by me. Hala means ugliness, and halya that which springs from ugliness. 23. She who has nothing sprung from ugliness (halya) is known as 'Ahalyā.' And I have made her known by this name."

NOTE I.—Page 427, line 7 from the foot.

Professors Aufrecht and Müller have been good enough to furnish me with the text of this Durgā-stava, or Rātri-sūkta, which, in the Sanhitā MSS. of the R.V., follows a hymn addressed to Night (the 127th of the Tenth Maṇḍala—Asṭāka viii. 7, 14). I will first give the text, with a translation, of the genuine hymn to Night (R.V. x. 127), and then quote the Pariśishṭa:

R.V. x. 127.—1. Rātri vi akhyad āyatī purutrā devī akshabhiḥ | viṣ-vāḥ adhi śriyaḥ 'dhita | 2. Ā uru aprāḥ amartyāḥ nivato devi udevataḥ | speaks: "Let S'akra (Indra) worship me: I will purify the thunderer. Having sacrificed to me with a pure horse sacrifice, he shall again obtain the headship of the gods, and be delivered from fear."

VOL. IV.
3. Nir ā svasāram askrita uhasam devi āyati | apa iḍ u āsate tamaḥ | 4. Sā no adya yasyāḥ vayaṁ ni te yāman avikṣh- 

mahi | vrikshahe na vasatiṁ vayaḥ | 5. Ni grāmāso avikshata ni padvanto ni 

pakshinaḥ | ni byenāsaś chid arthināḥ | 6. Yavaya vrikṣaṁ vrikṣaṁ yavaya 

stenam ārmye | atha naḥ sudarā bhava | 7. Upa mā pepiṣṭ tamah krish-

ṇaṁ vyaktam ashtā | ushaḥ rīṇā iva yātaya | 8. Upa te gāh iva ā 

akaraṁ vṛīṣiḥva duhitar divaḥ | rātri stomaṁ na jīgyuṣhe | “The divine 

Night arriving, hath shone in many places with her eyes; she has 

assumed all her splendours. 2. The immortal goddess has widely filled 

the lower and the upper regions: by light she destroys the darkness. 

3. Arriving, the goddess has driven away her sister the Twilight: the 

darkness departs. 4. Be to-day [favourable] to us who have gone to 

rest at thy coming, as birds to their nests in a tree. 5. Men, cattle, 

and even suppliant hawks, have gone to rest. 6. Drive away, O 

Night, the she-wolf and the wolf: drive away the thief; and carry 

us safely across [thyself]. 7. Darkness adorned [with stars], black, 

and yet illuminated, has approached me: do thou, Ushas, drive it 

away like one who is bound [to do so]. 8. I have brought for thee 

a hymn, as it were an offering of cows, like [an encomium] for a 

conqueror. Receive it, O Night, daughter of the Day.”

1. (=Nir. iv. 29; A.V. 19, 47, 1; and Vāj. S. 34, 32)—Ā rātri pār-

thivaṁ reṇaḥ pitur aprāyī dhāmabhīḥ | divaḥ sadāmaś bhratā vi tisṭhāsa 

tveshaṁ vartate tamaḥ | 2. (A.V. 19, 47, 3) Ye te rātri nričhakhaśa 
yuktāsa navatīr nava | aśītiḥ santu asṛtā uto te saptā saptatiḥ | 3. 

Rātrim prapadye jananiṁ sarva-bhūta-nivesanīṁ | bhadrām bhaga-

vatīṁ kṛishṇaṁ visvasya jagato niśām | 4. Saṁveṣanīṁ saṁyaṁanīṁ 

graḥa-nakshatra-mālīnīṁ | prapanno ’ham śivām rātrim bhadre pāram 

aśīmaḥ bhadre pāram aśīmaḥ oṁ namaḥ | 5. Stoshyāmi prayato 

devī saranyām bahcīrīḥa-priyāṁ | sahasra-sammitāṁ Durgāṁ Jāta-

vedase sunavāma somam | 6. Sānty-arthaṁ dvijāśīnām rishibhiḥ 

semapāśritaḥ (samupāśritaḥ?) | rig-vede tvam samutpannā ’rātyato nida-

hāti vedaḥ | 7. Ye tvāṁ devi prapadyante brāhmaṇāḥ havya-vāhanīṁ | 

75 For yuktāsaḥ, the A.V. reads drāṣṭāraḥ, “seers.”

76 This, Professor Aufrecht remarks, is imitated from R.V. i. 35, 1: Rātrim jagato 
nivesanīṁ.

77 The final pādās of this and the three following verses are, as Prof. Aufrecht 

observes, borrowed from R.V. i. 99.
avidyāḥ bhūvidyāḥ vā sa naḥ parshaḍ ati durgāṇi viśvā | 8. Agni-varṇāṁ
subham saumyāṁ kirtayishyanti ye dvijāḥ | tān tārayati durgāṇi nāveva
śindhuṁ duryātā śy Agniḥ | 9. Durgeshu vishame ghore sangrāme ripu-
sankaṭe | agni-chora-nipāteshu duṣṭa-graha-nivāraṇe | 10. Durgeshu
vishameshu tvāṁ sangrāmeshu vanesu cha | mohayitvā grapadyante
teshām me abhayāṁ kuru teshām me abhayāṁ kuru oṁ namaḥ | 11. Kes-
ināṁ sarva-bhūtānāṁ panchamiti cha nāma cha | sā mām samāṁ niśāḥ devī
sarvataḥ parirakshatu sarvataḥ parirakshatu oṁ namaḥ | [v. 12 is the
same as the verse quoted by Weber in the text, beginning tām
agni-varṇāṁ, etc.] | 13. Durgā durgeshu sthāneshu śaṁ no devīr abhish-
taye | yaḥ imaṁ Durgā-stavam punyam rātrau rātrau sādā paṭhet | rātriḥ
kuśikāḥ saubharo rātri-stavo gāyatrī | rātri-sūktāṁ joped nityāṁ tatt-
kālam upapadyate |

I am indebted to Professor Aufrecht for assistance in correcting the
 corrupt text and in explaining parts of this composition.

1. “O Night, the terrestrial atmosphere was filled with thy father's
might. Thou, the mighty one, pervadest the celestial mansions, and
awful darkness returns. 2. Night, may the man-beholders which are
united with thee be 99, 88, or 77. 3. I attain to Night, the mother,
who brings rest to all creatures, kind, divine, dark, the night of the
whole world. 4. I have attained the auspicious Night, who causes
men to rest, who composes [them], who is invested with a garland of
planets and stars. May we reach the other side in safety! may we
reach the other side in safety! 5. Intent, I will praise the divine
Durgā, who affords a refuge, who is beloved by the Bāhyrīchas (priests
of the Rig-veda ceremonial), who is equal to a thousand. Let us pour
forth soma to Jātavedas (Fire). 6. For the tranquillization of the
twice-born, thou art resorted to by rishiś, and hast thy origin in the
Rig-veda. May [Agni] burn up the wealth of him who seeks to hurt
us! 7. The Brahmans, learned or ignorant, who resort, O goddess,
to thee, the carrier of oblations,—may he transport us over all
difficulties. 8. Agni transports over all evils [though] hard to be
traversed,—as in a boat across the ocean,—those twice-born men who
shall celebrate the fire-coloured, auspicious, beautiful goddess. 9. In
difficulties, in dire perplexity, in battle, in trouble from enemies, in

78 Or, according to the reading of the A.V., “May thy man-beholders, lookers
be,” etc.
visitations of fire, and thieves, for the prevention of inauspicious planets, (10) in difficulties, perplexities, battles, and forests, men, bewildered, resort to thee. Give us security from these things, give us security from these things! 11. [I praise] her the long-haired, and whose name among all creatures is Panchamī. May this goddess every night preserve me in every way. (12. The same as the verse already quoted in the text, p. 427, line 26.) 13. May the divine Durgā be propitious for our good in difficulties. He who always every night reads this holy Durgā-stava,—(the night, Kuśika, Saubhara, the rātri-stava, gāyatri),—he who continually mutters the rātri-sūkta, arrives at that time.’’

It will be seen that the sense of some parts of this production is not very clear, but to ascertain it is of little consequence.

NOTE J.—Page 429, lines 13 f.

These same tongues of fire are also mentioned in a hymn to Agni, in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, sect. 99, vv. 52 ff.: Yā jiḥvā bhavatāḥ Kālī kāla-nisṭhā-karī prabho | bhayān naḥ pāhi pāpebhīyaḥ aihikāchcha mahā-bhayat | 53. Karāli nāma yā jiḥvā mahā-prayāya-kāraṇam | tayā na pāhi ittyādi | 54. Manojavā cha yā jiḥvā laghīnaḥ guṇa-lakṣaṇāḥ | tayā ittyādi | 55. Karoti kāmam bhūtebhīyo yā te jiḥvā Sulohitā | tayā ittyādi | 56. Sudhūmā-varṇaḥ yā jiḥvā prāxināṁ roga-dāyikā | tayā ittyādi | 57. Spuliningā cha yā jiḥvā yataḥ [yā te?] sakala-pudgalā | tayā ittyādi | 58. Yā te Viśvā sadā jiḥvā prāxināṁ sarva-dāyinī | tayā ittyādi | 52. “By thy tongue Kālī, the final destroyer [of the world], preserve us from sins and from great present alarm. 53. By thy tongue Karāli, the cause of the great mundane dissolution, preserve us, etc. 54. By thy tongue Manojava, which is distinguished by the quality of lightness, preserve us, etc. 55. By thy tongue Sulohitā, which accomplishes the desires of creatures, preserve us, etc. 56. By thy tongue Sudhūmara-varna, which inflicts diseases on living beings, preserve us, etc. 57. By thy tongue Spuliningi, the loveliest of all, preserve us, etc. 58. By thy tongue Viśvā, which always bestows blessings on living beings, preserve us, etc.”

In the course of this hymn to Agni he is said (v. 41) to have been formed eightfold: Tvāṁ aṣṭadhā kalpayitvā yajnam ādyam akalpayan |
"Having formed thee in eight ways, they performed the earliest sacrifice." This seems to refer to the legend from the Brāhmaṇas given in pp. 339–347. Again, we are reminded of some characteristics which are ascribed to Rudra in the Satarudriya vv. 2 and 11 (above, pp. 322 f.) by the expressions which are applied to Agni in the seventieth verse of this hymn: *Yat te Vahne Śivam rūpam ye cha te sapta hetayaḥ | taiḥ pahi naḥ stuto deva pitā putram ivātmajam* | "When thou art lauded, Agni, preserve us by thine auspicious form, and by thy seven shafts, as a father preserves his own son."

In v. 63 Agni is said to have "stretched out the whole universe, and, though one, to exist in manifold shapes" (*tvayā tataṁ viśvam idam charācharam Hūtāśanaiko bahudhā tvam atra*).
ADDITIONAL NOTES AND CORRECTIONS.

i. Page 6, note 13.
See further R.V. ii. 33, 1; and Dr. Bollensen’s remarks on the word sandhiṣ in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, vol. xxii., p. 588.

ii. Page 9, line 11.
See Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa, viii. 2, 1 f.

iii. Page 19, line 3 from the top and line 11 from the foot.
I learn by a communication, dated some months ago, from Professor Aufrecht, that anavāsaye is not a substantive, as I had understood it, but the third person singular present, from the root śi+anu+ā. He would translate the whole verse thus: “With which body has Skambha entered the past, and which body of his rests over the future? When he divided his one body into a thousand bodies, with which of them did he enter there?” And he thinks that the second half of verse 8 has exactly the same sense. Saye is, he adds, a very common Vedic form for sote. See also the fasciculus of Böhtlingk and Roth’s Lexicon (recently received), s.v. śi, where also saye is stated to be the 3rd pers. sing.; and the scholiast on Pāṇini vii. 1, 41, is referred to in proof. In the same work the root śi+anu+ā is explained as, in this passage, signifying “to stretch over.”

I find from Böhtlingk and Roth’s Lexicon, s.v. satabahu, that the words here referred to occur in the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka x. 1, 8. I quote in full the verse in which they occur, as well as that which precedes it: Āsvakrānte vahakrānte Vīshṇukrānte vasundhārā | śirasā dharāyishyāmi rakshasa mām pade pade | bhumir dhenur dharany lokadharany | udāhṛitā 'si varāhena kṛishnena satabahunā |

See Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa, xx. 14, 2 ff.; the commencement of which corresponds with the text from the Panchavimśa Brāhmaṇa, quoted in the fifth volume of this work, p. 392.


See Tāṇḍya Br. iv. 1, 4.


For “vi. 2, 42,” read “vi. 2, 4, 2.”

viii. Page 39, line 23.

Aham durgād āhartā. Compare R.V. i. 61, 7, and viii. 66, 10, in pp. 67 and 91, and the quotation from Śāyaṇa’s commentary given in p. 92 f., above.

ix. Page 44, line 22.

For “5, 32,” read “5, 34.”

x. Page 45, line 5.

See Tāṇḍya Br. viii. 2, 10.

xi. Page 56, line 11.

Compare Tāṇḍya Br. vii. 4, 2; where it is told that the gods failed to gain heaven by either the Gāyatrī, the Trishūṭbh, the Jagati, or the Anusūṭbh metres, but gained it by the Brhadī.

xii. Page 58, last line of the text.

Compare Tāṇḍya Br. vii. 5, 11; 6, 5; xii. 5, 23; 9, 21; 13, 27 f.

xiii. Page 61, line 5.

See the discussion among the gods about a formula in Tāṇḍya Br. vii. 8, 1 f.


On the word mātrī, “measurer,” Böhtlingk and Roth have the following explanation: “Śāyaṇa brings under this head the verse 1, 61, 7, making the word equivalent to ‘the world-creating (-sustaining) sacrifice.’ Benfey translates ‘carpenter.’ But Vṛitra’s mother may be here spoken of.”
ADDITIONAL NOTES AND CORRECTIONS.

xv. Page 78, line 11 from the foot.
See also Tāṇḍya Br., xx. 15, 6, f.

xvi. Page 80, line 5 from the foot.
Vishṇu is also mentioned in R.V. v. 49, 3: Indro Vishṇur Varuṇo Mitro Agnir ahāni bhadrā janayanta dasmāḥ |

xvii. Page 81, line 27.
In R.V. viii. 12, 8, Indra is said to have eaten a thousand buffaloes and to have in consequence gained in vigour (yadi pravṛddha satpate sahasram mahishān aghāḥ | ād it te indriyam māhi pra vavyidhe).

"The Aśvins," etc. Read "Ye, Aśvins, have come by a path which yields enjoyment."

For "yan na" read "yan nah" and in line 22, for "tellest not" read "tellest to us."

The passage of the Taitt. San. referred to in p. 88, line 28, viz. ii. 5, 5, 2 (p. 585 of Bibl. Ind., vol. ii.), gives the following explanation of the words Vishṇave Sipivishṭāya : Yañno vai Vishṇuḥ | pāsavaḥ śipīḥ | yañnaḥ eva pāsusu pratishthati | "'Vishṇu' means sacrifice, and 'Sipi' means victims; for sacrifice depends upon victims." See also the Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa ix. 7, 9 ff. R.V. vii. 100, 6, is translated by Prof. Roth in his Illustrations of the Nirukta, p. 59. I am indebted to Prof. Aufrecht for the following remarks on "Sipivishṭa:" "This attribute of Vishṇu occurs only in R.V. vii. 99, 6 (a verse which ought to have stood only at the end of hymn 100, as hymn 99 is devoted to the celebration of Indra and Vishṇu), and in the only important verses vii. 100, 5 and 6. The A.V. does not know the word, and in the other Sanhitās and Brāhmaṇas it has been, as in other cases, adopted from the R.V. It is perfectly clear that something opprobrious was expressed by the epithet, for vii. 100, 6, means: 'Why should any one, O Vishṇu, have found a subject for reproof when thou didst say, ‘I am Sipivishṭa’? Do not conceal even that shape of thine from us, as thou wearest another form in public.' Now Aupamanayava says clearly that 'Sivipishṭa' is 'kutsitārthīya' (has a bad,
or contemptuous, sense."

79 The complete words of Aupamanyava are as follows: 'S'ipivishtha Vishnu iti Vishañor dve namanā bhavataḥ | kutsit-arthiyam pūrvarnas ity Aupamanyavinah | "Aupamanyav says that there are two names of Vishnu, 'S'ipivishtha and Vishnu: of which the former has a bad sense."

80 I quote the commentator’s remarks on the verse (vii. 100, 6, of the R.V.): at length: "He "Vishañor" tvam "yad" yasvat karañat "S'ipivishtha asmi" iti prakaarsayet "savakshe" punah punar vakshi tasmat "te" tava manasi "kim it pari-chakshyam bhuṭ" kim idam garhañīyam abhūt | na etad garhañīyam vṛthā eva tava lajjā ity abhiprayaḥ | yayapy etan nāma loke atyanantarogyāḥ | udghāṭita-guhyatvam-vidūdhaḥ prayunjate "S'ipivishtha 'yam' iti tathāpy avayavārthasya brāhmaṇaṃ vyākhyaśaptavādāh nāstī atra tava lajjā-karañam | aśmād "etad varpa" varishṭhaṁ nāma "asmad mā apagūhaḥ" asmākam agre gudham mā kuru | "yad" yasvat tvam gūhanāya eva samitehe vaddha kevaśa-sūrhaneyūbhyyām gūḍha "anyarūpo babhūtha" babbhūvaḥ | tad anyathā yathātathā va bhavatu tathāpy aśmād-tridhāvau (quere buddhau?) prastātem idam mā gopāya ity arthaḥ | "O Vishnu, since thou repeatedly sayest I am 'S'ipivishtha, how, then, is this, in thy mind, matter of reproach? It is not matter of reproach; thou art needlessly ashamed: such is the purport. Although this word is in common language applied to diseased persons, to those whose nakedness is uncovered, and to fools, by those who say ‘so and so is 'S'ipivishtha,’ yet as the sense of its component parts is expounded in this Brāhmaṇa (ii. 5, 5, 2, see above), thou hast no occasion for shame. Do not therefore conceal from us thy most excellent name (so the commentator understands varpas). Inasmuch as in the battle thou hast for the sake of concealment been covered by a coat of mail and a helmet,—whether the fact be so or otherwise, do not conceal that which in our estimation deserves praise."

The word "'S'ipivishtha'" also occurs in the S'atarudriya (Vājas. Sanhitā 16, 29); and is thus commented on by Mahādhara on the verse: 'S'ipivishthāya Vishnuṁ pūrvyāya "Vishnuḥ 'S'ipivishthaḥ" iti śrutē | yayādā 'śipishu pāśasva vishthaḥ praviṣṭhaḥ | "paśavo vai śipir" iti śrutē | sarva-prāṇiśva antaryāmītya sītīḥ ity arthaḥ | yayādā "yajna vai śipīḥ" | yajna 'dheiveśvātate praviṣṭhaḥ | śipir aditya va mañḍaladādhisthaḥ ity arthaḥ | tasmat namāḥ | "śipayo 'tra raśmayaḥ uchyante tair āvishtha bhavati" iti Yāsokṛte (Nirukta, 5, 8). "To 'S'ipivishtha, i.e. to him who is in the form of Vishnu: for the Veda says 'S'ipivishtha is Vishnu. Or, according to the Vedā text, that 'śipī' means cattle, 'S'ipivishtha will mean, he who enters into cattle, i.e. who is present in all creatures, pervading them. Or 'Ś'ipi' means sacrifice; and so 'S'ipivishtha may signify him who has entered into sacrifice as its presiding deity. Or, 'śipī' is the sun who presides over the circle of the sky—to him be reverence; according to what Yāska says (Nirukta 5, 8) 'Ś'ipi' means rays; by them he is pervaded."

Professor Weber has the following notice of 'Ś'ipivishtha' in his Indische Studien ii. 37 f., note. This is one of those words which already gave trouble to Yāska (Nirukta 5, 9). Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara Miśra has the following: Nirveśhtita-śeṣāya (śeṣāya ?) | sarva-dā devadārav-aṇa-pradesādavā vyātra ādityamāne | yathā Skanda-śūra-śaśātēyaś samayamāyogād (Ś) vaiUPI viṛi prakṣaṭkahe | tatpānād rakṣanād vā 'pi śipayo raśmaya matāḥ | tathā praviṣṭhaḥ savītā Ś'ipivishtha śūchya | yayādā paśavo śipayo "yajna vai Vishnuḥ paśavo śipir" iti śrutē sarva-prāṇiśvāntaryāmītya praviṣṭhaḥ ity arthaḥ | [Prof. W. then quotes the passage of the Mahābhārata, 13229]. "'Ś'ipi' is akin to 'śepa,' 'śipra,' Kiefer, hip, Hüfte, cippus."
This piece of information is taken from the Amarakosha, where it is said, Sipivishtas tu khalatau duscharmayi mahesvare. Halayudha and Hemachandra have the same. Amara must have taken the two first meanings (‘bald-headed’ and ‘leprosy’) from actual use; and there is no reason to doubt that even in the Vedic passages ‘Sipivishta’ means either bald-headed, or one who has a skin disease. So long as the sense of ‘sipy’ is undetermined, it will be difficult to choose between the two. The word ‘sipy’ is not found used separately. For what the Taittirya Sanhitā ii. 5, 5, 2 (quoted above) says, yajno vai Vishnuḥ | pasahā śipīḥ (Tāṇḍya Br. xviii. 6, 26⁸¹), and all that the modern Hindu commentators say, about ‘sipy,’ is worthless. A glimmer of light is cast upon ‘sipy’ by ‘sipita,’ ‘defective,’ in the Satap. Br. xi. 1, 4, 4.”⁸²

xx. Page 91, note ⁷⁷.

See also R.V. viii. 22, 1.

xxi. Page 95, line 1.

For “ix. 166,” read “ix. 100.”

xxii. Page 95, line 10.

Another verse in which Vishnu is mentioned is one in the funeral hymn, R.V. x. 15, 3: Ā ahan pitrīṁ suvidatrān avīṣi napātam cha vikramanaṁ cha Vishnūḥ | “I have found the beneficent Fathers, and the path and the stride of Vishnu.” Napāt is explained by Mahidhara in Vāj. S. 19, 56, thus: Nāsti pāto yatra sa napāto deva-yāna-patho yatra gatānāṁ pāto nāsti. “Napāta means that on which there is no

⁸¹ This passage is as follows: Eṣha vai Prajāpatiḥ pasuṣāḥ taṁ tu rūpaṁ yat Sipivishtah | prūno bhīhāḥ | prūṇaḥ eva paśuḥ pratitiṣṭhāti | “This Sipivishta is that body of Prajāpati which abides in victims (or beasts). The Bṛihat is breath: and it is breath which abides in victims.” On which the commentator remarks: “Yajno Vishnuḥ | pasahā śipīr’ iti srutya-antarāt | Vishnūḥ Prajāpatitvāt Sipivishtah tīt | “For another Vedic text says that Vishnu is sacrifice, and sipī denotes victims. Since Vishnu has the character of Prajāpati, he is Sipivishta,” etc.

⁸² The Commentator’s note on this passage is as follows: Akāle niruptāṁ havīḥ śipitaḥ | tād-āśrita dōsha-viśehaḥ | tād-yuktān eva yajnasya sarīram bhavati | Prof. Aufrecht proposes to correct this as follows: Akāle—śipitaḥ | śipitaṁ tāvāśrita dōsha-viśehaḥ, etc. According to this corrected reading the sense will be: “An oblation offered at a wrong time is ‘śipita.’ Now ‘śipita’ means a particular defect resounding in the body. With it the body of the sacrifice becomes affected, as it were.”
fall, the path leading to the gods, on which those who go along it do not fall.” Sāyaṇa on R.V. x. 15, 3 makes the word = vināśābhāva, “the absence of destruction.”

xxiii. Page 114, line 14.
For “verse” read “sense.”

As regards the question whether or not ether (ākāśa) is eternal, see the first volume of this work, pp. 130 and 506, and the third vol., pp. 70, 106, and 164.

xxv. Page 127, line 4 from the foot.
For “pravinakti” read “pravrīnakti.”

xxvi. Page 128, line 5.
The Commentator on the Taitt. Ār. (Bibl. Ind.), p. 372, explains utkara thus: Veda uktara-bhāge pāṃbu-triṇādayo yatra prakshipyante so ’yam utkaraḥ | “The utkara is the place on the north side of the Vedi (altar) where dust, grass, etc., is thrown.”

This passage is identical with Tāṇḍya Br. vii. 5, 6, vol. i., p. 433.

xxviii. Page 262, line 6 from the foot.
The Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa xii. 6, 8, also relates that Indra, after thus treacherously slaying Namuchi, was followed by the head or something else which cried, “Slayer of a hero, thou hast injured me, thou hast injured me.” This he could not destroy, either by rīch, or sāman, but by a Hārivarṇa” (tad enam pāpiyaḥ vāchaṁ vadad anvavartata “vīra-ham adruko ’druḥaḥ” iti | tad na rīchā na sāmnā apahantum aśaknot | tad hārivarṇasya eva nidhanena apāhata)

xxix. Page 297, line 18.
To the word “Jarūsandha” at the beginning of the line, prefix “582.”

xxx. Page 300, line 6.
For “x. 70,” read “v. 70.”
xxx. Page 302, line 15.
Prof. Whitney has since given up this interpretation. See p. 399.

For "ii. 2, 29," read "xi. 2, 29."

xxxiii. Page 303, line 22.
For "commentorial," read "commentatorial."


xxxv. Page 319, line 2.
For "x. 26," read "xii. 26."

xxxvi. Page 400, line 11.
For "ii. 23," read "ii. 33."

For "x. 99," read "x. 90."

xxxviii. Page 471, line 12.
For "Devavati," read "Vedavati."

xxxix. Page 491, line 27.
For "xiii. 8, 17," read "xiii 4, 17."
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