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THE

GREAT EPIC OF INDIA

*Its Character and Origin*

BY

E. WASHBURN HOPKINS, M.A., PH.D.

*Professor of Sanskrit at Yale University*

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NEW YORK: CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS

LONDON: EDWARD ARNOLD

1901

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## PREFACE.

THE sub-title of this book places analysis before speculation. In recent studies of the great epic this order has been reversed, for a method calling itself synthesis has devoted itself chiefly to dwelling on epic uniformity, and has either discarded analysis altogether or made it subject to the results of "synthetic" speculation.

The best way, of course, to take up the historical investigation of a literary product the origin of which is well known is to begin with the source and afterwards to study the character of the completed whole. But if the origin be unknown, and we wish to discover it, we must invert the process, and begin our study with an examination of the character of the work. When the results of our analysis become plain, we may group together those elements which appear to have existed from the first, and thus, on the basis of analysis, reconstruct the past. To begin with a synthesis (so called) of whatever is preserved in the product, and so to postulate for the beginning exactly what we find to be the completed whole, is a process that leads us only to the point from which we started. As vaguely incorrect as is the designation synthesis for the method so called is the method itself, which thus does away with all analysis. Analysis is an examination of constituents. As a method it is, like any other, obnoxious to error, but it is not on that account an erroneous method. It is in fact, as turned upon history, nothing but inevitable critique; and synthesis without such critique becomes merely the exploitation of individual opinion, which selects what pleases it and rejects, without visible cause, what is incompatible with the synthetic scheme.

In the case of the great epic of India, the peremptory demand that we should reject the test of analysis is the more remarkable as the poem has never been completely analyzed. The literature mentioned in it has been ably collected in the well-known memoirs of Professor Holtzmann, who has also indicated what in his opinion may be supplied from allusions; but the poem has not been thoroughly examined to see what literature it reflects from the age of the later Upanishads or Vedic schools; it has not received a careful investigation from the metrical side; its philosophy has been reviewed only in the most haphazard fashion; and its inner relation to other epic poetry has been almost ignored. Yet critic after critic has passed judgment on the question of the date and origin of this poem, of which we know as yet scarcely more than that, before a definitive answer can be given, the whole huge structure must be studied from many points of view. And last of all the synthesist comes also, with his ready-made answer to a problem the conditions of which have not yet been clearly stated.

Thus far, indeed, the synthetic theory has not succeeded in winning over a single scholar to accept its chief conclusions, either as regards the contention that the epic was composed 500 B. C., or in respect of the massed books of didactic material and their original coherence with the narrative. Though the results of the method have not proved to be entirely nugatory, yet they are in the main irreconcilable with a sober estimate of the date and origin of the epic; but the hypothesis is, in truth, only a caricature of Bühler's idea, that the epic was older than it was thought to be. In its insistence upon the didactic element as the base of the whole epic tale it bears a curious resemblance to a mediæval dogma, the epitaph of which was written long ago. For there were once certain ingenious alchemists who maintained that the Legend of the Golden Fleece was a



legend only to the multitude, whereas to the illuminati it was a didactic narrative teaching the permutation of other metals into gold; on the tomb of which brilliant but fallacious theory was finally inscribed: λόγος ὅς ἐστι τῇ μὲν τόλμῃ μέγας τῇ δ' ἀποδείξει κενός.<sup>1</sup>

But though this theory has failed as a whole, yet, owing to the brilliant manner in which it was first presented by its clever inventor, and perhaps also to its sharing in the charm which attaches to all works of the imagination, it has had a certain success with those who have not clearly distinguished between what was essential and adventitious in the hypothesis. The Rev. Mr. Dahlmann, to whom we owe the theory, has shown that epic legends and didactic motif are closely united in the epic as it is to-day; but this is a very different proposition from that of his main thesis, which is that complete books of didactic content were parts of the original epic. One of these statements is an indubitable fact; the other, an historical absurdity.

This historical absurdity, upheld by the Rev. Mr. Dahlmann in a rapidly appearing series of somewhat tautological volumes, is of much wider application than has perhaps occurred to the author. For in the later additions, which the Rev. Mr. Dahlmann regards as primitive parts of the epic, are found those sections which reflect most clearly the influence of Buddhism. If these sections revert to 500 B. C., all that Buddha as a personality stands for in the history of Hindu religious thought and practice belongs not to him but to his antecedents, and therewith vanishes much of the glory of Buddha. Though the author has not publicly recognized this obvious result of his theory, yet, since it is obvious, it may have appeared to some that such a darken-

<sup>1</sup> Almost identical, in fact, is the verdict on the synthetic argument delivered by the veteran French critic, M. Barth: "conclusion audacieuse . . . théorie absolument manquée" (*Journal des Savants*, 1897, pp. 337, 448).

ing of the Light of Asia added glory to the Light of the World, and this is possibly the reason why the synthetic theory has been received with most applause by the reviewers of religious journals, who are not blind to its bearings. But however important inferentially, this is a side-issue, and the historian's first duty is to present the facts irrespective of their implication.

On certain peculiarities (already adversely criticised by disinterested scholars) characteristic less of the method of investigation than of the method of dialectics which it has suited the Rev. Mr. Dahlmann to adopt, it is superfluous to animadvert in detail. Evidence suppressed by one seeker, in his zeal for truth as he sees it, is pretty sure to be turned up by another who has as much zeal and another method; nor has invective ever proved to be a satisfactory substitute for logic. As regards the claims of synthesis and analysis, each method has its place, but analysis will always have the first place. After it has done its work there will be time for honest synthesis.

The material here offered is by way of beginning, not by way of completing, the long task of analyzing the great epic. It is too varied for one volume, and this volume has suffered accordingly, especially in the chapters on philosophy and the interrelation of the epics. But the latter chapter was meant only as a sketch, and its worth, if it has any, lies in its appendix; while the former could be handled adequately only by a philosopher. The object of these and other chapters was partly to see in how far the actual data rendered probable the claims of the synthetic method, but more particularly to give the data without concealment or misstatement. For this reason, while a great deal of the book is necessarily directed against what appeared to be errors of one sort or another, the controversial point of view has not seldom been ignored. Pending the preparation of a

better text than is at present available, though Dr. Winter-nitz encourages the hope of its eventual appearance, the present studies are intended merely as signboards to aid the journey toward historical truth. But even if, as is hoped, they serve to direct thither, they will be rendered useless as they are passed by. Whether they are deficient in their primary object will be for travellers on the same road to say.

JANUARY, 1901.





# CONTENTS.

PREFACE . . . . .	vii
-------------------	-----

## CHAPTER ONE.

LITERATURE KNOWN TO THE EPIC POETS . . . . .	PAGE 1
The Vedas . . . . .	2
Divisions of Veda . . . . .	7
Upanishads . . . . .	9
Upavedas and Upāṅgas . . . . .	11
Sūtras . . . . .	15
Dharmaśāstras . . . . .	17
Vedic citations in the Epic . . . . .	23
Upanishads in the Epic . . . . .	27
The Āvetāṣvatarā Upanishad . . . . .	28
The Kāṭhaka or Kaṭha Upanishad . . . . .	29
The Māitri Upanishad in the Epic . . . . .	33
The Atharvaśiras Upanishad . . . . .	46
Āgvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra . . . . .	47
Purāṇas and Itihāsas . . . . .	47
Drama . . . . .	54

## CHAPTER TWO.

INTERRELATION OF THE TWO EPICS . . . . .	58
--	----

## CHAPTER THREE.

EPIC PHILOSOPHY . . . . .	85
Epic Systems . . . . .	85
Heretics . . . . .	86
Authority . . . . .	90

EPIC PHILOSOPHY — *Continued.*

	PAGE
Vedānta . . . . .	93
Nyāya . . . . .	95
Vāiṣeṣika . . . . .	96
The Four Philosophies . . . . .	96
Kapila and his System . . . . .	97
Sāṃkhya and Yoga . . . . .	101
✓ Fate and Free-Will . . . . .	103
Sāṃkhya is atheistic . . . . .	104
Yoga as deistic and brahmaistic . . . . .	106
Difference between Sāṃkhya and Yoga . . . . .	111
Sects . . . . .	115
The different Schemata . . . . .	116
The Guṇas . . . . .	119
Plurality of Spirits . . . . .	122
The Twenty-fifth Principle . . . . .	125
Sāṃkhya is Sāṃkhyāna . . . . .	126
The Sāṃkhya Scheme . . . . .	127
The Twenty-sixth Principle . . . . .	133
Māyā, Self-Delusion . . . . .	138
Pañcaçikha's System . . . . .	142
The Thirty-one Elements (Pañcaçikha) . . . . .	152
The Secret of the Vedānta . . . . .	157
Details of philosophical speculation . . . . .	162
The Sixty Constituents of Intellect . . . . .	163
The Seventeen . . . . .	165
The Sixteen (A) Particles . . . . .	168
The Sixteen (B) or Eleven Modifications . . . . .	169
The Eight Sources . . . . .	170
The Vital Airs and Senses . . . . .	171
The Five Subtile Elements. Gross and Subtile Bodies . . . . .	173
The Colors of the Soul . . . . .	179
The Five Faults of a Yogin . . . . .	181
Discipline of the Yogin . . . . .	181
The Destructible and Indestructible . . . . .	182
The Gods and the Religious Life . . . . .	183
✓ Heaven and Hell — Death . . . . .	184
The Cosmic Egg and Creations . . . . .	187
The Grace of God . . . . .	188

## CHAPTER FOUR.

	PAGE
EPIC VERSIFICATION . . . . .	191
Epic Versification . . . . .	191
Āloka and Triṣṭubh. The Pādas . . . . .	194
Rhyme . . . . .	200
Alliteration . . . . .	202
Similes and Metaphors. Pathetic Repetition . . . . .	205
Cadence in Āloka and Triṣṭubh. . . . .	207
Tags . . . . .	211
Common forms of Āloka and Triṣṭubh . . . . .	214
The Epic Āloka. The Prior Pāda of the Āloka. The Pathyā. . . . .	219
The Vipulās . . . . .	220
The Posterior Pāda of the Āloka . . . . .	239
The Diāmbus . . . . .	242
Poetic Licence . . . . .	244
The Hypermetric Āloka . . . . .	252
Dialectic Sanskrit . . . . .	261
Prose-Poetry Tales . . . . .	266
The Epic Triṣṭubh. i, The Regular Triṣṭubh in the Mahābhārata . . . . .	273
Bird's-eye View of Triṣṭubh Pādas . . . . .	275
The Rāmāyaṇa Triṣṭubh . . . . .	276
The Scolius . . . . .	277
Catalectic and Hypermetric Triṣṭubhs . . . . .	281
ii-iii, The Catalectic Triṣṭubh . . . . .	282
iv-ix, The Hypermetric Triṣṭubh. iv-vi, Simple Hypermeters . . . . .	286
vii-ix, Double Hypermeters or Triṣṭubhs of Thirteen Syllables . . . . .	298
Defective Triṣṭubhs . . . . .	299
v, b, and ix, Mora-Triṣṭubhs . . . . .	301
The Triṣṭubh-Stanza. Upajātis. Upendravajrās and Indravajrās . . . . .	309
The Syllaba Anceps . . . . .	314
Emergent Stanzas . . . . .	317
The Fixed Syllabic Metres . . . . .	321
Rathodhatā . . . . .	322
Bhujāṅgaprayāta . . . . .	323
Drutavilambita . . . . .	324
Vāiṣṇadevi . . . . .	325
Atijagatis. Rucirā . . . . .	326



EPIC VERSIFICATION — <i>Continued.</i>	PAGE
The Fixed Syllabic Metres ( <i>continued</i> ) —	
Praharṣiṇī . . . . .	329
Mṛgendramukha . . . . .	331
Asambādhā . . . . .	332
Vasantatilakā . . . . .	333
Mālinī . . . . .	334
Çārdūlavikrīḍita . . . . .	336
Ardhasamavṛtta (Mātrāchandas). A — Puspitāgrā and Aparavaktra	336
B — Aupacchandāsika and Vāitāliya . . . . .	341
Mātrāchandas in the Mahābhārata . . . . .	343
Mātrāsamakās . . . . .	353
Gapacchandās . . . . .	354
The Distribution of Fancy Metres in the Epic . . . . .	356

## CHAPTER FIVE.

ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE EPIC . . . .	363
--	-----

## CHAPTER SIX.

DATE OF THE EPIC . . . . .	386
----------------------------	-----

---

APPENDIX A. PARALLEL PHRASES IN THE TWO EPICS . .	403
“ B. ILLUSTRATIONS OF EPIC ÇLOKA FORMS . .	446
“ C. ILLUSTRATIONS OF EPIC TRIṢṬUBH FORMS .	459
FINAL NOTES . . . . .	471
INDICES . . . . .	477



## ABBREVIATIONS.

As most of the references in this volume are to the Mahābhārata, all numbers without alphabetical prefix refer to this epic (Bombay edition, or with prefix C. to Calcutta edition); but when necessary to distinguish a reference to the Mahābhārata from a reference to the Rāmāyaṇa, I have prefixed M., which therefore does not refer to Manu, but to the great epic. To bring the two parallel editions of the epics into line, I have used R. or RB. for the Bombay edition of the Rāmāyaṇa also (rather than for the Bengal text), and for clearness I employ G. for the Gorresio (Bengal) text thus:—

M. or MB., Mahābhārata, Bombay edition.

R. or RB., Rāmāyaṇa, Bombay edition.

C., Mahābhārata, Calcutta edition.

G., Rāmāyaṇa, Gorresio's edition.

Other abbreviations, such as those usually employed to indicate native texts, or, for example, ZDMG. and JAOS. for the Journals of the German and American Oriental Societies respectively, require no elucidation for those likely to use them. Those using the old edition of RB. must add one to all references to sargas after vi, 88, and two to all after vi, 107. Sanskrit words usually anglicized have so been written.



Bale Bicentennial Publications

THE GREAT EPIC OF INDIA





# THE GREAT EPIC OF INDIA.

## CHAPTER ONE.

### LITERATURE KNOWN TO THE EPIC POETS.

PARADOXICAL as it may seem, the great epic mentions post-epical as well as prae-epical works. To solve the paradox it is necessary to assume that the text has been interpolated, a fact admitted as a last recourse even by him who holds that the epic was originally what it is to-day. But interpolations to be referred to when everything else fails will not suffice. A large part of the present epic is interpolation, some of it self-interpolated, so to speak. For, not content with receiving accretions of all sorts, narrative and didactic, the Bhārata, in default of other sources of interpolation, copied itself. Thus the same story, hymn, and continuation are found in iii, 83, 116 ff. and ix, 38, 39 ff. The matter of xii, 223 is simply enlarged in 227, while xii, 248-9 repeats xii, 194 and then reappears again in xii, 286. An example of reproduction with variations is found in ix, 51, 50, as compared with iii, 133, 12 ff. In one case a youthful prodigy encounters venerable sages and teaches them the Veda; in the other a priest and king are instructed, but with the same setting of proverbial lore. So xii, 185 is a reproduction of iii, 213, 1-19; xii, 277 (8), of xii, 175, etc.

It is not strange, therefore, that a work thus mechanically inflated should have absorbed older literature. But to understand the relation between the epic and the older literature copied by the epic it is essential to know the whole literature referred to as well as cited. In this chapter, then, beginning with the Vedas, I shall follow the course of revealed and



profane literature as far as it is noticed in the epic itself, reserving, however, for the two following chapters the Rāmāyaṇa and the philosophical systems.

### The Vedas.

Allusions to Vedic literature, veda, chandas, mantra, ṛuti, are naturally common in every part of the Mahābhārata, but except in the didactic or later epic these are usually of a general character. It may be assumed that the bulk of Ṛuti or revealed works, if not all of it, was composed before the epic began. Nevertheless, it is interesting to see which portions of this hereditary literature are especially mentioned, and particularly important to observe how the epic cites from older works. Even the fact that it does cite verbatim the words of the holy texts is of historical moment when it is remembered that in other places even women and slaves are exhorted to hear the recital of the epic.<sup>1</sup> We find indeed in the course of the epic narrative that a woman is taught Vedic mantras,<sup>2</sup> but the mantras are from the Atharva Veda, which, without being particularly slighted, is less regarded than the older Vedas, as is shown by this incident; for no woman would have been taught Rig Veda verses, for example.

The Vedas are all mentioned by name, though the Atharva Veda is not always recognized in the formal enumeration. The order of precedence is not fixed, though its peculiar holiness, vimāla, is not the reason why the Sāma Veda in the Gītā and Anuṣāsana heads the list.<sup>3</sup> Usually the Rig Veda stands at the head and the Atharva, if mentioned, at the foot, though the order R̥k, Yajus, Atharvan, Sāman, and even Atharvan, Sāman, R̥k, Yajus is found; but the last order occurs only in the didactic or later epic. The four together comprise the vedaḥ caturmūrtiḥ, or fourfold Veda, which, in

<sup>1</sup> Compare i, 62, 22; 95, 87; iii, 85, 103; xii, 341, 116, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Tatas tām grāhayāmāsa sa dvijaḥ Mantragrāmam . . . atharvaṇirasi ṛutam (v. l. atharvāṅgirasi), iii, 305, 20.

<sup>3</sup> For in v, 44, 28, it has this epithet, yet stands last in the list: "Not in R. V., nor in Y. V., nor in Atharvas, nor in the spotless Sāmans."

distinction from the threefold Veda, is often joined with the "Veda of the bow." The epic even has caturveda as an epithet of a man, — "one that knows the four Vedas" (= cāturvāidyā), — as earlier triveda, trāividya, is used in the same way of one learned in the three (cāturvidyam is a pseudo-epic term for the Vedas).<sup>1</sup>

The tradition of "lost Vedas"<sup>2</sup> and "divided Vedas" is well known. There was at first but one Veda, but after the Kṛta age men became men of three, men of two, men of one, and men of no Vedas, triveda, dviveda, ekaveda, anṛk, iii, 149, 14-29, and v, 43, 42, cāstreṣu bhinneṣu being Vedas; bhinnās tadā vedāḥ, xii, 350, 42 (by Apāntaratamas). The last passage is peculiar in the use (çl. 41-47) of vedākhyāne çrutiḥ kāryā, and in the name of Kali as kṛṣṇa (as well as tiṣya).<sup>3</sup>

The Veda is either recited, declared, or made, sṛṣṭa, kṛta. The latter word contradicts the dogma declared in the well-known words: na hi cchandāṁsi kriyante nityāni cchandāṁsi, "the Vedas are not made, they are eternal;" but the sense is

<sup>1</sup> The word triveda remains the usual form (tritayaṁ sevitaṁ sarvam, ix, 64, 21). Besides caturveda as an epithet of a god (illustrated in PW.) we find in the late passage iii, 313, 110 ff.: paṭhakāḥ pāṭhakāḥ cāi 'va ye cā 'nye cāstracintakāḥ sarve vyasasino mūrkhā, yaḥ kriyāvān sa paṇḍitaḥ; caturvedo 'pi durvṛttaḥ sa cūdrāḍ atiricyate, yo 'gnihotraparo dāntaḥ sa brāhmaṇa iti smṛtaḥ. On the order of names referred to above: the lead of the Atharva is found also in the Mahābhāṣya (IS. xiii, p. 432); the epic passage is xiii, 17, 91. The name is here atharvaṇa or ātharvaṇa, xiii, 93, 136; 94, 44. Examples of the usual order are çco yajūṁṣi sāmāni, i, 1, 66; ix, 36, 34; xii, 262, 2 (çco yajūṁṣi sāmāni yo veda na sa vāi dvijaḥ); ṛgvedaḥ sāmavedaḥ ca yajurvedaḥ ca atharvavedaḥ ca, ii, 11, 32; iii, 189, 14, atharvaṇaḥ. In v, 18, 6-7, it is said that the name Atharvāṅgiras will eventually belong to the Atharva Veda. The word sāmāni is not restricted to this Veda. Thus Dhāumya, a Purohita and, therefore, as Weber has shown, presumably an Atharvan priest, sings incantations of destruction, sāmāni rāudrāṇi yāmyāni (gāyan), ii, 80, 8. On the expression atharvavede vede ca, see below. For the order of names, compare my Ruling Caste, p. 112; and see Holtzmann, Das Mahābhārata, iv, p. 5; for further passages (for the AV. in particular), Bloomfield, SBE. xlii, p. liii.

<sup>2</sup> On this aeonic occurrence (xii, 210, 16 ff.), compare vedaçrutiḥ prapaṣṭā, xii, 346, 9, the story in 348, and the quotation in the text below. The modified vrata, rules, vikriyante vedavādāḥ, are referred to in xii, 233, 38.

<sup>3</sup> The former as Kali is still starred in pw. The latter is masculine in R. vi, 35, 14 (also starred as such in pw.). The word occurs also in xii, 341, 86.



not opposed, as the maker is God (vedakartā vedāngo vedavāhanah, iii, 3, 19), who only emits the Vedas as he does all else when the new aeon begins. The more decided "make" is found of seers, however, in the Harivaṅṣa, mantrabrāhmaṇakartārah, mantrakṛtaḥ,<sup>1</sup> seers and descendants of seers, just as there is a Mahābhāratakṛt and Itihāsasya kartā, or ποιητὴς ἐπῶν, though he too is divine.<sup>2</sup> The gods who are credited with the making of the Vedas<sup>3</sup> are Fire and Sun, as All-God (above), or especially Brahman, and in the later epic Vishnu. It was Brahman who "first recited the Vedas," vedān jagāu, v, 108, 10. With a natural inversion, "Brahman created brahman" (whereas in reality brahman created Brahman), according to another passage, xii, 188, 1-2. Compare: ya ime brahmaṇā proktā mantrā vāi prokṣaṇe gavām ete pramāṇam bhavata utā 'ho na, v, 17, 9-10. The Self-existent, according to xii, 328, 50, created the Vedas to praise the gods, stutyartham iha devānām vedāḥ sṛṣṭāḥ svayambhuvā. Kṛṣṇa, who is kṛtāgama, in xiii 149, 97, takes the place of the more general term. Compare xii, 340, 105:

yadā vedaçrutir naṣṭā mayā pratyāhṛtā punaḥ  
savadāḥ saçrutikāç ca kṛtāḥ pūrvam kṛte yuge  
(atikrāntāḥ purāṇeṣu çrutās te yadi vā kvacit),

and *nirmītā* vedā yajñāç cāu 'śadhibhiḥ saha, ib. 341, 66, with xiii, 145, 61, āgamā lokadharmāṇām māryādāḥ pūrvanirmītāḥ.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> jāyanti 'ha punaḥ punaḥ Mantrabrāhmaṇakartārah dharme praçithile tathā, H. 1, 7, 56.

<sup>2</sup> Kṛṣṇa Dvāipāyana, also called Kuruvaṅṣakara, xii, 347, 13; xiii, 18, 43-44. The recitation of the Vedas is a matter of scientific study. When they are "loudly recited in the proper way," saçāṅkṣya, they fill (other) winds with fear, and therefore should not be recited when a high wind is blowing, xii, 329, 23-56.

<sup>3</sup> For the gods and especially for the part of Brahman in creating the Vedas and the transfer of his office to Vishnu in the epic, see Holtzmann, ZDMG. xxxviii, p. 188, and Das Mahābhārata, iv, p. 6.

<sup>4</sup> The v. l. sarva is wrong. The word āgama usually refers to Veda, but not always. Compare xiii, 104, 156, āgamānām hi sarveṣām ācārah çreṣṭha ucyaṭe; i, 2, 36, itihāsaḥ çreṣṭhaḥ sarvāgameṣv ayam; xii, 59, 139, āgamaḥ purāṇānām. It means any received work, particularly the Vedas.

In late passages the two earliest forms of the text (the latest forms are unknown) together with the accents of the texts are especially mentioned.<sup>1</sup>

In the important numerical analysis of xii, 343, 97-98, the Rig Veda is said to "have twenty-one thousand"; while the Sāma Veda has "one thousand branches"; and the ādhvāryava or Yajus has "fifty-six and eight and thirty-seven (one hundred and one) branches." Probably "twenty-one branches" is the real meaning in the case of the Rig Veda. Here too are mentioned the gītis, songs or verses (a rather unusual word) found in the branches in their numerous divisions, çākḥābhedaḥ, çākḥāsu gītayaḥ.<sup>2</sup>

It is evident from this statement that, as Weber says of the passage in the Mahābhāṣya, we are dealing with a period when the number of Yajur Veda schools is greater than that recognized in the Caraṇavyūha, which gives only eighty-six. Another verse of this book recognizes ten thousand ṛcas: "This ambrosia churned from the wealth of all the dharmā-khyānas, the satyākhyāna, and the ten thousand ṛcas," xii,

<sup>1</sup> ṛgvedaḥ padakramavibhūṣitaḥ, xiii, 85, 90; atharvavedapravarāḥ pūgayañjīyasāmagāḥ saṁhitām irayanti sma padakramayutām tu te, i, 70, 40. Gālava, Bābhavyagotra, Pāñcāla, the grammarian, through the especial grace of the deity and being instructed in the method of Vāmadeva, became a shining light as a krama specialist, xii, 343, 100 ff.; lakṣaṇāni svarāstobhā niruktaṁ surapañktayaḥ, xiii, 85, 91 (together with nigrāha and pragraha); svarākṣaravyañjanahetuyuktayā (gīrā), iii, 297, 26.

<sup>2</sup> The verse translated above is ekaviñçatisāhasram (ṛgvedam māṁ prakṣate). Twenty-one thousand what? Not stanzas, for the Rig Veda has only half so many (Müller, ASL. p. 220). On the other hand, the passage agrees closely with one in the Mahābhāṣya (IS. xiii, p. 430), where the corresponding words are "twenty-one fold," after *vartma* (school): ekaçatam adhvāryuçākḥāḥ, sahasravartmā sāmavedaḥ, ekaviñçatidhā bāhvṛçyam (a word implied in Mbh. xv, 10, 11, "Sāmba the bāhvṛcaḥ"), navadhā ātharvaṇo vedaḥ. The epic text, closely corresponding, is: ekaviñçatisāhasram ṛgvedam . . . sahasraçākḥam yat sāma . . . ṣaṭpañcāçatam aṣṭāu ca sapta trīṇçatam ity uta yasmin çākḥā yajurvede, so 'ham ādhvāryave smṛtaḥ, pañcakaḥkalpam atharvāṇaṁ kṛtyābhiḥ paribṛñhitam kalpayanti hi mām viprā atharvāṇavidas tathā. There can scarcely be a doubt that for the text above we should read ekaviñçatiçākḥam yam, as the parallel suggests, for the text as it stands is unintelligible. I regret that Weber has not noticed the epic passage, so that I cannot cite his opinion.



247, 14, where the commentator says that this is a general number, implying a fraction over 10,580.<sup>1</sup>

In the account of the later epic we have a parallel to that of the Vāyu Purāṇa, where the latter, lxi, 120 ff., is accounting for the successive editions of the Vedas :

āvartamānā ṛṣayo yugākhyāsu punaḥ punaḥ  
kurvanti saṁhitā hy ete jāyamānāḥ parasparam  
aṣṭācītisahasrāṇi ṛutaraṣṇām smṛtāni vāi  
tā eva saṁhitā hy ete āvartante punaḥ punaḥ  
ṛitā dakṣiṇam panthānam ye cmaçānāni bhejire<sup>2</sup>  
yuge yuge tu tāḥ cākhā vyasyante tāiḥ punaḥ punaḥ  
dvāpareṣv iha sarveṣu saṁhitāc ca ṛutaraṣibhiḥ  
teṣāṁ gotreṣv imāḥ cākhā bhavanti 'ha punaḥ punaḥ  
tāḥ cākhāḥ tatra kartāro bhavanti 'ha yugakṣayāt

The eighty thousand Vedic seers here mentioned are those of the Harivaṇṣa (loc. cit.): ye ṛūyante divam prāptā ṛṣayo hy ūrdhvaretasaḥ mantrabrāhmaṇakartāro jāyante ha yugākṣaye. They are mentioned elsewhere in the Vāyu Purāṇa, viii, 184, and in the epic itself, ii, 11, 54, in the same words :

aṣṭācītisahasrāṇi ṛṣṇām ūrdhvaretasām,

a verse found also in the Mahābhāṣya (IS. xiii, p. 483).

<sup>1</sup> Compare further the ḍaça pañca (ca) yajūṁsi, learned from Arka by the author of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, in xii, 319, 21. The word caraṇa, in the sense of school, occurs in xii, 171, 2, prṛṇṇaḥ ca gotracaraṇam svādhyāyam brahmacārikam; xiii, 63, 18, na prṛched gotracaraṇam. The mantras of the special septs are referred to in the late hymn to the Sun (Mihira), iii, 3, 39: (tvām brāhmaṇāḥ) svaçākhāvihitāir mantrāir arcanti. The commentator cited above gives as his authority for the number of stanzas in the Rig Veda a lame couplet of the Çākalaka: ṛcām ḍaçasahasrāṇi ṛcām pañcaçatāni ca ṛcām aṣṭiḥ pāḍaḥ cāl-'tat pārāyaṇam ucyaṭa, iti.

<sup>2</sup> They are referred to, but not as Veda-makers, in Yāj. iii, 186, and in Āp. Dh. S., ii, 9, 23, 3-5 (as being mentioned "in a Purāṇa"). Yājñavalkya calls them the aṣṭācītisahasrā munayaḥ punarāvartinaḥ . . . dharmapravartakāḥ. The Purāṇa referred to by Āpastamba may be the one cited above, though in another form, since the words have a different application. There is here a praçamṣā of the ūrdhvaretasas: aṣṭācītisahasrāṇi ye prajām iṣira ṛṣayaḥ dakṣiṇenāryamṇaḥ panthānam te cmaçānāni bhejire, etc. Compare Praçna Up. i, 9, ta eva punarāvartante tasmād ete ṛṣaya prajākāmā dakṣiṇam pratipadyante.



## Divisions of Veda.

Reference is seldom made to *Samhitā*, *Brāhmaṇa*, or *Āraṇyaka*. The "peruser of *Samhitā*," *saṁhitādhyāyin*, is alluded to in i, 167, 8, and xiii, 143, 56. The word is used also of the epic, *Vyāsa's Samhitā*, the fifth Veda. In xii, 201, 8, *saṅgha* may be used in the same sense of collection, but it probably means a quantity. I will give the passage, however, as it enumerates the usual (i, 170, 75, etc.) six *Vedāṅgas*, though in an order constrained by the metre (they and the *Upāṅgas* will be discussed below, under *Upavedas*):

ṛksāmasaṅgāṅ ca yajūṅṣi cā 'pi  
 cchandāṁsi nakṣatragatīm niruktaṁ  
 adhītya ca vyākaraṇaṁ sakalpaṁ  
 ṣikṣāṁ ca, bhūtaprakṛtiṁ na vedmi,

"Although I have studied collections of hymns and chants and the sacrificial formulas, and also prosody, astrology, etymology, grammar, ritual, and phonetics, I do not know the First Cause of being."

*Brāhmaṇas* are mentioned in xii, 269, 33-34, as the source of sacrifice, and in iii, 217, 21, "the different *Agnis* named in the *Brāhmaṇas*," *brāhmaṇeṣu*. In xiii, 104, 137, "rites declared in the Veda by *Brāhmaṇas*," the word means priests. Possibly *Gītā*, 17, 23, *brāhmaṇāḥ* (and *vedāḥ*) may be works, as the epic is not particular in regard to the gender of these words (*purāṇa*, *itihāsa*, and *mahābhūta* are both masculine and neuter). *Yājñavalkya's* *Ṣaṭpatha Brāhmaṇa* alone is named, with all its latest additions (*kṛtsnaṁ sarahasyaṁ sasamgrahaṁ sapariṣeṣaṁ ca*), xii, 319, 11, and 16. So ib. 24, 25, and 34: "I resolve in mind the *Upanishad* (BA.) and the *Pariṣeṣa* (the last part), observing also logic, the best science, *ānvīkṣikī parā*, and declare the fourth transcendental science or science of salvation, *sāmparāyikā*, based on the twenty-fifth (*Yoga*) principle."<sup>1</sup> Other *Brāhmaṇas* may be implied in the

<sup>1</sup> In the expression, loc. cit., ṣl. 10, *vedaḥ sakhilāḥ so 'ttaraḥ, uttara* refers to the *Upanishads* (not to the philosophy). The *Khila Supplement* is mentioned again in the *Harivaṅṣa* (Holtzmann).

list at xii, 337, 7 ff., Tāṇḍya, Kāṭha, Kaṇva, Tāittiri.<sup>1</sup> As "prose works," gadya, this class of works is perhaps recognized in iii, 26, 3, in the words: "The thrilling sound of yajūṇṣi, ṛcaḥ, sāmāni, and gadyāni" (as they were recited).

Whether pravacana, exposition, means Aṅgas or Brāhmaṇas or perhaps Sūtras, I do not know. The (Upanishad) word occurs in a verse found also in Manu, where the commentator explains it as Aṅga, to which the objection may be made that the Aṅgas have already been mentioned. But the passage is not without importance as showing how the didactic or later epic adds elements to the simpler statement of the earlier law-books. In xiii, 90, 36, the pāṅkteyas, or men who may be invited to sit in the row at a funeral feast, are not only the agryāḥ sarveṣu vedeṣu sarvapravacaneṣu ca of Manu iii, 184, and the list of iii, 185, triṇāciketāḥ pañcāgnis trisuparnaḥ ṣaḍaṅgavid (v. l. brahmadeyānusantāṇaḥ chandogo jyeṣṭhasāmagāḥ) in 90, 26, but, among others, the atharvaçiraso 'dhyetā, 29 (a rare word); "those who cause the Itihāsa to be read to the regenerate," 33; those who are "acquainted with commentaries," bhāṣyavidas (or know the Mahābhāṣya?),<sup>2</sup> and are "delighted with grammar," vyākaraṇe ratāḥ, 34; those who "study the Purāṇa and the Dharmaçāstras"; those who "bathe in holy pools," ye ca puṇyeṣu tīrtheṣu abhiṣe-kakṛtāçramāḥ, 30 (a practice not extolled by Manu, whose view seems to be that of Agastya, asti me kaçcit tīrthebhyo dharmasaṁçayaḥ! xiii, 25, 5). The bhārate vidvān, xiii, 76, 18, is naturally extolled in the epic, and yet even with this latitude we must see in the list above a distinct advance on the position held by the early law-makers, to whom it was not enough for a man to recite the epic (not to speak of grammar and bhāṣya-knowers as being ipso facto pāṅkteyas) to be deemed worthy of invitation. Even Vishnu's Smṛti is here exceeded, and Manu and the Sūtras have nothing in any degree parallel. Even if we say that the list is on a par with

<sup>1</sup> The Tāittiri dispute is referred to in xii, 319, 17 ff.

<sup>2</sup> But bhāṣya may mean any reasoned exposition, bhāṣyāṇi tarkayuktāni, ii, 11, 35.



Vishnu alone, although it really exceeds it in liberality, we thereby put this epic passage on a par with a law-book later than any that can be referred to the Sūtra period, later than Manu also and probably Yājñavalkya.<sup>1</sup>

Almost as rare as the mention of Brāhmaṇas is that of Āraṇyakas. In the passage cited above, xii, 343, stanza 98 has as elsewhere the singular, gāyanty āraṇyake viprā madbhaktāḥ. So ib. 340, 8: "Hari sings the four Vedas and the Āraṇyaka" (as forest, e. g., ib. 337, 11, āraṇyakapadodbhūtā bhāgāḥ); and in xii, 349, 29-31, the Krishna religion has "mysteries, abstracts, and Āraṇyaka." Compare also v, 175, 38, cāstre cā 'raṇyake guruḥ, "a man of weight in code and esoteric wisdom"; xii, 344, 13, āraṇyakam ca vedebhyaḥ (yathā), where the kathāmṛtam or essence of story of the expanded Bhārata, Bhāratākhyānavistara of 100,000 ślokaś,<sup>2</sup> is compared to the Āraṇyaka as the essence of the Vedas (a simile repeated at i, 1, 265). The word is in fact generalized, like Upanishad. But as a literary class it is found in the plural in xii, 19, 17, vedavādān atikramya cāstrāṇy āraṇyakāni ca . . . saram dadṛṇire na te, "they ran over the words of the Vedas, the Cāstras, and the Āraṇyakas, without discovering their inner truth." Here Veda does not connote Āraṇyaka.

### Upanishads.

The Upanishads are alluded to in the singular, collectively, or distributively in the plural. They are generally grouped with the Aṅgas and are called Upanishads, rahasyas, mysteries, Brāhma Veda, and Vedānta; while like the Āraṇyakas they are logically excluded from the Veda of which they are supposed in ordinary parlance to form part.<sup>3</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> Vishnu, ch. 83; Manu, loc. cit.; Yāj. i, 219; Āp. ii, 17; Gāut. xv; Vas. xi. I doubt whether the "Atharvaçiras-reader" can imply the Çiras-vow, but even this is a comparatively late touch, Bāudh. ii, 14, 2, in this regard.

<sup>2</sup> Note that the number of verses show that the Harivaṅça already existed when this passage was written. Compare ib. 340, 28.

<sup>3</sup> I mean that in the current phrase vedāḥ sāṅgāḥ or sopeniṣadāḥ the sa should differentiate as much as it does in the parallel phrase ṛgvedāḥ saya-

word *upaniṣad* has two distinct but current meanings in the epic. It means on the one hand mystery, secret wisdom, essential truth, essence, as in xiii, 78, 4, *gavām upaniṣadvidvān*, "wise in cow-mysteries," and in iii, 207, 67 = xii, 252, 11, *vedasyo 'paniṣat satyam, satyasyo 'paniṣad damaḥ*, "truth is the secret wisdom (essence) of the Veda, patience the essence of truth." So in the common phrase, *vedāḥ ca sopaniṣadaḥ*, xiii, 85, 92, etc., the word may mean mysteries. This I think is the explanation of the employment of the word *mahopaniṣad* in vii, 143, 34-35, where Bhūriṣravas devotes himself to *prāya* before death in battle. He is a muni here and desires to ascend to the world of Brahman, so he sits down in Yoga contemplation and meditates the "great *Upanishad*," *dhyāyan mahopaniṣadam yogayukto 'bhavan munīḥ*. On comparing the scene where Droṇa is in the same situation, vii, 192, 52, we find that he says *om*, and this mystery of *om* is probably the meaning of *mahopaniṣad*, which cannot be a work here, as is *mahopaniṣadam* in xii, 340, 111. But in other cases *Upanishad* is clearly a literary work, even standing in antithesis to the mysteries with which it is sometimes identical, as it is in the form *upaniṣā* in the Pāli scriptures.<sup>1</sup>

*jurvedaḥ*, or in *yad etad ucyate cāstre se 'tīhāse ca chandasi*, xiii, 111, 42. But it is very likely that the term was used to mean "including" (as part of the Veda). On the use of singular and plural referred to above, compare *sa rājā rājadharmāṇāṃ ca brahmopaniṣadam tathā avāptavān*, xv, 35, 2; *sāṅgopaniṣadān vedān viprāḥ cā' dhyāte*, i, 64, 19, etc. For *Vedānta* and *Vedāntāḥ*, meaning *Upanishads*, compare iv, 51, 10, *vedāntāḥ ca purāṇāni itihāsam (!) purātanam*; xiii, 16, 43, (*Çiva*) *yam ca vedavido vedyam vedānte ca pratiṣṭhitam . . . yam viçanti japanti ca*; H. 3, 10, 67, *purāṇeṣu vedānte ca*. I may mention here also the works called *Niṣads*, which are referred to (or invented) only, if I mistake not, in xii, 47, 26, *yam vākeṣu anuvākeṣu niṣatsūpaniṣatsu ca gr̥ṇanti satyakarmāṇām satyam satyeṣu sāmase*.

<sup>1</sup> Kern, SBE, xxi, p. 317. Compare for the use of the word, xii, 245, 15, where it is said that the *Upanishads* inculcate the four modes of life, *caturthaḥ cāu 'paniṣado dharmāḥ sādharmaṇaḥ smṛtaḥ*; and xiii, 84, 5, where it is said that *Vedopaniṣadas* inculcate that earth, cows, or gold must be the sacrificial fee. As we find *vedāḥ sarahasyāḥ sasaṅgrahāḥ* and *vedavedāṅgabhāṣayavit*, xii, 325, 22-23, so in viii, 87, 42, reference is made to "all the Vedas, with Tales as the fifth Veda, together with *Upavedas*, *Upanishads*, mysteries, and abstracts" (*saṅgraha*). Nārada is said to be *vedopaniṣadām vettā itihāsa-purāṇajñāḥ . . . ṣaḍaṅgavit* and *smṛtimān*, ii, 5, 2 ff. The use in iii, 251, 23,



### Upavedas and Upāṅgas.

The Upavedas or subsidiary Vedas are three in number, Āyur Veda, Dhanur Veda, and Gāndharva Veda. To these is added in other works Sthāpatya Veda, but this term is not recognized in the epic, and the commentator on vii, 202, 75, recognizes only three, those just given, or Medicine, Archery, and Music; but the fourth, Architecture, is known (only in the epic introduction), as Vāstuvidyā.<sup>1</sup> Authors are assigned to these and other works in xii, 210, 20, Bṛhaspati being the originator of all the Vedāṅgas; Bhṛgu's son, of Nītiśāstra, law; Nārada, of music; Bharadvāja, of the science of arms (particularly archery); Gārgya, of tales of the doings of seers (devarṣicarita); and Kṛṣṇātreya, of medicine (cikitsita). They are all contrasted with other Nyāya-tantrāṇi, which like these were created at the beginning of the aeon as an aid in understanding Brahman (expounded by hetu, āgama, and sadācāra, or reason, faith, and common consent of good men, ib. 22). It is noteworthy that Nārada, not Bharata, is found in this connection, and that Kṛṣṇātreya takes the place elsewhere given to Bharadvāja.

Of the first of these subsidiary Vedas, the epic naturally gives little information, though burdened with much medicinal knowledge which may be referred to some uncited work on medicine. Native scholars imagine that the corresponding Upanishad passages imply the circulation of the blood, also thought to be recorded in xii, 185, 15, prasthitā hrdayāt . . . vahanti annarasān nāḍyaḥ: "The veins convey (all over

would suggest that Upanishad is a sort of Sūtra, for here a spirit is summoned by means of "*mantras* declared by Bṛhaspati and Uṇanas; by those declared in the Atharva Veda; and by rites in the Upanishad," yāc co 'panīśadi kriyāḥ. I am not certain how to interpret paṭhyase stutibhiḥ cāl 'va vedopaniṣadāṃ gaṇāḥ xii, 285, 126.

<sup>1</sup> Thus the architect, sūtradhāra, sthapati, is vāstuvidyāviçārada, i, 51, 15 (the sūtrakarmaviçārada of G. ii, 87, 1). Architectural Çāstras are mentioned in i, 134, 10-11. As a fourth to the three is elsewhere set the Arthaçāstra. These as a group are added to the other vidyās (see note below on the sixty-four arts and fourteen sciences). But in the epic, Arthaçāstra is not grouped with the Upavedas.

the body) the food-essences, starting from the *hṛdaya*" (heart or chest). But a direct citation is the allusion, under the cover of an "it is said," to the constituents *pitta*, *śleṣman*, *vāyu* (also *vāta*, *pitta*, *kapha*), which make the threefold body, *tridhātu*, according to the *Āyurvedins*.<sup>1</sup> In the epic *Khila* and in the *Kaccit* and eleventh chapters of *Sabhā*, both late additions to the epic,<sup>2</sup> the science of medicine is said to have eight branches (ii, 5, 90; 11, 25). Possibly in iii, 71, 27, *Ālihotra* may represent the veterinary science of iv, 12, 7.

The *Dhanur Veda*, literally *Veda* of the bow, is often joined with the regular *Vedas*, as is to be expected in epic poetry, ix, 44, 21-22, etc. It is called also *iṣvastra*, weapons, and is said to be fourfold and to have ten divisions. In the *Kaccit* chapter just referred to it is said to have a *Sūtra* like other *Vedas*, and at the time this was written it is very probable that such was the case, though, as I have shown elsewhere, the knight's study of *Dhanur Veda* consists in practice not in study of books. This *Bow-Veda*, archery, is opposed sometimes to the four *Vedas* alone, sometimes to the *Upanishads* and *Brāhma Veda*, while on the other hand it is associated with various *Sūtras*, arts, and *Nītiśāstras*. The priority of *Dhanur Veda* in the phrase *dhanurvede ca vede ca*, found in both epics, is due partly to metrical convenience and partly to the greater importance of this *Veda* in the warrior's education:<sup>3</sup> *na tasya vedādhyayane tathā buddhir ajāyata yathā 'sya buddhir abhavat dhanurvede*, "His intelligence was more developed in learning how to use a bow than in perusing holy texts," i, 130, 3; *dhanur-*

<sup>1</sup> xii, 343, 86-87: *pittam śleṣmā ca vāyus ca eṣa sanighāta ucyate, etāṁ ca dhāryate jantur etāṁ kṣipāṇi ca kṣiyate, āyurvedavidas tasmāt tridhātum mām pracakṣate*. Compare vi, 84, 41, cited in *PW.*, and also xiv, 12, 3, *ṣiṣṇe cāi 'va vāyus ca guṇāḥ . . . ṣarirajāḥ*, whose equality is health (*N. kaphapitte*). Some notes on epic anatomy will be given later.

<sup>2</sup> The lateness of the *Kaccit* chapter I have discussed elsewhere, *Am. Journ. Phil.*, vol. xix, p. 147 ff. A noteworthy statement on disease is that of xii, 16, 9, which attributes all mental disease to the body and all bodily disease to the mind, *mānasāj jāyate ṣarirāḥ (vyādhiḥ)*, "bodily ailment arises from mental (ailment)."

<sup>3</sup> The same is partially true of *atharvavede vede ca*, xiii, 10, 37, etc.



vedaparativāt, ib. 4.<sup>1</sup> It is the Kṣatra Veda or knightly science par excellence, R. i, 65, 23 (with Brahma Veda).

The science of music, Gāndharva Veda, consists according to iii, 91, 14, in the knowledge of singing, dancing, chanting, and playing on musical instruments, gītām nr̥tyām ca sāmā ca vāditrām ca, not including apparently the Nāṭasūtra or manual for actors mentioned by Pāṇini. The seven musical scales, vāṇī saptavidhā, ii, 11, 34, are a branch of study. The three notes of the drum are spoken of<sup>2</sup> and the names of the notes of the regular scale, gamut, are given. Further citations in this regard will be made hereafter.

These Upavedas are associated with the chief Vedas (vedāḥ and upavedāḥ, vii, 202, 75, etc.), much as are the Vedāṅgas, Upanishads, and Tales, and are distinguished as well from the Śāstras and Sūtras mentioned in the passage already noticed, ii, 11, 32-33, though Śāstra is a general term including Upaveda. The Aṅgas are the customary six mentioned above, and are generally referred to as in i, 104, 12, vedām ṣaḍaṅgām pratyadhīyata; or without number, as in i, 156, 5, brāhmaṇam vedam adhīyānā vedāṅgāni ca sarvaṇaḥ, nītiśāstram ca sarvajñāḥ.<sup>3</sup> These again have their subsidiary branches, Upāṅgas, vedāḥ sāṅgopāṅgāḥ savistarāḥ, iii, 64, 17; Uçanas' and Bṛhaspati's śāstra with Aṅgas and Upāṅgas, i, 100, 36-38. The similarity of phrase in iii, 99, 26 and elsewhere, vedāḥ sāṅgopaniṣadāḥ, might suggest that Upāṅgas were Upanishads, but they are more probably a species of Upavedas. The term is

<sup>1</sup> This Veda is constantly mentioned, e. g. i, 130, 21; 221, 72; iii, 37, 4; ix, 6, 14, daśaṅgām yaç catuṣpādam iṣvastrām veda tattvataḥ, sāṅgāns tu caturo vedān samyag ākhyānapaṭcamān. The phrase dhanurvede ca vede ca occurs, for example, in i, 100, 19. In R. v, 35, 14, Rāma is described as "trained in the Yajur Veda . . . and skilled in dhanurvede ca vede ca vedāṅgeṣu ca (the Yajur Veda only, to which Vālmiki belonged, is here mentioned). Elsewhere the science takes its proper place, as in M. iii, 277, 4, vedeṣu sarahasreṣu dhanurvedeṣu pāraṇaḥ, where the plural is noteworthy.

<sup>2</sup> iii, 20, 10, triṣṣāmā hanyatām eṣā dundubhiḥ. The vipā madhurālāpā, sweet-voiced lyre, is spoken of as gāndharvām sādhu murchatī (= murchayantī), iv, 17, 14. The gāndharvam is the third note of the seven, xii, 184, 39 = xiv, 50, 53.

<sup>3</sup> Compare brāhme vede ca pāraṇaḥ contrasted with astrāṇām ca dhanurvede, vii, 23, 39. So Brahma Veda, R. i, 65, 23 (above), not as AV.

one associated with Jain rather than early Brahmanic literature, and is not explained by the commentator.<sup>1</sup> Vedas, Purāṇas, Aṅgas, and Upāṅgas are sometimes grouped together, as in xii, 335, 25 (vedeṣu sapurāṇeṣu sāṅgopāṅgeṣu gīyase, the prior pāda found again, e. g. in 342, 6). The Aṅgas commonly mentioned in particular are the calendar-knowledge, Jyotiṣa, and etymology, Niruktam. The latter word, indeed, generally means only an explanation of the meaning of a word, but it occurs also as the title of a specific literary work in xii, 343, 73, where we find mentioned not only "Yāska's Nirukta," together with Nāighaṇṭuka, but vocabularies and lexicographies.<sup>2</sup> A curious contemplation of Krishna as the divine sound in xii, 47, 46 analyzes him grammatically, "with joints of euphony and adorned with vowels and consonants."<sup>3</sup>

Astronomical similes are not infrequent. Thus Arjuna storms about "like Mars in his orbit."<sup>4</sup> An indication that one science as a specialty is not much regarded is seen in the

<sup>1</sup> The later Upāṅgas are the Purāṇas (and upa-); Logic, nyāya and vāi-  
ṣeṣika; Philosophy (including Vedānta), mīmāṃsā; and Law-books (including  
Sāṅkhya-yoga and epics), dharmasāstra. The epic use, as will be seen from  
the citation above, differentiates Purāṇas from Aṅgas and Upāṅgas. For the  
later meaning, see Weber IS. i, p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> ib. 83, 88: nāighaṇṭukapadākhyāne, niruktaṁ vedaviduṣo vedaḥpadārtha-  
cintakāḥ. The common meaning, "explanation," may be surmised in xii, 340,  
50, caturvaktro niruktagaḥ (in both editions), where the avagraha is certainly  
required, "inexplicable," despite Tāitt. Up. ii, 6.

<sup>3</sup> In xiii, 17, 111 (where siddhārtha, according to Nīlakaṇṭha, is siddhānta),  
Śiva is siddhārthakārī siddhārthaḥ chandovyākaraṇottaraḥ. Kalpa and  
Jyotiṣa are united, kalpaprayoga and jyotiṣa, in xiii, 10, 37. In ii, 4, 18,  
Kālāpa and Kāṭha are mentioned; in R. (not G.) ii, 32, 18, the Kāṭhakālāpās  
(after the ācāryas tāittirīyāṇām in 15). M. and G. (only) have Čāṇḍīlya and  
Kāuṣṭhika (with Gārgya in G.) in the same list, and M. has Tittiri (with Yājñā-  
valkyā). In M. they are vedavedāṅgapāragāḥ; in R., vedapāragāḥ. R. calls  
Trijaṭa (Piṅgala) a Gārgya in 29 (Āṅgīrasa in G.; cf. R. 33).

<sup>4</sup> viii, 10, 1, vakrātivakraḡamanād āṅgāraka iva grahaḥ. Compare budh-  
āṅgārakayor iva (a battle-phrase). The Vedāṅgas and Upavedas are often  
grouped together, as in i, 1, 67, where cikṣā, phonetics, is grouped with nyāya,  
rules, and cikitsā, medicine. In i, 70, 40-44, the same passage where pada  
and krama are mentioned (above), ṣabda (saṁskāra), cikṣā, chandas, nirukta  
and kālājñāna are found with philosophy. A priest who is cikṣūkṣaramantra-  
vit gets gold niṣkas, etc., iii, 23, 2; 36, 42.



fact that the cultivator of the Upaveda medicine and of the Aṅga astrology are both excluded from society, although it should be added that the man intended is one who "lives by the stars," *nakṣatrāir yaç ca jīvati*. Such a fortune-teller is classed with rhapsodes and physicians, xiii, 90, 11. The difficulty of reconciling the data of astrology (fortune-telling) and the theory of Karma is alluded to in iii, 209, 21: "Many are seen to be born under the same lucky star, but there is a great difference in their fate." The most surprising astronomical statement in the epic is to the effect that stars are really very large and only appear small on account of their distance.<sup>1</sup> The *kālajñāna* or "knowledge of time," already mentioned, is attributed especially to Garga, who, as Weber, *Lectures*, p. 237, has noticed, is associated with Kālayavana: "Kālayavana who is endued with Garga's (brilliancy or) power," xii, 340, 95. This same Garga is credited not only with having *kālajñānagati* and *jyotiṣām vyatikrama*, "thorough knowledge of times and mastery of science of stars," ix, 37, 14-16, but also with *kalājñāna*, or the fine arts. That the epic has a different order of planets from that of the third century A. D. has already been observed by Jacobi.<sup>2</sup>

The Upavedas, however, pass the Vedic stage. There remains a word to say on the older Sūtras, to which may be added an account of those more frequently mentioned Sūtras and other treatises which are quite beyond the Vedic pale.

### Sūtras.

A Vedaśūtra, apparently a Āraṇyakaśūtra, but perhaps only Veda in general,<sup>3</sup> is mentioned once, in xii, 341, 63. Grhyaśūtras are not mentioned by name, but may be implied in the word Veda, as will be seen in the quotation given below. The Dharmaśūtras are apparently implied in one passage of

<sup>1</sup> *dīpavad viprakṣatvāt tanūni sumahānti api (tārārūpāṇi)*, iii, 42, 34.

<sup>2</sup> ZDMG. vol. xxx, p. 307; Holtzmann, *Das Mbh.* vol. iv, p. 114.

<sup>3</sup> The Supreme Lord says that the god who gives him a share gets by the Lord's grace a corresponding (Veda-arranged) sacrificial share in (i. e. according to) the Vedaśūtra.

the thirteenth book, where a Sūtrakāra in one verse corresponds to Vedas in the next, in a passage cited from the Māit. Saṁhitā and Law-books (see below); and in another, where açaknuvantaç caritum kiñcid dharmeṣu sūtritam, "unable to do what is *sutrit* in the laws," xii, 270, 36, must refer to the general class of legal Sūtras. The Gītā, 13, 4, mentions the Brahmasūtra, which is probably nothing but an equivalent of Vedasūtra, that is, equivalent to Veda in general; but it may be one of the late marks of this poem (the Brahmasūtra being otherwise unknown before the Hari-vañça) and mean the philosophical Sūtra.<sup>1</sup> Sūtrakāras and Sūtrakartars, "who will arise," are mentioned prophetically a few times in the didactic epic.<sup>2</sup>

Profane Sūtras are jumbled together in one of the latest stanzas of the Kaccit chapter, ii, 5, 120, to which I have alluded before: "Dost thou understand the Sūtras on elephants, horses, chariots, catapults, and the Dhanurveda Sūtra?"

As early as Pāṇini there were Sūtras of all sorts and the mention of such works has only the special value of indicating that the epic belongs to a time when Sūtra meant works which were probably popular and not written in aphoristic style. They were doubtless the same as the various Çāstra and other treatises to which reference is often made. Some of these works are called Çāstras and are grouped with the fine arts mentioned above as known to Garga. Arthaçāstra and Kāmaçāstra, by-names of the epic itself, are mentioned in the late introduction to the whole work. The fine arts, kalās, are mentioned or implied in three places. First the slave-girls of Yudhiṣṭhira are said, at ii, 61, 9-10, to be "versed in dancing and songs," sāmasu, and "skilled in the

<sup>1</sup> In xii, 327, 31, there is mentioned a Mokṣaçāstra, inspired by gāthāḥ purā gītāḥ, a treatise which is based on verses recited (by Yayāti) in regard to proper behavior, and it is partly philosophical.

<sup>2</sup> xiii, 14, 101-104, granthakāra, sūtrakartā (bhaviṣyati), granthakṛt; 16, 70, sūtrakartar. In xii, 245, 30, svaçāstrasūtrāhutimantravikramah, sūtra may be the thread (a brahma-sūtra as elsewhere), but in the connection seems more likely to mean Sūtra.



sixty-four," which must imply the sixty-four kalās. Then Garga, who knows *kālajñāna* and omens, *utpātas*, is also acquainted with *kālajñāna catuṣṣaṣṭyaṅga*, xiii, 18, 38, which shows that the fine arts were not exclusively for women and slaves; as is also indicated by the passage xiii, 104, 149 ff., where, as befitting a king to know, are mentioned treatises on logic (or behavior?), on grammar, on music, and the fine arts; and to hear, Legends, Tales, and adventures of the saints.<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to see that these "sixty-four arts," still typical of culture, are proverbial in India to-day. A Marathi proverb says *caudā vidyā va cauṣaṣṭa kalā*, "fourteen sciences and sixty-four arts."<sup>2</sup>

### Dharmaçāstras.

But if *Sūtra* literature, except in the few instances cited above, is practically ignored, all the more fully is *Çāstra*<sup>3</sup> and particularly *Dharmaçāstra* literature recognized; which I may say at the outset shows that the later epic was composed under the influence of *Dharmaçāstras* rather than of *Dharmasūtras*.

The general term *Nītiçāstra*, code of polity, has already been noticed. A number of such codes is recognized, xii, 138, 196, and *Dharma(çāstras)* are cited not infrequently;

<sup>1</sup> *yuktiçāstram ca te jñeyam çabdaçāstram ca, Bhārata, gāndharvaçāstram ca kalāḥ pariññeyā, narādhipa; purāṇam itihāsaç ca tathā 'khyānāni yāni ca, mahātmanām ca caritam çrotavyam nityam eva te.* The *yuktiçāstram* is not explained. According to PW., it is a manual of etiquette, but perhaps logic; possibly the unique system of logic and rhetoric developed by *Sulabhā* in xii, 321, 78 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Manwaring*, Marathi Proverbs, No. 1175. This is late. Cf. *Yājñ.* i, 3; and *Vāyu Purāṇa*, lxi, 78-79. In the latter passage, the four Vedas, six *Aṅgas*, *Mīmāṃsā*, *Nyāya*, *Dharmaçāstra* and *Purāṇa* make the "fourteen vidyās" or "eighteen" including the three *Upavedas* and the *Arthaçāstra*.

<sup>3</sup> Or *Smṛti*, but this word seems of wide bearing. Just as *āgama* (above) includes more than *Veda*, so *Smṛti* includes all tradition. In xii, 200, 30, *mahāsmṛti* and *anusmṛti* seem to be interpreted by the commentator as *Samhitās* and *Vedāṅgas* (with *Manu* and others) respectively, but his first words may refer to the inferred *Veda* of the preceding *japaka* (the reciters of both go ipso facto to heaven). Besides *Manu* (above), *Yama*, *Aṅgiras*, *Bṛhaspati*, *Uçanas*, and *Parāçara* are specially cited as law-givers.

while a general rule is given as a Dharma-çāsana, e. g., i, 72, 15:

Three fathers have we, for e'en thus  
*Law's statute* says, 't is meet  
 To call our sire, and who saves life,  
 And him whose food we eat.

Manu's Dharmaçāstra is referred to under that name only in one of the latest books of the pseudo-epic. In the early books his Rājadharmas are once mentioned, iii, 35, 21, which might imply a chapter of our present code, but otherwise only his Dharmas are referred to, though generally merely an ipse dixit of Manu is cited, which, however, is often a dictum opposed to the actual words of the extant Manu text. The epic poets do not always recognize Manu as in any wise supreme, often not even as prominent. A typical example is furnished by iii, 150, 29: "Gods are upheld by Vedic sacrifices; men are upheld by the laws (not of Manu but) of Uçanas and Bṛhaspati."<sup>1</sup> But in xii, 336, 39-45, a primeval code, anuçāsana, of 100,000 çlokas, gives rise to the "laws which Manu the self-existent will declare and Uçanas and Bṛhaspati," where there is a clear reference to the code of Manu; as in the next stanza, where are mentioned the "laws of the Self-existent, the Çāstra made by Uçanas and the opinions of Bṛhaspati" (a çāstram sāṅgopaniṣadam, 54).<sup>2</sup>

The mere order of names, however, is no more indicative of priority than in the case of the Vedas mentioned above. Another list of Rājaçāstra-praṇetāras at xii, 58, 1-3, 13, begins with Bṛhaspati and Uçanas (Kāvya, cited with two gāthās at xii, 139, 70), and then follows Prācetasas Manu, Bharadvāja, and Gāuraçiras, with the gods between. So in the next section, 59, 81 ff., Çiva reduces Brahman's work,

<sup>1</sup> So in iv, 58, 6, Bhāradvāja was "equal to Uçanas in intelligence, to Bṛhaspati in polity," naya; ix, 61, 48: "Have you not heard the instructions, upadeça, of Bṛhaspati and Uçanas?"; xii, 122, 11: "You have perused the opinions, matam, of Bṛhaspati, and the Çāstra of Uçanas," as the authorities generally recognized. Bharadvāja has three rôles in the epic, as archetypical jurist, physician, and teacher of arms, according to the passage.

<sup>2</sup> Compare xii, 50, 80, ff.



which in turn is reduced by Indra, as the *bāhudantaka*, and then by Kāvya Yogācārya, a work which embraces Itihāsas, Vedas, and Nyāya (141) or laws.

More important is the fact that references to Manu's laws in the early books are seldom verifiable in our present code, while references in the didactic epic more often than not correspond to passages of the extant text.<sup>1</sup> Hence it may be inferred that that part of the epic which agrees most closely in its citations with our code is later than that portion which does not coincide, or, conversely, that the text of Manu was shaped into its present form between the time of the early epic and that of the didactic epic. In the first period, when Manu's *Dharmaśāstra* was unknown, Manu was merely a name to conjure with. The verses thus ascribed to Manu were not all put into the code when it was formed and for this reason the earlier citations are not generally found in our text. Some of them were adopted, however, and the later epic writers therefore agree more closely with the *Śāstra* as it is to-day; though no one who understands how works are enlarged in India will expect to find all the quotations verified, even in the later epic, for there is no reason to suppose that the code was exactly the same two thousand years ago as it is to-day. But in fact, out of eleven quotations from Manu in the thirteenth book, there is only one which does not correspond with our Manu text, and this is of a general character, to the effect that a *çrāddha* with *tila* is undecaying, "said Manu."

<sup>1</sup> So in the *Rāmāyaṇa* there are two evidently interpolated chapters at iv, 17 and 18. Rāma in the subsequent chapters is incidentally charged (with great truth) with having violated every knightly rule in slaying Vālī. To offset this clear case of sin on the part of the divine hero, a formal charge and defence is inserted (just the procedure in the *Mahābhārata*!) in chapters which metrically belong to the classical period, so close is the adherence to *vipulā* rule. Just here it is that *Manunā gītāu ślokāu* are cited, viz., Manu, viii, 318 and 316 (inverted order), almost verbatim. Elsewhere Manu is a sage merely, not a cited law-giver, as here, iv, 18, 30-31 (without reference to Manu in G.). These chapters need no further proof than the reading to show their true character. They are simply banal, especially Rāma's speech, as well as contradictory in substance to the preceding and following chapters.

In a previous discussion of this subject in the *Journal Am. Or. Soc.* xi, p. 239 ff. (where will be found more data on the subject of legal literature in the epic),<sup>1</sup> in order not to force my argument I included as unverified a quotation at xiii, 65, 3, "Manu said that the highest gift is something to drink," *pānīyam paramaiṁ dānam*, because it was in connection with *Tīrthas*. In this I was certainly over-scrupulous, for the words could easily refer to the passage I there cited from *Manu*, iii, 202, *vāry api ṣṛaddhayā dattam akṣayāyo 'pakalpate*, "even water given with faith fits for immortality." I can now add to this another quotation, xiii, 67, 19, *toyado . . . akṣayān samavāpnoti lokān ity abravīn Manuḥ*, "a giver of water obtains imperishable worlds." Further, I rejected as unverifiable the statement that *Manu* said the king gets a fourth part of the sin of the people (instead of the usual sixth), although, as I pointed out, this proportion actually occurs in *Manu*, only it is for a specific occasion. Nevertheless as *Manu*, viii, 18, says *pādo rājānam arhati* (or *ṛechati*), it is clear that the quotation *caturtham* etc. in xiii, 61, 34 cannot be said to be "unverifiable." It is simply a free rendering verbally of a statement actually found in *Manu*.<sup>2</sup>

We have here the incontrovertible fact that, while the other books of the epic before the thirteenth in giving quo-

<sup>1</sup> For example, the fabulous books of divine origin of xii, 59, 80 ff. (like the origin of *Nārada's* law-book), called *Bārhaspatya*, etc., according to the *diadochos*; the "law and commentary," *savāiyākho dharmah*, of xii, 37, 10, etc. (pp. 254 and 248), and other points to which I may refer the reader without further remark than the references already given.

<sup>2</sup> Besides the quotation given above from the thirteenth book and verifiable in our present code, I may add iii, 92, 10: "By *Manu* and others (it is said that?) going to *Tīrthas* removes fear," *manvāḍibhir mahārāja tīrthayātrā bhayāpahā*, if this be the meaning, which is rather doubtful. In any case it only adds one more to the unverified citations from the early books, but it may mean only that *Manu* and others have journeyed to *Tīrthas*. Compare also xii, 268, 5, *sarvakarmasv ahiṁsā hi dharmātmā Manur abravīt*, "*Manu* the righteous proclaimed that one should not injure (animals) at any ceremony." From the context, killing cattle at a sacrifice is here reprobated. This is a perversion for sectarian purposes of *Manu's* rule v, 43, *nā 'vedavihitān hiṁsām āpady api samācāret*, to which perversion some color might be given by the following verses, which speak harshly of all injury to living creatures. I think no other quotations from *Manu* will be found in the epic.



tations from Manu agree with our present text of Manu only in one third to one half the instances, the thirteenth book has eleven citations, of which ten agree with the statements of our code. To this must be added the fact that only the thirteenth book recognizes "the *Āstra* declared by Manu." I do not know any other literature where such facts would not be accepted as of historical importance, and they have been so regarded here by competent scholars. In the opinion which I first set forth in 1885, the late Professor Bühler in general concurred, though inclined to believe that the authors of the twelfth and thirteenth books did not know the identical *Āstra* which we have to-day. As Professor Bühler's position has not always been cited with the reservations made by him, I will cite his own words: "It remains indisputable that the author or authors of the first, twelfth, and thirteenth Parvans of the *Mahābhārata* knew a *Mānava Dharmaśāstra* which was closely connected but not identical with the existing text," Manu p. lxxix, and again: "The answer which we are thus obliged to give to the question whence the author of our Manu-Smṛti took his additional materials agrees very closely with Professor Hopkins' hypothesis," p. xci. Nevertheless, despite this admission, Professor Bühler, by a line of argument which is based chiefly on the lack of absolute identity, assumes finally that the authors of the epic "knew only the *Dharmasūtra*," ib. p. xcviii. The arguments other than the lack of total identity are, first, that Manu shows an acquaintance with the epic because he says that in a former kalpa the vice of gambling has been seen to cause great enmity; in regard to which Professor Bühler says: "This assertion can only point in the first instance to the match played between Yudhiṣṭhira and Duryodhana," p. lxxx. But why not to the story of Nala, as Professor Bühler himself suggests, or any other story of dicing resulting in "enmity" which may have preceded our epic? Another argument is, that legends referred to in the *Āstra* are found in the epic, ib. But it is of the very character of the epic that it contains many ancient legends, gathered from all sources. It does not follow in the



least that Manu took them from the epic. On the other hand it is important to observe that in no such passage does Manu refer a single one of them to an epic source. Thirdly, it is claimed that the passages parallel in epic and *Çāstra* often have verses in a different order, with omissions, etc., that, in short, they are not actual copies one of the other. But Professor Bühler himself has shown that "the existing text of Manu has suffered many recasts," p. xcii, so that we do not know the form of the *Çāstra* to which the epic explicitly refers and from which it cites as the *Çāstra* set forth by Manu. For my part, it still is impossible for me to believe that when the pseudo-epic, in particular the *Anuṣāsana*, refers to *Çāstras*,<sup>1</sup> and cites correctly from "Manu's *Çāstra*," it really knows only *Sūtras*.

A *Mānava Dharmaçāstra*, specifically, must from the evidence be regarded as older than the later epic but later than the early epic, which knew only a mass of royal and general rules, *dharma*s, generally ascribed to Father Manu but different from those in our extant *Çāstra*. With this result too agrees the fact that the metrical form of the extant code is distinctly earlier than that of the later epic. Not unimportant, finally, is the circumstance that the extant code only vaguely refers to epic Tales, but recognizes neither of the epics, only legends that are found in the epics. In all probability the code known to the later epic was not quite our

<sup>1</sup> In xii, 341, 74, are mentioned "teachers in *Dharmaçāstras*," *ācāryā dharmāçāstreṣu*; in xiii, 61, 34, Manu's *anuṣāsana*; in xiii, 47, 35, "the *Çāstra* composed by Manu," *manunā bhīhitam çāstram*; in xiii, 45, 17, "those that know law in the law-books," *dharmāçāstreṣu dharmajñāh*, in reference to the subject discussed in Manu iii, 52-53; iv, 88. Similarly, xiii, 19, 89. In most cases here *Çāstras* are the authority, which in iii, 313, 105, are set beside the Vedas as two standard authorities. In the face of these citations it is difficult to understand Bühler's words, "the authors . . . knew only the *Dharma-sūtras*," especially as the words contradict what he says in the same essay on a different page, "the authors . . . knew a *Mānava Dharmaçāstra*" (loc. cit. above). It has seemed to me that the great scholar was unduly influenced in his final word by his general desire to put back the epic as far as possible. Professor Holtzmann, who has collected the material, loc. cit., p. 115 ff., is of the opinion that "our *Mānava-dharmaçāstra* is certainly much later than the older parts of the *Mahābhārata*."

present code, but it was a code much like ours and ascribed to Manu, a *Çāstra* which, with some additions and omissions, such as all popular texts in India suffer, was essentially our present text.

### Vedic Citations in the Epic.

We have now reached and indeed already passed, in the notice of some of the works mentioned, the point where the epic impinges on the earlier literature. Before going further I will illustrate the statement made at the outset that the epic cites freely or parodies Vedic documents. The free rendition in Veda-like verse of the older hymnology is not uncommon. Thus in v, 16, the opening hymn is not strictly Vedic, but it is very like a collection of Vedic utterances put into popular form and these verses are called *brāhmā man-trāḥ*, çl. 8. Apart, however, from such instances of more or less exact imitation of general Vedic verses,<sup>1</sup> we find a number of verses plainly imitative of extant Vedic passages or almost exactly reproducing them. This applies to reproductions or imitations<sup>2</sup> of the chief Vedic literature from the Rig Veda to the Sūtras, as will be seen from the following examples:

Rig Veda x, 117, 6,

mogham annam vindate apracetāḥ

<sup>1</sup> There are, of course, also a vast number of verses such as *gāur me mātā vṛṣabbaḥ pitā me*, introduced, as here, with the fiat *imām çrutim udāharet*, xiii, 76, 6-7; or with the more usual tag, *iti crutiḥ*, as for example, *agnayo māṇsakāmāç* (starred in pw.) *ca ity api çrūyate crutiḥ*, iii, 208, 11; or with *smṛta*, as in *açvināu tu smṛtāu çūdrāu*, xii, 208, 24; as well as such phrases as that of xiv, 51, 26, *yas tam veda sa vedavit*, all of which reflect the literature of the earlier periods.

<sup>2</sup> The Vedic work most frequently referred to is the Yajur Veda Hymn, *trisūparnam brahma yajuṣām çatarudriyam*, xii, 285, 138; *sāmavedaç ca vedānām yajuṣām çatarudriyam*, xiii, 14, 323; *tad brahma çatarudriyam*, vii, 81, 13; *vede cā 'sya samāmnātām çatarudriyam uttamam*, vii, 202, 120; *gr̥ṇan brahma param Çakraḥ çatarudriyam uttamam*, xiii, 14, 284. It is imitated over and over again, and some of the epic hymns call themselves by the same name, a fact alluded to in the words: *vede cā 'sya vidur viprāḥ çatarudriyam uttamam*, Vyāseno 'ktaḥ *ca yac cā 'pi upasthānam*, xiii, 162, 23.



Mbh. v, 12, 20,

mogham annam vindati cā 'py acetāḥ  
Böhtlingk, Spruch 4980.

Rig Veda vii, 89, 2,

ḍṛtir na dhmāto, adrivaḥ

Mbh. iii, 207, 47; xii, 95, 21,

mahādṛtir ivā 'dhmātāḥ  
(pāpo bhavati nityadā, iii, 207, 47)

Rig Veda i, 10, 1,

gāyanti tvā gāyatriṇo arcanti arkam arkiṇaḥ  
brahmāṇas tvā çatakrato ud vaṇcam iva yemire

Mbh. xii, 285, 78,

gāyanti tvā gāyatriṇo arcanti arkam arkiṇaḥ  
brahmāṇam tvā çatakratum ūrdhvaṁ kham iva  
menire

Holtzmann, Das Mahābhārata, iv, p. 12; also for the following parallel, p. 13:

Rig Veda x, 129, 1-3,

nā 'sad āsīn no sad āsīd tadānīm . . .  
no rātriā ahna āsīt praketaḥ . . .  
tama āsīt tamasā gūlham agre

Mbh. xii, 343, 8,

(nidarçanam api hy atra) nāsīd aho na rātrir āsīn na sad āsīn  
nā 'sad āsīt, tama eva purastād abhavad viçvarūpam

Compare also with Rig Veda, i, 13, 4, asi hotā manurhitaḥ, Mbh. ib. 10-11,

tvam agne yajñānām hotā viçveṣām hito devānām mānuṣānām  
ca jagata iti, nidarçanam cā 'tra bhavati, viçveṣām agne yajñānām  
tvam hote 'ti, tvam hito devāir manuṣyāir jagata iti

Rig Veda x, 14, 1,

vāivasvataṁ saṁgamanam janānām

Mbh. xiii, 102, 16,

vāivasvatī saṁyamanī janānām



Further, with Rig Veda i, 164, 46, *ekam sad viprā bahu-dhā vadanti*, and x, 114, 5, *viprāh . . . ekam santam bahu-dhā kalpayanti*, may be compared Mbh. (v, 16, 2, and) i, 232, 13, *manīṣiṇas tvām jānanti bahudhā cāi 'kadhā 'pi ca*. In xv, 34, 11, *devayānā hi panthānāḥ ṛutās te yajñasaṁstare*<sup>1</sup> is an allusion to Rig Veda x, 18, 1; while in xii, 312, 5, *dyāvā-prthivyor iti eṣa . . . vedeṣu paṭhyate*, the citation of a Vedic phrase is acknowledged; whereas in the epic phrases *mā rīriṣaḥ* and *bhuvanāni viṣvā*, vii, 201, 77, no indication of Vedic origin is given.

Tāitt. Samhitā i, 16, 11, 1; Çat. Br. i, 5, 2, 16,

ye yajāmahe

Mbh. iii, 180, 33,

idam ārṣam pramāṇam ca ye yajāmaha ity api

Compare iii, 31, 22, *yasya nā 'rṣam pramāṇam syāt*, etc. Aufrecht, *apud* Muir, OST. i, 137. Also Tāitt. S. ii, 5, 1, 1 is repeated verbatim Mbh. xii, 343, 28, as shown by Weber, Ind. Stud. i, p. 410.

Māit. Samhitā i, 10, 11,

stry anṛtam

Mbh. xiii, 40, 12 and 19, 6-7,

*striyo 'nṛtam iti ṛutiḥ; anṛtāḥ striya ity evaṁ vedeṣv api hi paṭhyate; anṛtāḥ striya ity evaṁ sūtrakāro vyavasyati*.

Compare Bāudh. Dh. S. ii, 3, 46, with Bühler's note, and Manu ix, 18, *striyo 'nṛtam iti sthitiḥ* (v. l. *ṛutiḥ*). The double reference in the epic, *Sūtrakāra* and *Vedāḥ*, may point to the same place, or the writer may have had in mind a *Sūtra* passage parallel to *Bāudhāyana*, if not *Bāudhāyana* himself, whose text here is corrupt.

<sup>1</sup> In the preceding verse is cited an *açvamedhaṛuti*, apropos of the *açva-saṁjñāpāna*: *lokāntaragatā nityam prāṇā nityam çarirīṇām*. With the text cited above, compare *dvāv etāu pretya panthānāu*, etc., xii, 329, 30. The Upanishads would suffice to explain some of these phrases.

Atharva Veda? Mbh. xiii, 98, 30,

oṣadhyo raktapuspāḥ ca kaṭukāḥ kaṇṭhakānvitāḥ ṣaṭrūpām  
abhicārārtham ātharveṣu nidarṣitāḥ; viii, 69, 83-86, tvam ity  
atra bhavantāṃ hi brūhi . . . tvam ity ukto hi nihato gurus  
bhavati . . . atharvāṅgirasī hy eṣā ṣrutinām uttamā ṣṛutīḥ . . .  
avadhena vadhaḥ prokto yad gurus tvam iti prabhuḥ.<sup>1</sup>

Āit. Brāh. i, 1,

agnir vāi sarvā devatāḥ

Mbh. xiv, 24, 10 (read vedasya ?),

agnir vāi devatāḥ sarvāḥ, iti devasya ṣāsanam

Mbh. xiii, 84, 56,

agnir hi devatāḥ sarvāḥ, suvarṇam ca tadātmakam

Holtzmann, *loc. cit.* p. 14.

Ṣat. Brāhmaṇa in Mbh. xii, 343, 13-15,

yajñās te devāns tarpayanti devāḥ pṛthivīm bhāvayanti, Ṣata-  
pathe 'pi brāhmaṇamukhe bhavati, agnāu samiddhe juhōti yo  
vidvān brāhmaṇamukhenā 'hutiṃ juhōti, evam apy agnibhūtā  
brāhmaṇā vidvānso 'gnim bhāvayanti.

On this and other citations from Sāṃhitās and Brāhmaṇas, compare Holtzmann, *loc. cit.*, p. 14 ff., with especial reference to verses cited by Weber, Lectures, p. 137-138; IS. i, p. 277. To these I may add a passage reflecting the Brhad Āraṇ. Up. of this Brāhmaṇa, Up. 1, 5, 14 (where the chief verbal identity is in ṣoḍaṣayā kalayā), expressly said to be from the Ṛṣi's "more extended" exposition of the subject: viddhi candramasamdarṣe sūkṣmayā kalayā sthitam, tad etad ṛṣinā proktaṃ vistareṇā 'numīyate, Mbh. xii, 242, 15-16 (compare ṣoḍaṣakalo dehaḥ; and 305, 4). The commentator refers the passage to this Upanishad, as cited.

<sup>1</sup> According to xiii, 163, 53, tvamkāra (to superiors) is vadha, and is employed only in speaking to equals, inferiors, pupils, etc. Compare Chānd. Up. vii, 15, 2. Echo arose in the mountains (compare Callimachus, Ep. xxviii) from the care with which Ṣuka addressed his superior Vyāsa with *bho, bho*, xii, 334, 25-26.



The citations in the Rāmāyaṇā I have not examined, but have noted by chance two; Rig Veda i, 22, 20; Kāṭha Up. iii, 9; Māitri, vi, 26: tad viṣṇoḥ paramam padam (sadā paçyanti sūrayaḥ); G. vi, 41, 25, tad viṣṇoḥ paramam padam (nihato gantum icchāmi); and satye sarvam pratiṣṭhitam in Mahānār. Up. 22, 1; satye lokaḥ pratiṣṭhitaḥ, R. ii, 109, 10.

### Upanishads in the Epic.

Sporadic parallels between the epic, generally the Gītā, Anugītā, and Çānti, and various Upanishads have often been noticed. As illustrative material all these passages are valuable, but they give no evidence that the epic has copied, if the mutual resemblance is only of general content or is given by similar or even identical verses, when these are not connected as in the supposed model. As this material has been put together by Holtzmann, *loc. cit.*, p. 21 ff., I may refer the reader to his parallels,<sup>1</sup> while pointing out that it is historically of little importance whether the oldest Upanishads are cited if we can satisfy ourselves that the epic draws on Upanishads of the second and third period, not only sporadically but connectedly. In regard to the earliest works, it is enough to refer to the passage condensed from the Bṛhadāraṇyaka and cited above. This is the only one of the oldest Upanishads certainly cited, though the Chāndogya, Āitareya, and Kāuṣītaki have many parallels with the epic, as have among the later works of this class the Kena, Muṇḍaka, Praçna, and a few others. Oddly enough, the Māitrāyaṇa has been scarcely compared,<sup>2</sup> but I purpose to show that this and the earlier Kāṭhaka were certainly copied by the later epic poets.

<sup>1</sup> Not all the "Vedic" verses are here verified, *e. g.*, Tāitt. iii, 7, has prāṇo vā annam. This is cited in the epic as Vedic: annam prāṇā iti yathā vedeṣu pariṇāthyate, xiii, 95, 22. The Gītā distributes older material, *e. g.*, Çvet. iii, 17 = Gītā, 13, 14, but the following pāda, navadvāre pure dehī, is found in Gītā, 5, 13, etc.

<sup>2</sup> The verse dve brahmaṇī (as duly recorded by Holtzmann) was located by Hall, and Bühler has compared two more verses with xii, 330, 42-43 (Manu, p. 212), while Telang has illustrated the Gītā with general parallels.



## The Çvetāçvatara Upanishad.

This may be loosely copied, but, except for one parallel, the mutual passages are common to this and other sources. I cite as exemplifying a possible copy (though the Upanishad itself is a copy of the older Kāthaka):

## UPANISHAD.

iii, 8 = V. S. 31, 18,  
tamasah parastāt; nā 'nyaḥ pan-  
thā vidyate ayanāya.

iii, 10,  
tato yad uttaratarāṁ tad arūpam  
anāmayam, ya etad vidur amṛtās  
te bhavanti.

iii, 13,  
aṅguṣṭhamātrah puruṣah, see be-  
low.

iii, 18,  
navadvāre pure dehī haṁsaḥ, see  
below.

iii, 19-20,  
sa vetti vedyam . . . aṇor aṇi-  
yān, etc.

iv, 2 and 19,  
tad eva çukraṁ tad brahma;  
yasya nāma mahad yaçah, see  
below.

iv, 5,  
ajām ekām lohitaçuklakṛṣṇām.

iv, 6,  
Birds and pippal, see the passage  
from Droṇa, cited hereafter.

iv, 17 and 20,  
na saṁdṛçe; hṛdā maṇiṣā, see be-  
low.

## EPIC.

v, 44, 29 and 24,  
tamasah parastāt; nā 'nyaḥ pan-  
thā ayanāya vidyate.

v, 44, 31,  
anāmayam tan mahad udyatam  
yaço (Kaṭha, vi, 2, mahad bhayam  
vajram udyatam) vāco vikāram  
kavayo vadanti yasmin jagat  
sarvam idam pratiṣṭhitam ye tad  
vidur amṛtās te bhavanti (com-  
pare BAU. i, 5, 1; Chānd. iii, 12,  
2; Kaṭha, vi, 9).

v, 43, 53; 46, 31 (Gītā, 10,  
15),

yo veda vedyam na sa veda sa-  
tyam; aṇor aṇiyān (Kaṭha i, 2,  
20). In 44, 29, aṇiyo rūpam kṣu-  
radhārāyā samam (Kaṭha, iii, 14).

v, 44, 25 and 26,

ābhāti çuklam iva lohitaṁ iva  
kṛṣṇam (followed by āyasam  
arkavarṇam with v. l. athā'ñja-  
nam kādravaṁ vā); Mahānār.,  
ix, 2; also Chānd. viii, 6, 1. On  
account of the varied reading in  
the same verse the three first  
colors may be the only original,  
but even here the reference is to  
Prakṛti in the Upanishad and to  
Brahman in the epic.

These are the best examples of sporadic parallels to be found in the Upanishads. I turn now to the Kāṭhaka.

### The Kāṭhaka or Kāṭha Upanishad.

From the Kāṭha, iii, 10, indriyebhyaḥ parā hy arthā, arthebhyaḥ ca param manaḥ, manasas tu parā buddhir, buddher ātmā mahān paraḥ, and ii, 19, nā 'yam hanti na hanyate, the Gītā, 3, 42, has indriyāṇi parāṇy āhur indriyebhyaḥ param manaḥ, manasas tu parā buddhir, yo buddheḥ paratas tu saḥ (the Sa is higher than intellect); and in 2, 19-20, it inverts and modifies the na jāyate and hantā cen manyate hantum stanzas. Less precise in rendering, but important on account of the Gītā modifications, are two other stanzas. Kāṭha i, 22, has vaktā cā 'sya tvāḍṛg anyo na labhyaḥ, etc., a triṣṭubh, whereas Gītā, 6, 39, has tvad anyāḥ saṁçayasyā 'sya chettā na hy upapadyate, a ṣloka (compare M. ii, 15, 1, saṁçayānām hi nirmoktā tvan nā 'nyo vidyate bhuvi, addressed to Krishna). The Kāṭha is older also in the stanza ii, 15,

sarve vedā yat padam āmananti, tapāṁsi sarvāṇi  
ca yad vadanti  
yad icchanto brahmacaryāṁ caranti, tat te padam  
saṁgrahaṇa bravīmi,

as compared with Gītā, 8, 11,

yad akṣaram vedavido vadanti, viçanti yad yatayo  
vitarāgāḥ  
yad icchanto brahmacaryāṁ caranti, tat te padam  
saṁgrahaṇa pravakṣye.

Other parallels will be found between Kāṭha ii, 7,

āçcaryo vaktā kuçalo 'sya labdhā, āçcaryo jñātā  
kuçalanuçiṣṭaḥ,

and Gītā, 2, 29,

āçcaryavat paçyati kaçcid enam, āçcaryavad vadati  
tathāi 'va cā 'nyaḥ, etc.;

between Kāṭha vi, 1 and Gītā, 15, 1 (the idea developed in xii, 255, 1 ff.); and in a few more instances, such as tasya



bhāsā sarvaṃ idaṃ vibhāti, Kaṭha v, 15, and ekaḥ sūryaḥ sarvaṃ idaṃ vibhāti, Mbh. iii, 134, 8.<sup>1</sup>

But it is not necessary to dwell upon these, as the third chapter of the Upanishad is epitomized in a section of *Ānti*. The later feature begins at the start, xii, 247, 1 ff. The *vikāras*, modifications of *Prakṛti*, do not know the *kṣetrajña*, or spirit, but he knows them. Then follows the image of the Upanishad iii, 2 ff. The senses are subservient steeds, and the spirit is the driver who controls them, *saṁyantā*. After this general imitation follow the three stanzas of Kaṭha iii, 10, 11, 12, one of which appears in the *Gītā* (above),<sup>2</sup> but with the substitution of *amṛta* for *puruṣa* in the second stanza, and *evam* for *eṣa* in the third. Then a general likeness follows between the Upanishad's next stanza ("restrain mind in knowledge, in self") and the epic, which says "sinking the senses with mind as the sixth in the inner self," "endowing the mind with wisdom," "one that is not mastered (by the senses) gets the immortal place." The instruction is a mystery, to be repeated to *Snātakas* (compare Kaṭha, iii, 17), and besides containing the gist of former wisdom, "is recited in the Upanishads" *vedānteṣu ca gīyate*, 247, 16, 19, 21. I think there can be no doubt that the epic section is an abbreviation of Kaṭha iii, perhaps under the influence of the *Māitrāyaṇa*, as shown below. A preceding section may be compared with Kaṭha v, 1-2, where the city of eleven doors is followed by a reference to the *haṁsa*, lord, R. V. iv, 40, 5. The epic (see under the "group of seventeen"), like the later Upanishad, admits only "nine doors," and says in xii, 240, 32, the *haṁsa* lord, *īṣa*, and controller, *vaçī*, enters the city of nine doors, because it is controlled, *niyataḥ*, by the senses.

Other stanzas reflecting the last chapters of this Upanishad

<sup>1</sup> Compare in the Up., ib. 9 and 12, *agnir yathāi 'kaḥ and ekaṃ rūpaṃ bahudhā yaḥ karoti*, with *eka evāgnir bahudhā samidhyate*, just preceding in the epic. *Gītā*, 13, 30, may be a modification of Kaṭha vi, 8. The *Gītā* stanza, by the way, is repeated verbatim in xii, 17, 23.

<sup>2</sup> The last of the three verses is cited again in *Vana* in a copy of the *Māitrāyaṇa* Upanishad, which substitutes *bhūtātmā* for *gūḍho 'tmā*, and *jñāna-vedibhiḥ* for *sūkṣmadarçibhiḥ*. See the next paragraph.



are found mingled with copies from other Upanishads in the last chapter of the Sanatsujāta Parvan. In every case where evidence exists it points to the epic being a copy of the Upanishad. Thus in BAU. v, 1, we read pūrṇam adaḥ pūrṇam idaṁ pūrṇāt pūrṇam udacyate, pūrṇasya pūrṇam ādāya pūrṇam evā 'vaṇiṣyate, which in the epic, v, 46, 10, appears as pūrṇāt pūrṇāny uddharanti pūrṇāt pūrṇāṇi cakrire haranti pūrṇāt pūrṇāni pūrṇam evā 'vaṇiṣyate. Again the stanza of Kāṭha vi, 9,

na saṁdr̥ṣye tiṣṭhati rūpam asya, na cakṣuṣā paçyati  
kaçcanāi 'nam  
hṛda manīṣā manasā 'bhikṣpto, ya etad vidur amṛtās  
te bhavanti

is modernized already in Çvet., iv 17 (idem) and 20, hṛdā hṛdiṣṭham manasā ya enam evaṁ vidur amṛtās te bhavanti, and this in the epic, v, 46, 6, appears as

na sādṛṣye tiṣṭhati rūpam asya, na cakṣuṣā paçyati  
kaçcid enam  
manīṣayā 'tho manasā hṛdā ca, ya enam vidur amṛ-  
tās te bhavanti,

or, as ib. 20,

na darṣane tiṣṭhati rūpam asya . . ,  
ye pravrajeyur amṛtās te bhavanti.

The section begins with an explanation of the çukram brahma which is mahad yaçaḥ and tad vāi devā upāsate, a phrase, prior pāda, metrically borrowed from the licence of the Upanishads, where the epic usually writes upāsante to avoid di-iambus.<sup>1</sup> Here çukram brahma and mahad yaçaḥ are from Kāṭha v, 8; vi, 1; Çvet. iv, 19 (yasya nāma mahad yaçaḥ). Below, çl. 9, the Açvattha and its birds may be drawn from Kāṭha vi, 1, and, after the pūrṇam stanza cited above, çl. 11,

<sup>1</sup> The later Upanishads resort to a similar device. Thus in the Yoga-tattvop. i, 6 (alle gute Dinge sind drei): trayo lokās trayo vedās trayāḥ saṁdhyās trayāḥ surāḥ, trayo 'gnayo guṇās triṇī (sthitāḥ sarve trayākṣare).

tasmād vāi vāyur āyataḥ . . . tasmiñ ca prāṇa ātataḥ, is a parallel to Kaṭha vi, 2.<sup>1</sup> Then follows, in the epic, çl. 15:

aṅguṣṭhamātraḥ puruṣo 'ntarātmā, liṅgasya yogena  
sa yāti nityam  
tam içaṃ iḍyam anukalpam ādyam, paçyanti mūḍhā  
na virājamānam,

which appears ib. 27 as:

aṅguṣṭhamātraḥ puruṣo mahātmā, na dr̥çyate 'sāu  
hr̥di saṁniviṣṭaḥ  
ajaç caro divārātram atandritaç ca, sa tam matvā  
kavir āste prasannaḥ,

with which Kaṭha iv, 4 (matvā dhīro na çocati) may be compared, and especially iv, 12:

aṅguṣṭhamātraḥ puruṣo madhya ātmani tiṣṭhati  
içāno bhūtabhavyasya na tato vijugupsate,

and Kaṭha vi, 17:

aṅguṣṭhamātraḥ puruṣo 'ntarātmā, sadā janānām  
hr̥daye saṁniviṣṭaḥ  
tam svāc charīrāt pravṛthen muñjād iva-iṣṭikām dhāir-  
yeṇa (tam vidyāc çhukram)

The last words are found in the epic, 44, 7, as:

ta ātmānam nirharanti 'ha dehān, muñjād iṣṭikām iva  
sattvasaṁsthāḥ,

while just before 46, 27, is found in çl. 25:

evam yaḥ sarvabhūteṣu ātmānam anupaçyati  
anyatrā 'nyatra yukteṣu kiṁ sa çocet tataḥ param,

which is like Īçā 6-7 in contracted form.

<sup>1</sup> There is here a general resemblance, noticeable chiefly because of the correlation of one idea with the next following, interrupted in the epic by the pūrṇa stanza. With 44, 27, "His form is not in stars, lightning, clouds, wind, moon, sun," compare Kaṭha v, 15, "Not there the sun shines, moon, stars, nor lightnings."



### The Māitri Upanishad in the Epic.

Especially instructive is the form in which the Māitri or Māitrāyaṇa Upanishad appears in the epic. In the case of many of the Upanishads there is lacking any characteristic mark sufficiently peculiar to identify the Upanishad when it appears in epic form. But the Māitri, as is well known, contains some special stanzas and above all some special terms not found elsewhere except in still later Upanishads. It is, therefore, more easily identified, and the possibility that we are dealing with material common to the age of the older Upanishads is not so great. In all probability it is a later Upanishad. Deussen, *Sechzig Upanishads*, p. 312, successfully maintains this view, and in his *Geschichte der Philosophie* i<sup>2</sup>, p. 24, groups it with the Praṇa and Māṇḍūkya as belonging to the group of "later Prose Upanishads," regarding it not only as later than the old prose, but even as later than the metrical Upanishads, from both of which earlier groups I have given epic parallels in the list above.

This Māitri Upanishad is found reflected in the epic at iii, 213, and in a later imitation in the twelfth book. The former epic section is based entirely on the Upanishad, and the preceding sections appear to be due to an expansion of the same material. The order followed is in general that of the Upanishad.

The teaching is called brāhmī vidyā, iii, 210, 15. There is an introductory systematization, the assumption of the universe (as Brahman) consisting of five elements,<sup>1</sup> earth, water, light, wind, air, which have as their characteristics (in inverted order), sound, touch, color, taste, smell, so related that earth has all five; water, four; light, three; wind, two; air, one (sound), making altogether fifteen in combination in all created things (210, 17; 211, 8). With these five "guṇas" begins a group of seventeen: cetanā or manas, mind,

<sup>1</sup> In 210, 17, these are given in reverse order, but in 211, 3, in their usual epic order, bhūmir āpas tathā jyotir vāyur ākāṣam eva ca (reversed, kham vāyur agnir āpas tathā ca bhūh).

as sixth; intellect as seventh; egoism as eighth; the five senses; ātman, soul, the fourteenth; and the three guṇas, rajas, sattvam, tamas. This is "the group of seventeen," which has as its designation the Unmanifest (avyakta); to which are added objects of the senses and the manifest and unmanifest, making the category of twenty-four.<sup>1</sup>

This is the introductory chapter of the discourse, and its likeness to the Māitri Upanishad consists in the initial discussion of the elements (which, however, are not called fine elements, tanmātra, as they are in the Upanishad, iii, 2, mahābhūtāni and guṇas),<sup>2</sup> and the statement that this is a brāhmī vidyā, like MU. ii, 3, brahmavidyā. As an indication of the age of the discourse, it may be observed in passing that, in 211, 9, the fifteen guṇas are said to be properly correlated in the remarkable verse:

anyonyam nā 'tivartante samyak ca bhavati, dvija

where the use of bhavati for bhavanti (subject, pañcadaṣa guṇāḥ), though declared by the commentator to be an archa-

<sup>1</sup> Otherwise the commentator. Objects of sense and action-organs are not included in the seventeen: ity eṣa saptadaṣako rācīr avyaktasamjñakāḥ, sarvāir ihe 'ndriyārthāis tu vyaktāvyaktāiḥ susamvṛtāiḥ caturviṇṣaka ity eṣa vyaktāvyaktamayo guṇaḥ (210, 20-21). Guṇa is obscure. The entirely different group of seventeen in xii, 276, 28, casts no light on the subject, but in xii, 330, 46, a similar verse has (in B) sarvāir ihe 'ndriyārthāiḥ ca vyaktāvyaktāir hi samhitāḥ (v. l. samjñitāḥ) caturviṇṣaka ity eṣa vyaktāvyaktamayo guṇaḥ, which gives the needed guṇaḥ for guṇaḥ and makes the construction somewhat clearer, though the latter passage is such a careless imitation of the one above that in making up the previous list of seventeen, ātman, ahaṁkāra, and manas are all omitted from the list (buddhi being represented by mahad yat param ācayāt) and  $5 + 1 + 5 + 3 = 17$ ! The first group is similar to the group of seventeen in the Vedānta-sūtra, though there the organs of action and the breaths are included with the organs of sense, buddhi and manas. The formal definition of vyakta and avyakta in iii, 211, 12, repeated in xii, 330, 49, with grhyate for sṛjyate and with slight v. l. in xii, 189, 15, is that vyakta, the manifest, is what is comprehended by the senses, while avyakta is what is supersensuous, comprehended only by the "fine organs" (liṅga-grāhyam atindriyam). If the reading guṇa be retained above, it will imply the interpretation of all the constituents as guṇas.

<sup>2</sup> That is, here, as synonym of dhātu or the elements, which after the dissolution of the universe appear in every newly formed body, dhātavaḥ pañcā-bhāutikāḥ, iii, 211, 11; xii, 184, 1.



ism, is really a late carelessness. It is further to be observed that though in this introduction, and incidentally in a preceding section, iii, 207, 72, the organs of sense are given as five, yet in iii, 211, 24, they are spoken of as six,<sup>1</sup> in a figure which not only reproduces the exact language of the *Gītā*, 2, 60 and 67, but contains the imagery of the *Māitri Upanishad* (ii, 6, *rathaḥ ṇarām, mano niyantā, prakṛtimayo 'sya pratodah*) :

sannām ātmani yuktānām indriyāṇām pramāthinām  
yo dhīro dhārayed raṇmīn sa syāt paramasārathiḥ  
indriyāṇām prasṛṣṭānām hayānām iva vartmasu  
. . . indriyāṇām vicaratām, etc.

This image of the senses to be kept under control like horses held in check by a charioteer is indeed too general to have any bearing on the relation of the epic to the *Upanishad* (it occurs, as said above, in the *Kaṭha Upanishad*, for instance, and again in the epic in purely Buddhist form at i, 79, 2-3 = *Dhammapada* 222-223) and might pass unnoticed, were it not that the corresponding section of the twelfth book brings the two into somewhat closer relationship. As already observed, the teaching of the *Vana* in 210 and 211 is more or less closely reproduced in xii, 330, which, however, omitting the stanzas in regard to the six senses, condenses them in the statement that one is "tossed about" by the effects of evil actions, but then closes with a stanza, 58, which has direct reference to transmigration and is in turn omitted from the end of iii, 211, *paribhramati saṁsāraṁ cakravad bahuvedanaḥ*,

<sup>1</sup> So both groups of organs, those of sense and of action, are sometimes counted as making not ten but eleven, including the thinking faculty, as in xiv, 42, 12. Compare the same image and number in xii, 247, 2 (above), *maṇḥsaṣṭāir ibe 'ndriyāṇi sudāntāir iva saṁyantā*, etc. In the passage above, iii, 211, 13, the sense-organs, *indriyāṇi*, are defined as apprehenders of objects of sense, *grāhakāṇy eṣāṁ ṇabdādīnām*. The word is derived from *Indra*, xii, 214, 23, *tribijam* (*apapāṭha nṛbijam*), *indrādāivatyaṁ tasmād indriyam ucyate*, with a preceding description of the seeds, the ten chief *dharmāṇaḥ*, the three humors, *vāta*, *pitta*, *kapha*, and other medicinal intelligence, with especial weight on the heart-artery, *manovahā*, and its action as known to *Atri*.

that is, "like a wheel he revolves through transmigrations." Just so the Māitri Upanishad, ii, 6, says first that the senses are horses and then, after developing the figure, concludes with *anena (pratodena) khalv īritaḥ paribhramatī 'daṁ ṇarī-ram cakram iva mṛtpacena*, "thus goaded he revolves in bodily form like a potter's wheel."

The next chapter of the teaching, iii, 212, discusses the three *guṇaḥ* as (in general) in Māitri, iii, 5. The section before this in the Upanishad, iii, 4, is a close prose prototype of the *Ṣānti* verses (omitted in iii) just preceding the group of seventeen (the rest of the section, xii, 330 being parallel to iii, 211). This (xii, 330, 42) verse begins *asthisthūṇaṁ snāyuyutam . . . carmāvanaddham* (just as in the Upanishad, *carmaṇā 'vanaddham*), and in 28-9, *koṣakāra iva* suggests (against the commentator and Deussen) that in the Upanishad, the ending *koṣa iva vasunā* should be interpreted accordingly, "filled like a cocoon with (deadly) wealth." The next chapter of Vana, the special chapter under consideration, begins with the question how the vital flame can combine with earth-stuff to make the incorporate creature, and how air causes activity. To which the answer is that the flame enters the head and directs the body, while air acts by being in the head and in the vital flame. This is like the opening of the Upanishad where it says, ii, 6, that the spirit is fire. The answer continues: "All is established upon breath;" which is identified with spirit, *Puruṣa*, intellect, *buddhi*, and egoism. Then follows a disquisition upon the different kinds of bodily airs or breathings. These are named as the usual five, but are incidentally referred to as ten, which makes it necessary to understand with the commentator that the other five are those called *nāga*, *kūrma*, *kṛkala* (sic), *devadatta*, and *dhanamjaya*, besides the usual (in-) breathing, with-breathing, off-breathing, up-breathing, and through-breathing, which are specifically mentioned.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> iii, 213, 16, *daṣa-prāṇa-pracoditāḥ*. The ten are named as above in the *Vedāntasāra* of *Sadānanda*, 99, *Böhtlingk's Chrest.* p. 264. The (usual) five are *prāṇa*, *samāna*, *apāna*, *udāna*, *vyāna*. The same thing occurs in xii, 185,



This also corresponds to Māitri ii, 6, where the five breaths are associated with the vital flame (Agni Vāiṣvānara as Puruṣa).

After the breaths are discussed, there is a passing reference to the eleven (not sixteen) vikāras, or transformations by which the spirit is conditioned like fire in a pot;<sup>1</sup> just as Māitri iii, 3, has first yathā 'gninā 'yaspiṇḍo 'nyo vā 'bhibhūtaḥ, etc., and then the transformations, guṇāni (= vikāras). The corresponding passage in Çānti, here 242, 17, has karmaguṇātmakam for nityam yogajitātmakam, but then both passages continue with the stanza:

devo<sup>2</sup> yaḥ saṁsthitas (v. l. saṁṣṛitas) tasminn, ab-  
bindur iva puṣkare  
kṣetrajñam taṁ vijānīhi (v. l. °Iyāt) nityam yoga-  
jitātmakam,

"Know that the divine being who stands in the body like a drop of water on a lotus, is the spirit eternal but overcome by its association." The epic texts vary in the next stanza, but the sense is the same, to the effect that the individual life-spirit, jīva, though conditioned by the three guṇas, has the characteristics (guṇas) of the ātman, while ātman again is one with the Supreme Ātman (parātmakam, 213, 21). The third version of the passage, found in xii, 187, 23-25, explains the individual spirit, kṣetrajña, as ātman conditioned by the guṇas of Prakṛti, and as Supreme Ātman when freed from

15, where the phrase above reappears in a copy of this section. In xii, 329, 31 ff. (and elsewhere) the prāṇas are seven personified creatures, Udāna born of Samāna, etc., as winds, pra, ā, ud, sam, vi, pari, and parā (vahas). Compare also xii, 184, 24, below.

<sup>1</sup> ekādaṣavikārātmā kalāsambhārasambhṛtaḥ mūrtimantaṁ hi taṁ viddhi nityam yogajitātmakam, tasmin yaḥ saṁsthito hy agnir nityam sthūlyam ivāhitaḥ ātmānam taṁ vijānīhi nityam yogajitātmakam, 213, 18-19.

<sup>2</sup> In xii, 246, 29, deva may be jīva, devaṁ tridhātum trivṛtaṁ suparṇam ye vidyur agryām paramātmataṁ ca, but on the other hand there may be a textual error here of devo for dehe. Compare xii, 187, 24, tasmin yaḥ saṁṣṛito dehe hy abbindur iva puṣkare. The Supreme Spirit is devo (nirguṇaḥ), xii, 341, 101, as in Çvet. Up. i, 8 (here called, 99, yajñeṣv agraharaḥ).

them;<sup>1</sup> with a varied reading of *nityam lokahitātmakam* and *viddhī jīvaṅṅaṇ* in the following verses; 26, however, being almost the same as iii, 213, 22:—

sacetanam jīvaṅṅaṇ vadanti  
 sa ceṣṭate ceṣṭayate ca sarvam  
 (t)ataḥ param kṣetravido vadanti  
 prākālpayad (v. l. prāvartayad) yo bhuvanāni  
 sapta,

“They say that the individual spirit is characterized by intelligence; it moves and causes all to move.<sup>2</sup> The wise say, that he who caused the many creations to form is still higher (or the Highest).”

The reading in xii, 187, 23 brings the passage into still closer connection with the Upanishad. The latter, at iii, 2, has *ātmā bindur iva puṣkare* followed by *sa vā eṣo 'bhībhūtaḥ prākr̥tāir guṇaiḥ*, while the epic has *abbindur iva puṣkare* preceded by *ātmā kṣetrajña ity uktaḥ saṃyuktaḥ prākr̥tāir guṇaiḥ*, where the Vana version keeps (what is here lost) the image of the fire in the pot. Then the stanza above, *sacetanam*, etc.,<sup>3</sup> closely reproduces the words as well as the thought of the Upanishad, ii, 5: *cetanene 'dam ṇarīram cetanavat pratiṣṭhāpitam pracodayitā vāi 'ṣo 'py asya* (compare *acetanam ṇarīram*, ii, 3). The fact that the epic Vana is not based on the lotus-phrase of earlier Upanishads but is following the Māitri is shown even more clearly in the phraseology of the following stanza, 213, 23, which at this point does not correspond to Ṣānti above, but to a later chapter,

<sup>1</sup> For the text, see the end of the last note. A passage in xii, 316, 15-17 combines freely the two traits mentioned above: “The fire is different from the pot, *ukhā*; the lotus is different from the water, nor is it soiled by touch of water,” etc.—a fact which is said to be “not understood by common people,” as in the example below.

<sup>2</sup> The commentator says that as individual soul the *ātman* is active, and as the Lord-soul causes activity (compare xii, 47, 65, *yaḥ ceṣṭayati bhūtāni tasmāi vāyāvātmane namaḥ*); but the Highest is above both these. In xii, 242, 20, *jivayate* takes the place of *ceṣṭayate*.

<sup>3</sup> C. has *acetanam* in the Vana passage, but both texts in both the Ṣānti passages have *sacetanam*, xii, 187, 26; 242, 20.



xii, 247, 5. The Vana passage says: "Thus in all beings appears the *bhūtātman* (conditioned spirit), but it is seen only by the subtle intellect;" whereas the *Ānti* passage has not *bhūtātman* *saṃprakāṣate*, but *gūḍho 'tmā na prakāṣate*, "concealed it is not apparent," that is, it has the text of the *Kāthaka*.<sup>1</sup> But in Vana there is the characteristic *bhūtātman* of the Upanishad, which says at iii, 3: "(Pure) spirit is no more overcome (by environment) than fire is overcome when the mass of iron (enclosing it) is hammered; what is overcome is the *bhūtātman*, which is *abhibhūta*, overcome, because it is bound up with (the transformations);" and further, iii, 5: "Filled with the effect of the *guṇas* (which condition it) the *bhūtātman* is *abhibhūta* (the same etymological tie), overcome, by them, and so enters different forms."<sup>2</sup> A few more passages contain this word *bhūtātman*. Of these, two

<sup>1</sup> See the analysis above, p. 30, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> The etymological connection between *abhibhūta* and *bhūtātman* may have suggested to the commentator his explanation of *bhūtātman* as an epithet of *mahātman* in xiii, 34, 15, where he says that *mahātman*s are called *bhūtātman*s because they have overcome or controlled their thoughts (*bhūta* = *vaçikṛta*). In the epic, *bhūtātman* appears as incorporate spirit in xii, 201, 1, where "how can I understand *bhūtātman*?" is to be thus interpreted; and as intellect, *buddhi*, in the reabsorption process described at xii, 313, 12, *mano grasati bhūtātmanā*. Differently employed, the combination appears in *Gitā*, 5, 7, where one is said not to be contaminated by action if one is *sarvabhūtātmanabhūtātmanā*, which, as is shown by parallel passages, is not to be divided into *sarvabhūtātma* and *bhūtātmanā*, but into *sarvabhūta*, *ātmanabhūta*, *ātmanā*, where *sarvabhūtātmanabhūta* means one with all, or the All-soul. Compare xii, 240, 23, *sarvabhūtātmanabhūtasya vibhor bhūtahitasya ca devā 'pi mārga muhyanti*; xii, 47, 82, *sarvabhūtātmanabhūtāya . . . namaḥ*. *Bhūtātman* means also elemental spirit, as in xii, 298, 17-19, where it is said that before the disembodied *jīva*, or spirit, secures a new resting place (*āyatana*, body), it wanders about as a *bhūtātman*, "like a great cloud." So in xii, 254, 7, the *bhūtātman* of *Yogins* wanders through space and has seven subtle *guṇas* (according to the commentator, the fine elements, intellect and egoism), like *sattvātman*, ib. 6; but here, too, it is the *bhūtātman*, "standing in the heart," ib. 12. I observe, by the way, that the citation above, "the gods are confounded at the track of him who is identical with all created things" (compare the *anirdeçyā gatiḥ*, "indescribable course, which the *mokṣiṇaḥ* foresee," xii, 19, 15), shows, as does xiii, 113, 7, *apadasya padāṣiṇaḥ*, that in xiii, 141, 88, *padam tasya ca vidyate* should be changed to *na vidyate*, as in C. 6477 (*sattvaṃ sarvabhūtātmanabhūtastham* is found in xii, 210, 36). Compare *Dhammapada* 420, *yassa gatiṃ na jānanti devā*.

or three deserve particular attention. In xii, 240, 21, it appears in a stanza like one to be cited presently, where another Māitri word is found, but here the text says merely that the bhūtātman (ceases to be conditioned and) enters Brahman, where it "sees self in all beings and all beings in self." In çl. 11 of the same chapter the bhūtātman appears as the controller of mind in the same simile of the wild horses noticed above, but with a different turn: "Mind, as a charioteer his horses, directs the senses; and the bhūtātman which is seated in the breast directs mind; as the mind, restraining and letting out the senses, is their lord, so the bhūtātman in respect to the mind." In xiv, 51, 1, on the other hand, the mind itself is called bhūtātman, because it rules the mahābhūtas. Finally the same term is used of Vishnu in xiii, 149, 140, where it is said: <sup>1</sup>

eko Viṣṇur mahad bhūtam pṛthag bhūtāny anekaçaḥ  
trīṇ lokān vyāpya bhūtātmā bhuñkte viçvabhug  
avyayah,

"Vishnu as one is a great spirit (bhūta), and separately is all beings; he, permeating, enjoys the three worlds as bhūtātman, he the all-enjoyer, indestructible."

It is clear from these passages that bhūtātman is not used in one strict sense in the epic, but its signification varies according to different passages. In one case it is a free spirit of elements,<sup>2</sup> but in another the conditioned spirit in the

<sup>1</sup> The quotation here given may be the one cited in PW. from ÇKDr. s. bhūtātman I, 1. But compare also xii, 207, 8, where the Lord Govinda is bhūtātmā mahātmā. In the "Secret of the Vedāntas" (Upanishads) the Intelligence as Lord bhūtakṛt, maker of elements, is called Bhūtātman, xii, 194, 7 = 248, 4, and 14 as Buddhi.

<sup>2</sup> Hence called sūkṣma, fine. This seems to be the sense in xii, 203, 6-7: "As no one has seen the back of Himālaya or of the moon, but cannot say it is non-existent, so the fine bhūtātman which in creatures has a knowledge-soul, jñānātmavān, cannot be said not to exist because it has not been seen." With this jñānātman compare, by the way, what is said of the soul, ib. 240, 22, yāvān ātmani vedātmā tāvān ātmā parātmāni (just after the verse cited in the text 240, 21, above, on bhūtātman): "The soul is as much in the All-soul as there is knowledge-soul in itself."



body.<sup>1</sup> It is the latter meaning which applies both in the Upanishad and in the epic imitation of it. In these cases *bhūtātman* is the *ātman*, spirit, not as being pure *Puruṣa*, but as being in connection with and conditioned by *bhūta*, that is, imprisoned in matter. It is apparently a popular (not philosophical) term for spirit in general, and when used in philosophy answers to the ordinary philosophical *jīva*, incorporate spirit. It is not found in other (old) Upanishads.

But there is still a closer parallel between the epic and the Upanishad. After the verse cited above, it is said, iii, 213, 24-27, that salvation is attained by peace of mind and by perceiving self in self, and that this purified spirit by the aid of the lighted lamp (of knowledge), seeing self as *free of self*, becomes released.<sup>2</sup> Here again we have a peculiarly Māitri word in *nirātman*, "free of self," that is, free from the delusion of subjectivity. But the two works are here evidently identical. First, just as the epic says that one must have peace of mind, *prasāda*, and be pure, and then becomes *nirātman*, so in ii, 2-4, the Upanishad, after an allusion to *samprasāda*, the same peace of mind, says that one becomes pure and *nirātman* (*ṣuddhaḥ pūtaḥ cūnyaḥ cānto 'prāṇo nirātmā*). The sign of this peace is explained as when one sleeps sweetly, iii, 213, 25 = xii, 247, 11.<sup>3</sup> In the epic the word *nirātman* occurs again in much the same way, xii, 199, 123, *cāntībhūto nirātmavān*, like the collocation above in the Upanishad.

<sup>1</sup> Compare what is said, Māit. Up. iii, 2. "The *bhūtātman* is affected by ignorance, and so gives itself up to objects of sense," it is said in xii, 204, 5.

<sup>2</sup> "For self is the friend of self, and even so self is the foe of self," V, 34, 64; *Gitā*, 6, 5.

<sup>3</sup> *Samprasāda* is *suṣupti*, unconscious slumber. Unconscious existence is the goal of the soul, for the conditioned spirit, *jīva*, "glorious, immortal, ancient" is a part of this unconsciousness, and on becoming pure enters it. In a preceding section this *samprasāda*, or unconscious existence, is declared to be the body of the universe: *Yaḥ samprasādo (am, C.) jagataḥ ṇarīram, sarvān sa lokān adhigacchatī 'ha, tasmin hitam (hi sam, C.) tarpayati 'ha devān, te vāi tṛptā tarpayanty āsyam asya*, xii, 246, 33, where the sense seems to be that the reabsorption of the universe pleases the mouth of unconsciousness; that is, the mouth of Time as Lord of all, a metaphor from the preceding verses. So *samprasāda* is a spirit at peace, in *Chānd. Up.*, cited on the next page.

Another passage reads: "The spirit (ātman, but conditioned) knows not whither it goes or whence, but the inner-spirit, antarātman, is different; it sees all things; with the lighted lamp of knowledge<sup>1</sup> it sees self in self. Do thou, too, seeing self in (or with) self, become freed from self, become all-wise" (nirātmā bhava sarvavit, xii, 251, 9-10). This verse, is in fact, only a different version of the "lighted lamp" verse above. This latter, in turn with its environment, must be compared in the original with the Upanishad to see how close are the two. But for this purpose I take, not the samprasāda passage referred to above, which is parallel to Chānd. Up. viii, 3, 4, but one from the sixth book, where the Upanishad, vi, 20, has

tadā 'tmanā 'tmānaṁ dr̥ṣṭvā nirātmā bhavati,

whereupon follows a stanza cited, ity evaṁ hy āha, as:

cittasya hi prasādena hanti karma çubhāçubham  
prasannātmā 'tmani sthitvā sukham avyayam aṇute

In the epic, iii, 213, 24, this whole stanza (çloka) appears, cittasya hi prasādena, etc., in exactly the same words,<sup>2</sup> and then, after the definition of prasāda and the injunction that one must be viçuddhātmā, of purified soul, as explained above, come the words, çl. 27, dr̥ṣṭvā 'tmānaṁ nirātmānaṁ sa tadā vipramucyate.

When this stanza is repeated in the Upanishad at vi, 34, it is preceded by the verse yaccittas tanmayo bhavati, so that together we have:

yaccittas tanmayo bhavati guhyam etat sanātanam

(i. e., the guhyam of Dhammapada 1, mano seṭṭhā manomayā; compare Praçna Up. iii, 10, yaccittas tenāi 'sa prāṇam āyāti)

<sup>1</sup> Here jñānadīpena (compare Gītā, 10, 11) diptena; above, pradiptene 'va dipena manodīpena. Compare dipavad yaḥ sthito hṛdī, Māitri, vi. 30 (and 36).

<sup>2</sup> In the corresponding Çānti chapter, in which I pointed out above the simile of the six senses as horses, and gūḍho 'tmā for bhūtātmā, this verse is found in a different form, cittaprasādena yatir jahātī 'ha çubhāçubham, vii, 247, 10.



cittasya hi prasādena hanti karma çubhāçubham  
which the Anugītā takes up xiv, 51, 27, and 36, in inverse  
order :

27, yaccittam tanmayo 'vaçyam, guhyam etat sanā-  
tanam

36, prasāde cāi 'va sattvasya prasādam samavā-  
pnuyāt

If all these points be compared, first the general order of discussion, then the peculiar words which are used in the same way in both texts, and finally the identical passage just given, it is clear that one of these texts must have followed the other. The dispersion of the epic chapter over different books certainly makes it seem more likely that it is a copy than an original. This opinion is strengthened by the late features added in the epic, the freedom in metre, almost exclusively characteristic of the later epic, and the late Vedānta grouping of seventeen at the beginning. For this group is not the old Sāṃkhya group, which occurs often enough elsewhere in the epic, but a modification of it as in the Vedāntasāra.

The citation in the Māitrāyaṇa of the stanza cittasya hi prasādena from some source might be referred to the epic, but it seems more likely that this, like a dozen other "some one says" verses in the same Upanishad, is a general reference, and it is quite counterbalanced by the fact that the Vana version in the epic adds a hidden reference to its source in the words *māitrāyaṇa-gataç caret*, a strange expression, which is found only in this verse and in its repetition in the twelfth book ;<sup>1</sup> while the speaker in the last verse of the Vana chapter confesses that what he has been teaching "is all a condensed account of what he has heard."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> iii, 213, 34 ; xii, 270, 5 ; with a slight varied reading in xii, 180, 13.

<sup>2</sup> yathā çrutam idam sarvam samāsenā . . . etat te sarvam ākhyātam, iii, 213, 40. I suppose no one will lay any weight on the statement of xii, 247, which copies Vana here (see above), that (12-14) this is a "secret not handed down by tradition," anātihiyam anāgamam (ātmapratiyayikam çāstram), but an ambrosia "churned from dharmākhyānas, satyākhyāna, and the ten

It is perhaps worth noting further that in the Upanishad vi, 20-21, one sees the real soul and becomes isolated (where the goal is kevalatva), whereas in iii, 211, 15 of the epic, the result of this same seeing of self truly is brahmaṇaḥ saṁyogaḥ, union with Brahman; which carries on the antithesis already noticed between the Sāṁkhya tanmātras of the Upanishad and the omission of the same in the epic. This special designation of tanmātra in iii, 2 is complemented by the viṣeṣas mentioned in vi, 10, and is important as showing that the Upanishad, as a Upanishad, is late, for none of the older Upanishads has either of these terms. Its priority to the epic, however, may be urged on still another ground than those mentioned above. The Upanishad quotes stanzas freely, and it is scarcely possible that if the epic and Manavīc verse cited above on p. 27 had existed in verse the prose form of the Upanishad would have been used. As Müller says in his note on the Upanishad passage: "Part of this passage has been before the mind of the author" (of Manu together with the epic poet). So perhaps, too, with the recognition of the eleven (vikāras) in v, 2. The epic has both groups, eleven vikāras and also the system's sixteen, as I shall show in a later chapter. As compared with the epic, moreover, the Upanishad is distinctly earlier in knowing Yoga as "sixfold," vi, 18, whereas the epic makes it "eightfold," xii, 317, 7 ff. as does Patañjali, ii, 29.

I think another circumstance may point to the fact that the epic refers directly to the sixth chapter of the Upanishad. The word *tatstha* is not, indeed, used in a pregnant sense in the Upanishad. It is simply an ordinary grammatical complex in the sentence vi, 10, *puruṣaḥ cetā pradhānāntaḥsthaḥ, sa eva bhoktā . . . bhojyā prakṛtiḥ, tatstho bhuṅkte*, "Prakṛti is food; when *standing in it* (Prakṛti), the Puruṣa enjoys." But in the epic, xii, 315, 11, we read *sa eṣa (puruṣaḥ) prakṛtiḥ hi tatstha ity abhidhīyate*, "Puruṣa is designated as *tatstha* when he is in Prakṛti." As the expression *tatstha*

thousand Rks," for this applies only to paṇḍity ātmānam ātmani, seeing self in self, not to the exposition.



occurs only in this Upanishad, according to Col. Jacob's Concordance, it seems very likely that the epic verse alludes to the *tatstha* = *prakṛtistha* of the Upanishad, where *Puruṣa* is expressly *puruṣaḥ cetā*, and the epic also follows, 14, with *cetanāvāns tathā cāi 'kaḥ kṣetrajña iti bhāṣitaḥ*.<sup>1</sup>

In Up. vi. 15 and Mbh. xi, 2, 24 occurs *Kālaḥ pacati bhūtāni*; and in the companion-piece to the image of the body as a house, cited above from Up. iii, 4, as the same with xii, 330, 42, namely, Up. i, 3, occurs *anīṣṭasamprayoga* = Mbh. xi, 2, 28, but I do not think that these universal expressions taken by themselves are of any significance.

On the other hand I cannot regard as unimportant the following stanzas, beginning with the extraordinary, unsyntactical, verse found in the epic, xii, 241, 32, —

*ṣaṇmāsān nityayuktasya ṣabdabrahmā 'tivartate*

compared with 237, 8 (*Gītā* 6, 44, *jijñāsur api yogasya*, etc.),

*api jijñāsamāno 'pi ṣabdabrahmā 'tivartate*

and with xiv, 19, 66,

*ṣaṇmāsān nityayuktasya yogaḥ, Pārtha, pravartate*

and with Māitr. Up. vi, 28,

*ṣaḍbhir māsāis tu yuktasya nityayuktasya dehinaḥ*

*anantaḥ paramo guhyaḥ samyag yogaḥ pravartate*

and with Māitr. Up. vi, 22 = Mbh. xii, 233, 30,

*dve brahmaṇi veditavye ṣabdabrahma param ca yat*

*ṣabdabrahmaṇi niṣṇātaḥ param brahmā 'dhigacchati*.

The last stanza occurs only here and in this Upanishad (excepting later copies).<sup>2</sup> The first is a meaningless compound of

<sup>1</sup> It may be noticed here also that in *cāitanya* the vocabulary of the pseudo-epic is that of the Upanishad in its later part, vi, 10 and 33 (the word is found else only in late Upanishads). Compare: *acāitanyam na vidyate* (the tree has a *jīva*), xii, 184, 17; *cetanāvatsu cāitanyam samam bhūteṣu paçyati*, "the sage sees one and the same soul in all conscious creatures," xiv, 18, 33. The term is unknown to the *Gītā* and early epic.

<sup>2</sup> With the var. lec., *dve vidye veditavye*, Muṇḍ. Up. i, 4; *Brahmabindu* Up. i, 17. Compare a sort of parody in xii, 100, 6, *ubhe prajñe veditavye rjvi vakrā ca*, Bhārata. The *dve vāva brahmaṇo rūpe* of BAU. ii, 3, 1, are perhaps the first pair, though there it is higher and lower Brahman in a metaphysical sense.

the "six months" stanza and the "two brahman" stanza. The second is a theoretical advance on the latter, which says that when one is thoroughly conversant with the word-brahman he gets to the highest Brahman. The later Yogin does not think this necessary, and emends to "even one desirous of knowledge (of Yoga, in Gītā) surpasses the word-brahman," while the "six months" stanza in the epic is adjusted to the occasion (nityayuktasya of the MSS. is to be read in the Upanishad as in the epic). Here again, the Māitrāyaṇa alone has this stanza, nor does nityayukta occur elsewhere except in the same way in the Gītā, 8, 14, nityayuktasya yoginaḥ.

In my opinion these parallels together with the cittasya hi prasādena stanza above indicate that the epic has copied from the sixth chapter of the Upanishad as well as from the earlier portions.<sup>1</sup>

The Vedic period, then, is represented in the epic down to a pretty late stage of Upanishads. The tanmātra era of philosophy, the trinitarian era of philosophy, these are represented by the Upanishad and by the epic; but only the latest philosophical and religious chapters of the epic recognize tanmātras (the name) and the trinity, as only the later Upanishads recognize them.

Of still later Upanishads, it is possible that the pseudo-epic may know

### **The Atharvaçiras Upanishad.**

The title is applied to Nārāyaṇa, xii, 339, 113, and the commentator explains it as referring to the Upanishad.<sup>2</sup> But we must, I think, rest content with the certainty that the epic cites (a) the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up., (b) the Kāṭhaka, (c) the

<sup>1</sup> The general lateness of the Upanishad is shown by its recognition, v, 2, of the trinity (Muir *ap.* Holtzmann), which is also recognized in the later epic.

<sup>2</sup> On this and on i, 70, 39-40 in the Çakuntalā episode, bhārūṇḍasāmagītā-bhīr atharvaçiraso 'dgatāiḥ . . . atharvavedapravarāḥ, compare Weber, IS., vol. i, pp. 383-4. See also above, pp. 8 and 9 (note 1).



Māitrāyaṇa, or, in other words, copies at least one of each of the three kinds of Upanishads, old prose, metrical, and later prose.

### Āçvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra.

In this Sūtra i, 15, 9, occurs a stanza which is found also with varied readings in the Kāuṣītaki and BA. Upanishads (ii, 11; vi, 4, 9, respectively) as a single stanza. This is cited in the epic as Vedic, the reading following that of the Sūtra and adding one stanza, which clearly belongs to the citation, i, 74, 63-64:

vedeṣv api vadantī 'mam mantragrāmaṁ dvijātayaḥ  
jātakarmaṇi putrāṇāṁ tavā 'pi veditaṁ tathā  
aṅgād aṅgāt sambhavasi hṛdayād adhi jāyase  
ātmā vāi putranāmā 'si sa jīva çaradaḥ çatam  
jivitaṁ tvadadhīnam me santānam api cā 'kṣayam  
tasmāt tvam jīva me putra susukhī çaradaṁ çatam <sup>1</sup>

The general conclusion to be drawn from these citations is twofold. First, the epic, synthetically considered, post-dates the latest Vedic works. Second, the final redactors were priests, well acquainted with Vedic literature. Of these points there can be no doubt; nor is a third open to serious objection, namely, that the restriction of philosophical citation to philosophical chapters does not prove anything in regard to the date of the epic that preceded the insertion of these chapters.

### Purāṇas and Itihāsas.

Whether the Purāṇas, ascribed to Romaharṣa (*sic*) in xii, 319, 21, precede or follow epic literature, is not a question that can be answered categorically. Nothing is commoner than the statement made by some epic character that a story was heard by him long ago in a Purāṇa.<sup>2</sup> But most of the

<sup>1</sup> Āçvalāyana is mentioned only in the pseudo-epic, xiii, 4, 54. On this and his mention of the epic, see below, and Holtzmann, loc. cit., p. 27, with other supposed references to Sūtras.

<sup>2</sup> For example, xiii, 84, 59, mayā çrutam idam pūrvam purāṇe. For the relation between the extant Purāṇas and the epic, compare Holtzmann, loc. cit., p. 29 ff. There is no earlier allusion to an extant Purāṇa (SBE. ii. p. xxviii)

extant Purāṇas are in their present shape certainly later than the epic. Nevertheless, before the great epic was completed the eighteen Purāṇas were known, since they are mentioned as a group xviii, 5, 46 (not in C.) and 6, 97. Further, a Vāyu Purāṇa is referred to in iii, 191, 16:

etat te sarvam ākhyātam atītānāgataṁ tathā  
Vāyuproktam anusmṛtya Purāṇam ṛṣisaṁstutam.

This statement, however, implying that the Purāṇa treats of future events, though illustrated in this instance by the epic's account of later ages, scarcely tallies with the early epic use of the word, which regularly connotes atīta, the past, but not anāgata, (account of) things to be; yet it corresponds exactly to the ordinary contents of the later Purāṇas. On the other hand, the pseudo-epic contains this later sort of Purāṇa, known as Purāṇa as well as ākhyāna and mahopaniṣada, where future events are described.<sup>1</sup> It is to be remarked, moreover, that this reminiscence of Vāyu's Purāṇa, a work which is referred to again in the Harivaṅṣa, is contained in the Mārkaṇḍeya episode, which long interpolation is itself virtually a Purāṇa. That some of the verses in the extant Vāyu are like some in the epic proves nothing in regard to the relative age of either.<sup>2</sup> There is no real iden-

than that in Āp. Dh. S., ii, 9, 24, 6, where a Bhaviṣyat Purāṇa is cited, the words having an epic strain, perhaps to be filled out with vijārthāḥ svaṛge (jīvanti yāvad) ābhūtasamplavāt. See also above, p. 6. On the Purāṇas as depositories of Vedic Ṛuti, see the quotation above, p. 4, and compare H. 3, 33, 5, etat te kathayīṣyāmi purāṇam brahmasaṁhitam nānāṛutisamāyuktam.

<sup>1</sup> xii, 340, 95-125, future avatars, conquest of Kālayavana, etc., called mahopaniṣadam (sic, neuter), in cl. 111, purāṇam in 118 and 124, ākhyānam in 125. Closely united are "praise and Purāṇas" (known to Sūtas) in xii, 53, 3 (not like the stutiṣāstra, praise-treatises, of the late passage, ii, 452, where, however, B. 11, 35, has stutiṣāstrāṇi).

<sup>2</sup> Even the Garuḍa and Vārāha Purāṇas may precede the final revision of the whole epic, though the evidence for references is far from conclusive; but on the other hand our present Purāṇas may have been so changed as not to agree in any detail with Purāṇas that once bore these names. The arguments are given by Holtzmann, loc. cit. The epic passages supposed to refer to the Purāṇas are H., 3, 33, 5 (above) and i, 31, 3. The epic declaration i, 2, 386, that it is the base of all Purāṇas, presupposes a goodly number already in existence; but this statement is as late an addition to the poem



tity in the account cited from the Vāyu Purāṇa and the extant Vāyu Purāṇa. In the description of the Kali age, for instance, where the epic (in the part said to be from the Vāyu Purāṇa) has, 190, 64, *Īdrā dharmam pravakṣyanti, brāhmaṇāḥ paryupāsakāḥ*, the Vāyu, lviii, 41, says *Īdrācār-yāḥ ca brāhmaṇāḥ*, and where the epic, ib. 97, has *utsādayi-ṣyati mlecchagaṇān*, the Vāyu, ib. 78, has *mlecchān hanti*, but here there is nothing characteristic. On the other hand, the most striking features in the epic account, the *eḍukas*, and *Kalki*, with the heavy taxes laid upon priests, *çl.* 62, 65-67, 93 ff., are not found in the Vāyu at all. Noticeable also is the fact that the epic account not only has more than the Vāyu, but has contradictory statements. Thus in *çl.* 58, the Vāyu declares one of the signs of the evil age to be that girls less than sixteen will bear children; while in the epic the sign is that girls of five or six will bear and boys of seven or eight will beget children: *pañcame vā 'tha ṣaṣṭe vā varṣe kanyā prasūyate, saptavarṣā 'ṣṭavarṣāḥ ca prajāsyanti narāḥ tadā*, 190, 49. Taken altogether, the epic account seems to be an extended and exaggerated reproduction of that in the Vāyu Purāṇa, but it is impossible to say whether it is really based on the extant text or not. The Puranic version, however, does not seem to be taken from the epic account, and as the latter is expressly said to be from the Purāṇa it is reasonable to suppose that the *Mārkaṇḍeya* episode was inserted into the epic after the Vāyu Purāṇa was written, though this must remain only a supposition.

Another long intrusion in the same third book of the epic, this time in the *Tirtha* stories, iii, 110 ff., leads to a result somewhat more definite in respect of the relation between the particular story intruded into the epic and the *Padma*

as is the mention of the eighteen. I suppose most scholars will accept the "eighteen Purāṇas" as actually referring to eighteen, and I am inclined to do so myself. At the same time the number is more or less conventional in the epic (see the groups of eighteen spoken of below), and even in the period of the Upanishads literary works may have been grouped in eighteens: *yajña-rūpā aṣṭādaśoktam avaram yeṣu karma*, with Deussen's remark on *ukta* and attempt to explain the number, *Muṇḍ. Up.* i, 2, 7.

Purāṇa. Here, according to the acute investigation of Dr. Lüders, *Die Sage von Ṛṣyaçrṅga*, the epic account in its present form is based upon that of the Purāṇa. Dr. Lüders thinks indeed, p. 103, that there was an earlier epic form of the story which antedated the Puranic account. But it is at least certain that the present epic form is subsequent to the present Puranic form, and that the tale is drawn from popular sources that antedate in all probability all the literary versions in Sanskrit.

Leaving the modern Purāṇa, as it is described, e. g., in Vāyu Purāṇa, iv, 10,

sargaḥ ca pratisargaḥ ca vaṇḍo manvantarāṇi ca  
vaṇḍānucaritāṁ ce 'ti purāṇaṁ pañcalakṣaṇam,

and turning to the meaning of the word in the epic, there is no essential difference between *atīta*, *ākhyāna*,<sup>1</sup> *purāṇa* and *itihāsa*. Together with the more general *kathā*, all these words mean ordinarily an old tale, story, legend or incident. Rarely is *Purāṇa* itself used of cosmogony, but a case occurs in xii, 201, 6, where the phrase *tad ucyatām purāṇam* refers to the origin of earth, heaven, creatures, wind, sky, water, etc. The birth of Asuras and Suras is a Puranic topic in i, 65, 38. When not an adjective to *ākhyāna*, which is a common function of the word, it is an equivalent substantive. Thus the *Nandinī* tale is an *ākhyānam purāṇam*, i, 175, 2, while in xii, 343, 2, *hanta te vartayiṣyāmi purāṇam*, the word in the phrase takes the place of *Itihāsa*; as it does in i, 196, 14, *çrūyate hi purāṇe 'pi Jaṭilā nāma Gāutamī*.

From remote antiquity these *Purāṇas* or tales of old were associated with *Itihāsas*, legends, whether cosmological or not (the distinction is quite artificial). They were narrations, *kathās*, composed partly in prose and partly in verse, *gāthās*. *Kathā* itself is entirely non-specific, and may be a causerie rather than a tale, as in ix, 38, 16, where are mentioned reli-

<sup>1</sup> Synonymous with this is the word *upākhyāna*. Thus the *Çakuntalā* episode and *Namuci* myth, ix, 43, 33, bear the name *upākhyāna*, and in v, 18, 16, and 19 it is synonymous with *ākhyāna*. The *Fowler's* tale is a *dharma-ākhyāna*, iii, 216, 36 (compare a reference to many such, p. 5, above).



gious conversations,<sup>1</sup> *citrāḥ kathā vedam prati*. A legend, such as that of Agastya, is a *kathā divyā*, iii, 100, 2. The mahopaniṣadam alluded to above is a *kathāmṛtam*, the essence, *sāra*, of hundreds of *upākhyānas*, xii, 340, 127. So the *Çvetadvīpa* story is a *kathāsāra*, xii, 336, 16.

But the especial characteristic of the old legend is that it relates the story of great kings or gods<sup>2</sup> and their acts in the past. In iii, 298, 7, Dyumatsena is solaced "by the help of tales of former kings," *citrārthāḥ pūrvarājñām kathāçrayāḥ*, according to the recommendation in the epic itself: "Comfort those afflicted in mind with tales of the past," *yasya buddhiḥ paribhavet tam atītena sāntvayet*, i, 140, 74; an instance being the story of Nala, *kīrtana*, *itihāsa*, *itihāsaḥ purāṇaḥ*, as it is indifferently called, iii, 79, 10, 11, 13, 16.

The word *itihāsa* may also have the meaning "saying," rather than "legend." Thus in iii, 30, 21:

*atrā 'py udāharānti 'mam itihāsam purātanam  
içvarasya vaçe lokās tiṣṭhante nā 'tinano yathā,*

where *itihāsa* is equivalent to *pravāda*, a proverbial saying (in this instance repeated in çl. 25 and in other parts of the epic). But ordinarily the word means a tale, of which the hemistich just cited is the stereotyped introduction, as in iii, 28, 1 and *passim*.<sup>3</sup> It is important to notice that, as *itihāsa* is used for proverb and *gītā gāthā* is also used in the same way,

<sup>1</sup> So a philosophical discourse of religious content, *mokṣadharma*, is an *Itihāsa*, xii, 334, 42; and the tale of a good Brahman is a *kathā* on duty, xii, 354 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The tale of Atharvan finding Agni when the latter disappeared is an *Itihāsa purātana*, iii, 217 and 222. In iii, 183, 46, *purāvṛttāḥ kathāḥ puṇyāḥ*, are "tales of kings, women, and seers." With *purāvṛtta* as adj. compare *kathayanti purāvṛttam itihāsam*, xii, 18, 2; as a noun it is not uncommon, *rājñām purāvṛttam*, "a tale of kings," etc., as is illustrated sufficiently in PW. (compare *vṛttānta*). Khāṇḍava's burning is a *pāurāṇī kathā ṛṣisaṁstutā*, i, 223, 16. "Men, snakes, and demons" is the subject of a "divine tale," *kathā divyā*, in iii, 201, 4.

<sup>3</sup> A word of analogous formation is *ātihiya*, equivalent to traditional report, *Veda*. It is found, e.g., in xii, 218, 27 and 247, 13, and G. v, 87, 23, as one of a group of sources of knowledge besides *anumāna* and *pratyakṣa*. Compare *itivṛtta*, as legend, in i, 1, 16.

for example, the *na jātu kāmah* proverb, i, 75, 49-50, so the phrase to introduce a tale, *Itihāsa*, may substitute *gāthās*, as in iii, 29, 35, *atrā 'py udāharantī 'mā gāthāḥ . . . gītāḥ*. Such *gāthās* refer to action or to ethical teaching (compare the same formula for both, loc. cit. and ii, 68, 65). A difference may be imagined in the element of song of the *gāthā*, but this is illusory. The *gāthās* are indeed said to be sung, as in the case just cited (çl. 34-44 are the *gītā gāthāḥ*), but singing is too precise a translation. As shown above, even the *Aranyakas* are "sung," and in point of fact the *gāthās* are synonymous with *çlokas* and are recited. Stanzas of *Purāṇas* are thus said to be sung.<sup>1</sup> Conversely, *gāthās* are not always sung, iii, 135, 45, *atrā 'py udāharantī 'mā gāthā devāir udāhṛtāḥ*; while ib. 54 is another illustration of the word *gāthā* meaning only a current proverbial *çloka*. But in this case it is woven together with the legend of *Dhanuṣākṣa*, whose direct curse not succeeding in slaying his enemy, he destroyed the mountain, in the life of which was bound up the life of the invulnerable foe. Hence they say "man can never escape his fate:"

ācur vedavidāḥ sarve gāthām yām tām nibodha me  
na diṣṭam artham atyetum iço martyaḥ<sup>2</sup> kathamcana  
mahiṣair bhedayāmāsa Dhanuṣākṣo mahidharān

Such *gāthās*<sup>3</sup> are even incorporated into the law-books: "Verses recited by Yama" are cited (by those that know antiquity and the law) "in the law-books" on the sin of selling a son or daughter, xiii, 45, 17.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Compare *Tīrtha gāthā* and *Tīrtha çloka*, iii, 88, 22; 89, 17; 90, 6; "the *çloka* sung in a *Purāṇa*," *purāṇe çrūyate gītāḥ çlokaḥ*, v, 178, 47; *purāṇaḥ çloko gītāḥ*, iii, 300, 33 (a proverb on fame); Holtzmann, loc. cit., p. 29 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The reading *amartyaḥ* in B. would require *api*. C. has *martyaḥ*. The proverb appears in a different form, v, 40, 32, *na diṣṭam abhyatikrāntum çakyam bhūtena kenacit*.

<sup>3</sup> In the *Rāmāyaṇa* also, *eti jīvantam ānando naram varṣaṭatād api* is given as a *kalyāṇī* or *pūrarāṇī gāthā* *lūkikī*, v, 34, 6; vi, 126, 2 (G. 110, 2).

<sup>4</sup> *atra gāthā Yamodgītāḥ kīrtayanti purāvidāḥ dharmajñā dharmāçtreṣu nibaddhā dharmasetuṣu, yo manuṣyaḥ svakam putram vikriya dhanam icchati kanyām vā jivitārthāya yaḥ çulkena prayacchati, sapṭāvare, etc.*



The best known example of the last case, *gāthās* recited by a divinity, is found in the *Harigītās* (plural), xii, 347, 11, that is the *Bhagavad Gītā* (Upanishad).<sup>1</sup> Here the "singing" is that of the *Āraṇyakas*. As *Vedāntas* are Upanishads (above, p. 9), so we find in xii, 247, 21, *yat tan maharṣibhir dr̥ṣṭam* (= *Veda*), *vedānteṣu ca gīyate*, "what is revealed in the *Veda* and sung in the Upanishads."

Such tales and legends are said to be the epic itself, which is called indifferently an *Itihāsa*, a *Purāṇa*, or *Kṛṣṇa's Veda*.<sup>2</sup> As the *Chāndogya Upanishad* applies the title "fifth *Veda*" to the *Itihāsapurāṇa*, so the epic claims the same title:

*itihāsapurāṇaḥ pañcamo vedānām*, *Chānd. Up.*, vii, 1, 2, 4

(So each is a *Veda* in *Çat. Br.* xiii, 4, 3, 12-13.)

*adhītya caturō vedān sāṅgān ākhyānapañcamān*, vii, 9, 29  
*sāṅgopaniṣadān* <sup>3</sup> *vedāṅc catur ākhyānapañcamān*, iii, 45, 8  
*vedān adhyāpayāmāsa Mahābhāratapañcamān*, i, 63, 89 and  
 xii, 341, 21.<sup>4</sup>

In the opening stanzas<sup>5</sup> of the great epic it is described as a *Samhitā*, collection, a *grantha*, book, a *Purāṇa*, an *ākhyāna*, an *Itihāsa*, a *Kāvya*, a poem containing various *Çāstras*, full of *Vyākhyās* (*vāiyākhyā*) or narrations, and Upanishads. It is true that it is also called a *Dharmaçāstra*, yet this represents but one side of its encyclopædic nature, as it is besides *Arthaçāstra*, *Dharmaçāstra*, and *Kāmaçāstra*, i, 2, 383. When the character of the work as a whole is described, it is in

<sup>1</sup> *bhagavadākhyānam*, ib. 2; here a recitation about the Lord, not by the Lord. But the *Gītā* is a recitation by the Lord, *gītā bhagavatā svayam*, ib. 349, 8.

<sup>2</sup> i, 62, 16-18, *idam purāṇam . . . itihāsam . . . kārṣṇam vedam vidvān*. So the imitation of the *Gītā* in the twelfth book is called "*Kṛṣṇa's Religion*," *Sātvato dharmah* (see below).

<sup>3</sup> The other form occurs, e. g., iii, 206, 2, *sāṅgopaniṣado vedān adhīte*.

<sup>4</sup> Compare also v, 43, 41; ix, 6, 14 (as above), and *vedāṅc cā 'dhiyāge sāṅgān setihāsān*, i, 60, 3; *itihāsapurāṇeṣu nānāçikāṣu bodhitaḥ vedavedāṅgatattvajñāḥ*, i, 109, 20; *vedeṣu sapurāṇeṣu ṛgvede sayajurvede . . . purāṇe sopaniṣade tathāi 'va jyotiṣe āyurvede tathāi 'va ca*, xii, 342, 6-9; *ye 'dhiyāte setihāsam purāṇam*, xiii, 102, 21; *yad etad ucyate çāstre setihāse cā chandasi*, xiii, 111, 42.

<sup>5</sup> i, 1, 16, 49, 55, 61, 72.

terms of epic story, not of didactic code. Even the Hari-vaṅṣa poet does not fail to distinguish the two elements. He boasts that the epic is an ākhyānam bahvartham ṣṛutivistaram, but still says that it is the Bhārati kathā, Bhārata story, the root of which is the dramatic episode of the Rājasūya, which led to the development of the story (H. 3, 2, 13 ff.). So another poet proclaims: "I will relate the great good fortune of that great-hearted king the Bhārata, whose brilliant Itihāsa, story, is called the Mahābhārata," i, 99, 49. The reason that Kṛṣṇa Dvāipāyana spent three years in making the epic was not only that he wished to do a good thing but that he wished to "extend the glory of the Pandus and other warriors."<sup>1</sup>

Constituting a small but important part of the various tales told in the epic are found genealogical verses, anu-vaṅṣa-ślokas (or gāthās), which commemorate the history of the race of valiant kings and great seers of the past. I shall speak of them again hereafter. Here it suffices to say that such verses are either sung by professional rhapsodes, or recited by narrators. The rhapsodes, however, were quite distinct from the Brahmans, who recited the epic stories. For a priest to be a professional story-teller or a rhapsode was as bad for him as to be a juggler or a physician.<sup>2</sup>

### Drama.

There remains only one class of literature which may doubtfully be included under the head of literature known to the epic poets, the drama. Whether there was already a literary drama is, however, chiefly a matter of definition. It is conceivable that the story-tellers and rhapsodes may have developed dramatic works before any such works were written, that is, became literature in a strict sense, and that

<sup>1</sup> i, 62, 27-28.

<sup>2</sup> xiii, 23, 15, gāyanā nartakāḥ cāi 'va playakā vādakās tathā kathakā yodhakāḥ cāi 'va rājan nā 'rhanṭi ketanam; ib. 90, 11, among apāṅkteyas are kuṣilavas, rhapsodes, and idol-makers (above, p. 15). A priest is insulted on being called a professional eulogist, bandin, i, 78, 9-10.



the ākhyāna may have been dramatically recited. But it is also true that the early epic does not mention the play or drama. Nevertheless a kind of drama existed before the epic was ended. Compare iv, 16, 43:

akālaññā 'si, sāirandhri, ṣāilūṣi 'va virodiṣi

From the expression "thou weepest like an actress" one might hastily conclude that we have here a reference to real drama. But pantomime expresses weeping, and no mention of real drama occurs in the epic except in the passage ii, 11, 36, where Drama is personified:

nāṭakā vividhāḥ kāvyāḥ kathākhyāyikakārikāḥ,

which is anything but an early verse.<sup>1</sup> In the Harivaṅṣa, on the other hand, which probably dates from a time posterior to our era, we find not only pantomime, abhinaya, but even the dramatic representation of the "great Rāmāyaṇa poem," in which the vidūṣaka, or stage-jester of the regular drama, takes part, H. 2, 89, 72; 92, 59.

But even abhinaya, or pantomime, is not mentioned in the epic proper under that name and no technical dramatic term is found anywhere in it. This is the more surprising as the manner in which the epic is told gives abundant opportunity to introduce both the terms and allusions to dramatic representation. Shows of dances are frequently mentioned, but the spectators never hear the players even when mentioned as naṭas, a doubtful word which might be actor and may be pantomimist. Not to speak of the absence of ṣāubhikas and

<sup>1</sup> Dramatic recitations are of course another matter, and pantomime must be separated from drama. According to Fick, *Soziale Gliederung*, p. 188, the same relation exists in the Jātakas, where also naṭa and nāṭaka do not yet mean actors but pantomimes, as "dramatic performances are nowhere described." This is, in my opinion, the state of affairs in the epic prior to the writing of the late additions (see the allusion below). ii, 11, 36, belongs clearly to an interpolated scene, and the fact that real drama, nāṭaka, is mentioned only here in the whole epic till the Harivaṅṣa, should show its age. He who refers the passage to 500 n. c., must ignore its uniqueness and the fact that the rest of the epic knows no such word. See my *Ruling Caste*, p. 329, and also Professor Rhys Davids' interesting note on the *Brahma-jāla Sutta*, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, p. 7 (with my note below, p. 57, on *prekkhā*).

others elsewhere mentioned as actors, and of the dramatic *viṭas*, *çakaras*, and *vidūṣakas*, when groups of people of this grade are given,<sup>1</sup> even the *granthika* appears only as a rhapsode processional singer, and the characters are described merely as "seing," *paçyanto naṭanartakān*, ii, 33, 49; i, 218, 10, etc. The expression "stage" and the various vague terms for actors can be referred to mimes with perfect propriety and in the absence of everything that would indicate real drama ought perhaps to be so referred. In the expression "God treats men as men do a doll on a string," iii, 30, 23, the reference must be to the sort of Punch and Judy show which is still performed in town and village. Even in xii, 36, 25, *raṅgastrī*, "stage-woman," may perhaps most reasonably be explained as the equivalent of the actress mentioned above. Like the *Harivaṅça*, the *Rāmāyaṇa* speaks of theatrical exhibitions, *nāṭakāny āhuḥ* (or *cakruḥ*), R. ii, 69, 4; G. 71, 4. Rhapsodic drama is alluded to also in the *Mahābhāṣya*, where, as Weber has shown, the actors are seen and heard and tragedies are presented in costume. But the *Mahābhārata* neither alludes to such dramatic plays nor does it notice the *Naṭasūtra*.<sup>2</sup> All that is heard seems to be songs and instru-

<sup>1</sup> Such groups are frequently found in lists of persons who are not eligible, and are generally regarded as vulgar or dangerous, but in all these groups among dancers, singers, rhapsodes, etc., no technical word of the regular drama is found.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Weber, IS. xiii, p. 487; Holtzmann, loc. cit., p. 78 ff. The latter scholar says "die ganze dramatische Literatur ist später als das *Mahābhārata*." He means therewith, I presume, the received drama of *Kālidāsa* and others. There is certainly in the epic nothing like the *nāṭakikṛta Rāmāyaṇa* of the *Harivaṅça*. The chronological value of the *Mahābhāṣya* data would be greater if one knew to which century they reverted, but Weber himself warns against taking them as of certain worth for any time earlier than the end of the eighth century A. D., loc. cit., p. 320. A Punch and Judy show is implied in v, 39, 1, *sūtraprotā dārumayī 'va yoṣā*. The *Sūtradhāra* appears only in i, 51, 15, where he is a *sthapati*, or architect, and a *Sūtaḥ pūrarāṇikah*. The application of the name here is apparently to the *sūtra*, lines or plans, drawn up by the architect (xii, 10, 983, but B. has *mudrā* for *sūtra*, 299, 40). Lists of *naṭanartakagāyanas* are found in iii, 15, 14; xii, 69, 60; *raṅgāvata-raṇa*, ib. 295, 5. In i, 184, 16, though *naṭas* and *Sūtas* come with dancers and praisers and boxers, *niyodhakas*, only praisers are heard (*Sūtas*, 188, 24). So



ments: "The musicians sounded their instruments together; the dancers danced also; the singers sang songs," *nanṭur nartakāḥ cāi 'va jagur geyāni gāyanāḥ*, i, 219, 4.

The conclusion seems inevitable that the technical *nāṭaka* with its *vidūṣaka*, etc., that is, the drama in its full form, was unknown to the epic proper. What was known was clearly pantomime. Dramatic recitation like that of the *Bhāṣya* may be inferred only if one ignores the facts mentioned above, which is possible if the (non-hearing but) seeing of shows be taken as a general expression. On the other hand, the *ākhyāna*-reciters may have been dramatic without the setting noticed in the *Bhāṣya*. They are heard rather than seen. I have already noticed the fact that *Nārada* is the representative of *Bharata* as the genius of music, and that the latter is not known to the epic in his later capacity.<sup>1</sup>

in ii, 4, 7, (with *vāitālikas*); and in the *dānamahākratu* at xv, 14, 17, which is *naṭanartakālāsyāḍhyaḥ*. A dance-hall, *nartanaḥālā*, *nartanāgāra*, is mentioned in iv, 22, 3, 16, and a *prekṣāgāra*, "hall for seeing," is made according to *Çāstra* rule in i, 134, 10-11, a temporary affair for a joust, helped out with *mañcas*; a *saṃjāvāṭa* (more elaborate) in 185, 16; while "spectators at an arena," *prekṣakāḥ* . . . *rañgavāṭa* iva, iii, 20, 27, are alluded to. Other stage-words, *rañgabhūmi*, etc., occur occasionally without specific application to acting. The use to which *prekṣā* and *saṃjā* are put, when they are explained in the epic, should make one hesitate to translate the same words in *Manu* more specifically than "shows and meetings," and the same is true of *prekṣhā* in *Pāli*.

<sup>1</sup> The pseudo-epic, xiii, 33, 12, says that some priests are thieves, some are liars, and some are *naṭanartakas*, which the commentary illustrates by saying that *Vālmiki* and *Viçvāmitra* are examples of the thief, while *Bharata* and others are examples of *naṭanartakas* (*Nārada* is an example of the liar, as he is *kalahapriyaḥ*). Here, and in the quotation above, *naṭanartaka* is one, "actor-dancer." For the part played by dolls in the early Hindu drama, see Professor Pischel's illuminating essay, *Die Heimat des Puppenspiels* (1900). He also gives references to previous literature on the drama.

## CHAPTER TWO.

### INTERRELATION OF THE TWO EPICS.

OF the two early epics of India, the Mahābhārata, the great epic, is traditionally attributed to a distributor, vyāsa, who is also credited with the distribution or editing of the Vedas and of several other works. Different editions and former declarers are also noticed. In other words, there was no one author of the great epic, though with a not uncommon confusion of editor with author, an author was recognized, called Vyāsa. Modern scholarship calls him The Unknown, or Vyāsa for convenience.

But if the great epic lacks an author with a real name, the little epic, the Rāmāyaṇa, is the work of a definite personality. Here there is no question of disputed authorship, only of more or less plainly marked interpolation and addition. The great, mahā, Bhārata-epic is really, as it is designated, a collection, Saṁhitā, the reputed author of which, corresponding generally to the parallel figure in Greece, yet out-Homers Homer; while beside the huge and motley pile that goes by Vyāsa's name stands clear and defined the little Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki, as (in this respect) besides Homer's vague Homeric stands the distinct Argonautika of Apollonius.

As the relation between the two Hindu epics, especially in point of age, has often been discussed, I do not purpose to repeat all the details here, but to take up the study of the great epic from a new point of view. For the reason why so much theorizing in regard to relative age has been spent on the epics without satisfactory result—adhuc sub iudice—is that hitherto there has been no recognition of the underlying unity of epic speech. Hence discussions in regard to the possibility of totally different origins of the two epics and the



different ages they represent, while their common base has been ignored.

In regard to the final growth of each, it may be said at once that neither epic was developed quite independently of the other. The later Rāmāyaṇa implies the Mahābhārata, as the later Mahābhārata recognizes the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki. It is not, then, a question of absolute separation, but only of the length we may go in separating.

Neither epic has a definitive text. The question therefore naturally arises whether there is any use in arguing about the original form of either poem. In regard to the Mahābhārata, this question has been answered negatively by Dr. Winternitz, who holds that all work on the epic is useless till we have the text of the Southern recension, of which he has lately published, in the *Indian Antiquary*, some interesting specimens. But it is doubtful whether the publication of the whole Southern version would result in a text any more definitive than that of the Rāmāyaṇa. At most we should have two versions, more or less independent of each other, each showing omissions and interpolations as viewed in the light of the other. This would be of considerable value indeed, as proving that the text has been freely altered, a conclusion inevitable even without this support, but based with its aid on objective reality. Nevertheless, though the Southern recension would be thus valuable, its absence does not preclude the possibility of obtaining provisional data of importance from the Northern recension alone, either in regard to its relation to the Rāmāyaṇa or in respect of its own development. Such data must finally be checked in detail by a comparison with those of the alternate text; but as a whole they suffice to cast much light on several moot points, and in themselves are useful in demonstrating that the great epic is the result of the labors of different writers belonging to different schools of style and thought; a result diametrically opposed to the view of the method calling itself synthetic, and likely to be rather twice-

proven than disproven by the eventual publication of the Southern text.

In regard to the texts of the Rāmāyaṇa, I need only refer to the invaluable essays of Professor Jacobi, seconded by the recent analyses of Dr. Wirtz and Dr. Lüders,<sup>1</sup> especially as this epic is not the chief object of consideration in this volume. It is, however, obvious that exactly the same conditions obtain here as in the case of the great epic, and it may be added that if there were a third epic the same conditions would obtain there. There is no fixed epic text because Hindu epic poetry was never fixed. All epic poems were transmitted at first orally, and the various rewriters treated them exactly as the rhapsodes had previously done, altered and added as they pleased. Reconstruction of the original text is therefore out of the question. All that can be done is to excise the most palpable interpolations in each traditional rendering.

Neither of the epics, as such, is recognized before the late period of the Grhyasūtras, and the first epic recognized here and in other Sūtras is the Bhārata. The question has often been raised which epic is the older. In our present state of knowledge it may be said that this question cannot now and probably never can be answered in one word. In the first place, it will always be idle to speak of either epic as the older without specifying whether one means the present text or the original text; for that these, in the case of either epic, are convertible terms is an idea refuted by even a superficial acquaintance with the poems. Assuming, however, that the question implies priority of epic *qua* epic as a new genus of literature, and whether this form first arose as Rāmāyaṇa or (Mahā) Bhārata, this too cannot be answered categorically, because parts of the latter are older than the former, and the former is older than the mass of the latter, as will be shown. Personally I have no doubt that the Pandu (pāṇḍava) form of the great epic is later than the Rāma epic; but, since one was

<sup>1</sup> Das Rāmāyaṇa (together with special studies mentioned hereafter), by Professor Jacobi; Die Westliche Rezension des R., by Dr. Hans Wirtz; Die Sage von R̥ṣyaṣṛṅga, by Dr. Heinrich Lüders, Gött. Nachr. 1897, p. 87.



a slow outgrowth from a Puñjāb Kuru epic, and the other, of unknown antecedents, was developed far to the East, in much more polished form, while only the Bhārata is recognized in Vedic literature, I have as little doubt that there was a Bhārata epic before there was a Rāmāyaṇa; whereof also I shall speak again in a subsequent chapter. Here I wish merely to notice, in passing, the ridiculous claim that the Rāmāyaṇa dates from the "twelfth or thirteenth century" B. C. This claim has been made not only by Hindus but by Occidental scholars. Whether there was a Rāma story at that period or (just as well) twelve or thirteen centuries earlier no man can know. But that Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa can lay claim to no such age the slightest historical consideration will show, not to speak of an examination of the almost classical metre of the poem.

The Mahābhārata, besides giving the Rāma story as an episode, Rāma-upākhyāna, has four direct references to the Rāmāyaṇa (apart from an allusion to Great Itihāsas). The first is the citation of a verse actually found, as Professor Jacobi has shown, in the extant poem of Vālmīki, *api cā 'yam purā gītaḥ ṣloko Vālmīkinā bhuvi*, vii, 143, 67 (R. vi, 81, 28).<sup>1</sup> The second is the citation of a verse from Bhārgava's Rāmācarita (Bhārgava being, as Professor Weber has shown, a title of Vālmīki), which agrees in sense and words closely enough with R. ii, 67, 11, to indicate that the Mahābhārata poet of this passage, xii, 57, 40, had in mind this or the original form (for it is to be noticed that the name is not fixed) of this verse in the Rāmāyaṇa,<sup>2</sup> and to make improbable the synchronous collection of the former epic at xii, 67, and 68 (cf. ṣl. 15) :

M. ṣlokaḥ cā 'yam purāgīto Bhārgavena mahātmanā  
 ākhyāte Rāmācarite nṛpatim prati, Bhārata,  
 rājānam prathamam vindet tato bhāryam tato  
 dhanam  
 rājany asati lokasya kuto bhāryā kuto dhanam

<sup>1</sup> *na hantavyāḥ striya iti*, "Women may not be slain." The general rule is found also in R. ii, 78, 21, *avadhyāḥ sarvabhūtānām pramaḍāḥ kṣamya-tām iti*.

<sup>2</sup> Rather than a common source, as I thought previously, AJP. xx, p. 34.

R. arājake dhanam nā 'sti nā 'sti bhāryā 'py arājake  
idam atyāhitam cā 'nyat kuto satyam arājake

The third and fourth cases refer to the Rāmāyaṇa without mention of the poet: iii, 147, 11, "Hanumat is very renowned in the Rāmāyaṇa;" xviii, 6, 93 (repeated in the Harivaṇṣa): "In the Veda (which is) the beginning (of literature), in the holy Rāmāyaṇa (which is) the end, and in the Bhārata (which is) the middle, in all (literatures), Vishnu is besung."<sup>1</sup> The Harivaṇṣa adds three more references, two to Vālmīki, and one to a dramatic representation of the Rāmāyaṇa. Vālmīki in these passages and perhaps in i, 55, 14, as Professor Holtzmann surmises, is credited with being a poet. This is also implied in xiii, 18, 8-10. Everywhere else, and he is mentioned several times, ii, 7, 16; iii, 85, 119; v, 83, 27; xii, 207, 4, he is recognized only as a saint.

In this material, which I recapitulate here only for a view of the chief data,<sup>2</sup> the most striking fact is the antithesis between the notices of the Rāmāyaṇa as found in the early and later Mahābhārata. The Rāma story is referred to over and over, and the whole tale is told independently at iii, 273, ff., but until we come to the much expanded Droṇa and the didactic epic, references to the poem are merely to the Rāma tale, references to the reputed author are merely to a saint recognized as an ascetic but not as a poet. Even as a saint the evidence is conflicting, for, though usually a Vishnu adherent, in the passage cited above from the Anuśāsana, Vālmīki is a Īvaite. The individual allusions prove, therefore, nothing in regard to the general priority of Vālmīki as the first epic poet. They prove only that the Mahābhārata was not completed before Vālmīki wrote, just as the mention of the

<sup>1</sup> vede Rāmāyaṇe puṇye (may go with the next word) Bhārata, Bharata-rṣabha, ādāu cā 'nte ca madhye ca, Hariḥ sarvatra gīyate. The last clause may be taken more indefinitely, "in V., R., and M.; in the beginning, end, and middle, everywhere." But such correlation is common (e. g., vede loke ṣṛtaḥ smṛtaḥ, R. ii, 24, 28) and seems to me to be implied here.

<sup>2</sup> Weber, Ueber das Rāmāyaṇa, first collected it; Jacobi, Das Rāmāyaṇa, added to it; Holtzmann, Das Mahābhārata, iv, p. 60 ff., has briefly summed it, with other references (omitted here) and independent additions.



Vāyu Purāṇa in the Mahābhārata shows only that there was a Purāṇa of that name not before the Bhārata's beginning but before its end. They show also that no antipathy or wish to suppress Vālmīki's name influenced the Bhārata poets, who, therefore, had they simply retold or epitomized a poem recognized as Vālmīki's would probably (as it seems to me) have mentioned his name in connection with the Rāma-upākhyāna.

Professor Jacobi is of the opinion that a verse of inferior form in the episode points to borrowing because it is inferior. But a great poet is more apt to take a weak verse and make it strong than is a copyist to ruin a verse already excellent. Further, the subject-matter of the Kāvya and episode is treated differently in several particulars (details, loc. cit.), which points to different workings-over of older matter rather than to copying or condensing. Professor Jacobi also emphasizes the fact that the great epic cites Vālmīki but Vālmīki does not cite or refer to the Bhārata. This holds good for the great epic only from a "synthetic" point of view, which Professor Jacobi of course rejects. The normal attitude of a Hindu toward his sources is silence. He is rather careful not to state than to proclaim that he is treating old material, so that there is nothing surprising in Vālmīki's not speaking of a predecessor. Moreover, in the later Rāmāyaṇa, which unquestionably betrays acquaintance with the Mahābhārata, there is no more recognition of the latter than there is in the earlier part of the poem; a fact which weakens considerably the argument of silence as applied to that earlier part.

Apart from vii, 143, 67, the Mahābhārata knows the poet Vālmīki only in the twelfth and thirteenth books; whereas it knows everywhere the Rāma tale, a poem called the Rāmāyaṇa, and a saint known not as a poet but as an ascetic called Vālmīki. It gives the Rāma-episode as it gives other ancient tales handed down from antiquity without having been assigned to a specific author. The Rāma-upākhyāna stands to the Rāmāyaṇa somewhat<sup>1</sup> as the Nala-upākhyāna stands to

<sup>1</sup> Emphatic, of course, as the example is a great exaggeration in difference of age and style.

the Nāiṣadha, in that it is an early tale of unknown authorship which a poet made his own. Long before there is any allusion to Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa, the base of the great epic, the substance of the Bhāratī Kathā, is recognized in Hindu literature; while the latest addition to the great epic refers to Vālmīki himself as a man who is to be, that is, who is already, famous, yaças te 'gryam bhaviṣyati, xiii, 18, 8-10. Between these extremes lies the Rāmāyaṇa.

The Rāmāyaṇa recognizes Janamejaya as an ancient hero, and knows Kurus and Pāñcālas and the town of Hāstinapur (ii, 68, 13). The story of the Pandus, the gist of the present epic, is presumably later than the story of Rāma; the former everywhere recognizing the latter as an ancient tale.<sup>1</sup> We must therefore on these data make the following distinctions:

(1) The story of Rāma is older than the story of the Pandus.

(2) The Pandu story has absorbed the Bhāratī Kathā.

(3) The Bhāratī Kathā is older than Vālmīki's poem.

Although we have but two ancient Sanskrit epics, there is no reason to suppose that epic poetry began with the extant poems in our possession. As was remarked above, the Mahābhārata alludes to the "Great Itihāsas," which may perhaps imply other poems of epic character and considerable extent.<sup>2</sup> Nor can it be supposed that epic poetry was suddenly

<sup>1</sup> ii, 76, 5, asambhave hemamayasya jantos tathā 'pi Rāmo lulubhe mrgāya; iii, 11, 48, Vāli-Sugrīvayor bhrātror yathā strikālīkṣiṇoḥ purā; ix, 31, 11, Rāvaṇa nāma rākṣasaḥ, Rāmeṇa nihato rājan sānubandhaḥ sahānugaḥ; so ix, 55, 31; sometimes interpolated, as when Rāvaṇa and Indrajit are mentioned in i, 155, 44, but not in C., which omits all 41-44 (after 6081). Other references will be found in iii, 25, 8; 85, 65, etc. Compare Holtzmann, loc. cit., p. 62 ff. According to xii, 340, 85 ff., Rāma comes at the beginning of the last era; Krishna, at the beginning of the present era (Rāma's two adjutant monkeys are here Ekata and Dvita). Rāma is recognized here as an incarnation of Vishnu, and also in iii, 99, 40.

<sup>2</sup> I say perhaps only, for "great" is a word often used without reference to extent. Thus the mahad ākhyānam of xiii, 2, 1, is only a philosophical fable (about a snake and Karma), 83 śloka long.



invented by one poet. The numerous "ancient tales" of epic character must have furnished a large body of epic phrase as well as fable, out of which and on the basis of which arose our present epics. This is rendered probable also by the fact that such brief epic verses as are preserved in other works, although not always from the extant epics, yet have the same character as the verses of the Bhārata and Rāmāyaṇa. Furthermore, as said above, the epic itself admits that the present text is not an original work.<sup>1</sup>

We cannot suppose then, even if one epic could be shown to be prior to the other, that this prior epic was the first work in epic versification. We must let pass the statement of the Rāmāyaṇa itself that Vālmīki invented the *çloka* verse, for, though Vālmīki may have been the first to set out to write an epic in *çlokas*, it is scarcely worth while to discuss such a palpable bit of self-glorification as that in which the later Rāmāyaṇa here indulges.<sup>2</sup> As the two Greek epics were both based to a certain extent on the general rhapsodic phraseology of the day, so the two Hindu epics, though there was without doubt borrowing in special instances, were yet in this regard independent of each other, being both dependent on previous rhapsodic and narrative phraseology.

I cannot, in short, think that such a very large number of identical phrases as I shall enlist below can owe their identity simply to one poet's copying of another. For the similarity goes too deep, into the very grain of the verse. The exposition, I fear, will be tiresome in its study of minute detail, but it is necessary to a full understanding of the conditions of the problem.

<sup>1</sup> i, 1, 26: ācakhyuḥ kavayaḥ kecit sampratyācakṣate pare ākhyāsyanti tathāi 'vā 'nye itihāsam imam bhuvi (cited by Holtzmann).

<sup>2</sup> So with the tale of the two rhapsodes who "sang" the poem with musical accompaniment, after it had been composed and taught to them (so that in the first instance it was recited as a narrative). But all this is the product of a later age making up its own fictions and myths, such as the singing sons Kuça and Lava made out of *kuçilava*, an ordinary word for rhapsode. That Vālmīki could not have "invented the *çloka*" is shown by the presence of an earlier form of *çlokas* in the Brahmanic literature retained in Mbh.

A characteristic of the common basis of epic verse may be traced back to the Rig Veda. This consists in a rhetorical duplication of a dissyllabic iambic noun, which favors the diiambic close of the octosyllabic pāda or verse, as in these first three examples, or of the twelve-syllable pāda, as in the last example:

ṛtāvānā jane-jane, RV. v, 65, 2  
 yac cid dhi tvam gr̥he-gr̥he, ib. i, 28, 5  
 haskartāram dame-dame, ib. iv, 7, 3; vii, 15, 2  
 sa darçataçr̥ir atithir gr̥he-gr̥he  
 vane-vane çriye takvavir iva  
 janam-janam janio nā 'ti manyate  
 viça ā kṣeti viçio viçam-viçam, ib. x, 91, 2

With the last, compare also RV. i, 123, 4, where gr̥ham-gr̥ham, dive-dive, agram-agram stand at the start, not at the end. Sometimes a whole pāda consists of only such composita, as in x, 97, 12, aṅgam-aṅgam parus-parus (cf. v, 53, 11; x, 163, 6). In the Rig Veda, again, pure adverbs thus duplicated are never found at the end of the pāda; only such nominal adverbs as those above, the nearest approach to pure adverbs so used being idam-idam, a pronominal adverb closing a pāda at vii, 59, 1.<sup>1</sup> In the epic, however, the forms are usually adverbs, usually at the end,<sup>2</sup> usually in çlokas; in the Rig Veda, never pure adverbs, usually at the beginning or in the middle, seldom at the end of the pāda, and usually not in çlokas, but in gāyatrī and especially in jagatī or triṣṭubh verses. The first examples given above are, therefore, rather the exception than the rule as far as their position goes. But I think we may see in them the precursors of the epic formulæ used in closing the hemistich. The Veda puts the form where it best shows the iterative intensity; the epic puts it where it best helps the metre. Thus:

<sup>1</sup> Compare the list of such composita in Professor Collitz's paper, Abhandl. d. V. Orient. Congress, 1881, p. 287.

<sup>2</sup> Exceptions of course occur, as in M. vii, 7, 53, punaḥ punar abhayaṅta sin̄hene 've 'tare mṛgāḥ; R. iv, 43, 53, ahany ahani vardhante. So upary upari sarveṣām and sātūnām, Nala 1, 2; and R. v, 13, 10, respectively.



punaḥ-punar mātaraḥ navyasī kaḥ, RV. iii, 5, 7

punaḥ-punar jāyamānā purāṇī, RV. i, 92, 10

niḥṇvasya ca punaḥ punaḥ R. i, 54, 5

(niḥṇvasya) pratyavekṣya punaḥ punaḥ, M. ix, 29, 49

The epic uses this metrical convenience constantly, sometimes too often, as in ix, 32, 6, 8, 9, where punaḥ punaḥ is repeated three times. Other adverbs of the same sort in both epics are pṛthak pṛthak, muhur muhuḥ, ṇanāiḥ ṇanāiḥ. In a word, both epics close the hemistich in this antique Vedic manner, though the epic style has somewhat changed the relation of the phrase to the pāda.<sup>1</sup>

Like these stereotyped terminals in their epic application is the countless number of verses ending with the same diiambic form, vocative, nominative, or oblique case, of one compound, and the less frequent (because less needed) common form of the prior pāda's pathyā ending, such as mahābala, paramtapa, arimāda (prior, mahābāho, °prājña, °vīrya, mahārāja, rājendra); pratāpavān, paravīraha, mahāmṛdhe, raṇājire, raṇamūrdhani, raṇakarkaṇḥ, the oblique cases of mahātman (constantly used), and such diiambic phrases as balād balī, suto balī. All of these are used in the same way in both epics, most of them repeatedly. In some, the word passes back of the diiambus and leads us toward the whole pāda-phrase though not quite reaching it. Of such sort are raṇakarkaṇḥ (above), yuddhadurmada, saṅgrāmamūrdhani, (Varuṇaḥ) satyasaṅgarah, nāma nāmataḥ, ṇatruṇiṣūdana, akutobhayāḥ, krodhamūrccitaḥ. In others, the word falls short, but the position of the adjective is fixed and it is generally preceded by the same combination as in (cāpam, gadām, or dhanur) udyamya vīryavān, and the common final mānada.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> And also extended it in the form gate gate (instead of the noun) in daḍhe vāi gate gate, xiii, 107, 43. Of epic phrases, I have noted also gr̥he gr̥he, M. ii, 15, 2; R. v, 26, 20; and (passim) pade pade, yoge yoge, raṇe raṇe, and in M., jane jane and, in the more unusual initial position, māsi māsi (Vedic and M. ix, 37, 4), kāle kāle, ix, 37, 23. Of the phrases quoted above, muhur muhuḥ occurs often; ṇanāiḥ ṇanāiḥ, e. g., M. ix, 29, 104; R. ii, 40, 22 and G. vi, 111, 13; pṛthak pṛthak, e. g., M. ix, 37, 23; G. vi, 54, 59; 77, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Among those mentioned, paravīrahā is converted into hantā in triṣṭubh,

From these compounds, not only in form but in fixed position common to both epics, we may pass to cases like (svatejasā, often) svena tejasā, where the pāda ends with two words which take in more than the diiambus, for example, bibhratīm svena tejasā, jvalantīm svena tejasā, the former in M. xii, 325, 2; the latter in R. vi, 107, 11 and G. 80, 33.

The fixed form is shown most conspicuously in similes that are common to both epics, and are of the mechanical form instanced in the last two sorts of examples, namely in diiambic or more than diiambic terminals. Thus there are fixed phrases which are different except for the terminal, which again is common (as a fixed terminal) to both epics, for example:

dandāhata ivo 'ragah,	in M. and in R.
pañcaçīrṣā ivo 'ragah,	" "
dandahasta ivā 'ntakah,	" "
pāçahasta ivā 'ntakah,	" "
vyāttānanam ivā 'ntakam,	" "
jvalantam iva pāvakam,	" "
didhakṣur iva pāvakah,	" "
vidhūma iva pāvakah,	" "
patanḡā iva pāvakam,	" "
çalabhā iva pāvakam,	" "

Such phrases are common not only to the two epics but to outside literature. Thus the iva pāvakah formula appears in the Dhammapada, 71, as bhasmācchanno va pāvako (epic, bhasmapanno ivā 'nalah), and the same is true of a limited number of whole pāda-phrases, not only in pure proverbs, but

R. iv, 31, 5 (°ghna is a common side-form); pratāpavān is perhaps least common in R., but it serves with vīryavān; for example, in R. vi, 69, 109; 76, 21, 27, ff., where follow a quantity of mahābalas. Like vīryavān is vegavān with vegitah (vegana in the prior pāda). M. has ativīryavān, as in iii, 283, 7. The simple form is rare in any other position, e. g., G. v, 2, 23; 3, 71. As a terminal it occurs in R. about forty times in the sixth book, uncounted often in M. The common Mahābhārata terminal mārīṣa, I have not noticed in the Rāmāyaṇa. It appears to belong to later diction and indicates an epic recasting, as does, e. g., the late tatrābhavānt of R. ii, 106, 30.



in current similes and metaphors, like *kalām nā 'rhanti ṣoḍa-  
cīm*, xii, 277, 6; *Manu*, ii, 86; and *Buddhistie*, Dh. P., 70,  
*kalām nā 'gghati soḷasim*; or *māṇsaṇṇitalepanam*, Dh. P.,  
150; *Manu*, vi, 76; *Mbh.* xii, 330, 42 (*Māit. Up.* iii, 4).<sup>1</sup>

In some cases the variety of *pādas* constructed on a com-  
mon terminal is very large, such as the various forms of what  
appears most simply as *gantā 'si Yamasādanam*, *yāto 'si Yama-  
sādanam*. Thus both epics have *yiyaśur Yamasādanam* and  
*anayad Yamasādanam*, along with other forms more peculiar,  
*Yamasya sādhanam prati*, R. vii, 21, 1; *prāhiṇod Yamasādanam*,  
*prāhiṇon mṛtyulokāya*,<sup>2</sup> *ṇarāir ninye Yamakṣayam*, M. ix, 26,  
29, *ninye vāivasvataḥkṣayam*, M. vii, 26, 53, *gato vāivasvata-  
kṣayam*, G. vi, 82, 183, *yāmi vāiṇṇavanālayam*, G. vi, 82, 167;  
*nayāmi lokam* (with *Yamasya* omitted, *triṣṭubh*), M. viii, 85,  
31; *nayāmi Yamasya gehābhimukham*, R. vii, 68, 20; *gami-  
ṣyāmi Yamasya mūlam*, R. v, 28, 17; *mṛtyupatham nayāmi*,  
G. vi, 36, 118; *mṛtyumukham nayiṣye*, M. viii, 42, 11;  
*mṛtyumukhagatām (āneṣyāmaḥ)*, G. iv, 45, 9. Evidently in  
these cases the ancient phrases *Yamasādanam*, *Yamakṣayam*,  
are built upon in several ways, and then the desire for variety  
leads to the pulling away of the base of the old-fashioned  
phrase, and the superstructure is shifted to a new base, gen-  
erally in the later epic, the double meaning of *kṣaya* helping  
in *anayat kṣayam*, ix, 27, 48. Like changes occur in the

<sup>1</sup> There are also clear traces of dialectic influence in the adaptation of  
some of these standing phrases. On this subject I shall speak more fully  
below. Here I will illustrate what I mean by one example from the *Rāmā-  
yaṇa*. There is a common phrase which begins *tam āpatantam sahasā*, or  
some similar final word, the first two referring to a masculine noun (weapon).  
When we find, in R. vi, 67, 47, this same phrase used of a neuter noun, *tad  
āpatantam*, we are justified neither in assuming that the poet was wholly  
indifferent to grammar nor in agreeing with the commentator that the mas-  
culine form is an archaism countenanced by Vedic usage, *puṇstvam āṇṣam*.  
It is simply a case of borrowing a convenient grammatical form (not San-  
skrit, but Prākṛit), for *āpatantam* is a regular patois neuter participle. Forms  
of this sort are adopted into the epic merely for metrical reasons, showing  
that they were borrowed from the common speech of the day when con-  
venient; which shows again that the epics (both are alike in this particular)  
were written in Sanskrit and not made over from Prākṛit originals.

<sup>2</sup> See for references, Appendix A, s. v.

sutumulaṁ yuddham phrases, generally ending with lomaharṣaṇam, but occasionally in a new setting, Yamarāṣṭravivardhanam, as in M. vi, 79, 60; ix, 10, 61; 11, 5, etc.; in triṣṭubh, °vardhanaḥ, vii, 145, 97.

Especially is the monotony varied in the conventional phrases of conversation. Both epics have etac chrutvā tu vacanam, tasyāi 'tad vacanam ṣrutvā, idaṁ vacanam abravīt, ṣrutvā tu vacanam tasya; and again the phrases are shifted, tatas tad vacanam ṣrutvā, tad etad vacanam ṣrutvā (old and rare), G. iv, 38, 46; ṣrutvā tāsāṁ tu vacanam, M. ix, 35, 52; idaṁ vacanam uktavān, G. v, 68, 24; and in many other ways, too tedious to recount.

Herewith we come to the pāda phrase, which fills the whole half-verse with the same locution, as in palāyanaparāyaṇaḥ, parasparaṇighāṁsavaḥ. In the Am. Journal of Philology, xix, p. 138 ff., I cited verses of the Mahābhārata which are full of such phrases. Such passages are also easily found in the Rāmāyaṇa, of which I will give but one instance, vi, 71, where ṣl. 67 alone contains four such phrases: tam āpatantaṁ niṣitaṁ ṣaram āṣṭviṣopamam, ardhacandrena ciccheda Lakṣmaṇaḥ paravīrahā (with others following). Here the whole ṣloka with the exception of the proper name consists of iterata. In the Rāmāyaṇa, too, we find, as often in the Mahābhārata, two iterata enclosing a verse that is new, as in iv, 11, 18, where the independent verse is sandwiched between the iterata tasya tad vacanam ṣrutvā and krodhāt saṁraktalocaṇaḥ, which arrangement is found again, ib. 73. In G. iii, 57, 15, the hemistich consists of two whole phrases, roṣasaṁraktanayana idaṁ vacanam abravīt. In G. vi, 27, there are nine iterata in the first eighteen ṣlokas. I mention this that there may not seem to be any distinction in this regard in the two epics. Both have many chapters which teem with verbal or whole pāda-iterata, the later the more.<sup>1</sup> Noticeable are their

<sup>1</sup> The cumulative style is characteristic, naturally, of later sections. So, for instance, in the late fourteenth chapter of the thirteenth book, within the compass of about thirty ṣlokas, 249 ff., we find sarvābharaṇabhūṣitam, sarvabhūtabhayāvaham, ṣakratulyaparākramaḥ, triṣikḥāṁ bhrūkuṣiṁ kṛtvā,



extent and variety. There is hardly a field in which Vyāsa and Vālmīki do not echo the same words. General descriptive epithets and phrases that paint the effect of grief and anger, or the appearance of city and forest; the aspect of battle and attitude of warriors, with short characterization of weapons and steeds, are all as frequent as the mass of similes found in both epics in the same words. In the last category, identical similes are drawn from gods, men, animals, and physical phenomena. Again, both poets, as shown above, use the same phrases of speech, as they do also of noises, and of the course of time; and finally there are many didactic verses, almost or quite the same in both epics.

In the list of parallels given elsewhere<sup>1</sup> I have incorporated such examples as I have noticed of identical or nearly identical phrases and verses. Illustrative additions are occasionally added, not to add weight to the general effect, for the number of cases of actual identity is sufficiently large, but to supply material for fuller treatment of this whole subject eventually. The three hundred examples here registered include also some cases where verbal identity is not quite complete, such as

M. iv, 19, 29,

prabhinnaṃ iva mātāṅgaṃ parikīrṇaṃ kareṇubhiḥ

G. v, 14, 28,

kareṇubhir mahāraṇye parikīrṇo yathā dvipah

and I have not perhaps been thoroughly logical in the admission or exclusion of such cases; but in general I have sought to establish an equation not only in the thought but in the expression of the thought, and for the most part have omitted such parallels as did not tend to bring out the verbal identity.<sup>2</sup>

pīṇahastam ivā 'ntakam, dvitīya iva pāvakaḥ (to which one text adds vidhūmam iva pāvakam) all common iterata of both epics, but far in excess of the usual number; as in G. vi, 27 (above).

<sup>1</sup> Appendix A.

<sup>2</sup> I have omitted, for example, such cases as iii, 30, 42, karmanā tena pāpena lipyate nūnam iṣvaraḥ; G. vi, 62, 22, vidhātā lipyate tena yathā pāpena karmanā (R. vi, 83, 23 quite otherwise), though I have no doubt that the tirades against God and duty (G. 15 ff.) in each epic (as in this case) belong together. Some few proverbs are also entered.

Those I have collected were gleaned incidentally from a field which I traversed with other objects in view, and I have no doubt that these parallels could be largely increased by a close and systematic comparison of the two epics throughout. The alphabetical arrangement followed is merely for convenience of reference. I should have been glad to group the examples according to their content also, that I might have shown more fully the varied fields they occupy, but, as this would have taken too much space, the remarks made above on this subject and the former grouping made in a preliminary study of the question two years ago<sup>1</sup> must suffice.

I will suppose that the reader has now read Appendix A. He will have noticed in so doing that, just as the Uttara Rāmāyaṇa, as well as the real poem of Vālmīki, is recognized in the pseudo-Bhārata,<sup>2</sup> so in the expressions āsīd rājā Nimir nāma, ekāntabhāvānugatāḥ, and yasya prasādaṁ kurute sa vāi taṁ draṣṭum arhati, we have a direct copy on the part of the Uttara Rāmāyaṇa<sup>3</sup> not only of the early epic but of the pseudo-epic's episode of the White Country and even of the very words employed in the description of the Whites (Islanders, to retain the usual name, though only country is really meant; Kashmere, I think). There are several such passages in the Uttara reflecting the great epic in its earlier

<sup>1</sup> AJP. xix, p. 138 ff., 1898.

<sup>2</sup> Thus the story of Rāma cūdraghātīn, as told in R. vii, 75-76 (G. 82-83), killing Çambaka or Çambūka is recognized with an "I have heard," çrūyate, xii, 153, 87 (where Jambūka takes the place of Çambūka).

<sup>3</sup> So in the prakṣipta passage after R. iii, 56, where Sitā demands signs of the god Indra, and he appears with the devallīṅgāni: "He touched not earth with his feet, winked not, had dustless garments and unfaded garlands," as in Nala 5, 12-24, which the prakṣipta clearly copies. So, too, in the same book, iii, 60, not in G., evidently an artistic improvement on the preceding sarga, in çl. 26, Rāma says: (draṣṭā 'si) vṛkṣāir ācchādya cātmanāṁ kim māṁ na pratibhāṣase, as Damayanti says (Nala 11, 9: draṣṭo 'si) āvārya gulmāir ātmānaṁ kim māṁ na pratibhāṣase; and in çl. 17, Rāma cries out: aḥoka çokāpanuda . . . tvannāmānaṁ kuru kṣipram priyāsamīdarçanena mām, as Damayanti, 12, 104, and 107: viçokāṁ kuru māṁ kṣipram aḥoka priyadarçana satyanāmā bhavā 'çoka aḥokaḥ.



parts as well. Compare for instance the division of Indra's sin as related in M. v, 13 with R. vii, 85 and 86. It will be necessary only to cite M. v, 13, 12,

rakṣārtham sarvabhūtānām viṣṇutvam upajagmivān

and from ib. 13-15,

teṣāṁ tad vacanam ṛutvā devānām Viṣṇur abravīt  
mām eva yajatām Çakraḥ pāvayiṣyāmi vajriṇam  
puṇyena hayamedhena mām iṣṭvā pākaçāsanah  
punar eṣyati devānām indratvam akutobhayah

as compared with R. vii, 85, 18, 20-21, which give exactly the same words.

But this correlation exists not only in the later parts of both epics and in the later part of the Rāmāyaṇa and an earlier part of the Bhārata. It is just as easy to reverse the positions, as for instance in the account of creation at R. iii, 14 (G. 20) and M. i, 66. This passage is instructive as an example of the way complete passages were roughly remembered and handed down with shifting phrases, omissions, and insertions:

M. 66, 58,

dhṛtarāṣṭri tu haṁsāṅ ca kalahāṁsāṅ ca sarvaçaḥ

R. 14, 19,

dhṛtarāṣṭri tu haṁsāṅ ca kalahāṁsāṅ ca sarvaçaḥ

M. ib.

cakravākāṅ ca bhadra tu janayāmāsa sāi 'va tu

R. ib.

cakravākāṅ ca bhadram te vijajñe sā 'pi bhāmini

G. 20, 20,

dhṛtarāṣṭri tv ajanayat dhaṁsān jalavihāriṇah  
cakravākāṅ ca bhadram te sārāsāṅ cāi 'va sarvaçaḥ

M. 59,

çukī ca janayāmāsa çukān eva yaçaṣvini  
kalyāṇaguṇasampannā sarvalakṣaṇapūjitā

G. 21,

çukī çukān ajanayat tanayān vinayān vitān  
kalyāṇaguṇasampannān sarvalakṣaṇapūjitān

[R. 20,

çukī natām vijajñe tu natāyām vinatā sutā]

M. 60,

navakrodhavaçā nārīḥ prajajñe krodhasambhavāḥ  
mṛgī ca mṛgamandā ca harī bhadramanā api

R. 21,

daçakrodhavaçā, *Rāma*, vijajñe 'py ātmasambhavāḥ  
mṛgīm ca mṛgamandām ca harīm bhadramadām api

G. 22,

tathā krodhavaçā nāma jajñe sā cā 'tmasambhavān  
mṛgīm mṛgavatīm cāi 'va çārdulīm kroṣṭukīm tathā

M. 61,

mātāṅgī tv atha çārdulī çvetā surabhir eva ca  
sarvalakṣaṇasampannā surasā cāi 'va bhāminī

R. 22 (and G.) a, do., but acc. ; b,

sarvalakṣaṇasampannā surasām kadrukām api

M. 62 = R. 23 almost exactly, and the following verses agree much in the same way, until one passage which I will cite entire, as follows:

MAHĀBHĀRATA (i, 66, 67-68):

RĀMĀYAṆA (iii, 14, 27-28):

tathā duhitarāu rājan  
surabhir vāi vyajāyata  
rohiṇī cāi 'va bhadram te<sup>1</sup>  
gandharvī tu yaçasvinī  
vimalām api bhadram te  
analām api, *Bhārata*,  
rohiṇyām jajñire gāvo  
gandharvyām vājinaḥ sutāḥ  
sapta piṇḍaphalān vṛkṣān  
analā 'pi vyajāyata  
(70, b) surasā 'janayan nāgān  
kadrūḥ putrāns tu pannagān

tato duhitarāu, *Rāma*,  
surabhir devy ajāyata  
rohiṇīm nāma bhadram te  
gandharvīm ca yaçasvinīm

rohiṇy ajanayad gāvo  
gandharvī vājinaḥ sutān

(see 31, below)

surasā 'janayan nāgān,  
*Rāma*, kadrūç ca pannagān  
(29) manur manuṣyān janayat  
(31) sarvān puṇyaphalān vṛkṣān  
analā 'pi vyajāyata

The last verse in R. gives the origin of the four castes (Ruling Caste, p. 74, note), where G. has manur manuṣyān . . .

<sup>1</sup> bhadrā tu, in C.



janayāmāsa, Rāghava. G. has virtually the same text, inserting Rāma and omitting the mention of Analā's birth, giving only her progeny. In the last verse G., like M., has *sapta piṇḍaphalān vṛkṣān* (but) *lalanā* (sic) 'pi vyajāyata. There is here the same substitution of Rāma and Bhārata observable in the late Kaccit chapter.<sup>1</sup>

In my Proverbs and Tales<sup>2</sup> I have shown that a scene of the Rāmāyaṇa is exactly duplicated in the Harivaṅṣa. Another similar case is found in H. 13,666 ff.; G. vi, 19, 12 ff. (both full of *iterata*):

## HARIVAṆṢA:

(see verses below)

vartamāne mahāghore  
saṁgrāme lomaharṣaṇe  
mahābherīmṛdaṅgānām  
paṇavānām tathāi 'va ca  
ṣaṅkhānām paṭahānām ca  
sambabhūva mahāsvanaḥ  
hatānām svanatām tatra  
dāityānām cā 'pi nisvanaḥ

also,

turaṁgamakhurotkirṇam  
rathanemisamuddhatam

and further,

ṣastrapuṣpopahārā sā  
tatrā 'sid yuddhamedinī  
durdarṣā durvigāhyā ca  
māṇṣaṇṇitakardamā

## RG.:

turaṁgakhuravidhvastam  
rathanemisamuddhatam  
vartamāne, etc. (= M.).

tato bherīmṛdaṅgānām  
paṭahānām ca nisvanaḥ

also,

hatānām stanamānānām  
rākṣasānām ca nisvanaḥ

(see the first verse, above)

and further,

ṣastrapuṣpopahārā sā (v. l. ca)  
tatrā 'sid yuddhamedinī  
dusprekṣyā durviṣā cāi 'va  
māṇṣaṇṇitakardamā

R. here (sarga 44) has *samutthitam* in ṣl. 10, but in the following, *paṇavānām ca ni(h)svanaḥ*, as in H., and *hayānām stanamānānām* (with *ca* for *sā* in the first pāda of the last stanza). The only important variant is in the last verse, 15, where, instead of the stereotyped pāda of G. and H., stands:

*durjñeyā durniveṣā ca ṣṇitāsrāvakardamā*

<sup>1</sup> AJP. vol. xix, p. 149.

<sup>2</sup> *ib.*, vol. xx, p. 35. I showed here a score of proverbs common to both epics, most of which had been previously noticed. Another, not noticed, is *ahir eva aheḥ pādān vijānāti na saṁcayāḥ*, R. v, 42, 9; *ahir eva hy aheḥ pādān paçyati 'ti hi naḥ ṣrutam*, M. xii, 203, 13. See also the note below, p. 83, note 2.

HB. has a few slight changes, 3, 58, 66 ff., with samutthitam like R. (R. indicates the Bombay text only.)

The identity of R. iv, 40, 20 ff., with the geographical passage H. 3, 46, 42 ff. = 12,825 ff., can be established on sight: G. 19, nadīm bhāgarathīm cāi 'va sarayūm kauçikīm api = H., where R. 20, has ramyām for cāi 'va in G. and H.; but for api, R. and H. have tathā. The next stanza, G. 20, mekalaprabhavam çoṇam, agrees only in this text with H. 44. The next verse in H., gomatī gokulākīrṇā tathā pūrvā sarasvatī is in G. 24 (in acc.); ib. b in G. reads: nadīm kālamaśīm cāi 'va tamasām ca mahānadīm, where HC. and R. both have mahī(m) kālamahī(m) cā 'pi (cāi 'va, HB. kālanadī). So R. and HC. give the Māgadhas the epithet mahāgrāmāḥ and add pāuṇḍrā vaṅgās tathāi 'va ca, where G. has māgadhbān daṇḍakūlāṇç ca vaṅgān aṅgāns tathāi 'va ca (12,831, G. 25), and HB., çl. 49, Māgadhbāṇçca mahāgrāmān aṅgān vaṅgāns tathāi 'va ca. G. 26, a, b, c are identical with H. 12,830, c, d, and 12,831, a; with a slight v. l. in HB. 48. There are here the usual aberrations from any fixed text, but on the whole the two passages are identical.

Another passage, G. i, 24, 9, 11-12, appears to be one with (M. iii, 52, 15 and) M. iv, 70, 10-12 (after the first verse, it agrees with R. 21, 10-12):

#### MAHĀBHĀRATA:

mā dharmyān ninaçaḥ pathaḥ<sup>1</sup>  
 eṣa vīgrahavān dharma  
 eṣa vīryavatām varaḥ  
 eṣa buddhyā 'dhiko loke  
 tapasām ca parāyaṇam (v. l. °aḥ)  
 eṣo 'straṁ vividham vetti  
 trāilokye sacarācare  
 na cāi 'va 'nyaḥ pumān vetti  
 na vetsyati kadācana  
 na devā nā 'surāḥ kecin  
 na manuṣyā na rākṣāsāḥ  
 gandharvayakṣaprararāḥ  
 sakinnaramahoragāḥ

#### RĀMĀYAṆA (G.):

anṛtam mā vacaḥ kārṣīr  
 mā dharmyān ninaçaḥ pathaḥ  
 eṣa vīgrahavān dharma  
 eṣa vedavidām varaḥ  
 eṣa vīryavatām çreṣṭho  
 vidyājñānataponidhiḥ  
 divyāṇy astrāṇy açeṣeṇa  
 vedāi 'ṣa Kuçikātmajaḥ  
 devāç ca na vidur yāni  
 kuto 'nye bhuvi mānāvāḥ

<sup>1</sup> This pāda alone appears in iii, 52, 15. iv, 70, 10 has the following verses; G. has both. R. omits G.'s 9 entirely.



Here R. in the Bombay edition has in general the reading of M., but it omits the first verse and Kuçikātmajāḥ, while it has the late astrān for astrāṇi, with other variations:

eṣa vīgrahavān dharma eṣa vīryavatām varah  
 eṣa vidyā 'dhiko loke tapasaḥ ca parāyaṇam  
 eṣo 'strān vividhān vetti trāilokyē sacarācare  
 nāi 'nam<sup>1</sup> anyah pumān vetti na ca vetsyanti kecana  
 na devā na 'rṣayaḥ kecin nā 'marā na ca rākṣasāḥ  
 gandharvayakṣaprararāḥ sakiṇṇaramahoragāḥ

Besides these parallels I have previously<sup>2</sup> compared the extended identity of H. 3, 60, 2 ff., and R. vi, 58, 24 ff.; and three passages already noticed by others, where the great epic seems to have an older form, viz., i, 18, 13 and G. 1, 46, 21; iii, 9, 4 and R. ii, 74 (G. 76); i, 175 and R. i, 54 (compare Holtzmann, loc. cit.) Other parallels noticed by Holtzmann are: the creation, xii, 166 and R. ii, 110; Ganges, iii, 106 and R. i, 39 (later); Ilvala, iii, 96, 4, and R. iii, 11, 55; Rṣyaçrṅga, iii, 110 and R. i, 19 (see now Lüder's essay); also a couple of passages in both later epics, origin of poem, i, 1, 57 and R. i, 2, 26; Skanda, xiii, 85 and R. i, 37, which approximate closely with i, 136, 1 and R. vii, 65, 10, and a few more less striking cases in both later epics.<sup>3</sup>

A review of these parallels, proverbs and tales, shows that whereas the former may be said to occur universally, in any part of either epic, of the latter (apart from the Rāma tale itself), as far as formal identity goes, by far the greater part is found where either one or both versions occur in later additions to the poem (R. i and vii, M. i and xii ff.), thus:

M.	R.	M.	R.
i, 1, 57, and i, 2, 23		v, 13 and vii, 85	
i, 18 and i, 46 (G.)		v, 141 and i, 2	

<sup>1</sup> Here enam is astra(gaṇam) understood (?).

<sup>2</sup> AJP. xx, p. 34 ff. Holtzmann's *Das Mahābhārata*, already cited, both adds to and is complemented by the matter given there and here.

<sup>3</sup> I do not include parallel tales without parallel phraseology, as, for example, the allusion in xii, 57, 9, to the tale of Asamañjas told in iii, 107, 39 ff. and in R. ii. 36, 19 ff.

M.	R.	M.	R.
i, 66 and iii, 14		xii, 127 and vii, 37	
i, 175 and i, 54		xii, 153 and vii, 76	
(ii, 105 and ii, 100, Kaccit)		xii, 166 and ii, 110	
iii, 9 and ii, 74		xiii, 85 and i, 37	
iii, 53 and vii, 55		H.	R.
iii, 96 and iii, 11		Khila	iv, 40
iii, 106 and i, 39			vi, 19
iii, 110 and i, 19			vi, 44
iv, 70 and i, 24 (G.)			vi, 58

That is, parallel tales are rare in the older, three times as frequent in the later books of each. The additions to one epic are thus on a par with the additions to the other in their mutual obligations.<sup>1</sup> This illustrates again the facts previously observed in regard to the two epics by Jacobi and myself respectively, namely that the Uttarakāṇḍa has many tales of the middle district (Jacobi, R. p. 205), and that the early Mahābhārata shows familiarity with the customs of the Puṇjāb, while the didactic parts show no familiarity with the holy land, but all the numerous tales with scarcely an exception are laid in Kosala and Videha and on the banks of the lower Ganges (AJP., xix, p. 21). In other words, the two epics in their later development belong to the same locality and probably to about the same time. It is in this later development, then, that the two epics copy each other.<sup>2</sup> The common tales that remain, apart from this phase of the poems, are few, and such as may be easily attributed to the general stock of legendary tradition.

<sup>1</sup> It must not be forgotten, however, that the Rāmāyaṇa, apart from the first and last books, refers to episodes known only from the Mahābhārata. For example, when Sītā says she is as devoted to Rāma "as Damayantī Bhāīmī to Nāiṣadha," Nāiṣadham Damayantī 'va Bhāīmī patim anuvratā, R. v, 24, 12. Then when, ib. 34, 28-30, Rāma is described as satyavādī, āditya iva tejasvī, and kandarpa iva mūrtimān (all in one description, as in Nala), which is probably the borrower?

<sup>2</sup> So the later G. agrees more closely with M. in many of the cases in Appendix A. But there is no uniformity in this regard, and R. has parallels enough to refute the idea that similarity is due solely to G.'s later copying.



When we have peeled off the outer layer (and in it are included with one exception, if it be an exception, all the references to Vālmīki in the great epic), we have left two epics, one of which is a complete whole, the other a congeries of incongruous stories grouped about a central tale; both built on the same foundation of phrase and proverb and in part over the same ground of literary allusion; both with heroes of the same type (whose similarity is striking);<sup>1</sup> and both arranged on the same general plan, a court-scene, where the plot is laid, a period of banishment in a forest-scene, followed by a city-scene,<sup>2</sup> where an ally is gained, and then by battle-scenes. One of these epics claims priority, but the claim after all is not that the great poet invented epic poetry, but that he first wrote an epic in *çloka* verse in a Kāvya or artistic style. As the Rāmāyaṇa is mainly in *çlokas* of a more refined style than the Mahābhārata and the Kāvya or artistic element is really much more pronounced, and as, further, it is highly probable that epic poetry was first written in the mixture of rougher *çloka* and *triṣṭubh* characteristic of the Mahābhārata, this claim, so stated, may in general be allowed, without impugning the relatively greater age of the other epic.

Professor Jacobi admits that the metre of the Rāmāyaṇa is more refined, but the explanation he gives is that it was a product of that East where poetic art was first developed. In a subsequent chapter I shall show that those parts of the great epic which from a metrical point of view agree most closely with the Rāmāyaṇa are the later parts. Here I would merely raise the question whether the dictum that poetic art was refined in the East before the great epic arose, is not based on the style of the Rāmāyaṇa alone? Products of the same part of the country are Buddhistic and Upanishad verses, with which agrees the versification of the Mahābhārata much more closely

<sup>1</sup> Not merely as being central figures. See for details the article by Professor Windisch, cited in *Das Mahābhārata* iv, p. 68. The similarity of exploits is increased as we take the whole epics, which plainly have influenced each other in their final redaction.

<sup>2</sup> Owing to Rāma's oath he does not actually enter the city, but he finds his ally there, as do the Pandus at Virāṭa's town.

than does that of the Rāmāyaṇa. The Purāṇas also are eastern and their versification is in general rather that of the great epic. The distinction then is not sufficiently explained by geographical relations. On the other hand the metrical refinement of U. the Upanishads, B. the early Bhārata, B.<sup>2</sup> the late Bhārata, R. the Rāmāyaṇa, and K. Kālidāsa is in the order U., B., B.<sup>2</sup> R., K., with B.<sup>2</sup>=R. in some cases, which looks to a progressive development.<sup>1</sup>

Another moot point in connection with this geographical inquiry is whether the Rāmāyaṇa was written by a poet who really knew anything about Ceylon, where Laṅkā, the seat of action in the Rāmāyaṇa war, is usually supposed to be. Professor Jacobi has expressed the opinion that Laṅkā is not Ceylon, and that, further, Vālmīki did not know the littoral at all, but he was a riparian poet. Unless the allusions in the poem are all interpolations, I cannot accept this view. In the first place, the language of both poems on this point is identical, the images are the same, and they are couched in the same words. If, then, they are all later additions to Vālmīki's poem, they must be copied from the Māhābhārata; which opens a vista (of later Rāmāyaṇa imitating an earlier epic) which Professor Jacobi would scarcely accept. But accepting some copying, there still remains enough sea-scape in the Rāmāyaṇa to show that no poet who did not know ocean could write as does Vālmīki. In both texts, for example, occurs this splendid onomatopoetic description of the rising waves of full flood, which, as the poet repeatedly says, accompanies the filling of the moon:

parvasū 'dīrṇavegasya sāgarasye 'va niḥsvanaḥ

where the swell and filling and very hiss of the combing breakers is reproduced with a power that it is hard to ascribe to a riparian poet. But I must refer the reader to a special

<sup>1</sup> Vālmīki's work holds indisputable right to the title ādikāvya, or "first elegant poem," a title which the great epic imitates in claiming to be a kāvyam paramapūjitam, "highly revered elegant poem," to which claim it won a right after the more refined versification of the pseudo-epic had been added to it.



paper on this subject for further illustration of our Vālmīki's intimate acquaintance with the sight and sound of ocean<sup>1</sup>—or, if not our Vālmīki, to whom shall we assign the double text?

Again, from the first dawn of critique it has been urged that widow-burning is not practised or known (as sometimes stated) in the Rāmāyaṇa, but it is practised in the Mahābhārata. Yes, in the first book and the twelfth and following books, just as conversely, in the Rāmāyaṇa, the queens announce that they are "devoted" and will die on the pyre with their husband ii, 66, 12, or lament that being "not suttee" they "live an evil life" in not thus dying, v, 26, 7. Does this not imply widow-burning? And if it be said (with truth) that these are interpolations—well and good, but so are Ādi and Çānti interpolations. Both epics ignore the custom,<sup>2</sup> except in their later form.

One more observation is necessary in this summary account of the mutual relations of the two epics. I have instanced the use of the word *māriṣa* in the Mahābhārata as typical of influences not so often to be seen in the Rāmāyaṇa. In the former, as a constant term of address, it is a link connecting this epic with the classical period; and yet it will not do to build too much on the fact that this link is wanting in the

<sup>1</sup> AJP. vol. xxi, p. 378. Among the tributaries of Ayodhyā are mentioned the inhabitants of Malabar, and "sea-men," in R. ii, 82, 8, where the senseless *kevalāḥ* must be corrected to the reading of G. 88, 7, *Keralāḥ*. The sea-men, *sāmudrāḥ*, may be merchants or the name of a people. The Keralas, or Malabar people, are here expressly "Southerners." They are mentioned also among the lists of people in R. iv, 40 ff., which takes in the whole of India (41, 12, Puṇḍras, Colas, Pāṇḍyas, Keralas) and mentions the Yavanas and other outer tribes: "Look among the Mlecchas, Pulindas, Çurasenas, Prasthalas, Bharatas, Kurus with Madrakas, Kāmboja-Yavanas (compd.), and the towns, pattanāni, of Çākas," 43, 11-12 (compare M. vi, 87, 10). Also Yavadvīpa, R. iv, 40, 31, that is Java, is mentioned. I fail to see that the Rāmāyaṇa, without such a priori excision as may also be applied to the Mahābhārata, shows less geographical knowledge or hearsay than does the latter poem.

<sup>2</sup> Elsewhere in the epic, the widow is as much recognized as in Manu, who also knows no suttee. Compare Ruling Caste, pp. 172, 371, and a paper On the Hindu Custom of Dying to redress a Grievance, JAOS. xxi, p. 146 ff.

Rāmāyaṇa. Such an example shows only that the Mahābhārata has been in this instance retouched. Similar cases are found in the Rāmāyaṇa, one of which I have already cited.

For example, later Sanskrit poetry describes women adorned not only with the nūpura or anklet (alluded to in both epics), but also with the kāñcī or gold girdle set off with bells. Probable as was the adornment in early times, this name for it does not occur in early literature, and so far as I know it does not occur in the great epic (frequently as women's adornment is described) till the time of the pseudo-epic, where, xiii, 106, 56, and 107, 67 we find kāñcīnūpuraṣabda, just as we find the same collocation in R., for example, v, 4, 11; 18, 20; G. iii, 58, 26 (ṣuṣubhe kāñcanī kāñcī); v, 12, 44. The later epics must have suffered this experience in many cases, another being offered just here by the use of the rare vallakī, xiii, 106, 49, and in vii, 6, 665, but not here in B. 154, 25, where jharjhora takes its place. Just so in G. iv, 33, 26 is found this same vallakī (sic), but it is not found in the corresponding verse of R. iv, 33, 21. In sum, chance lateness of this sort is evidence only for the epic as we have it, tampered with by a thousand diadochoi. It can never show that one epic was produced before the other. So niryāṇa for "death," xv, 37, 40, is indicative of the age or origin of xv, 37, not of the Mahābhārata;<sup>1</sup> of R. v (13, 41), but not of the epic as a whole.

So, while we must admit that Vālmīki's mention of Kurus, Janamejaya, and Hāstinapura, as against his non-mention of Pandus and Indraprastha, looks as if he knew not the latter, we must remember at the same time that Vālmīki's poem in turn has, quite apart from vocabulary, certain indications of an age not recognized by the poets of the latter epic, of which I will mention particularly two.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Here, xv, 37, 43, tathāgata seems to mean "dead," but it may be taken in its usual sense of "in such a state," as in R. ii, 109, 34, oddly near the Buddhist: yathā hi coraḥ sa tathā hi buddhas tathāgataṁ nāstikam atra viddhi.

<sup>2</sup> Minor points of lateness (in either epic) are frequently apparent. Those in Mbh. are perhaps more common, but not in proportion to its extent. In R. may be noticed ships holding one hundred men each and palaces having



The date of the Allahâbâd banyan cannot be carried back with any certainty to a very early date, though mentioned by Hwen Thsang.<sup>1</sup> Now the place where this tree ought to be is most elaborately described and praised in the great epic, iii, 85, 80 ff., but the existence of such a tree is not even mentioned; whereas the other fig-tree at Gayâ is praised as holy beyond words, for, in the epic interpretation of the modern akṣay bai (baṭ), its fruit is imperishable.<sup>2</sup> This is particularly remarkable as in M. iii, 85, 65, Çṛṅgaverapur is especially famed as the place "where Rāma crossed." But the Rāmāyaṇa knows the Allahâbâd tree, ii, 55, 6 and 24. The mention of this tree at Prayāga, as against its non-mention in the Mahābhārata, and the latter's mention of Rāma point to an earlier date for the Mahābhārata Tīrtha stories than for R. ii, 55, and perhaps shows that at this time the Rāma story was known, but not just as we have it.

The word Sanskrit in its present meaning is found in the Rāmāyaṇa but not in the Mahābhārata. The bare statement, however, that the word Sanskrit in this sense is not found in an older period but occurs in the Rāmāyaṇa, does not give quite all the facts. The great epic knows the word but only in its earlier meaning, "adorned," "prepared," asaṃskṛtam abhivyaktam bhāti, iii, 69, 8; saṃskṛta and prākṛta,<sup>3</sup> "initiated and not initiated," iii, 200, 88 (with priests who are suvedāḥ and durvedāḥ); saṃskṛtā mantrāḥ, xiii, 93, 56. This is also the sense in R. iii, 11, 57, where bhrātaraṃ saṃskṛtaṃ kṛtvā itself (in M. iii, 96, 10, chāgaṃ kṛtvā susaṃskṛtam) is joined

(as in the drama) eight courts instead of three (as in the other epic), R. ii, 84, 8; 57, 17 and 24; iv, 33, 19.

<sup>1</sup> Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 380.

<sup>2</sup> This, or "makes the giver immortal," is the epic interpretation, not (as now) that the tree itself is immortal. Compare iii, 84, 83, tatrā 'kṣayavaṇo nāma triṣu lokeṣu viçrutaḥ, tatra dattam pitṛbhyas tu bhavaty akṣaram ucyate. So in iii, 87, 11, and 95, 14 (with iii, 87, begins a recapitulation of Tīrthas already mentioned); vii, 66, 20, where it is (vaṇaḥ) akṣayakaraṇaḥ, as also in xiii, 88, 14. Here is found the proverb on Gayā, as in R. ii, 107, 13, with v. l., and in M. iii, 84, 97, etc., as given in Spruch 1474 ff.

<sup>3</sup> As to this word in R., compare strīvākyam prākṛtaṃ çrutvā, iii, 40, 5 (asāram, comm.), with references in PW. s. v.

with the preceding *saṁskṛta* vadan, the former in the Mahābhārata version being "cooking" (*saṁskṛtya* = *paktvā*) and the latter not used, which looks as if the Rāmāyaṇa version were later. Several cases in the Rāmāyaṇa do indeed show the older sense, but there are others, such as v, 30, 17, cited by Weber, and again by Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, ii, p. 157, in which *saṁskṛtā vāk* means Sanskrit, in that it is the "cultivated speech."<sup>1</sup> In this case also the Rāmāyaṇa is later than the Mahābhārata, though the latter epic recognizes dialects, *deçabhāṣās*, iv, 10, 1; ix, 45, 103, etc., and seems (in its introduction) to use the expression *brāhmī vāk* or "holy speech," exactly in the sense of the Rāmāyaṇa's *saṁskṛtā vāk*. For in this instance a woman recognizes a king because his "form and clothes are regal and his speech is the holy speech," *rājavād rūpaveṣāu te brāhmīṁ vācam bibharṣi ca*, i, 81, 13. But these cases show only that when the Ilvala tale was rewritten and the much adorned fifth book of the Rāmāyaṇa was composed, *saṁskṛtam vad* and *saṁskṛtā vāk* were used nearly in the modern sense; yet in showing this they indicate again that in our estimate as to the relative age of the epics nothing can be absolute or universal, but all must be stated relatively and partially. If it be said that this judgment lacks definitiveness, the reply is that it accords with the facts, which do not admit of sweeping statements.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Also Jacobi, *Rāmāyaṇa*, p. 115 (PW. s. *saṁ-kar*). Other cases show regard for grammatical nicety in the use of language (Jacobi, loc. cit.).

<sup>2</sup> For the metrical position of the two poems, see Chapter Four. I regret that Professor Jacobi's long-expected book on the epics is not yet out, as it is sure to contain much valuable matter. As it is, I have had to rely, in citing his opinions, on the work cited above, and a review in the GGA., 1899, p. 869 ff.



## CHAPTER THREE.

### EPIC PHILOSOPHY.

*Sukhād bahutaram duḥkham jīvite nā 'tra saṁçayaḥ*, xii, 331, 16.  
"There is no doubt that there is more sorrow than joy in life."

### **Epic Systems.**

IN the preceding chapters I have shown that from a synthetic point of view the epic as we have it, judged solely by the literature it recognizes, must be the product of a comparatively late period. In this chapter it is my purpose to sketch as briefly as possible the salient features of the great systems of philosophy expounded in the later epic. To regard them as identical is impossible. To see in them a philosophic chaos, out of which are to arise future systems, is equally impossible. Some of them belong to the latest epic and they have their unity only in the fact that they are all colored by the dominant deistic view of an age that, having passed from pure idealism into dualism, sought to identify the spirit of man with that of a personal God and equate this god with the two separate factors of dualism; a dualism which was not that of spirit and matter but of conditioned being, conscious intelligence, as opposed to pure being or spirit (soul), conscious intelligence being itself the only origin of matter, which is merely a form of mind.<sup>1</sup>

The importance of a review of this sort lies in the historical background it furnishes to the epic, which represents the last of six approved systems traceable in it: (1) Vedism or orthodox Brahmanism; (2) ātmanism or Brahmaism (properly

<sup>1</sup> See on this point some pertinent remarks by Dr. Everett in the twentieth volume of the *Journal of the AOS.*, p. 309. It is a common error to speak of Sāṁkhya dualism as setting spirit and matter in antithesis, whereas, according to the system, matter is only a development of self-consciousness.

Brahmanism, but this term connotes a different idea), that is, an idealistic interpretation of life; (3) Sāṃkhya, the dualism spoken of above; (4) Yoga, the deistic interpretation of Sāṃkhya; (5) Bhāgavata or Pāṇḍavata, different but both sectarian interpretations of Yoga; (6) Vedānta or Illusion-idealism. Some of the epic writers support Sāṃkhya; some, Yoga; some, the sectarian interpretation; some, the Māyā, Illusion-theory. Besides these are approved sporadically Vedism and Brahmanism, not to speak of a number of theories not approved.

### Heretics.

In the Gītā it is said, 4, 40: "The ignorant and unbelieving man who has a soul of doubt is destroyed; *neither this world nor the next exists*,<sup>1</sup> nor happiness, for him who has a soul of doubt." The italicized words are those which, at xii, 133, 14, are put into the mouth of the Nāstika, the negator or repudiator of scripture, spirit, or duties. According to epic interpretation, one saying *nāsti*, in refusing a gift to a priest, is a "negator" no less than he who refuses assent to the orthodox belief. But ordinarily Nāstika is used in the latter sense and connotes a dissenter from received opinion in regard either to the existence of transcendental things or to the authority of hallowed tradition.<sup>2</sup> Such an unbeliever is threatened with a sudden enlightenment hereafter: "If your opinion is that this world does not exist and that there is no world beyond, the devils in hell will soon change your ideas on that subject."<sup>3</sup> Any number of these unbelievers is known, who deny everything there is to deny. In ii, 31, 70, an unbelieving or heretic

<sup>1</sup> *nā 'yam loko 'sti na paro na sukhaṃ saṃśayātmanah*. Compare Kaṭha Up., ii, 6, *ayam loko nāsti para-iti mānī, punaḥ punar vaṇam āpadyate me* (Yama).

<sup>2</sup> Neglect of Vedic ordinances or denial of Veda is *nāstikya*, par excellence, according to xii, 270, 67, and xii, 12, 5 (the latter): *vedavādāpaviddhāṅs tu tān viddhī bhṛṣṇānāstikān* (also *anāstika*, ib. 4), for "rejecting the Veda a priest cannot attain heaven," ib.

<sup>3</sup> Literally, will "make you remember;" *yad idam manyase, rājan, nā 'yam asti kutah paraḥ, pratismārayitāras tvām Yamadūtā Yamakṣaye*, xii, 150, 19.



king is mentioned among those who pay tribute (in conjunction with a tributary "city of the Greeks"); while in iii, 191, 10, it is said that in the golden age to come there will be "people of truth," where previously had been established the schools of heretics; from which it may be inferred perhaps that Buddhists or Jains are meant, as irreligious heretics would not have religious orders.<sup>1</sup> The Lokāyata or Lokāyatika (doubtful in i, 70, 46) is perhaps less a Buddhist (like Cārvāka, who appears only as a pretended Brahman Parivraj, or priestly mendicant, and friend of the foe) than a devotee of natural science, as Professor Rhys Davids maintains. The doubter's scriptures are not, however, referred to Bṛhaspati. The code of this ill-reputed sage, whom we have seen as a law-giver, is often enough alluded to, generally in connection with that of Uṇanas. The worst that is said of Bṛhaspati's teaching is that it is drawn from a study of the female intellect, which is full of subtilty and deceit. But he is here only one of many authors of Arthaśāstras, xiii, 39, 10. As a teacher he is extolled.<sup>2</sup> Materialists and other heretics without special designation appear to fill the whole land. Thus in xii, 19, 23, are mentioned rationalistic Pundits, hetumantaḥ, hard to convince, who are by nature befogged and stubborn, and deny the existence (of a soul). These are opposed to those good men who are "devoted to ceremonies and know the Pūrvaśāstra" (mīmāṃsā?). "These fools," it is added, "are despisers of immortality and talkers in assemblies of people; they wander over the whole earth, being fond of speaking and learned in revelation."<sup>3</sup> Others are cited to illustrate the unbelief that consists in a denial of the soul's unity, ekāntavyudāsa. These believe in a soul possessed of desire and hate. An apparent allusion to Jains may be found in the description of the priest who "tramped around Benares astounding the people, clothed

<sup>1</sup> ācramāḥ sahapāṣaṇḍāḥ sthitāḥ satyajanaḥ prajāḥ (bhaviṣyanti).

<sup>2</sup> xii, 325, 23. His teaching in xiii, 113, is Buddhistic (5 = Dh. P. 132, and 7 is like Dh. P. 420). On Lokāyata, see Davids, p. 169 of op. cit. above, p. 55.

<sup>3</sup> vāvadūkā bahuṣrutāḥ. The denial in *nāi 'tad asti* must from the context refer to the existence of the soul. For anṛtasyā 'vamantārah in B. must, I think, be read amṛtasya.

in air, clothed like a madman ;”<sup>1</sup> but we must be careful not to identify the characters of the epic too quickly with special names. This madman priest, for example, would seem to be rather a Īvaite Brahman than a Jain, and *digvāsas* is applied to Vidura in his last state and to Nala in his distress.<sup>2</sup> In the same way, the brown and yellow robe does not necessarily refer to a Buddhist, any more than does the statement that one goes to heaven who builds a Vihāra, xiii, 23, 99; for these terms are common property. “What makes you so glorious?” asks one woman of another, who replies: “I did not wear the yellow robe, nor bark-garments, nor go shorn or with matted hair,” xiii, 123, 8. Here quite possibly Buddhists may be referred to; but when I read that Īva’s devotees are of two sorts, householders, and those “whose sign is tonsure and the yellow robe,” māuṇḍyaṁ kaṣāyaḥ ca, xiii, 142, 22; and see that the yellow robe is also worn as a sign of grief, Nala, 24, 9; R. vi. 125, 34, and that “the wearer of the yellow robe” is excluded from Īrāddha, xiii, 91, 43, I am by no means sure that even in the most tempting passage this robe indicates a Buddhist, unless, indeed, for some of these passages we may assume that Īvaite and Buddhist were already confused. But xii, 18, 32, “those who cast off the Vedas and wander about as beggars shaved and wearing the yellow robe,” refers distinctly to Buddhists, as I opine. Similarly, the remark “they that are *budhas*, enlightened, are devoted to Nirvāṇa,” xii, 167, 46, may be put beside the buddhas of xii, 160, 33, who “have no fear of return to this world and no dread of another;” but in the latter section, and in many others, “enlightened,” budha and buddha, refers to Brahmans; and Nirvāṇa in epic teleology usually means bliss, for example the bliss of drinking when one is thirsty, or the bliss of heaven.<sup>3</sup> In short, we see here

<sup>1</sup> caṅkramīti diḥ sarvā digvāsā mohayan prajāḥ . . . unmattaveṣam bibhrat sa caṅkramīti yathāsukhaṁ Vārāṇasyām, xiv, 6, 18, and 22; compare 5, 6.

<sup>2</sup> To the author of Das Mbh. als Epos, etc., *digvāsas* necessarily implies *digambara* (as Jain), p. 224.

<sup>3</sup> In the epic, nirvāṇa is used in both of its later senses, bliss and extinction, brahmanirvāṇa, bliss of Brahman, like the nirvāṇa, bliss, attained by



and in a passage cited further on, that Buddhists are sometimes referred to, but we must not call every beggar a Buddhist. The late passage xiv, 49, 3-12, shows that when the *Anugītā* was written, probably not before our era, these infidels were fairly rampant. The list of them is quite appalling and we may perhaps believe that the "believer in nothing" is a Buddhist and the "shaven and naked" mentioned in the same place is a Jain; while the *svabhāvam bhūtacintakāḥ* are perhaps materialists. The "course of right is varied" and the view of the author is here that of tolerance. Some of these philosophers deny a hereafter, some doubt all things, some hold the *vyāmiśra* doctrine of revolution (often mistranslated as evolution) of the universe, and according to the commentator some are adherents of the atomistic theory, *bahutvam*. Contests of these *hetuvādins*, rationalists, are not discountenanced, but enjoyed as a philosophic treat at the king's court or at a great sacrifice, as in xiv, 85, 27, where "talkative philosophers, eager to outdo each other, discussed many rationalistic arguments."

With all this liberality there is often no quarter given to the heretic, especially the *Pāṣaṇḍa*,<sup>1</sup> who appears to be pre-eminently a despiser of the Vedas. The reason is the natural one that he who despises the priest's authority naturally despises the priest. "The reason why I was born a jackal," says a character in xii, 180, 47-48, "is that I was a *Punditkin*, *paṇḍitaka*, who was a rationalist, *hāituka*, and blamer of the Vedas, being devoted to logic and the useless science of reasoning (a telling phrase, repeated in xiii, 37, 12-14), a proclaimer of logical arguments, a talker in assemblies, a reviler and opposer of priests in arguments about Brahman, an unbeliever, a doubter of all, who thought myself a *Pundit*."<sup>2</sup> The *Pāṣaṇḍa*

drinking. On this subject much that is misleading has lately been published, owing to a false historical point of view. But the goal of extinction is also lauded. Thus, in xii, 242, 11-12, one attains to that where going he "grieves not, dies not, is not born, nor reborn, and exists not," *na vartate*.

<sup>1</sup> v. l. in xii, 218, 4; xiii, 23, 67 (other references in PW.); apparently a foreign or dialectic word; especially Buddhists, according to N.

<sup>2</sup> *ākroṣṭā cā 'bhivaktā ca brahmavākyeṣu ca dvijān . . . mārkaḥ paṇḍi-*

and reviler of the Vedas are closely associated, as in xiii, 23, 67, and 72, and like those who here "sell or write down the Vedas," they go to hell. In short, any denial is usually permitted save the denial of the Vedas. The more surprising is it that elsewhere (see below) the Vedas are openly repudiated; but this is only one of the inconsistencies with which the epic teems.

### Authority.

What then was authoritative? Characteristic of the contradictory views presented in the epic is the fact that in one place the very authority, *pramāṇam*, which is insisted upon as the only valid authority, is in another rejected as altogether delusive, and this not by heretics, but by the authors of the respective essays whose combined publications issued in one volume form the pot-pourri of the complete epic.

The reason for this is obvious. Several forms of religion are advocated in the epic and each has its own test. Oldest and most widely represented is the biblical test. Over and over again we are assured that scripture is authoritative and those who will not accept scripture as the *pramāṇam* or test-stone of philosophy are damned. But beside these vigorous expressions of orthodoxy stands the new faith, which discards altogether the old scripture as an authority. For sacrifices and rites the Vedas are well enough; they are there authoritative. If one wishes to perform rites one must naturally go to the ritual. Such *ṣāstrapramāṇya* and *vedapramāṇya* rules,<sup>1</sup> admitting the necessity of rites at all, remain valid, simply because there are no others. But in all higher matters, as for one who sees no use in rites, the scriptures are but a mass of contradictions.<sup>2</sup>

*tamānikah* (hence reborn, as a *kroṣṭar*). Compare *Kaṭha Up.* ii, 5, *svayamdhīrāḥ paṇḍitamanyamānāḥ*; *Muṇḍ. Up.* i, 2, 8; *Māitr. Up.* vii, 9. The passage in *Anuṣāsana* cited above is a repetition of all these epithets in characteristically free form. Compare, e. g., *chl.* 13, *ākroṣṭā cā 'tivaktā ca brāhmaṇānām sadāi 'va hi* (here *paṇḍitamāni*).

<sup>1</sup> xiii, 84, 20, and 37.

<sup>2</sup> One of the minor epic contradictions is that referred to above, p. 46, in regard to the "two brahmans." The orthodox, but not too liberal man, says:



The old view is best represented in the saying that Veda, Dharmācāstras, and ācāra, custom, are the recognized authorities in every matter, as in iii, 207, 83; xiii, 84, 20, and 37. The confused rule of the Veda is referred to in xii, 19, 1-2: "I know the highest and other Āstras and the double injunction of the Veda, 'Do acts and abandon them.'" "Untrue, according to casuistic reasoning, is the word of the Veda — but why should the Veda speak untruth?" says Vyāsa, xiii, 120, 9, when inculcating the late notion that a small gift is as efficient as a great sacrifice in procuring salvation, a theory that is certainly untrue in the light of the Veda. "Logic has no basis, the scriptures are divided; there is not one seer whose opinion is authoritative," *pramāṇam*. "The truth about right is hidden in a cave; the only path is that pursued by the majority," iii, 313, 117.<sup>1</sup> "Deceitful is the Veda," it is said in xii, 329, 6. Both scripture and argument, *tarka*, are useless in comparison with the enlightening grace of God, which alone can illuminate the "mysterious hidden communication of truth," xii, 335, 5. Such holy mysteries must, indeed, be kept from those who are "burned with books of philosophy," *tarkaśāstradagdha*, xii, 247, 18.

In the matter of the Veda, the new faith discounts its value by setting beside it the recent books of later cult, exactly as modern sects take as authoritative their own scriptures. Bhīṣma's words, being inspired by Krishna, are "as authoritative as the words of the Veda," *vedapravāda iva (pramāṇam)*, xii, 54, 29-30, and Veda, Purāṇa, and Itihāsa are all reckoned as authoritative in xii, 343, 20. But the Gītā is the only authority of the Bhāgavatas, Gītā, 16, 24. Compare also the tirade in xiii, 163, 2-9: "Immediate perception or biblical authority, āgama, what is convincing proof, *kāraṇa*,

*dve brahmaṇī veditavye śabdabrahma param ca yat, śabdabrahmaṇi niṣṇātaḥ param brahmā 'dhigacchati*, xii, 233, 30, "when one is thoroughly conversant with the Veda he attains to Brahman;" but the devotee "even by desire of wisdom surpasses the Veda," *api jīṇāsamāno 'pi śabdabrahmā 'tīvartate*, ib. 237, 8.

<sup>1</sup> *mahājana*, if this be the meaning here; apparently only usage is meant: *mahājano yena gataḥ sa panthāḥ*.

in these? Answer: "There is many a text to increase doubt. Rationalists say that perception is the only proof. They are children who think themselves wise and believe only in denial, *nā 'sti*. Recourse to 'cause' amounts to nothing." But though philosophy is really interwoven with religion, we may leave for the present the Bhāgavatas and Īvaites to their religion which is "freed from philosophy," xiii, 14, 198, and consists in identifying the All-god with their special gods (viii, 33, 51 "one God of various forms"), to consider the more strictly philosophic view of authority.

Only one view is held by the real philosopher: "Through inference we learn the truth."<sup>1</sup> Traditional wisdom, *āmnāya*, as was shown above, is not always recognized, though it is generally admitted. "In *āmnāya* are established the Vedas; from *āmnāya* come the Vedas."<sup>2</sup> . . . Universal opinion says that an *āmnāya*-declaration is truth, and there is no authority at all, *çāstratā*, when that which is not authoritative is allowed to stand against the recognized authority of the Vedas," xii, 269, 33; 261, 9-10. Thus "inference together with scripture," *anumāna* and *çruta*, are the two most substantial tests of truth, xii, 205, 19 and 210, 23, *hetvāgama*; for "all that is Vedic is the word of God," xii, 269, 10.<sup>3</sup>

The third authority is the one scorned above, perception, *pratyakṣa* (xiv, 28, 18, *pratyakṣataḥ sādhayāmaḥ*, and often, as cited below in the course of this chapter). In the mystic religion of the Yogin this *pratyakṣa* becomes the intuitive insight of the seer and is the only test of truth, answering to "second sight."<sup>4</sup> The Harivaṅṣa inveighs against the "doubters and curious speculators" who accept any authority save faith, 3, 4, 8 ff.

<sup>1</sup> *anumānād vijānīmaḥ puruṣam*, xiv, 48, 6; xii, 206, 23.

<sup>2</sup> The commentator becomes confused, and rendering *āmnāya* by *Veda* renders *vedāḥ* by *smṛtayaḥ*!

<sup>3</sup> *sarvaṃ āraṇi vyāhṛtaṃ viditātmanah* (= *parameṣvarasya*). The commentator cites Bṛh. Up. ii, 4, 10, *niḥçvasitam*, in support of plenary inspiration as here inculcated.

<sup>4</sup> The curious result is thus reached that the crassest materialist and most exalted mystic reject all proofs save *pratyakṣa*. Only one means by "autopsy" (physical) perception and the other means insight.



Besides these three, to wit, biblical authority, inference, and direct observation, the fourth "proof by analogy" may be implied in the late conversation of Drāupadī, where, after a passing reference to the āraṣam pramāṇam and pratyakṣa, is added "and thy own birth is the proof by analogy," upamānam, iii, 31, 11-33. Elsewhere the epic stands philosophically on the Sāṃkhy-yoga basis of three reliable proofs only.

This result is fully borne out by the terminology. The Vedānta philosophy of the epic is not called by that name. Nyāya may possibly be known, but it is doubtful whether the word ever refers to the system, or the system, except perhaps in one or two late passages, is ever recognized. A brief survey of the facts will make this clearer.

### Vedānta.

If the philosophical system were known as such the use of the name would occur as such. But Vedānta seems everywhere to mean Upanishads or what is the same thing, Āraṇyakas.<sup>1</sup> No Vedānta system is alluded to, Vedānta may refer to Sāṃkhya in xii, 196, 7 (where it takes the place of the latter in antithesis to Yoga, as the commentator thinks), but the word more naturally means the teaching of the Upanishads, as usual.<sup>2</sup> The passages cited above in the chapter on literature exhibit the characteristic usage. Thus in Gītā 15, 15, vedāntakṛd vedavid eva cā' ham, where Telang rightly takes the reference to be to the Āraṇyakas. So in viii, 90, 114, vedāntāvabhṛthāplutaḥ, where Karna appeals to Arjuna

<sup>1</sup> So, for example, in yad uktam vedavādeṣu gahanam vedadarṣibhiḥ, tadanteṣu yathā yuktam krama(karma)yogena lakṣyate, xii, 233, 28 (= tad uktam vedavādeṣu . . . vedānteṣu punar vyaktam, 239, 11), a mystery (viz., gambhīram gahanam brahma, 224, 48).

<sup>2</sup> sāmkyayogāu tu yāv uktāu munibhir mokṣadarṣibhiḥ, sannyaṣa eva vedānte vartate japanam prati, vedavādāc ca nirvṛttāḥ cāntā brahmaṇy avasthitāḥ, three hemistichs, of which the first is repeated in the next śloka, where alone it seems to belong. Conversely, in Gītā 18, 13, the word Sāṃkhya is taken by the commentator to mean Vedānta, because here we have a grouping of five karmahetavaḥ not recognized in Sāṃkhya. It may be said once for all that the commentator is often useless in philosophical sections, as he wishes to convert Sāṃkhya into Vedānta on all occasions.

to observe the law of fighting, since the latter knows the law of fighting and is thoroughly acquainted with the holy scriptures, i. e., he is a moral man (not a Vedānta philosopher). So in ii, 53, 1, kings who are declarers of all the Vedas and versed in the Vedānta, paryāptavidyā vaktāro vedāntāvalhṛthāplutāḥ. Durgā is Sāvitrī, vedamātā tathā vedānta ucyate, "mother of the Vedas and famed (not in philosophy but) in the Upanishads," vi, 23, 12. A Gandharva is "wise in the knowledge of Vedānta," xii, 319, 27, and asks questions about Veda and logic, which are answered in Sāṃkhya terms (vedya is puruṣa, for example). The priest who at xii, 349, 56 is said to transmit the knowledge of the Gītā, knows the Jyeṣṭha Sāman and the Vedānta; and he who knows the names of Vishnu is Vedānta-learned, xiii, 149, 123. Again in xiv, 13, 15: "Whoso would kill me (Kāma) by vedāir vedāntasādhanaḥ, power derived from the mysteries of the Veda." I know in fact only two passages where, perhaps, Vedānta might be fairly taken as referring to the philosophy. One of these is in a triṣṭubh verse which has been interpolated (out of all syntactical connection) in xiii, 69, 20, and even here, late as is the verse, it is perhaps more probable that the word is to be taken in its usual sense.<sup>1</sup> The other is found at xii, 302, 71, where the "island of Vedānta" is a refuge to the saints. The "Secret of the Vedānta" cited below is clearly "Upanishads." The Brahma Sūtra I have spoken of above, p. 16.

Mīmāṃsā does not occur as the name of a philosophical system. I have referred to the Pūrvaṣāstravids above, but the word is obviously too general to make much of, though it is used as if it applied to the Pūrva-mīmāṃsā, for the Pūrvaṣāstravidaḥ are here, xii, 19, 22, kriyāsu niratā nityam dāne yajñe ca karmaṇi. This implication is not absolutely necessary, however. The old name for the system, Nyāya, does not seem to be used in the sense of Pūrvamīmāṃsā.

<sup>1</sup> vedāntanīṣṭhasya bahugrutasya, supposed to be governed by vṛttim (dvijāyā) 'tisṛjeta (tasmāi) in the next stanza!



**Nyāya.**

The argumentative group of five, explained according to the padārtha in xii, 321, 80 ff., consists of sāukṣmya, sāmākh-yakramāu, nirṇaya, and prayojana, which recall, especially in the definition of the last, the corresponding section in the formal Nyāya. The epic gives the following definitions:

1. Sāukṣmya, subtilty, is where knowledge, in respect to objects of knowledge which are divided, comes from distinction and the intellect rests (on this distinction).

2. Sāmākhya or sāmākhyā, reckoning, is reckoning the value of weak and valid points and arriving at some conclusion.

3. Krama, order: when it is decided which should be said first and which last, they call that kramayoga, the application of proper sequence in an argument.

4. Nirṇaya, ascertainment, is a conclusion that the case is so and so, in cases of duty, desire, gain, emancipation, after recognizing them according to their differences.

5. Prayojana, motive: *where inclination is produced by ills arising from desire or dislike and a certain conduct is followed, that is motive.*

As has been remarked by Mr. K. Mohan Ganguli in his translation, this final definition of prayojana is almost identical with that given by Gāutama i, 24, yam artham adhikṛtya pravartate tat prayojanam: "If one sets an object before one's self and acts accordingly, that is motive." So the epic, prakarṣo yatra jāyate, tatra yā vṛttis tat prayojanam, as rendered above. Similarly, the epic definition of nirṇaya is like that of Gāutama in i, 40: "The conclusion reached after hearing what can be said for and against (on both sides) after doubting." The other members of Gāutama's syllogism, i, 32, seem to have no connection with the above. The speech to be delivered, it is declared in this passage of the epic, must be nyāyavṛttam (as well as reasonable, not casuistical, etc., sixteen attributes in all).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> No explanation is given of the eighteen merits with which the speaker begins. The sixteen attributes may be compared (numerically) with the sixteen categories of the Nyāya.

We may compare further in the late list of Pundits at i, 70, 42, those with *nyāyatattvātmavijñāna*, possibly "versed in psychology according to the *Nyāya-tattva*;" and i, 1, 67, *nyāyaçikṣā*, *Nyāya*-system, opposed to *Vedādhyātma* but also to *cikitsā*, etc. Also xii, 19, 18, referred to above, p. 87: "Some, rejecting unity, attribute to the *ātman* desire and dislike," a *Nyāya* view. Finally, in xii, 210, 22, *nyāyatantrāṇy anekāni* (declared by various people), "systems of logic," is typical of all remaining cases. *Nyāya*, then, usually means logic, but occasionally, in the pseudo-epic, the special Logic-system known to us as *Nyāya*.<sup>1</sup>

### Vāiṣeṣika.

This word is used as an adjective, of *guṇas*, etc., in the sense of excellent; but the system is unknown in the main epic though it is referred to in the passage cited above, in i, 70, 43-44, and also in ii, 5, 5 (*vākya*) *pañcāvayavayukta*, another proof of the lateness of the *Kaccit* section,<sup>2</sup> whether the five *avayavas* here mentioned be terms implying *Nyāya* or *Vāiṣeṣika*. *Kaṇāda*'s name appears first in the *Harivaṅṣa* (see below, p. 98, and above, p. 89).

### The Four Philosophies.

In xii, 350, 64 ff. (compare 350, 1, *pracaranti*) it is said that there are four current philosophies, *jñānāni*, the *Sāṃkhya*yoga, *Pāñcarātra*, *Vedāraṇyaka* (or *Vedāh*), and *Pāṇu-pata*. *Kapila* declared the *Sāṃkhya*; *Hiraṇyagarbha*, the

<sup>1</sup> For the ordinary use, compare *tāis tāir nyāyāih*, such arguments, *passim*. All speculation is *Tarka*. Compare the remarkable statement, xii, 15, 26: "There are minute creatures whose existence can be argued by *tarka* (so small that) an eyelid's fall would be the death of a number of them."

<sup>2</sup> The former passage, after mentioning those endowed with *nyāyatattvātmavijñāna* adds *nānāvākyasamāhārasamavāyaviçārādāih*, *viçeṣakāryavidbhīç ca . . . sthāpanākṣepasiddhāntaparamārthajñātāim gatāih . . . kuryakāraṇavedibhih*, which may refer to either system. The passages have been cited by the author of *Das Mahābhārata als Epos*, etc., p. 226, who admits that the five "*avayas*," as he call them twice, imply the *Vāiṣeṣika* system.



Yoga;<sup>1</sup> Apāntaratamas is called the Teacher of the Vedas ("termed by some Prācīnagarbha"); Īva declared the Pācūpata religion; Vishnu, the whole Pāñcarātra. "In all these philosophies Vishnu is the niṣṭhā, or chief thing."<sup>2</sup>

### Kapila and his System.

Although it is said, as quoted above, that there is no seer whose authority is authoritative, this is merely a teaching of temporary despair. Kapila is authoritative in all philosophical matters and his name covers every sort of doctrine. He is in fact the only founder of a philosophical system known to the epic. Other names of founders are either those of mere gods or disciples of Kapila. Bādarāyaṇa and Patañjali<sup>3</sup> are unknown even as names, and Jāimini and Gāutama appear only as sages, not as leaders of speculation. Āṇḍilya (otherwise said to be known in the epic) is respectfully cited on Yoga, not as founder but as recommending Yoga concentration.<sup>4</sup> As

<sup>1</sup> See the note on this verse just below. As Yoga-teacher of Dāityas, Ākra is mentioned, i, 66, 43. Both Vishnu and Īva are credited with being Yoga-lords (loc. cit. by Holtzmann, *Das Mbh. im Osten und Westen*, p. 110).

<sup>2</sup> In the Vāsudeva religious philosophy of Krishnaism, as expounded in xii, 345, 7 ff., some people, after death, become paramāṇubhūtas, very fine sprites, and enter Aniruddha; then as manobhūtas, or mental entities, they enter Pradyumna; thence they go to Īva (Sāṁkarṣaṇa). Such people are "the best priests and Sāṁkhyas and Bhāgavatas." Finally, devoid of all unspiritual constituents, trāigunyahīna, they enter Paramātmā (Kṣetrajñā, nirguṇātmaka), or Vāsudeva. These are the four forms of God. The name of God is immaterial. Rudra and Vishnu are one being, sattvam ekam, divided in two, xii, 342, 27 (they are synonyms like bṛhad brahma and mahat, 337 2, paryāyavācāṁkāṣṭhaḥ ṣabdāḥ; Vishnu may be called Īva and Brahman may be called Intellect).

<sup>3</sup> In the Sarvadarśanasamgraha it is said that Patañjali made (atha yogānuṣāsanam, i, 1) an anuṣāsaṇa, or secondary collection (as anu is explained) based on earlier Puranic materials. The verse attributed in this connection to the Yājñavalkya Smṛti (158, 17; p. 239 of Cowell's translation) has caused the Petersburg Lexicon to postulate, s. v., another Smṛti of the same name. I think it is a mere lapsus for Vyāsa's Smṛti, for the verse cited ("Hiraṇyagarbha, and no other ancient, is the declarer of Yoga") occurs xii, 350, 65. It has occurred to me that this verse might imply Patañjali, and the "no other" be a distinct refutation of his claim, the epic preferring divine authority; but this is perhaps too pregnant.

<sup>4</sup> pṛthagbhūteṣu sṛṣṭeṣu caturthācramakarmasu samādhāu yogam evā-tac (maduktam vākyam) chāṇḍilyaḥ ṣaṁam abravīt, xii, 254, 14.

a teacher of unconditioned Brahman, Ātreya is lauded in xiii, 137, 3; and in xii, 319, 59, a list of teachers of the twenty-fifth (spiritual) principle is given as having instructed the Gandharva Viçvāvasu: Jāigīṣavya, Asita Devala, Parāçara, Vārṣaganya, Bhṛgu, Pañcaçikha, Kapila, Çuka, Gāutama, Ārṣṭiṣeṇa, Garga, Nārada, Āsuri, Pulastya, Sanatkumāra, Çukra, Kaçyapa, seventeen mixed gods, saints, and philosophers, of whom two are important besides Kapila, namely Āsuri and Pañcaçikha, his pupils; while one system (explained below) is referred also to Asita Devala.

There seems to be no reason to doubt that Kapila was a real (human) philosopher, and not a mere shadow of a divinity. The fact that his name is also given to divinities proves the opposite as little as does his deification, for it is customary to deify sages and for divinities to have sages' names. A perfect parallel to the use of Kapila in this way is afforded by Kaṇāda, which, as far as I know, occurs first as an epithet of Çiva as supreme god, in the Harivaṇça 3, 85, 15-16:

yam āhur agryam puruṣam mahāntam  
 purātanam sām̐khyanibaddhadṛṣṭayaḥ  
 yasyā 'pi devasya guṇān samagrāns  
 tattvāṇi caturviṇṣatim āhur eke  
 yam āhur ekam puruṣam purātanam  
*Kaṇāda-nāmānam* ājam maheçvaram  
 dakṣasya yajñam vinihatya yo vāi  
 vināçya devān asurān sanātanaḥ

Kapila's treatise is repeatedly declared to be oldest, but he is not only the oldest, he is the supreme seer, identical with Agni, with Çiva also, and with Vishnu. He is said to have got his wisdom from Çiva.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Of the treatises declared by metaphysicians that by Kapila is the earliest," xii, 351, 6; agniḥ sa Kapilo nāma, sām̐khyayogapravartakaḥ, iii, 221, 21. Hall gives a later v. l., sām̐khyāçāstrapravartakaḥ, Sām̐khyasāra, p. 18, where most of the epic allusions are collected. As supreme seer, xii, 350, 65; Çiva, xii, 285, 114, where the commentator interprets Sām̐khyā as Vedānta (as often); xiii, 17, 98, and xiii, 14, 323, Çiva as *kapila*. Kapila is identified with Vishnu in iii, 47, 18; Gītā, 10, 26, etc.; with Prajāpati in xii, 218, 9-10, where



I have noticed only one passage, xii, 269, 9, where Kapila is presented in the light of adverse criticism from the point of view of orthodox Brahmanism. On seeing a cow led out for sacrifice, Kapila, filled with compassion, cried out O ye Vedas! an exclamation of reproof against the Vedas, as inculcating cruelty to animals. At this he was attacked by the inspired cow with a long discourse, challenging him to show why the Vedas should be regarded as authoritative in any regard, if not in regard to the slaughter of animals.

Kapila appears in this tale as a teacher of unorthodox non-injury and maintains to the end (so that his view is presented as really correct) that not the sacrifice of animals but the "sacrifice (worship) of knowledge" is the best. Elsewhere also we find the same antithesis between the old orthodoxy and the new science of thought, which not only disregards Vedic ceremonies but condemns them (xiv, 28, 7 ff.).

The best evidence of the authority of Kapila is given not by express statement but by implication in the praise of other systems, which, an important point, are by the same implication looked upon as distinct from that of Kapila, although his name is used to uphold them. Thus Kapila's own system is called generally the Sāṃkhyayoga, or specifically the Kāpilam.<sup>1</sup> The Sāṃkhyayogins are said to be the models even in teaching of other tendency, as in xii, 347, 22, and nothing better can be said of the Bhāgavatas, here extolled, than that their system is "equal to the Sāṃkhyayoga," not, be it

he is called the supreme seer, incorporate in Pañcaçikha (the first pupil of Āsuri, who in turn was a pupil of Kapila). In xii, 337, 8, Kapila is Çālihotra-pitā smṛtaḥ, father of Çālihotra, the veterinary sage (above, p. 12). Kapilaḥ prāṇa: pritaḥ ca Bhagavān jñānaṁ dadāu mama bhavāntakam, xiii, 18, 4. The Harivaṅṣa, 3, 14, 4, and 20, speaks of Kapila as the "teacher of Yoga, the teacher of Sāṃkhya, full of wisdom, clothed in Brahman, the lord of ascetics." Compare the supreme spirit as Kapila, xii, 340, 68.

<sup>1</sup> "He learned the whole Yoga-çāstram and the Kāpilam," xii, 326, 4; Viriñca iti yat proktaṁ Kāpilam jñānacintakāiḥ sa Prajāpatib evā 'ham, xii, 343, 94 (Kapila, 95). Also Sāṃkhya kṛtānta, Gītā, 18, 13.

observed, the same, but as good as the system of Kapila.<sup>1</sup> Amid a list of heroes in xiii, 75, 24-25, we find placed beside battle-heroes, gift-heroes, moral-heroes, etc., only Sāṃkhya and Yoga heroes, enrolled to represent philosophy.<sup>2</sup> As between the two, the implication contained in the words at Gītā 5, 5, "the Yoga gets as good a place as the Sāṃkhya," is that it is the Sāṃkhya which is the norm. Sāṃkhya is cited alone as the one system of salvation in i, 75, 7: "Salvation he studied, the unequalled system of Sāṃkhya." In contrast with Veda and Vedāṅga, it is the one type of philosophy: "He became learned in the Atharva Veda and the Veda, in the ritual also, and a past-master in astronomy, taking the greatest pleasure in Sāṃkhya," xiii, 10, 37; "Vedas, Aṅgas, Sāṃkhya, and Purāṇa," xiii, 22, 12.

The two systems are often separated. Yogapradarśiṇaḥ stands parallel to Sāṃkhyānadarśiṇaḥ, xii, 314, 3-4. "The rules both of Sāṃkhya and Yoga" are mentioned, xii, 50, 33. Nārada "knew the difference between Sāṃkhya and Yoga," ii, 5, 7. Čāunaka is "rapt with metaphysics, adhyātma, skilled in Yoga and in Sāṃkhya," iii, 2, 15. The difference is explained in the Gītā as: "The double point of view, niṣṭhā, of the Sāṃkhyas, who have jñānayoga; of the Yogins, who have karmayoga." Sometimes Sāṃkhyajñāna on the one hand is opposed to Yoga alone on the other, xii, 315, 18.<sup>3</sup> Sometimes the Čāstra is that of the Yoga, as opposed to jñāna of the Sāṃkhya, xii, 319, 67; yogačāstreṣu, 340, 69, etc. Nevertheless, they are, says the Gītā, essentially one system. And so often we find that Vedic practices and the existence of God are claimed for Sāṃkhya and Yoga, as if they were one system. The same is true of the practice of austerities or asceticism. "The many names of God are declared in the Rig Veda with

<sup>1</sup> Sāṃkhyayogena tulyo hi dharma ekāntasevitaḥ, xii, 340, 74.

<sup>2</sup> So in viii, 33, 49, Yoga and Sāṃkhya (ātmanah) represent philosophy.

<sup>3</sup> Compare xiii, 140, 130: yogo jñānaṃ tathā sāṃkhyam vidyāḥ cāpādi-karma ca. In the passage cited above, the interesting ariṣṭāni tattvāni are grouped with yoga and sāṃkhyajñāna (as objects of research). They are explained elsewhere, xii, 318, 8, as "signs of death," appearing to one if he cannot see the pole-star or his reflection in another's eye, etc.



the Yajur Veda, in Atharva (and) Sāmāns, in Purāṇa with Upanishads, in astronomy also, in Sāṃkhya and in Yoga-śāstra, and in Āyur Veda," to give the bizarre group of xii, 342, 8. "Both gods and demons practise austerity, tapas, which has been argued out, yuktitaḥ, of Veda and Sāṃkhyayoga," xii, 285, 192.<sup>1</sup>

### Sāṃkhya and Yoga.

But it must be noticed that the claim for the identity of Sāṃkhya and Yoga comes from the Yoga side, which is deistic and seeks to make the Sāṃkhya so, exactly in the way the Vedānta commentator seeks to make the Yoga passages Vedantic. The distinctive mark of the Yoga, as given above from the Gītā, 3, 3, is, if we translate it in the natural original sense, application to work as opposed to application to understanding; in other words the Yoga laid stress on religious practices, the Sāṃkhya on knowledge.<sup>2</sup> It may be that Yoga also, like Sāṃkhya, was originally atheistic and that deistic Yoga was a special development. Nothing could be falsier, however, than the supposition that the Yoga and Sāṃkhya differ only in method, or the epic assumption that both are a sort of Vedānta inculcating belief in Brahman as the All-soul. Even the Gītā recognizes the distinction between the two schools in saying that the system that recognizes the All-soul ("one entity eternal, undivided, in all divided existences") is better than the one that recognizes "separate and distinct entities in all existent beings," 18, 21-22, clearly referring to the fundamental difference between Brahmaism<sup>3</sup> and Sāṃ-

<sup>1</sup> It may be observed of the terminology that as Yoga means Yogin as well as the system, so Sāṃkhya means system or a philosopher of that system. Typical of the pseudo-epic is the circumstance that here Sāṃkhyayogāu are personified as two beings along with Nārada and Durvāsas, xiii, 151, 45.

<sup>2</sup> Compare the use in xiii, 84, 40, where it is asked: *kena vā karmayogena pradānena 'ha kena vā* (can I be purified), i. e., "by application to holy works." Compare *kṛṣṇiyoga*, xiii, 83, 18.

<sup>3</sup> As Vedānta is commonly used of Čaṅkara's interpretation, I employ Brahmaism to connote a belief in the All-soul without necessarily implying a concomitant doctrine of Illusion, *Māyā*.



khyaism. The practical difference is that formulated at xii, 317, 2 ff., where it is said: "There is no knowledge like the Sāṃkhya, no power like the Yoga; these are both one in practice, ekacaryāu, because both destroy death. Foolish people regard them as distinct, but we recognize them as one. What the Yogas see is seen by Sāṃkhyas; who sees Sāṃkhya and Yoga as one sees truly," a passage copied from the Gītā, 5, 4-5, and repeated with varied readings in xii, 306, 19.

Though the pseudo-epic is so like the Gītā, its relative lateness, I may observe in passing, is shown *inter alia* by the use in this passage of *yogam* as a neuter noun, xii, 317, 27, *etad dhi yogam yogānām*,<sup>1</sup> as in xiii, 17, 19; one of the many little points ignored in the unhistorical synthetical method.

This passage, in its admission under cover of fools' opinion, shows clearly that the two systems could be regarded as identical only by insisting on the objective of each. Both systems gave emancipation, therefore they were one. But one way was that of pure science or knowledge, the other was that of pious work (*yoga, tapas*) added to this science, a practical divergence that existed quite apart from the question whether the goal was really the same.

But the epic in other passages, despite its brave pretence, is not content with Sāṃkhya science or even with Yoga work. On the contrary, the religious devotees named above throw over both systems. It is true they keep the name, just as these philosophical systems themselves pretend to depend on the Vedas, or as European philosophers used to claim that their systems were based on orthodoxy. But this only shows how important and fully established were these philosophical systems when the sects arose that based salvation on faith and the grace of a man-god, while still pretending to philosophy. They could not unite, for the true Sāṃkhya did not teach Brahmaisism, but *kevalatvam*, or absolute separation of the individual spirit from everything else, an *astitvam kevalam*, or existence apart from all, not apart in Brahman.

<sup>1</sup> Repeating *yoga eṣa hi yogānām* in 307, 25.



No less irreconcilable with the earlier belief is the later sectary's view of action, pravṛtti, as due to God. For the older sage was intent on escaping action, which the system regards as due not to spirit but to the inherent quality of its antithesis, Prakṛti. But in the religious substitution of a personal Lord, Īvara, as synonymous with the Supreme, it is taught that "the Lord created pravṛtti as a picturesque effect" (after electing nivṛtti for himself)!<sup>1</sup> Here the roots of the Karma doctrine are cut by the new faith of the quasi monotheism which is reflected in the later pseudo-epic.<sup>2</sup>

### Fate and Free-Will.

Another side of speculation presents a varied field of belief. Is there such a thing as free-will? The later epic fixes responsibility in turn on the Lord, man himself, puruṣha, luck, haṭha, and Karma, xii, 32, 12, ff.; where Karma is finally recognized as the only agent, as otherwise God would be responsible for sin; and if man were the sole agent there could be none higher than man. As luck would absolve a man, only Karma is left, associated with Time in a sort of dual fatalism, karmasūtrātmake. Obviously Fate, as Time is here, really undermines the theory of Karma quite as much as does the interposition of the Lord or any other foreign factor. So in xii, 224, 16 ff. and 226, 13 and 21 ff., we find first the reflex of the Upanishads and Gītā, "he who (in imagination) slays and he who is slain are both ignorant," and then: "The deed causes the deed; but the deed has another creator, Fate, Time. Fate or *what will be will be* is the cause." "Sorrow lies in thinking 'I am responsible'; for I do that which the ordainers ordained when I was born."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> pravṛttidharmān vidadhe kṛtvā lokasya citratām, xii, 341, 99.

<sup>2</sup> This is the "fourfold God," worshipped by the Ekāntins as having one, two, three, or four forms, identified with Krishna, his son, grandson, and brother, as named above, p. 97. He is maker and non-maker, and takes Prakṛti's function in "sporting:" yathe 'cchati tathā rājan kṛdate puruṣo 'vyayaḥ.

<sup>3</sup> So 224, 31; 226, 8; 227, 34 and 35: kālaḥ pacati . . . kālaḥ kalayati prajāḥ; 226, 12: "Whatever state one obtains he must say bhavitavyam," "it was fated," i. e., independently of Karma. For kāla from *kal*, cf. Gītā, 10, 30.

Elsewhere Fate is the Divine power, *dāiva*, opposed to human effort and to nature, *svabhāva*, the latter having the implication of the Karma doctrine. Each of these factors is upheld by one or another theorist, while others claim that they all work together, xii, 233, 19, repeated at 239, 4-5. In other places the same Fate that is elsewhere made responsible is scorned, *dāivam klībā upāsate*, "only eunuchs worship Fate;" and "there is no Fate, all depends on one's own nature;" the Karma doctrine, *svabhāvataḥ*, xii, 139, 82; 291, 13.<sup>1</sup>

### Sāṃkhya is Atheistic.

In the "one-soul" doctrine just referred to, God himself is energy, *kāryātman*, the soul of all, the saviour, "the Light which Yogins see," the Ego, eternal, without characteristics of any sort, *aham ca nirguṇaḥ*, xii, 47, 54, 63, 69-70; xiv, 25, 7. He exists "alone with wisdom," till he makes the worlds, each succeeding æon, xii, 340, 71-72, just as sunrise and sunset follow each other, ib. 75. On the other hand, the epic declares with all plainness that the Sāṃkhya system is devoid of a belief in a personal supreme God. In xii, 301, 1 ff., the question is raised, What is the difference between Sāṃkhya and Yoga? The answer is: "Sāṃkhyas praise the Sāṃ-

<sup>1</sup> According to xii, 239, 20, Time is the origin and controller of all things, *prabhavaḥ . . . saṁyamo yamaḥ*, and all things produced by duality exist according to their own nature, *svabhāvena*. The nature of the individual spirit is often rendered by this word, as such a spirit is conditioned by its former acts. Below is cited a case where it is a factor of the body, distinct from organs, mind, and spirit. An interesting critique of heretics leads up to xii, 238, 3 ff. (where the word connotes nature as understood by Buddhists and materialists): *yas tu paçyan svabhāvena vinā bhāvam acetanaḥ puçyate sa punaḥ sarvān prajñayā muktahetukān, yeṣāṁ cāi 'kāntabhāvena svabhāvāt kāraṇam matam, pūtvā tṛṇam iṣikām vā, te labhante na kiṁcana . . . svabhāvaṁ kāraṇam jñātvā na greyaḥ prāpnuvanti te, svabhāvo hi vināçāya mohakarmamanobhavah*, "He is a fool who teaches that nature alone exists, or that cause of change is inherent in nature alone" (nature is without intelligence and, çl. 9, only intelligence gives success; hence nature without intelligence would result in nothing; the final opinion given in çl. 6 on *svabhāva* and *paribhāva*). C. has a curious v. l. (for *pūtvā*, etc.) *çrutvā nṛṇām ṛṣiṇām vā*.



khya system; Yogas the Yoga system. The pious Yogas say, How can one be freed when one is without a personal God (anīṣvaraḥ); while the Sāṅkhyas say that one who knows truly all earthly courses becomes unaffected by objects, and would clearly get released from the body in this way alone. This is the exposition of release given by the very intelligent Sāṅkhyas. But one should take as the means of release that explanation which is given agreeably to his own party. . . . The Yogas rely on immediate perception (of truth), while the Sāṅkhyas determine according to their code. For my part, I approve of both,<sup>1</sup> for either system followed according to its code would lead to the highest course (emancipation). Purity, penance, compassion toward all creatures, and keeping vows, are found equally in both (systems), but the (philosophic) exposition is not the same in both." The last words, darṣanaṁ na samaṁ tayoh, "the exposition is not the same," can point here only to the essential difference just indicated by the speaker, namely, that one admits and one denies God. And it is to be noticed that this is the end of the explanation. There is not the slightest hint that the anīṣvara or atheistic Sāṅkhyas believe in God (a personal Lord, Īṣvara).

It must also be remembered that the very term here used to describe the Sāṅkhyā belief, far from being admitted as one that connotes a belief in Brahman, is reprehended, not only in the pietistic question above (which may fairly be put categorically as "it is impossible to be saved if one does not believe in a personal God"), but also in the Gītā, which links together as a "creed of devils" the denial of "reality, basis, and personal God," asatyam apratiṣṭhaṁ te jagad āhur anīṣvaram, Gītā, 16, 8, an expression which would have been impossible had the anīṣvara doctrine been accepted as simply a formal modification of deism, implying a belief in a background of Brahman.

I do not think that anīṣvara can possibly mean here "not

<sup>1</sup> The Yoga has the immediate perception of the mystic: pratyakṣahetavo yogāḥ sāṅkhyāḥ cāstraviniṣcayāḥ, ubhe cāi 'te mate tattve mama (Bhīṣmasya), čl. 7.

having the senses as master," as it does in xii, 247, 7, where it is opposed to *indriyāṇāṃ vaçyātmā*; a passage mistranslated by the author of *Nirvāṇa*, p. 96, as "Without the Lord one attains the place of immortality," though it clearly means: "Not having (the senses as) a master one attains the immortal state, but being subject to the senses one obtains death."

In the theistic religion, the personal God not only supplants the old explanation of spirit, but even takes the place of *Prakṛti*, the unmanifest unknown Source of the *Sāṃkhya*, and creates everything, as does egoism in the pure dogma of the *Sāṃkhya*, as "the name made by egoism, which is synonymous," *ahamkāra-kṛtaṃ cāi 'va nāma paryāyavācakaṃ*, xii, 340, 62. So to the sectary the name is ever indifferent. As to-day he accepts Christ as his own divinity under another name, so he did of old. The passage in the *Gītā* is well known, which establishes the principle. In xiii, 14, 318, it is said: "In the *Sāṃkhya* system the All-soul is called *Puruṣa*," i. e. the *Sāṃkhyas* recognize only *Puruṣa*, but we say that their *Puruṣa* is our All-soul. The twenty-fifth, *Puruṣa*, is thus identified with wisdom, *vidyā*, xii, 308, 7 ff. In a preceding section, 303, 119, *Hiraṇyagarbha* is intellect, and is called *Virīṇa*, *Aja*, etc., "called by many names in the *Sāṃkhya* *Çāstra*."

### Yoga as Deistic and Brahmaistic.

The ancient *Yogin* tales in the epic show that there are important differences between the older and later view of *Yoga*. To stand on one leg for years and keep quiet long enough for birds to nest in one's matted locks was the "discipline" of the primitive *Yogin* as he is represented in these tales. But the *Yogin* of the later epic regards all such practices as crude and unsatisfactory. His discipline is an elaborate course of breathings and mental confinement in bodily postures described as customary in the *Yoga* *Çāstras*. So many breathings at such a time and so many at another, minute attention (in a sitting posture) to concentration and meditation, the



whole paraphernalia of Patañjali, exercised for a "limited time,"<sup>1</sup> not a word about standing on one leg for years. The difference is more than superficial, however. The one-leg Yogin strove for one thing only, supernatural powers. Tale after tale recounts what powers he gained by these exercises, and these powers were his goal. He was deistic but he had no thought of "entering Brahman," only of controlling the powers terrestrial, celestial, and elemental. On death his goal is to be a spirit free and powerful, enjoying good things. On the other hand, the Yogin of the pseudo-epic discipline learns all these powers, but "he who practises them goes to hell," because his goal was not to be a thaumaturge but to be released. Both experienced the *apunarbhavakāma*, "longing not to be born again," but the first desired *bala*, or Yoga "lordship," *āiçvarya*, and all his efforts were directed to that end; while the last desired lordship only as a means soon to be rejected for something higher, release, *mokṣa*, or *kevalatva*, isolation,<sup>2</sup> and eventually the recognition of *ekatva*, unity, of intellect, mind, senses, and universal soul, *ātmano vyāpinaḥ*, xii, 241, 2-3.<sup>3</sup>

The Brahmaistic Yogin is an advance on the deistic Yogin. The latter recognizes only isolation, *kevalatva*. So under the influence of Vishnuism a lecture which teaches Brahman isolation appears revamped as pantheistic Brahmaism.<sup>4</sup>

In xii, 317, 16 ff., the Yogin meditates on the eternal Lord-Spirit and Brahman, *taṣṭhuṣam puruṣam nityam . . . iṣānam brahma ca*, the Yogin being in concentration and trance, *saṁyama*, *saṁādhi*: "Like a flame in a windless place, like a

<sup>1</sup> xii, 241, 22 ff. *evam parimitaṁ kālam* (six months) *ācāraṁ āsīno hi rahasya eko gacched akṣarasāmyatām*. Cf. *pratibhā*, *apavarga*, 317, 14.

<sup>2</sup> The chapter xii, 289, shows that *mokṣa* may be simply isolation or independence and does not necessarily connote absorption.

<sup>3</sup> The whole *Yogakṛtya* is comprised here in this union as "the highest knowledge."

<sup>4</sup> The compilers are not averse to this practice; it is a common Hindu method of improvement. Either the text is rewritten and interpolated or it is allowed to stand and another section is prefixed or added of the same content differently treated. The rule is that the improvement precedes the original.

mountain peak (compare *kūṭastha*), he beholds Brahman, which is like a fire in great darkness." Then "on abandoning his body without a witness," this Yogin, after attaining in life his powers over the breathings and elements, *rudrapradhānas*, and wandering about with the "body of eight characteristics," enters into the Lord-Spirit who is isolated, *kevalam yāti*, for "this is the Yogin's Yoga; what else would have the sign of Yoga?"<sup>1</sup> So ends the chapter, without a suggestion that the Yogin is to be identified with Vishnu.

In the imitation and improvement of this passage, thrust before it in the text, the Yogin's release does not end matters, though Vishnuism is inserted rather clumsily, as will be seen from an analysis of the whole section, 301, 11 ff. "Cutting off the five faults by Yoga, people freed of sins obtain that place (or condition), *tat padam*, like as big fishes cut through a net and get the water (the fish is not identical with the water, *tat padam* is place or condition, freedom). Even as strong animals, *mrgāḥ*, cut the net, so they would get a clean road when they are freed from all their bonds. Endued with strength, *Yogas*, on cutting thus the bonds made by greed, go the clean way that is highest and auspicious. . . . Those without power are destroyed, those that have power are released, *mucyante balānvitāḥ*. . . . On acquiring Yoga-power one can oppose the many objects of sense, *vyūhate viṣayān*, as an elephant opposes a great stream. By Yoga-power made independent, *avaçāḥ*, Yogins enter *Prajāpatis* and seers and gods and the elements, as their lords. Not Yama nor the End-maker (differentiated here, often as one), though angered, nor Death, fearful in prowess, not all these lord it over a Yoga of unmeasured energy. A Yoga could make himself many thousands when he has got his power, and with these could wander over earth. Such an one could take the objects of sense and then perform hard austerity and again reduce it, as the sun does his beams of light, *tejogūṇas*. The Yoga who holds to the power and is lord of bonds obtains in release, *vimokse*, the fullest lordship, *prabhaviṣṇutva*. These powers

<sup>1</sup> *etad hi yogam yogānām kim anyad yogalakṣaṇam*, 317, 27.



obtained through Yoga have been obtained by me. For elucidation I will now tell thee again, O King, also about the subtle powers.<sup>1</sup> Hear from me, O Bharata, the subtle signs of the soul in concentration, *samādhāna*, and in respect to contemplation, *dhāraṇā*, O lord. As an archer by being attentive, *apramatta*, with concentration hits the mark, so the Yogin, properly intent, doubtless obtains release, *mokṣa*. As a man intent, *yukta*, with intent mind would go up a ladder, steadily fixing his thoughts on the vessel full of oil (in his hands), so the Yoga here, intent, O King, steadily makes spotless his soul (till) it looks like the image of the sun.<sup>2</sup> As the steersman with concentration, *samāhita*, would guide a ship on the ocean, so by applying self-concentration with intentness, *ātma-samādhānam* *yuktvā* *yogena*, he that knows the true, *tattva*, gets a place hard to attain, *durgam āsthānam*, after leaving his body here. As a charioteer with concentration yoking, *yuktvā*, good horses, quickly brings the knight to the desired place, *deṣam iṣṭam*, so, O King, the Yogin with his mind concentrated in contemplation quickly gets the highest place, *param sthānam*, just as the arrow when released, *mukta*, finds its mark. The Yogin who stands steadily seeing self in self destroys sin and gains the unalterable place, *padam*, of those who are pure. The Yogin who properly joins, *yuṅkte*, with his soul (self) the subtle self in the navel, throat, head, heart, chest, sides, eye, ear, and nose, quickly consuming his Karma, good and bad, though mountainous (in size), having recourse to highest Yoga is released, if he wishes."

This is the end of the discourse for the present. Nothing is said of the Yogin's emancipation being other than a release from bonds. The conversation turns to the question of food and means of restraint of the senses, the hard path of auster-

<sup>1</sup> These words are perhaps the mark of interpolation here.

<sup>2</sup> *sneha-pūrṇe yathā pātre mana ādhāya niṣcalam, puruṣo yukta ārohet sopānam yuktamānasah, yuktas tathā 'yam ātmānam yogaḥ pārthiva niṣcalam karoty amalam ātmānam bhāskaropamadarṣanam*. In 317, 22, *tālapātram yathā pūrṇam karābhyām gṛhya pūruṣaḥ sopānam āruhed bhītas tarjyamāno 'sipāṇibhiḥ samīyatātmā bhayāt teṣām na pātrād bindum utsrjet tathāi 'vo 'ttaram āgamyā ekāgramanasas tathā, etc.*

ities which makes the subtle soul shine forth, but he who follows it "is released from birth and death, ill and weal." "This," it is then said, "is what has been set forth in various Yoga-Çāstras; in the twice-born is admittedly the highest Yoga practice," *kṛtyam*, çl. 57.

Thus far the *çlokas* and the final stanza seems to show that this is the end. But to this are tagged on five *triṣṭubh* stanzas, with which the chapter now concludes: "That highest Brahman-made Brahman and Lord Vishnu, the boon-giver, O great-souled one, and Bhava, and Dharma, and the six-faced (god), and the sons of Brahman, *tamas*, *rajas*, *sattva*, and highest *Prakṛti*, and *Siddhi* the goddess wife of *Varuṇa*, and all energy, *tejas*, and patience, and the pure lord of stars in the sky with the stars, all the all-gods, the snakes, and manes, and all mountains, the terrible seas, all rivers with forests and clouds, *Nāgas* and *nagas*, troops of *genii*, spaces, the angel hosts, males and females—one after the other attaining, the great great-souled *Yogin* would enter soon after he is released. And this narration, O King, is auspicious in that it rests on the god who has great vigor and intelligence. Such a great-souled *Yogin*, overpowering all mortals, acts, having the self of *Nārāyaṇa*" (according to the commentator, makes all things as being identical with *Nārāyaṇa*).<sup>1</sup>

It is true that a view which ignores every indication of interpolation may insist that literature is to be treated without critique, overlook the patchwork, and concentrate emphasis on this last *nārāyaṇātmā* to offset the whole teaching preceding, which is that the soul gets isolation, not absorption into Brahman. But even then *Nārāyaṇa* is not philosophical Brahman. In the following chapter, which is a new discussion, 302, 55, the *Kāpilāḥ Sāṃkhyāḥ* are also led to emancipation, in which teaching *ātman* rests on *Nārāyaṇa*, *Nārāyaṇa* rests on emancipation, but emancipation has no support (the same word as above of the narration which rests on *Nārāyaṇa*), *mokṣam saktam tu na kvacit*; though the *Sāṃkhya* philoso-

<sup>1</sup> *yogī sa sarvaṇ abhībhūya martyān nārāyaṇātmā kurute mahātmā*, 301, 62.



phers are finally conducted through an unfinished sentence eighteen *çlokas* long<sup>1</sup> to Nārāyaṇa, who bears them to the Highest Soul, when they become fitted for immortality, and return no more, *çl.* 78.

These are chapters of a sectarian cult, which seeks to include in its embrace all systems of philosophy,<sup>2</sup> and does so *vi et armis*. The more precious and reliable are those expositions which show the systems still but slightly twisted from their original form. This last is a system called Vedānta, 302, 71, as I have already remarked, but in point of fact it, i. e., this last chapter, not the preceding exposition, is an exposition of Yoga twisted into sectarian Brahmanism. The soul eventually enters Vishnu, who is unconditioned Brahman, and does not return; but it enters by *jīva* and *videha mukti*, in Yoga style. That is, before death the real soul enters Vishnu, leaving behind in a man not soul but only mind and senses. Shortly after, however, one is really "released and gets peace." This, it is said, is the Sāṃkhya system which is identical with eternal Brahman (302, 96-101; compare 106, *amūrtes tasya . . . sām̐khyam mūr̐tir iti çrutiḥ*). The Sāṃkhya system, which is at first said to be faultless (*çl.* 4), is in *çl.* 13 declared to have faults as well as virtues, the same being true of Veda and Yoga; that is, this teaching is put forward as an improvement on the old, though the accepted base is the Sāṃkhya. It is pretended that the teachers teach as do the Kāpilas, who are endued with knowledge and "clarified by ratiocination," *kāraṇāir bhāvitāḥ çubhāḥ*, *çl.* 17.

### Difference between Sāṃkhya and Yoga.

As has been shown above, the epic itself teaches that the great difference between the two systems is that the Sāṃkhya does not believe in a personal God, while God is the supreme

<sup>1</sup> xii, 302, 24-52. Compare 5-17 also one sentence. These interminable sentences are marks of the late style of the pseudo-epic.

<sup>2</sup> In *çl.* 108 it is said that this Vedānta (*çl.* 71) Sāṃkhya embraces all the knowledge found in Sāṃkhyas and Yoga (*sām̐khyeṣu tathāi 'va yoge*), the Purāṇa, the great Itihāsas (pl.), Arthaçāstra, and the world (*Lokāyata*!).

belief of the Yogin. A further difference is found by the commentator in the words of xii, 240, 8, where it is said: "Vishnu in stepping, Çakra in power, Agni in the digestive organ (etc.) wishes to enjoy," *bhoktum icchati*, a stanza wedged between the statements that bodies come from earth, etc., and that ears, etc., are organs of sense. What is apparent is that experience is here shifted from pure spirit to the corresponding divinity.<sup>1</sup>

So far as I know, the difference of opinion is nowhere in the epic stated to involve a distinction between the two systems, and in this chapter the subject of active and experiencing spirit is not further touched upon. I doubt, therefore, the validity of the commentator's explanation as applied to the epic, but his words are worth citing: "In the Yoga system the spirit is not active but experiences only, while in the Sāṅkhya system the spirit neither acts nor experiences. In this passage the poet repudiates the first doctrine, and expresses approval of the second" (by naming *devas* as "enjoyers," and thus showing that it is only a false imagination of the spirit when it thinks itself an "enjoyer").<sup>2</sup>

According to the epic, all activity resides in *Prakṛti*, the Source alone, while experience resides in spirit but only as the latter is conditioned by its environment, *prakṛtisthaḥ*, so that when it is in the body the highest spirit is called enjoyer and active, but it is not really so, *kurvaṇa api na lipyate, na karoti na lipyate*. This is the explanation of the *Gītā*<sup>3</sup> (which denies that there is any speculative difference between the two systems), and is found often enough elsewhere.<sup>4</sup> So God as a conditioned being, spirit, enjoys the *guṇas*, as in xii, 340, where the twenty-fifth principle, though "without

<sup>1</sup> As in *Māit. Up.* vi, 10, *bhoktā puruṣo bhojyā prakṛtiḥ*, "enjoy" is sometimes sensuously rendered, "Spirit is the eater, *Prakṛti* the food." Ordinarily "enjoy" is experience.

<sup>2</sup> *yogamate, ātmā bhoktāi 'va na tu kartā; sāṅkhyamate tu, na bhoktā nā 'pi karte 'ti; tatrā 'dyaṁ dūṣayati*, etc.

<sup>3</sup> *Gītā*, 3, 27; 5, 7; 13, 20, etc.

<sup>4</sup> Compare xii, 247, 1-2: "The spirit supervises modifications (he knows them, they do not know him), he does what is to be done (only) in conjunction with the senses and mind, the sixth" (like a charioteer, as above).



characteristics," is *guṇabhuj* or enjoyer of *guṇas* as well as the superior creator of *guṇas*, *guṇasraṣṭā guṇādhikah*, *ḥl.* 28.<sup>1</sup> So *Śiva* is *ṣaṣṭibhāga* (below). "Like a lamp giving light know the *jñānātman*, knowledge-spirit, *Purusha*, to be in all creatures. It makes the ear hear; it hears; it sees. The body is the *cause* (of perception), but this (soul) is the doer of all acts," *xii*, 210, 40. Here the last clause, *sa kartā sarvakarmaṇām*, means that soul acts only as modified by *Prakṛti*. In *xii*, 222, 17 ff.: "Whoso thinks himself an actor, faulty is his judgment. Activity is nature only, the only factor," *svabhāva eva tat sarvam* (one becomes *vitṛṣṇa*, *ḥl.* 30, when one knows the difference between the Source and its modifications). In *xii*, 304, 45, the Source does every act, and it alone enjoys, *aṇāti*. Opposed to this is the Brahmaistic view, which holds that "the inner soul, *antarātman*, alone smells, tastes," etc., as an entity separate from elements (below).

A practical difference may be found in the attitude of the two systems toward austerities, though it is stated that this exercise is common to both. Nevertheless it cannot be supposed that the "knowledge-philosopher" admitted as much *tapas* as did the *Yogin*, whose practical discipline was almost wholly a "razor-edged path" of austerity. The practice is occasionally reprehended, as in *xii*, 221, 4, where it is said that fasting is not meritorious, as it is injurious to the soul's discipline, *ātmatantropaghātaḥ*, a view which is of course contradictory to the mass of teaching in the epic, for example, *ib.* 233, 23, where penance is the means of "attaining to the being that creates the universe." The "difference between *Sāṃkhya* and *Yoga*," as admitted and explained in the late passage *xii*, 237, 29 ff., is mainly a practical one, in that "the *Sāṃkhya* keeps aloof from objects of sense, controls the senses, and is alike to all creatures, friendly to all, indifferent to all things,<sup>2</sup> injures no creatures, and so attains to Brahman;" whereas that *Yoga* is released "who, transcending supernatural power, ceases" (from activity). The *Yoga* is thus described in one

<sup>1</sup> The twenty-fifth, not the twenty-sixth principle, is here God.

<sup>2</sup> *sarvabhūtasadrū māitraḥ samaloṣṭāḥmakāñcanaḥ*, 38, a standing epithet.

verse: *yogāicvaryam atikrānto yo niṣkrāmati mucyate*, 237, 40. The dependence of the Sāṃkhya on knowledge alone is here merely implied, though the following image of the saving "ship of knowledge" makes it clearer, but the whole passage is a late attempt to interpret Sāṃkhya by another norm.<sup>1</sup>

One further practical difference between the systems is pointed out by the commentator at xii, 241, 34, where, after asceticism is described, it is said that a man of low caste or a woman seeking virtue "may attain the highest course by this path" (of the Yoga). The commentator takes pains to remark that this applies only to the Yoga, and not to the Sāṃkhya. A little farther on, in 247, 16, where the same system is still taught, but on the intellectual side, not on the ascetic side, it is, expressly stated that the *Çāstra* should be told only to men of the higher castes, *Snātakas*.<sup>2</sup>

It is expressly charged against the Pāçupata sect that it is subversive of caste: "I, Rudra, formerly for the first time invented the mysterious Pāçupata religion, beneficent to all, facing in all directions, one that takes years or only ten days<sup>3</sup> to learn, one which, though blamed by the unintelligent (because it is) here and there opposed to the rules of the *Çāstra* and those of the Orders, *varṇāçramakṛtāir dharmāir viparītaim*

<sup>1</sup> *brahmāṇam abhivartate*, a late carelessness, repeated with *cā 'dhigacchati*, cl. 38 and 41. The four-faced Brahman and the highest Brahman, respectively, is the commentator's ready explanation ("masculine by Vedic licence"). The same sort of thing is found in another later passage, where a double carelessness appears, *brahmāṇam adhigatvā* (sic) ca, iii, 83, 73. Part of the above description is a copy of the *Gītā*, *nirmamaç cā 'nahanārkāro nirdvandvaç chinnaśaṃçayaḥ nāi 'va krudhyati na dveṣṭi*, 237, 34, as in *Gītā*, 5, 3; 12, 13 (= 2, 71); 18, 53, *brahmabhūyāya kalpate*.

<sup>2</sup> See below the passage inculcating pure Yoga (the twenty-sixth principle), where it is said, xii, 319, 89, that it is a doctrine of emancipation for all, and knowledge is to be got from all, for all castes are Brahmins, all are born of Brahman, and all castes are equal; and compare ib. 188, 10 ff., *na viçeṣo 'sti varṇānām*, etc. In 251, 21, *ātmaññānam idaṃ guyham*, as in the earliest Upanishads. A "God without characteristics" is responsible for the democratic equality of the "no caste" view. So *Çivaism* teaches that castes are only indications of position, *brāhmaḥ svabhāvaḥ* is everywhere equal, and all men are children of the one God who created them, xiii, 143, 50-3.

<sup>3</sup> Instead of ten days, says the commentator, the *Gāuḍas* read "five days."



kvacit samam, is nevertheless appreciated by those of perfected wisdom, *gatāntas*, and is really superior to the Orders" (*atyāgramam*, xii, 285, 194-195). In the preceding stanza, this *Pācupata* is contrasted with the gods' and demons' religion of austerity, the latter being "drawn from the Vedas and *Sāṃkhya* and *Yoga* by logic,"<sup>1</sup> another mark of difference in the views urged in the epic, not, as often, concealed under a pretended unity, but openly stated.

### Sects.

I would say a word here in regard to the sects recognized in the epic, though, except for their philosophy, I do not intend to touch further on them. The epic commentator sees in the epithet *pañcamahākālpa*, applied to *Vishnu*, a reference to the scriptures, *āgamas*, of five diverse sects, *Sāuras*, *Çāktas*, *Gāṇeças*, *Çāivas*, and *Vāişṇavas*. The epic in reality recognizes only the first and last two, for the allusion to shadow-worship (which the commentator explains as a Left-hand rite) though interesting, does not imply necessarily a body called *Çāktas*, and *Gāṇeças* are unknown, the god himself belonging only to the pseudo-epic introduction, and very likely interpolated there, as has been shown by Dr. Winternitz. Even *Durgā* seems to be a late addition to the epic as she appears hymned. But the *Çāivas* are known as having a religion called *Pācupata* (above) and the *Vāişṇavas* and *Sāuras* are known in two late passages, xviii, 6, 97 and vii, 82, 16, under these names. I suppose only the synthetic method would claim that the whole epic recognizes the titles of sects so sporadically mentioned. The older *Vishnuite* sect-name is *Pāñcarātra* or the more personal "devotees of the Lord," *Bhāgavatas*, and *Bhagavadbhaktas*, even these being rather

<sup>1</sup> Rudra says to *Dakṣa*: *bhūyaç ca te varam dadmi tam tvam grhṇiṣva suvrata, prasannavadano bhūtvā tad ibāi 'kamanāḥ çṛṇu; vedāt śadaṅgād uddhṛtya sāmkyha-yogāc ca yuktitaḥ tapaḥ sutaptaṁ vipulaṁ duçcaraṁ devadānavāih*, xii, 285, 191-192; and then as above, in contrast, the *Pācupata* system, which has overthrown the older systems (*Rudra* destroys *Dakṣa's* sacrifice).

rare. The last, for example, is found in i, 214, 2 (with bhāikṣas or cāukṣas). The same passage that calls Vishnu pañcamahākālpa gives him the titles of Prācīnagarbha (below) and Kāuṣika and identifies him with the Atharvaçiras Upanishad, xii, 339, 113-125. Though the god is here Vishnu, I venture to think the last epithets were originally applied to Çiva. The "white men" of the White Island, or rather country (dvīpa = the dig uttarā or more exactly uttarapaçcīmena, "in the Northwest," 336, 8-10; 337, 21 ff.) must be Kashmere Brahmans, who are often almost as white as Europeans and whose religion was the worship of Çiva (as a god of culture and letters) in monotheistic form, which is here perverted. The location "Northwest" and "far North" can scarcely be anywhere else than Kashmere, where alone "northern white men," çvetāḥ pumāṇsah, 336, 10, were to be seen.<sup>1</sup>

### The Different Schemata.

The philosophical schemes elaborated in the epic show three distinct groupings, which must belong to different systems. These are the Sāṁkhya, the Yoga, and a third system, which follows a different series of topics. All three differ essentially from Vedism and Brahmaism, as this latter, in turn, differs from what we call Vedānta. Both of the latter are represented, making six systems, as said above; but of these there are full schemata or topica in three cases at least,<sup>2</sup> indicating what for convenience I shall call scholastic differences, the three schematizing systems being here termed schools. It is unnecessary to point out that no one set of teachers, much less the one poet of the unhistorical method, would have inculcated six systems, or elaborated three schools, especially as the topics of two of these schools imply a fundamental difference between them.

<sup>1</sup> The "Sea of milk" in the Purāṇas is said to surround a Himālayan mountain, Krāuñca. The second (earlier) account of the "white men" in the epic is quite Sāṁkhyan, God is Purusha, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Compare also the rather rare recognition of pure Vedānta Māyā-Brahmaism, and above in the first chapter the philosophy copied from the Upanishads without identification of soul with sectarian god.



Common to all three schools is the distinction between the First Cause or Source as manifest and unmanifest. The manifest, or known, is all that is born, grows, ages, and dies, while the unmanifest, or unknown, is "the opposite,"<sup>1</sup> that is, it is devoid of these four marks, lakṣaṇas. Further, Sāṃkhya and Yoga both admit two selves, ātmans, it is said, which are declared "in the Vedas and in the Siddhāntas."<sup>2</sup> The first is that born with the four marks, that is, those of the manifest, and has four objects (caturvarga, virtue, pleasure, gain, emancipation). This is the manifest self, born of the unmanifest; it is awakened, buddha, but has not the highest intelligence, cetanā; it is the conditioned sattva soul, in distinction from the pure knowing soul, kṣetrajñā, though both are attached to objects of sense. "Both systems admit twenty-five topics," a statement to be reviewed below.

The Unmanifest is that which cannot be known, avedyaṃ, which has no padanyāsa, leaves no track, and is therefore beyond knowledge, xii, 205, 18; avedyaṃ avyaktam, xii, 319, 42. Kapila calls it the ἀρχή, ādya, and says he uses the term First Cause, Source, Prakṛti, merely to escape a regressus ad infinitum. It is therefore merely a name, saṃjñāmātram. It is used of the That: "One could never reach the end of causation, nāi 'vā 'ntam kārṇasye 'yāt, even if one went unceasingly like an arrow from the cord, yathā bāṇo guṇacyutaḥ, and swift as thought. Nothing is more subtle than the

<sup>1</sup> So in xii, 217, 9-10, it is said that Prakṛti creates and has three guṇas, while spirit's marks are "the opposite" (for the threefold guṇas are only his "turban," cf. 12).

<sup>2</sup> xii, 237, 27, 31, siddhānteṣu. Siddhānta is mentioned also in i, 70, 44. In the present passage the commentator takes the Vedas and Siddhāntas as Pūrvamīmāṃsā and Uttaramīmāṃsā. Another late expression in this section describes the effulgent jīva-yoked car as having all the Tantras as its goad (sarvatantrapratodaḥ, xii, 237, 11, straddles the pādas), where the commentator says Čāstra, and is probably right, as we have Nyāyatantras mentioned, which are doubtless works on logic. Compare with the passage above, xii, 206, 28, avyaktātmā puruṣo vyaktakarmā so 'vyaktatvaṃ gacchati hy antakāle; xii, 199, 125, caturbhir lakṣaṇair hīnaṃ tathā ṣaḍbhiḥ ṣaḍodaḥṣiḥ puruṣaṃ tam atikramya ākāṣaṃ pratipadyate (the six are ills and the sixteen are breaths, organs, and mind, according to the commentator), but the four are here said to be cetāsa and three proofs.

unmanifest That (çl.18); nothing is coarser. Finer than fine, greater than great is That, the invisible end of all things," xii, 240, 28 (29 = Çvet. Up. iii, 16; Gîtā, 13, 13). It is a term used in both philosophies, and is simply equivalent to the invisible unknown First Cause. From its synonym Prakṛti, First Cause, it may be called simply the Source. So also Brahman is avyaktam. Usually this term is defined in such negatives as in *neti neti*, a superabundance of which appears in this definition: "Brahman has *not* been explained by mantras; with the world of experience it has *not* anything in common; it has *not* sound, touch, *not* form; it is *not* comprehended; *not* manifest . . . not female, not male, not neuter (as in 251, 22), *not* being, *not* not-being, *not* being-and-not-being . . . not perishable,"<sup>1</sup> an imitation of older matter.

This "Unknown," which forms the common basis of the great philosophical systems, in the Sāṃkhya connotes potential egoism, becomes known first as Ego or self-conscious intellect, and out of this egoism is developed the whole created universe; over against which stands the pure unconscious spirit, the real Ego. This, in outline, is the whole plan of the Sāṃkhya philosophy, which admits nothing outside of pure Ego and self-conscious Ego, and ascribes all apparent other to modifications of egoism. There are here twenty-four principles over against the pure spirit Ego as the twenty-fifth.<sup>2</sup>

On the other hand, besides these, the Yogin's system superadds one exalted spirit as Supreme Spirit, or God, the twenty-sixth principle.

The Pāçupatas and Bhāgavatas have a different system of categories, but teach that the Supreme Spirit as a personal God becomes manifest; in the latter sect, as a god-man.

Common to the three schools is the belief in the three constituents of the Unmanifest, called *guṇas*; but these are sometimes treated as constituents and sometimes as attributes.

<sup>1</sup> na san na cā 'sat sad-asac ca tan na . . . tad akṣaram na kṣarati 'ti viddhi. In 251, 22, Brahman is *asukham* as well as *aduḥkham*, "not joy, not sorrow."

<sup>2</sup> Prakṛti is devoid of the highest intelligence, *acetanā*, and only when supervised by spirit creates and destroys. Purusha has millions or 1,400,000 courses, xii, 315, 12; ib. 2; 281, 30.



### The Guṇas.

The Unknown becomes known as a result of energy, tejas or rajas, rousing itself and rousing conditioned being, sattva,<sup>1</sup> out of the equilibrium which is maintained between these two and inertia (dulness, darkness, tamas). These are the three constituents of the conscious Ego, and consequently of all things except pure spirit. That is to say, energy, inertia, and existence (conditioned being), characterize all things, and life begins with energy moving sattva as well as itself. A moral interpretation of these strands, guṇas, as they are called, makes being, as compared with the other two, represent the true and real and good; inertia, the stupid and bad; while energy may be good or bad, but is never the best, as that is devoid of all activity (quietism).<sup>2</sup> These guṇas, constituents, are, to use a term taken from their grammatical application, themselves guṇated or characterized by the presence of certain qualities, a meaning often found employed in the case of guṇa. Thus in xii, 334, 2, one abandons fourfold faults, eightfold tamas and fivefold rajas. What is of most importance, however, from the historical rather than the philosophical point of view, is that in these groups there is no uniformity in the teaching of the epic. Thus in xii, 314, 21 ff., not five, as above, but over twenty faults are given as characteristics, guṇas, of rajas. In the same way, sattva has in xii,

<sup>1</sup> Sattva (compare satyasya satyam) is being, but not absolute being, which is free from consciousness of self. We may best render the "three strands" or inherent constituents of creation (everything except pure spirit) by energy, inertia, and conscious-existence, which exist potentially in the undeveloped and actually in the developed universe. I am aware that the guṇas are translated differently by high authorities, but must for the present refrain from further discussion of the interpretation.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Gītā, 17, 26: "*Sat* is employed in the meaning of *existence* and of *good*" (commentator wrong). The avyakta (unknown undeveloped) is guṇated as much as is vyakta, only the equilibrium not being disturbed the guṇas are merely potential, avyaktaṁ triguṇaṁ śmṛtam, xiv, 39, 24. In regard to "darkness," it must be remembered that in the older philosophies, darkness, tamas, is not a quality but a substance (only the Nyāya regards it as absence of light). See the argument in the Aślūkyā chapter of the Sarvadarśana.

342, 13, eighteen guṇas, while in 314, 17 ff., nearly double this number are given it, including most of the former group but placed in a different arrangement. Again in xii, 302, 14-16, sattva has ten (unexplained) guṇas; rajas, nine; tamas, eight; buddhi, seven; manas, six; nabhas, five; but then, again, buddhi has fourteen; tamas, three; rajas, two; sattva, one.<sup>1</sup> This merely means that each strand has certain attributes.<sup>2</sup> The same list, for instance, is given in the Anugītā, xiv, 38, 2 ff., as *indications* of sattva. It seems unnecessary to enumerate these varying characteristics. The gist of them all is found in Gītā, 14, 9 ff.: sattva belongs to pleasant things, rajas to activity, tamas to apathy. So in xii, 194, 30, a touch of joy is characteristic of sattva, and "if anything is joined to joy there is the condition, bhāva, of sattva" (only five are given here); while in 35 there are five līṅgas or signs of energy, rajas, and in 36, five guṇas of tamas (= 286, 25 ff., with v. l. = 248, 19 ff.) As tejas, energy, is attributed to Brahman, the term falls into comparative desuetude, being replaced by the less moral rajas, while tejas is left as a virtuous characteristic: dhūtapāpmā tu tejasvī . . . ninīṣed brahmaṇaḥ padam (said of the good man), and Brahman is tejomayam, xii, 241, 9 and 13. So tejas is a good quality, Gītā, 16, 3.<sup>3</sup>

In this conception, sattva is as much of a bond as are the other two guṇas. Knowledge and pleasure are the attachments with which it binds the soul; while rajas binds with action and tamas with heedlessness, laziness, sleep, the signs of inertia, Gītā, 14, 6-8.

<sup>1</sup> The eighteen guṇas of sattva, to give an example, are *prītiḥ prakāśam udreko laghutā sukham eva ca, akārpaṇyam asamrambhah santoṣaḥ śraddadhānatā, kṣamā dhṛtir ahiṃsā ca śaucaṃ akrodha eva ca, ājraṇam samatā satyam anasuyā tathāi 'va ca* (those in italics reappear in the longer list, 314, 17-20).

<sup>2</sup> The Hindu conception is not quite uniform in regard to the guṇas, but there is, I think, no reason for confounding essential constituents with attributes. Joy and sorrow are not the guṇas themselves but their objective signs in the moral world. The true opposites are tejas and tamas, light and darkness, as energy and inertia physically, and as goodness and badness morally.

<sup>3</sup> But rajas often keeps its pure tejas sense, as in xiv, 38, 9, *rajaḥ paryāyakārakam*, rajas is energy.



The Source, Prakṛti, is the combination of the three guṇas, represented as a female productive power. As a lamp lights thousands so the Source modifies herself into the many guṇas (characteristics) of spirit. She does it of her own will and desire, and for the sake of sport.<sup>1</sup>

According to the proportion of guṇas in a creature, it has a high, middle, or low place, xii, 315, 3-4; Gītā, 14, 18. Evidently, therefore, the Yoga-god must be without guṇas, so nirguṇa is predicated of him and of Brahman, nirguṇasya kuto guṇāḥ, xii, 306, 29, as say the guṇadarśinaḥ, but as God must be everything he is also "with guṇas" as well as "without guṇas," a contradiction which is on a par with God's being being and not being being and being neither being nor not-being, the common tangle of metaphysics.<sup>2</sup> In fact, religious philosophy is hopelessly at sea, not only in regard to the question of a conditioned God but also in regard to the guṇas of the spirit. It is universally admitted that energy and inertia must be dispensed with in order to a full attainment of pure spirithood, xiv, 51, 25. But when spirit has sattva alone or is in sattva alone, sattvam āsthāya kevalam, is it one with this being or not? Some say, "and they are wise," that spirit and sattva have unity, kṣetrajñasattvayor āikyam, but this is wrong. Still, they cannot exist apart. There is unity and diversity, as in the case of the lotus and water-drop, the fish in water, the fly in the Udumbara plant, ekatvanānātvam, xiv, 48, 9-11.<sup>3</sup> In xiii, 108, 7, sattva must be "washed out"

<sup>1</sup> prakṛtir guṇān vikurute svacchandenā 'tmakāmyayā kṛdārthe tu, xii, 314, 15-16 (prakṛtis tathā vikurute puruṣasya guṇān bahūn).

<sup>2</sup> God is nirguṇa and guṇātman and nirguṇa alone and triguṇa, etc., xii, 339, 3 ff.; xiii, 137, 3. Guṇa-made are all existences, Gītā, 7, 13; God is not in them, they are in him, ib., 12. They do not affect God, xii, 340, 22 (in 20 it is said that those devoid of rajas and tamas attain to God, presumably retaining sattva; but elsewhere sattva must also be lost, e. g., 335, 30); viddhi bhāvān madācṛayān, xiv, 54, 2; avyaktāt utpanno mahān ātmā ādir guṇānām, 40, 1.

<sup>3</sup> Here Telang is obliged to render sattva as goodness and as nature, according to the verse, e. g., unintelligent sattva, 49, 9, and 12, where the spirit enjoys sattva. Sattva, however, is always conditioned existence or a conditioned being, abstract or concrete. It is the highest, because it may be free

of the soul of pure Yogins, along with *rajas* and *tamas*. In these cases we have simply an attempt on the part of theology to utilize the terms of atheistic philosophy, which naturally leads to confusion. For the terms (applicable to *Prakṛti*) of *Sāṃkhya* are incompatible with the philosophy which substitutes God for both *Purusha* and *Prakṛti*.

When the *guṇas* are called *ātmaguṇas*, as in xiv, 12, 4, it is to distinguish them as mental from the bodily constituents, *guṇāḥ ṣarīrajāḥ*, with which they are compared. As the three constituents of the body, *ṣiṭoṣṇe vāyuḥ ca* (= *kapha*, *pitta*, *vāta*) give a healthy condition when in equilibrium, so the three *ātmaguṇas*, when equal, produce a healthy condition. Here the three are merely essential elements in a *tridhātu* or threefold entity. Thus elements are called, as the constituents or factors, *dhātavaḥ*, inherent in the Source, *dhātavaḥ pāñcabhūtikāḥ*, iii, 211, 9 ff., just as the essential constituents of a king's concern are called *guṇas*, xv, 6, 6.

### Plurality of Spirits.

The passage just cited from the *Anugītā* on "unity and diversity" reflects an important section in *Çānti*. Here, xii, 316, 3 ff., a difference is established between Unmanifest *Prakṛti* and spirit, the former being affected by *guṇas*, incapable of escaping from them, and inherently ignorant; the latter being both pure and contaminated, because he is associated with the Unmanifest. Causing creation he is called creator. Because of his observing as a spectator and of his

from *rajas* and *tamas*, but is itself, though "good," not "best." This is what is in the Hindu's mind, but the distinction between this existence and that of God or Brahman is much like that between the highest knowledge of man and that non-knowledge knowledge of God. Both are attempts to release the infinite from the limitation of any definition. To say *He is* is to put Him in a class, hence we cannot say *He is*, but of course we cannot say "He is not." He is pure knowledge but this is a limitation; hence He knows without knowing and exists without existing, totally indefinable. The difference between the *early* Upanishad and epic philosophy in respect of conditioned *Ātman*, is that only the latter uses technical *Sāṃkhya* terms, just as the later Upanishads use them.



being without a second, *ananyatva*, and of his false opinion (of himself), *abhimāna*, *Yatis* (*Yogas*) regard him (the same spirit) as both eternal and non-eternal, manifest and unmanifest: "This is what I have heard said; but those who have the religion of compassion and abide by knowledge alone, say that there is unity in the Unmanifest but a plurality of spirits." Here the last authorities are clearly the *Sāṃkhyas*, who are characterized in the epic not only as "devoted to knowledge," but as especially moral and compassionate.<sup>1</sup> The section concludes: "*Purusha*, spirit, and the Unmanifest (masculine) are different. The latter is called eternal but is not eternal. Spirit's connection with the Unmanifest is that of the grass blade in its sheath, the fly and the *Udumbara*, the fish in water, the fire in the pan, the lotus and water-drop; there is connection but not identity. This is the *Sāṃkhya* view, the best estimate, *parisāṃkhyāna*."

So in xii, 351, 1, the question is raised in regard to one or many spirits, only to be answered with the statement that there may be many spirits, but they all have the same birth-place. The answer is really assumed in the question,<sup>2</sup> so that the passage is of interest chiefly as showing a full recognition of the fact that *Kapila* taught (as above) the doctrine of multitudinous spirits without a common source. This is brought out more distinctly in the following statement, viz., that *Vyāsa* (the *Yoga*) teaches that all spirits have a common source, although *Kapila* and other metaphysicians have declared *Ṣastras* in which a plurality of spirits is inculcated: "In the discussion (of this subject) by *Sāṃkhya-Yogas* there are many spirits assumed in the world and (these philosophers) will not grant that one spirit (exists as the sole source). (But

<sup>1</sup> *ib. çl. 11: avyaktāi 'katvam ity āhur nānātvam puruṣās tathā sarvabhū-tadayāvantāḥ kevalam jñānam āsthitāḥ.* It is worth noticing how frequently the *Sāṃkhyas* are called "those who have compassion and knowledge," a Buddhistic inheritance apparently, though this is a suggestion liable to seem antiquated.

<sup>2</sup> *bahavaḥ puruṣā brahmann utāho eka eva tu, ko hy atra puruṣaḥ çreṣṭhaḥ ko vā yonir iho 'cyate,* "Are there many spirits or only one? Which is the best? or which (spirit) is the source?"

this is a mere assumption) and, as a sole source of many spirits is declared (to exist), so will I explain that spirit which is superior to conditions (or has superior characteristics) to be the All. . . . This hymn [Rig Veda, x, 90], the Puruṣa-Sūkta expounded in all the Vedas as right and true, has been considered by (Vyāsa), the lion among sages. Āstras with rules and exceptions, utsargenāpavādena, have been proclaimed by sage metaphysicians beginning with Kapila. *But Vyāsa has proclaimed spirit-unity, puruṣāikatvam, and his teaching in brief will I declare.*"

Nothing could show more clearly the absurdity of denying the variegated beliefs reflected in the epic, or the ancient foundation of the Kāpila, not in Brahman but in a plurality of spirits devoid of a common source. In Vyāsa we have a revolt against Kapila, not in absolute rebuttal, but in a denial of his chief principles and in an attempt to show that the time-honored system could be interpreted in accordance with a belief in a personal God.<sup>1</sup>

Another point of importance is the decision with which the heretical view is attacked: "Unity is a proper view, separateness is an incorrect view," *ekatvaṁ darṣanam nānātvam adarṣanam*; again: "The view that the Supreme Soul is one with the individual soul is the correct view; the view that they are separate is an incorrect view," *anidarṣanam* (the commentator says there is another reading *anudarṣanam*, which he interprets as a following or later view, xii, 306, 35-37).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Here the author of Nirvāṇa, p. 97, suppresses the fact that Vyāsa's view is placed in antithesis to Kapila's, and, leaping over the intervening verses, says that Sāṁkhya-Yoga in this passage teaches only a common source of souls. It is indeed said at the end of the text that Sāṁkhya-Yoga is Vishnuism (see just below), but no notice is taken of the fact in Nirvāṇa that the special passage under consideration presents the matter quite differently. The passage above almost seems to imply that Vyāsa is to be regarded as a philosophical teacher especially, perhaps as the author of a philosophical work (Holtzmann opposed, iv, p. 111); possibly of the Vyāsagrantha of i, 70, 45 (commentator opposed). In any case, Vyāsa's teaching, though not that of Bādarāyaṇa, claims to improve on Kapila's view.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Kāṭha, iv, 11: (He perishes) "who sees, as it were, separateness here," *ya iha nāne 'va paçyati* (the separateness is here that of any part of



Of course the Sāṃkhya-Yogas, being the models, are credited with the view expressly said to be not theirs. So in the exposition above from xii, 351, after Vyāsa has been distinctly opposed to the Sāṃkhya-Yogas and his view is explained to be that the different souls (created by Brahman) at last are absorbed into their one source, the "subtile entity appearing as four" (Aniruddha, etc.), it is calmly said that this is Sāṃkhya and Yoga, xii, 352, 12-13, 23. But occasionally this flat self-contradiction is avoided, as it is in the second passage cited above, by saying that while Sāṃkhya-Yogas generally hold a view not quite orthodox, the wise among them think otherwise. Thus: "That twenty-fifth principle which the Sāṃkhya-Yogas as a whole, sarvaçaḥ, proclaim to be *higher than intellect*, buddheḥ param, the wise declare is a (personal) Lord, conditioned and not conditioned, identical both with Purusha and with the Unmanifest . . . and *this is also the opinion of those who being skilled in Sāṃkhya-Yoga seek after a Supreme*," paramāṣiṇaḥ, xii, 306, 31-33. In other words, such Sāṃkhya-Yogas as admit that the twenty-fifth topic is a Supreme Being say that he is our personal God.

### The Twenty-fifth Principle.

In the passage cited above, xii, 306, 33, the spirit is denominated Pañcaviṃśatika, the twenty-fifth principle. This is the last Sāṃkhya topic. But: "The wise say that the twenty-fifth creation is a topic and that there is something apart from the topics and higher." Here stands the implication of the twenty-sixth principle, in contradiction to the preceding, as appears still more plainly in the next section, where 307, 43 ff., it is expressly said: "Counting up the four-and-twenty topics with Prakṛti, the Sāṃkhyas recognize a twenty-fifth principle which is apart from the topics; this twenty-fifth principle is said to be the soul without Source or un-Prakṛti-soul, aprakṛtyātmā, when it is enlightened, budhyamānaḥ; and when it thus recognizes self, it becomes pure and apart, Brahman from the whole). On the Yoga anudarśanam, see the note above, p. 97.

yadā to budhyate 'tmānaṁ tadā bhavati kevalaḥ. This is the correct view according to the topics. Those knowing this attain equableness. From direct perception one could understand Prakṛti from guṇa and topic and so one can judge from things without guṇas. There is something higher than the destructible. They who do not agree to this have a false view and do not become emancipated but are born again in manifest form. The unmanifest is said to be the All. But the twenty-fifth principle is not part of this 'all,' asarvaḥ pañcaviṅśakaḥ. They that recognize him have no fear."

Here there is not an indication of any principle higher than the Sāṁkhya twenty-fifth, except as the commentator reads Brahman into the word self as "soul," but the word is used of jīva in the preceding verse, and of Brahman there is not a word. The "thing to be known" is the "twenty-fifth principle" as opposed to the Unmanifest, which is here the "field" of knowledge. The view of a Lord-principle is distinctly opposed: "It is said that the Unmanifest comprehends not only the field of knowledge (as has just been stated in çl. 38) but also sattva and Lord; the Sāṁkhya-system holds, however, that the twenty-fifth principle has no Lord and is itself the topic that is apart from topics" (that is, the twenty-fifth principle is the supreme principle), 307, 41-42.

This whole chapter, xii, 307, 26 ff., gives as close an approach to Sāṁkhya as is found in the epic. It is called, çl. 42, the Sāṁkhyadarçana, parisāmkhyānudarçana. That is to say,

### **Sāṁkhya is Saṁkhyāna.**

Even in the Anugītā, xiv, 46, 54-56, we read: "The organs, the objects of sense, the five gross elements, mind, intellect, egoism, the Unmanifest, and Spirit (these are given in nominative and accusative) — on counting up all that properly, according to the distinction of topics, tattva, one gets to heaven, released from all bonds. Counting them over, one should reflect on them at the time of one's end. Thus one that knows the topics is released, if one abide by the ekānta,



doctrine of unity." So in xii, 316, 19, *sāṃkhyadarśanam* *etat te paraśaṃkhyānam uttamam*, "the Sāṃkhya system is the best enumeration;" *evam hi paraśaṃkhyāya sāṃkhyāḥ kevelatām gatāḥ*, "the Enumerators by thus enumerating attain separateness." In the same way the Yogin gradually emancipates himself by *paraśaṃkhyāya*, enumerating the steps of abstraction, xii, 317, 16. The same thing is found in *Gītā* 18, 19, where *guṇasaṃkhyāna* or "enumeration of guṇas" is equivalent to Sāṃkhya. Even more strongly is this shown when Yoga and Sāṃkhya are antithetic, like Yoga and Sāṃkhya, as in xii, 314, 3 ff., where the *sāṃkhyānadarśinaḥ* are opposed to *yoga-pradarśinaḥ*; and in xiii, 141, 83: *yukto yogam prati sadā prati sāṃkhyānam eva ca*.

### The Sāṃkhya Scheme.

As I have shown above, this system stops with the twenty-fifth principle. This fact sometimes appears only incidentally, as when in xiv, 48, 4, we read: "By ten or twelve suppressions of breath one attains to that which is higher than the twenty-four."<sup>1</sup> In its environment this verse is as significant as it is grotesque; but it is simply carried over from an older account: "Turning the senses from the objects of sense by means of the mind, one that is pure and wise should with ten or twelve urgings urge the soul to that which is beyond the twenty-fourth principle," xii, 307, 10-11. Here, at the outset of the chapter discussed above, it is evident that no twenty-sixth is contemplated. The conditioned soul is to be urged to associate itself with the pure soul and abstain from the other elements which condition it. This pure soul is declared to be the "inner self standing in the breast," *antarātmā hṛdayasthaḥ*, *çl.* 19, which in Yoga contemplation appears like a bright fire. "It has no source, *ayoni*; it stands in all beings an immortal thing, and is not seen, but may be known by intelligence, *buddhidravyeṇa dr̥çyeta*. He makes the worlds,

<sup>1</sup> The commentator says ten or twelve, *vā 'pi* may mean *and*, i. e., twenty-two. He gives the exercises.

standing beyond darkness, and he is called *tamonuda*, *vita-maskā*, the smiter of darkness," 24. So much for the Yoga doctrine, where the inner soul is that "which surpasses the twenty-fourth," and is then treated (as given above) as neuter *tad* or masculine, but without recognition of the Lord-Soul as twenty-sixth.<sup>1</sup> Then follows the *Sāṃkhya-jñāna* (*parisaṃkhyānadarśanam*), 307, 26 ff.: "It is the system of the *Prakṛtivādins* and starts with highest *Prakṛti*, which is the Unmanifest. From this is produced the Great One (neuter), intellect, as the second; from the Great One, egoism, as the third; and the *Sāṃkhyaṭmadarśinaḥ* say that the five elements come from egoism. These together are the eight (forms of) the Source, called the eight sources (because productive). The modifications are sixteen. There are five gross elements, *viṣeṣāḥ*, and five senses (or the sixteen are the five gross elements and ten organs with mind).<sup>2</sup> These (twenty-four) are all the topics, *tattvas*, as explained in the enumeration of the *Sāṃkhyas*. Inversely as it created them the inner soul, *antarātman*, also absorbs them, as the sea absorbs its waves. The Source is a unit at absorption and a plurality at creation, *ekatva*, *bahutva*. The Source itself has the principle of productivity, *prasava*. Over this field<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This section, like the one cited above (to which it is a parallel), ends with *yoga eṣo hi yogānām*. The next verse (though in the middle of a chapter) has the Upanishad mark of a closed account, *yogadarśanam etāvāt* (as in *Kaṭha*, *etāvad anudarśanam*). The soul appears as a smokeless fire, *vidhūma*, as in *Kaṭha*, iv, 13, *adhūmaka*; it is *aṇubhyo aṇu*, as *Kaṭha*, ii, 20, etc. The point of view is wholly that of *Ātmaism* to the very end without a trace of *Vishnuism*. It is, however, an intruded section, for the opening of the chapter marks a repetition, the questioner saying: "Now you have told me all about oneness and separateness, but I should like to hear it all again" (just as the *Anugītā* is marked).

<sup>2</sup> So the commentator explains *ṣl. 29-30*, *etā prakṛtayaḥ cā 'ṣṭāu vikāraḥ cā 'pi ṣoḍaśa, pañca cāl 'va viṣeṣā vāi tathā pañce 'ndriyāṇi ca, etāvad eva tattvānām sāṃkhyam āhur manīṣiṇaḥ*. But see below.

<sup>3</sup> Instead of "field" we find also the "pasture": "When the senses (*indriyāṇi* *pramāthini*, as in the *Gītā*) return from the pasture, *gocarāḥ*, and rest at home, then shalt thou see the highest self with the self, the great all-soul" (self), xii, 251, 6. The principle of productivity, *prasava*, is synonymous with *Prakṛti*. Thus we have *prakṛtijā guṇāḥ* (*Gītā*), and *prasavajā guṇāḥ*, xiii, 85, 105.



stands the Great Soul as the twenty-fifth, called the *kṣetrajña*, field-knower, also the male, *Puruṣa* (*avyaktike praviṣṭe*, 38). The field is the Unmanifest, the knower of the field is the twenty-fifth principle." Then follows the extract given above. It is clear that here the twenty-fifth principle (*Puruṣa*) is not a lower principle than a twenty-sixth (not recognized at all). Still more remarkable is the following exposition:

In xii, 311, 8 ff.: "There are eight sources and sixteen modifications. Metaphysicians explain the eight as the Unmanifest, the Great One (*masc.*), *egoism*, and earth, wind, air, water, and light. These are the eight sources. The modifications are (the five perceptive organs) ear, skin, eye, tongue, and nose; the five (great elements), sound, touch, color, taste, smell; the five (organs of action) voice, hands, feet, and two organs of excretion. [These differences, *viśeṣāḥ*, are in the five great elements, *mahābhūtas*; and those organs of perception are *saviśeṣāṇi*, that is, differentiated.] Mind, say the metaphysicians, is the sixteenth." The bracketed stanza<sup>1</sup> interrupts the description (as in the scheme above) with a statement of the "differences" appertaining to the gross elements (as distinct from the fine elements, which have only one characteristic apiece, and are *aviśeṣa*).

Both these schemes<sup>2</sup> give the Aphorism's list, whereby the *tattvas* of the *Sāṅkhya* (the *Yoga* is here expressly included, çl. 8) appear as follows:—

Eight productive forms of <i>Prakṛti</i> .	{	The Unmanifest
		Intellect
		Egoism
		Five (fine) elements (not here named collectively; called <i>tanmātras</i> elsewhere).

<sup>1</sup> ete *viśeṣā rājendra mahābhūteṣu pañcasu buddhīndriyāṇy athāi 'tāni saviśeṣāṇi*, *Māithīla*, 311, 14.

<sup>2</sup> Compare xiv, 40, 1 ff., where the same creations appear.

Sixteen modifica- tions.	{	5 Organs of Perception ( <i>buddhīndriyas</i> , cl. 14).
		5 Organs of Action (not here named collectively; called <i>karmendriyas</i> elsewhere).
		1 Mind.
		5 Gross elements ( <i>viṣeṣas</i> , <i>mahābhūtas</i> ).

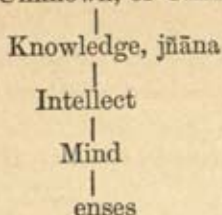
But to the scheme at xii, 311, there is appended the following incongruous account, thus, cl. 16 ff.: "From the Unmanifest is produced the Great Soul, *mahān ātmā*, which the wise say is the first creation, and call the *prādhānika*. From the Great One is produced egoism, the second creation, which is called *buddhyātmaka*, that is, identical with intellect. From egoism is produced mind, *bhūtaguṇātmaka*, identical with the elemental constituents, called *āhamkārika*, that is, egoistic, the third creation, *sargaḥ*. From mind are produced the great elements, *mahābhūtāḥ* (sic),<sup>1</sup> the fourth creation, called *mānasa*, mental. The fifth creation comprises sound, touch, color, taste, and smell, which is called elemental, *bhāutika*. The sixth creation is the ear, skin, eye, tongue, nose, called *bahucintātmaka*, that is, identical with much thought (matter is only a form of mind). The seventh creation is the group of organs (of action) after the ear, called organ-creation, *āindriya*. The eighth creation is the up-and-across stream (of breaths) called *ārjavaka*, that is, upright. The ninth is the down-and-across, also called *ārjavaka*. These are the nine creations, *sargāṇi*, and the twenty-four topics, *tattvāni*, declared according to the system of revelation (*ṣrutinidarṣanāt*)." So this scheme ends without hint of a twenty-sixth principle, but with productive mind and a substitution of *ātman*, soul, for intellect.

A more striking substitution is found in xii, 204, 10-11, where, instead of the received order as given above, the list from Source to the senses is as follows:

<sup>1</sup> As remarked above, organs and elements are called indifferently *indriyāḥ* or *indriyāṇi*, *mahābhūtāḥ* or *mahābhūtāni*, as shown here and elsewhere. So in this passage, *sargaḥ* and *sargāṇi*. Compare *tattvān*, above, p. 98.



The Great Unknown, or Unmanifest, avyaktam, mahat



In the following section, 205, 16 ff., intellect active in mind is mind. It is mind which is freed from the guṇas and, ib. 9, mind, as a form of knowledge impeded by the guṇas, produces intellect, which must be withdrawn into mind again for one to attain the highest. In these cases, there can be, from a synthetic point of view, no unsystematic interpretation of intellect and knowledge and mind, but a loose<sup>1</sup> exploiting of Sāṃkhya in terms of Brahmaism, because elsewhere the Sāṃkhya scheme is fully recognized. So carelessly are the terms employed that, while in one part of the exposition knowledge is Brahman and mind is a part of it, related to it as jīva is to Ātman, in another part we are told that this knowledge comes from something higher, the Unmanifest. Again, Brahman is not the Unmanifest but in the Unmanifest, xii, 319, 1. There is no substitution for egoism in the above, for this is recognized in another stanza which enumerates as the "group called bhūtas," (created) spirit (!), Source, intellect, objects of sense, the organs, egoism and false opinion, 205, 24.<sup>2</sup> Here

<sup>1</sup> These *para* ladders (compare Gītā, 3, 42; Kaṭh. iii, 10) are found everywhere and often contradict the regular schemes: "Soul is higher than mind, mind than senses, highest of creatures are those that move; of these the bipeds; of these the twice-born; of these the wise, of these those that know the soul, ātman; of these the humble," xii, 298, 19 ff.; "Objects are higher than senses, mind higher than objects, intellect higher than mind, the great Ātman higher than intellect," xii, 247, 3 ff. (in 249, 2 *para* mataḥ for mahān *paraḥ*); "The unmanifest is higher than the great; the immortal is higher than the unmanifest: nothing is higher than the immortal" (ib.). The stages in xiv, 50, 54 ff., are space or air, egoism, intellect, soul, the unmanifest, and spirit!

<sup>2</sup> This is called the samūho bhūtasamjñakāḥ, or "group of so-called created things," which is noteworthy as containing Puruṣa, spirit, and abhīmāna, false opinion, as a distinct factor.

the source of the Source and of Purusha alike is Brahman, a view utterly opposed to the passages cited above.

The Anugītā, which, as already indicated, also has the schemes above, continues in xiv, 42, with a parallel to xii, 314, on the relation of the elements to the individual, as organ, to the object, and to the special deity concerned with each action. At the opening of the eighth chapter of the Gītā adhyātma is called the individual manifestation. It is literally that connected with the self or soul, and is often used as a noun in the sense of metaphysics (xii, 194 and 248, etc.).<sup>1</sup> In xii, 314, 4 and 14, it is said that an explanation as the Sāṃkhyas represent it, yatha saṃkhyānadarçinaḥ, is given of the manifestations according to the individual, vyaktito vibhūti, which differs somewhat from that in the Anugītā. The scheme is as follows, starting with the elements and with ākāṣa, air, as the first bhūta in the latter account:

adhyātma	Air	Wind	Light	Water	Earth	elements
	ear	skin	eye	tongue	nose	organs of
adhibhūta	sound	touch (object of)	color	taste	smell	sense objects
adhidāivata	Diśas	Lightning (Pavana)	Sun	Soma (Water)	Wind	divinities
adhyātma	feet	pāyu	upaśtha	hands	voice	organs of action
adhibhūta	going	excretion	nanda (çukra)	doing, acts	speaking	activities
adhidāivata	Vishnu	Mitra	Prajāpati	Indra	Fire	divinities
adhyātma	Mind		Egoism		Intellect <sup>2</sup>	mental powers
adhibhūta	thinking (mantavya, saṃkalpa)		abhimāna		understanding, or thinking	activities
adhidāivata	Moon		Rudra, or Intellect		Keśtrajña, or Brahman	divinities

<sup>1</sup> Compare the use of these terms in BAU. iii, 7, 14. On adhyātma in this sense, compare also xii, 331, 30, adhyātmaratir āsino nirapekṣaḥ . . . ātmanāi 'va sahāyena yaç caret sa sukhī bhavet.

<sup>2</sup> buddhiḥ ṣaḍindriyavicāriṇī, "directing the six senses" (usually a function of mind, which is here pañcabhūtātmacārakam), xiv, 42, 29, and 31. The function of intellect is here mantavyam, which in Çānti is given to mind. Rudra in the preceding group in Anugītā is replaced by buddhi in Çānti, where buddhi is both adhyātma and adhidāivata. The adhidāivata of intellect is spirit, keśtrajña, in Çānti: Brahman, in the Anugītā. It is apparent that we have here (a) rather late matter, (b) worked over by two sets of revisors.



This scheme is unknown in the older Upanishads. Even egoism thus appears first (with some variations) in Praṇa, iv, 8 (Deussen). Compare xii, 240, 8, above, where Fire is the divinity to digestion, not to voice, and Sarasvatī is assigned to the tongue. When, as often happens, no egoism is mentioned, it is because the intellect ("the twelfth" as it is called in the very passage which gives thirteen above, xiv, 42, 16, and in the *Pañcaṣikha* schemes given below) is held to imply egoism. The frequent omission, however, seems to point to the fact that there was originally no distinction, or, in other words, that intellect was primarily regarded as necessarily self-conscious as soon as it became manifest at all.

### **The Twenty-Sixth Principle.**

Clearly as most of the schemes given above reveal the fact that the twenty-fifth principle, or in other words pure Ego, was regarded as the culmination of the group of systematized categories, the intrusion into this scheme of a new principle, overlapping the twenty-fifth, is here and there made manifest. This new principle is the one denied in the Sāṃkhyan scheme, namely that of a personal Lord, *īṣvara*, which is upheld in the contrasted Yogin scheme. This twenty-sixth principle is explained in xii, 308; after the speaker says he has disposed of the Sāṃkhya system. Here the male conditioned spirit bewails his intercourse with the female Source, and the fact that associating with her he has not recognized that he has been "like a fish in water," a foreign element in combination with matter, and consequently is reborn again and again, *cl.* 24-26; but now he becomes enlightened, buddha, and will reach unity, as well as likeness with the Lord-spirit, the indestructible, 27-40. The twenty-sixth principle is thus recognized not only as the one eternal principle, but as a personal spirit, *ayam atra bhaved bandhuḥ*, 27. Then follows another exposition, which is based on the system of Nārada, received by him from Vasiṣṭha, who in turn received it from Hiraṇyagarbha, 309, 40. This system is both Yoga and Sāṃkhya, the systems being double but the teach-

ing being identical (*yad eva cāstraṁ Sāṁkhyānām yogadarśanam eva tat*, 308, 44), the claim usually made when Yoga is advocated. A huge *Āstra* is that of the Sāṁkhyas, "as say *viduṣo janāḥ*," and one "to which, along with the Veda, Yogins have recourse." In other words, the Yoga teaching is based on Veda and on the Sāṁkhya as a precedent system. Then follows the admission: "In it (the Sāṁkhya system) no principle higher than the twenty-fifth is recognized," (*asmin cāstre*) *pañcaviṅśat param tattvaṁ paṭhyate na, narādhipa*, whereas: "The Yoga philosophers declare a *budhyamāna* or individual spirit and a *buddha* or Lord-Spirit to be in accordance with their principles, the latter being identical with the former, except that it is fully enlightened," *çl.* 48.

Here also is a perfectly clear and frank statement, which may be paraphrased thus: "In older Sāṁkhya philosophy the highest principle recognized is that of the pure individual Ego; in the Yoga philosophy this Ego is identified as individual spirit with the fully enlightened Lord." Hence Yogas (and not Sāṁkhyas) speak of *budhyamāna* and *buddha* as two but identical, *budhyamānam ca buddhaṁ ca prāhur yoganidarśanam*, *çl.* 48. Elsewhere the twenty-fifth principle is itself the Lord: *aham puruṣaḥ pañcaviṅśakaḥ*.<sup>1</sup>

After this introduction the speaker, *Vasiṣṭha*, proceeds to describe this Yoga philosophy in detail. The Lord-Spirit "divides himself into many," *ātmānam bahudhā kṛtvā*, and becomes the different *abuddhas*, or imperfectly enlightened spirits conditioned by *Prakṛti*. Thus he becomes conditioned, *guṇān dhārayate*, and "modifies himself" without true knowledge of himself, *vikurvāṇo budhyamāno na budhyate*. In this condition, then, he becomes creator and absorber of what

<sup>1</sup> Compare xii, 340, 43, personal God is the twenty-fifth. He is the witness devoid of *guṇas*, and of *kalās*, *ib.* 23; "the twenty-fifth, beyond the twice twelve *tattvas*," *ib.* 24. In this passage the Unmanifest is resolved into *Puruṣa*, 340, 30-31. This is worth noting as being in direct contradiction of the theory of unchanging eternal *Prakṛti*, as enunciated in xii, 217, 8: "Both *Puruṣa* and the unmanifest Source are eternal, without beginning and without end." In 335, 29-31, Source is both born and indestructible. Compare H. 3, 85, 16, as cited above, p. 98.



he has created. The conditioned cannot understand the unconditioned; it is the Un-understanding, *apratibudhyakam* (sic, 309, 4). The conditioned spirit can understand the Unmanifest but "he cannot understand the stainless eternal buddha, which is the twenty-sixth principle," *ṣaḍvinçam vimalam buddham sanātanam*, though the latter "understands both the twenty-fifth and the twenty-fourth principles," 309, 7. "This twenty-sixth principle is pure unmanifest Brahman, which is connected with all that is seen and unseen," ib. 8. "When the conditioned spirit recognizes the pure Highest Intelligence, then he becomes clear-eyed, *avyakta-locanaḥ*, and free of the Source" (*tadā prakṛtimān*, sic, read *apra*?). The twenty-sixth is this Highest Intelligence; it is "the topic and that which is apart from all topics," çl. 10 and 13. "The conditioned spirit attains likeness with the twenty-sixth principle when it recognizes itself as the twenty-sixth," *ṣaḍvinço 'ham iti prājñāḥ*, çl. 16. "That *separateness* of spirits which is part of the exposition of Sāṃkhya is really (explained by) the conditioned spirit when not fully enlightened by the (fully) enlightened twenty-sixth," *ṣaḍvinçena prabuddhena budhyamāno 'py abuddhimān, etan nānātvam ity uktam sāmkhyaçrutinidarçanāt*, çl. 17. The continuation of this teaching points out that unity with Brahman is attained by the individual spirit only when it no longer has any consciousness (of self), *yadā buddhyā na budhyate*, çl. 18.

In this passage the attempt to reconcile the doctrine of the Sāṃkhya individual spirits, *nānātvam*, "than which there is nothing higher," with the doctrine of unity, *ekatva*, is as plain as a reasonable historian could expect to find it. "Thus it is," the account concludes, "that one must understand the (two theories of) separateness and unity," *nānātvāikatvam etāvad draṣṭavyam çāstradarçanāt*, çl. 22. And then occurs a very pretty lapsus. The images of the fly encased in the plant, *maçakodumbare*, and the fish in water, *matsyodake*, are constantly employed in Sāṃkhyan philosophy, as shown above, to illustrate the fact that spirit is different from the Source, though externally united. Our good *Vasiṣṭha*, how-

ever, brings these images in to illustrate the difference, anyatvam, between the individual spirit and Brahman: "The difference between the fly and plant, between the fish and water, is to be understood as the combined separateness and unity of these two," as if, from the historical connotation of these images, they were essentially different, whereas according to the exposition they are essentially one. But this is of a piece with the use of vikurvāṇas, a Sāṃkhya term applied to the modifications of the Source, when used above, of Brahman.

This Yoga doctrine, as explained above, is to be taught (not to the man that bases his philosophy on the Veda, na<sup>1</sup> vedaniṣṭhasya janasya . . . pradeyam, but) "to any one that desires it for the sake of wisdom and receives it with submission," çl. 32.

The Yoga doctrine as here represented stands midway between Sāṃkhya and Brahmaism. The former side has been fully illustrated. In regard to the latter it will have been noticed that while the personal Lord-Spirit is a form of Brahman, and Brahman in turn is identified with the pure essence of every individual spirit, it is merely said that Brahman is connected with the visible as well as with the invisible, dṛṣyādṛṣye hy anugatam, 309, 8. The Brahman here represented is not the All, but a pure Supreme Spirit into which fractional spirits, parts of Brahman when he "made himself many," are reabsorbed. Of the identity of the objective world with this Brahman there is no word; neither is there any hint that the objective world is illusion, except that at the beginning of the preceding section, 308, 2 ff., the general opinion, āhuḥ, is cited that "the Unmanifest is ignorance," avidyā, as opposed to the twenty-fifth principle as wisdom, vidyā.<sup>2</sup> Elsewhere "the Source is knowledge," jñāna, but also avedyam avyaktam, as opposed to (jñeyo) vedyah puruṣah, 319, 40.

<sup>1</sup> But nā<sup>o</sup>, v. I, N., "to one wise in the Veda it may be imparted or to," etc. Those excluded are given in the following verses as liars and other evil-doers, a long list.

<sup>2</sup> But ib. 7, the Source as unmanifest is vidyā; the highest is Vidhī (compare pradhānavidhiyogasthaḥ of Çiva, xiii, 14, 423), the Creator.



This doctrine of the twenty-sixth principle belongs only to the later part of the pseudo-epic. The passage given above is found virtually repeated in xii, 319, 56, and 70 ff. Here as Prakṛti the chief-thing, pradhāna, does not know spirit, so spirit does not know Supreme Spirit. "The one that is different (spirit), seeing and yet not seeing, looks upon the twenty-sixth, the twenty-fifth (pure spirit) and twenty-fourth. But the twenty-fifth also does not recognize the twenty-sixth, who recognizes him, and having a false opinion of himself thinks that no one is higher than he" (so 316, 4). And further: "The twenty-fourth should not be accepted by wise men (as the twenty-fifth), any more than, because of mere association, the fish should be identified with the water it has entered (74). The twenty-fifth on realizing that it is different (from the twenty-fourth) becomes one with the twenty-sixth and recognizes (the latter). For though The Best appears different from the twenty-fifth, the saints regard this as due to the conditioned nature of the twenty-fifth and declare that the two are really identical. Therefore, being afraid of birth and death, and beholding the twenty-sixth, neither Yogas nor Sāṅkhyas admit that the twenty-fifth is the indestructible."

Here again, with the new notion that jīva is destructible (in Paramātmān) there is the attempt to foist on the Sāṅkhya the belief which has been formally denied to them. Similarly in the Aniruddha theology, of the personal Lord Govinda, who is said to "create the elements," xii, 207, 7 ff., it is said: "From him whom Sāṅkhya and Yoga philosophers declare as Highest Soul, Paramātmān, and who is called the Great Spirit, mahāpuruṣa, is derived the unmanifest, avyaktam, of which he is the base, pradhānam. From the unmanifest Lord, Īṣvara, came the manifest, and he is Aniruddha, called the great Soul. As egoism he created Brahmān and the elements, and then the guṇas," xii, 341, 28-33.

In this copy of the preceding passage there is also no notion of Vedānta as implying Māyā or illusion. Significant is the fact that the present teaching is represented in the fol-

lowing stanzas, 319, 84-86, as being newly inculcated, and especially designed for those who desire emancipation, in contrast to the Sāṃkhya and Yogas, who are content with their own doctrines, dharma.

✓ It is thus clear that Sāṃkhya is merely a name to appeal to, and stands in this regard on a footing with Veda, an authority claimed for the most divergent teaching.

### **Māyā, Self-Delusion.**

The "illusion" theory of the universe is a development from the simple idea of delusion, often self-delusion. The ordinary (non-philosophical) epic māyā is a trick of delusion. Gods indulge in it to overcome their enemy. The illusion-god par excellence, Vishnu as Krishna, thus deludes his enemies by making them think the sun has set when it has not, or by parallel magic tricks.<sup>1</sup> This, in my opinion,<sup>2</sup> is the only meaning in the older Upanishads, Indro māyābhiḥ puru-rūpaḥ, Bṛh., ii, 5, 19 (from the Rig Veda), "Indra multi-form through tricks of delusion;" na yeṣu jīhamam anṛtaṁ na māyā ca, "in whom there is naught crooked, nor untrue, nor any trick," Praṇa, i, 16. Magic seems to be the meaning (parallel with moha) in Māitrī, iv, 2, where occurs the indrajāla-māyā of Mbh. v, 160, 55.

In Gītā 7, 14-25, māyā is a divine, dāivī, delusion caused by the guṇas, guṇamayī, characterizing people wicked and foolish; in 4, 6, it is a psychic delusion, ātmamāyā, which causes the unborn God by means of Prakṛti to appear to be born (not, be it noticed, which causes the not-soul to appear to be real). It occurs in one other passage, 18, 61, where it is the equivalent of moha in the preceding stanza (as in Māitrī Up., above). In all these passages, although it is possible to read into māyā the meaning given it by Ćaṅkara, for example, yet the simpler meaning suffices of either trick

<sup>1</sup> This is called indifferently māyā (chadma) or yoga, v, 160, 54-58; vii, 146, 68, etc.

<sup>2</sup> In this interpretation of māyā I am forced to differ from that of Deussen, who holds that māyā is Vedantic Illusion (i.e., the not-soul appears through divine Illusion to be real) even in the earliest scriptures.



or delusion (false understanding) applied to the relation of individual soul and God, and this is probably the meaning, because *māyā* as illusion plays no part in the development of the scheme. Guṇa-made delusion is the regular Sāṃkhya Prakṛti-made ignorance; it is not Prakṛti's self.

The expression used above of Krishna's *māyā* that it is "divine," has no special philosophical significance. The same phrase is applied to Duryodhana's water-trick, *dāivīm māyām imāṃ kṛtvā*, ix, 31, 4. When, too, Krishna in the *Gītā* says that he is born by *ātmanāyā*, it must be remembered that in describing the parallel situation in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, where Vishnu is born as Rāma, the word *chadman*, disguise, cover, is used as the equivalent of *māyā*, G. vi, 11, 32.

In a very interesting critique of the new doctrine of *mokṣa*, that is, salvation without Vedic sacrifices, an orthodox objector is represented as saying: "This doctrine of salvation has been brought out by miserable idle pundits; it is based on ignorance of the Veda and is a lie under the guise of truth. Not by despising the Vedas, not by chicanery and delusion (*māyayā*) does a man obtain great (Brahman). He finds Brahman in brahman" (Veda).<sup>1</sup>

Similarly, when Drāupadī philosophizes in iii, 30, 32, her opening words show that she reveres as the chief god the Creator, who, like other creatures, is subject to transmigration, 32, 7, and is in no respect an All-god, though a later rewriting of the scene mixes up Bhagavat, Içvara, and Prajāpati.<sup>2</sup> This god, she says, has deluded (*moha*) her husband's mind

<sup>1</sup> As the section is occupied in advocating the one-soul (All-soul), *āikātmya*, doctrine, it is clear that *māyā* is here merely delusion or deceit, xii, 270, 50-51. The words of the text are: *çriyā vihināir alasāiḥ paṇḍitāiḥ sampravartitam, vedavādāparijñānaṃ satyābhāsam ivā 'nṛtaṃ . . . na vedānām paribhāvān na çāthyena na māyayā mahat prāpnoti puruṣo brahmaṇi brahma vindati*, xii, 270, 17, 19. Kapila, to whom the remark is addressed, admits "the Vedas are authoritative," *vedāḥ pramāṇaṃ lokānām*, 271, 1, but, 43, insists that, though "everything is based on the Veda," the cruel animal sacrifices therein enjoined are objectionable (as cited above), and upholds the thesis that "knowledge is the best means of salvation," *jñānaṃ tu paramā gatiḥ*, 271, 38—this by the bye.

<sup>2</sup> The revision appears clearly at the end in Drāupadī's conversion. Compare the comments, AOS, Proceed., March, 1894.

and in deluding men generally, mohayitvā, the Lord shows the power of his delusion, māyāprabhava, which deludes them by ātmamāyā (the same expression as that of the Gītā, cited above), making them kill each other as blind instruments of his will, which act without volition, just as a stone breaks another in the hands of a man. Man proposes, but God disposes<sup>1</sup> by means of a trick, chadma kṛtvā, 30, 36, "playing with men as children play with toys." "Fie, fie," says her husband, "don't speak so of the Lord, through whose grace the faithful gets immortality," 31, 42; "for these things are divine mysteries (devaguhyāni, rewards of good and evil), since the divinities are full of secret tricks," gūḍhamāyā hi devatāḥ, 31, 35-37. The Ṣāstras and faith, not magic, māyā, or sinful works, give faith in Krishna, v. 69, 3-5.

Again, in the account of the Pañcakālājñas, the visiting Hindus, who look with awe on the service paid to the One God, say that they could hear the hymn, but could not see the god, because, as they suppose, they were "deluded by the god's māyā," mohitās tasya māyayā, xii, 337, 44-48. God in the following is called the mahāmāyādhara, as he is also called by the rather modern epithets cāturmahārājika, saptamahābhāga,<sup>2</sup> xii, 339, 3 ff. Here māyā is truly illusion, as it is said in 340, 43-45: "God is he by whom this illusion (of visible God) was created," māyā hy eṣā mayā sṛṣṭā yan mām paçyasi, Nārada; but it is not illusion embracing the world of objective things, even in this late account (careless enough, for example, to construe iti vāi menire vayam, 337, 38). There is at least no passage in the epic which says bluntly that "Prakṛti is māyā," as does Çvet. Up. iv, 10. On the contrary, the great mass of epic philosophy, though it teaches that the sinner is deluded "by Vishnu's hundred māyās," 302, 59, teaches also that this delusion is merely a confusion of mind in respect of the relation of the pure soul to the conditioned soul. It does not teach that those things which condition the soul are an

<sup>1</sup> anyathā manyante puruṣās tāni tāni ca . . . anyathā prabhuḥ karoti vīkaroti ca, iii, 30, 34.

<sup>2</sup> He is also called ākhaṇḍala, which in xii, 337, 4, is still an epithet of Indra.



illusion, but that they are eternal substance, either in themselves or as parts of Brahman. Take for instance the long account in xii, 196 to 201. It is not suggested that the sinner divest himself of illusion. He goes into moha, that is he becomes confused, and again he enters Brahman, 197, 10; or "enjoys bliss," *ramate sukham* ("if he does not wish the highest, because his soul is still tinged with desire, *rāgātmā*, he attains whatever he desires").<sup>1</sup> Knowledge is Brahman, and hence one must be free of all delusion to be Brahman indeed, and truly immortal,<sup>2</sup> but the objective world is seldom an illusion of Brahman. Moreover, the *avidyā* of God is clearly an afterthought. According to one section in *Īānti*, God creates the world "at the point of day" through *avidyā* or ignorance. First *mahat* was born, "which quickly became mind" (where mind and not intellect is *vyakta*, manifest), which is "characterized by desire and doubt."<sup>3</sup> This same account in its first form is found in 232, 32, without *avidyā*: "The Lord, *Īvara*, sleeps during the cataclysm sunk in meditation, *dhyāna*; but, when awakened at the close of night, he transforms the eternal, *vikurute brahmā 'kṣayyam*, and produces the Great Being, whence mind, one with the manifest." The following section simply picks up this account, repeats it in almost the same words, but slips in *avidyā* to explain the expression "creates." The alteration is the more marked as

<sup>1</sup> Some very grotesque conceptions are expressed here. In 200, 25, the *jīva* soul goes to *Ātman*; or goes to heaven and lives separately. When as a flame the spirit ascends to heaven, *Brahmān* like a courteous host says "Come, stay with me," makes it (or him) *conscious* and then swallows him!

<sup>2</sup> "Sorrow is the end of joy as night is the end of day, joy is the end of sorrow, as day is the end of night" (these succeed each other and each has its end); "only knowledge ends not, for knowledge is Brahman," xiv, 44, 18, 20-21; 47, 1. Not till 52, 9, i.e., after the *Anugītā*, is finished, is *Māyā* a factor here. Previously there is only the *ghoramoha* or horrible misunderstanding of truth, xiv, 45, 4, etc. In xviii, 3, 36, *Indra's māyā* is an optical delusion.

<sup>3</sup> xii, 233, 1 ff. Here is to be noticed a contradiction in epic psychology. Mind in this passage has *prārthanā* and *śiṣṭkṣā*, that is it desires, whereas elsewhere desire (the unexplained "seventh," xii, 177, 52) is an attribute of egoistic intellect. Desire is born of imagination, *saṁkalpa*, xii, 177, 25; it is destroyed by avoiding this, 302, 56; but, "remove mind from *saṁkalpa* and fix it on self," 241, 17.

many texts make no division of chapters here. In either case the account of creation goes right on, first, 232, 32, stated as (Īṣvaraḥ) :

pratibuddho vikurute brahmā 'kṣayyaṁ kṣapākṣaye  
srjate ca mahad bhūtaṁ tasmād vyaktātmakam  
manah

and then as:

brahmatejomayaṁ çukraṁ yasya sarvaṁ idaṁ jagat  
ekasya bhūtaṁ bhūtasya dvayaṁ sthāvara jaṅgamam  
aharmukhe vibuddhaḥ san srjate 'vidyayā jagat  
agra eva mahad bhūtaṁ āṇu vyaktātmakam manah.

As the seven creators<sup>1</sup> mentioned in the following stanza, 233, 3, are explained as intellect, mind, and the five elements, it is clear also that egoism as a distinct factor is omitted. The seven cannot create apart, so they unite and make the body which the "great beings," bhūtāni mahānti, enter with Karma. The ādikartā, First Creator, is Prajāpati, who acts without Māyā, çl. 13.<sup>2</sup> In short, while sometimes recognized, Māyā is generally unknown in the epic, because the epic lacks unity, being now and then Vedantic, but generally Yogaistic.

### Pañcaçikha's System.

In the presentation above I have analyzed the three different religious philosophies advocated in the pseudo-epic; the Sāṅkhya, which holds to spirit and Source as distinct immortal entities; the Yoga, which adds the Supreme Spirit; and the personal religion of Nārada and others, which makes of the Paramātmā or Supreme Spirit a modified form of Brahman known as Aniruddha, etc., and identified with Krishna. In xii, 352, 13, the Paramātmā doctrine is declared to be the

<sup>1</sup> mānasa, "mind-creatures," the same epithet as that applied to the eternal Deva in xii, 182, 11. Compare BAU. ii, 5, 7; Gītā, 10, 6.

<sup>2</sup> sarvabhūtāny upādāya tapasaç caraṇāya hi ādikartā sa bhūtānām tam evā 'huḥ prajāpatim. The commentator explains "by means of Māyā" (BAU. ii, 5, 19), but there is not even the suggestion of the Māyā doctrine here. The etymology in çl. 11 (te . . . çarirāçrayaṇam prāptās tato puruṣa ucyate) seems to be owing to a confusion with puriçayam puruṣam iṣate, Praç. v. 5.



opinion of some Pundits only, in distinction from that of the knowledge-philosophers, who are said to hold to unity of soul. However this passage may be interpreted,<sup>1</sup> it is evident that it distinctly sets over against each other the Yoga and Brahman interpretation. Paramātman is identified with Vishnu the "unconditioned, All-soul spirit." The religion taught is expressly opposed, as something higher, to Sāṃkhya and Yoga (çl. 7-8), and by comparison with other schemes is of Pāñcarātra character. A preceding section states that the same religion is identical with the doctrine taught to Arjuna in the Gītā, 349, 8, and (as already noticed) it is here called "the Krishna religion," Sātvata dharma, which has mysteries, abstracts, and an Āraṇyaka (ib., 29-31). It was handed down through the seers, and a priest who was acquainted with the (Jyeṣṭha) Sāman (and) Vedānta. His name was Jeṣṭha (sic). Then it disappeared, to be promulgated again in the Harigītāḥ, ib. 46 and 53. In it, Vishnu as God is adored in one, two, three, or four forms (the usual group is meant, Aniruddha, Pradyumna, Saṅkarṣaṇa, Vāsudeva).<sup>2</sup> The disciples are called "those devoted to one God," ekāntinas, and it is hard to find many of them (durlabhāḥ, 349, 62, compare Gītā, 7, 19). They are identified with the Pāñcarātras (so 336, 25), a sect

<sup>1</sup> The words seem to indicate the antithesis not of three but of two beliefs: *evam hi paramātmānam kecid icchanti paṇḍitāḥ, ekātmānam tathā 'tmānam apare jñānacintakāḥ, tatra yaḥ paramātmā hi sa nityam nirguṇaḥ smṛtaḥ, sa hi Nārāyaṇo jñeyaḥ sarvātmapuruṣo hi saḥ*. The commentator, however, may be right in taking ātman to refer to Sāṃkhyas and ekātmān as brahmā-bhinnam (Vedānta), though the single subject would make it more natural to take ekātmānam ātmānam as "one spirit which is alone." Vishnu here is the mantā mantavyam, "the thinker and the thought," and the eternal forecause, pradhāna, çl. 17-18. In çl. 22, God plays, kṛṇāti, in his four forms (as often).

<sup>2</sup> Çiva, on the other hand, has eight forms (the Puranic view), which, according to the commentator (though mūrti may imply the incorporations, Rudra, Bhāirava, Ugra, Iṣvara, Mahādeva, Paçupati, Çarva, Bhava), are the five elements, sun, moon, and Puruṣa, iii, 49, 8. Such divisions are often unique and apparently arbitrary. See below on the eight sources. "Indestructible Brahman" (like Sattva) is eighteenfold according to (xii, 342, 13) H. 3, 14, 13, aṣṭādaça vidham (or nidham). Eight and a thousand (only pseudo-epic) are Çiva's names, against Vishnu's even thousand. The "worlds" are eight (see below), or seven, or twenty-one, according to the passage.

the teaching of which is here identified not only with that of the Sāṃkhya-Yoga, but also with that of Vedāṇyaka, ib. 349, 81, and with the religion of the "white men" and Yatis, *çvetānām Yatinām* ca, ib. 85. Compare 336, 19, the white men's religion, and Sātvata Vidhi, declared by Sūrya.

The difference between religion and philosophy is obliterated in India, and the Pāñcarātra, sect is exalted as a development of the Bhagavadbhaktas, as the latter are represented in the Gītā, clearly an indication of posteriority; while their philosophy is rather contrasted than identified with that of the Sāṃkhya.

Three expositions are given, which embody the same terminology, and may be called the Pañcaçikha system.

Pañcaçikha Kāpileya (interpreted as a metronymic!) appears in xii. 218, 6 ff., and 320, 2 ff. His punch-name is elaborately amplified in the former passage, where, 218, 10 ff., he is an incorporation of Kapila and the first pupil of Āsuri. In *Pañcasrotas*, where there is a Kāpila maṇḍala, he holds a long "session," *satra*, having "bathed in the *pañcasrotas*" (five rivers of the mind? cf. *Çvet.* 1, 5), and being versed in the *Pañcarātra* (doctrine), and being called in consequence not only *pañcarātraviçārada*, but also

*pañcaçikhaḥ pañcakṛt pañca-guṇaḥ pañcaçikhaḥ (smṛtaḥ),*

epithets which are duly interpreted by the omniscient Nīla-kaṇṭha. He also (below) has the epithet Pāñcarātraḥ, which is the only one that need concern us, as the interpretation of the others is mere guesswork. Pañcaçikha is regarded, then, as the teacher of the new sect of Pāñcarātras.<sup>1</sup>

His doctrine rests on the ancient foundation of "disgust with birth, disgust with acts, disgust with all things," *sarva-nirveda*, and is, in short, the religion of ennui, which consists

<sup>1</sup> The seven Citraçikhaṇḍins are referred to as the author of the Pāñcarātra Çāstra in 336, 27; 337, 3, *çāstram citraçikhaṇḍijam*. These are the seven Prakṛtis, personified as the seven old sages, whose names are given below, p. 170, to whom is added Manu to make the "eight sources," 336, 29. In the hymn at xii, 339, the god is called Pañcakāla-kartṛpati, Pāñcarātrika Pañcāgni, Pañcayajña, Pañcamahākālpa (as also Citraçikhaṇḍin).



in a little more than mere indifference. The literal meaning is that one "finds oneself out of," or is sick of, the round of birth and death. Nirvāṇa is attained by nirveda.<sup>1</sup> This disgust and the rejection of that untrustworthy delusion, anāḥvāsiko mohañ, which leads to religious practices and the hope of rewards, xii, 218, 21-22, is the starting-point of the system, which, synthetically considered, should culminate in Krishna-Vishnu, as the be-all and end-all, as in other cases.

The analysis of the system is preceded by a most interesting and historically important review of certain fallacies, as follows. The unbeliever says: "One who relies on tradition (the scripture) says that there is something beyond after the destruction (of the body), as being obvious and seen by all; but such an one is refuted by the fact that death of self is negation, deprivation, of self, anātmā hy ātmano mṛtyuḥ. Death is a weakness induced by age. Through delusion one imagines a soul, and this is erroneously regarded as the "something beyond" (or higher). For practical purposes one may assume what is not true (that there is no death of the soul), just as one may say that "the king never dies," ajaro 'yam amṛtyuḥ ca rājā 'sāu. But when something is asserted and denied and no evidence is given, on what should one base a judgment? Direct observation (evidence of the senses) is the base of received teaching and of inference. Received teaching is destroyed by direct observation, and (as evidence) inference amounts to nothing."

The last sentence reads in the original, 218, 27:

pratyakṣam hy etayor mūlam kṛtāntāitihyayor api  
pratyakṣeṇā 'gamo bhinnāḥ kṛtānto vā na kiñcana

The commentator takes kṛtānta as anumāna and āitihya as equivalent to āgama; though in 240, 2, anāgatam anāitihyam katham brahmā 'dhigacchati (where the commentator says that āgata is pratyakṣa and anumāna), "How can a good man

<sup>1</sup> Compare xii, 180, 16-17: "One cannot know the unknown (if faith be lacking); keep the mind on faith; hold it to the vital air; the vital air to Brahman; nirvāṇa is attained by nirveda;" Gītā, 6, 23, nirviṇṇacetasā yogo (yuktavyo niḥcayena ca); Muṇḍ. Up. i, 2, 12, brāhmaṇo nirvedam āyāt.

attain to Brahman not known to tradition nor revealed in the Veda?"<sup>1</sup> and in G. v, 87, 23, *āitihyam anumānam ca pratyakṣam api cā 'gamam, ye hi samyak parīkṣante*, it is distinguished from the latter. The word *āgama* is of sufficient importance to note the epic's own definition given in xii, 270, 43: *āgamo vedavādās tu tarkaṣāstrāṇi cā 'gamaḥ*, "Received (scriptural) teaching includes the words of the Veda and philosophical codes;" a remarkable definition in view of the fact that some of the latter are heterodox, and that *āgama* is currently used as equivalent to right tradition. The *tarka-vidyā* is elsewhere differentiated from logic, *ānvīkṣikī*, though both are called useless, xiii, 37, 12, when not extolled, as often!

The next stanza continues: "Enough of making assumptions based on this or that inference. In the opinion of (us) unbelievers there is no other 'spirit' than the body."

For clearer understanding of the historical value of this I must give the exact words, 218, 28:

yatra yatrā 'numāne 'smin kṛtam bhāvayato 'pi ca  
nā 'nyo jivāḥ ṣarīrasya nāstikānām mate sthitaḥ

Here *kṛtam bhāvayataḥ* in the meaning of *bhāvanayā* 'lam (N.) is even more careless than the following genitive with *ṣarīrasya*; but both are indicative of the slovenly style which belongs alike to the *Purāṇas* and the pseudo-epic.

The unbeliever (according to the commentator) continues with a stanza almost unintelligible in its *Sūtra*-like conciseness, which can be given only by the original:

reto vaṭakaṇikāyām gṛhapākādhivāsanam  
jātiḥ smṛtir ayaskāntaḥ sūryakānto 'mbubhakṣaṇam

"The seed in the banyan-flower (accounts for the delusion of soul); butter (is only another form of grass); rum (is but fermented rice). Memory (and other 'psychic' functions are identical with the) creature born.<sup>2</sup> (The 'soul' is like the)

<sup>1</sup> Just below, 240, 3, the expression *manasaḥ ce 'ndriyāṇām ca āikāgryam* may be noticed as a repetition phrase of iii, 260, 25.

<sup>2</sup> I take *adhivāsa* in the sense of *adhivāsa*, home: (consider) the origin of ghee and fermented (liquor); N. paraphrases, *adhivāsītāt* (add in pw.).



magnet (which moves iron not by psychical but by physical potency).<sup>1</sup> The burning-glass (makes fire, and so the fiery, active, soul is but a physical phenomenon). (The fire's) devouring of water (is typical of the so-called appetite or desire of the soul)," or, in other words: Desire and enjoyment are no proof of a superphysical entity, any more than in the case of a fire gratifying its thirst for water.

The denial of the soul-doctrine next calls forth the following refutation:

"A passing away (of something not physical occurs) in the case of a dead being. Supplication of the gods (proves the existence of incorporeal entities). (There would be besides) in the case of the dead a cessation of acts [the Karma doctrine would have to be given up].<sup>2</sup> This is the proof. (Then again) things incorporate cannot be causes, *hetavaḥ*, for there is no identity of that which has form and that which has no form," 218, 30-31.

After this, other sceptics, who the commentator rightly (as I think) says are Buddhists,<sup>3</sup> are introduced with a new argu-

*Jātiḥ smṛtiḥ*, "birth and memory," would seem to imply that memory argues a former birth, as in Patañjali's Sūtra, iv, 9. This would be an argument on the other side, as if the stanza were writ to prove the opposite. I follow N., though inclined to think that the words really ought to be put into the mouth of the believer (tree, butter, memory, etc., show soul). See the next note.

<sup>1</sup> But compare the (orthodox) view as explained in xii, 211, 3: "As senseless iron runs toward a magnet; so conditions born because of one's nature and all else similar" (are attracted toward the soul). The passages seem curiously related, as just before stands, *cl. 2*, *yathā 'cvaṭṭhakaṇṭikāyām antar bhūto mahādrumaḥ niṣpanno dṛṣyate vyaktam avyaktāt sambhavas tathā*, "birth from the unmanifest is as when a great tree born in a flower coming out is seen clearly." Compare B.A.U. iii, 9, 28; *Cvet. Up. i*, 15, etc.

<sup>2</sup> This, like the appeal to the existence of divinities, is a presumption of what is to be proved. Of course, the unbeliever believes neither in metempsychosis nor in gods, but he is not allowed to say any more. In xii, 304, 47, the argument for the existence of the Source and the spirit is that both are inferable from effects (as seasons are from fruits, 306, 27). In the latter passage, the spirit "inferred by signs," *liṅgas*, is called *pañcaviṃśatima* (*takāralopa āraṇḍ!*).

<sup>3</sup> Interesting, both as showing how the epic repeats itself and Buddhism, are xii, 175 and 277 (where several *pādas* are identical with those in the Dhammapada), and xiii, 113. The *ahiṃsā* doctrine is carried on here in xiii, 114, 6, which repeats xii, 246, 18, with a varied reading that shows the futility

ment against the existence of soul: "Some say the cause, *kāraṇa*, of successive rebirth is ignorance, *avidyā*, desire, confusion of mind, and the practice of faulty acts; ignorance being the field watered by thirst, and acts being the seed planted in it, all of which cause rebirth. They say that (ignorance) is concealed (in the body) and is burned away, and that, when the mortal part is destroyed, another body is born from it and they call this the destruction of being. But (in answer to this), how can it be just the same man in this (new body), since he is different in form, in birth, in good, and in aims? For (if there is no soul) all would be disconnected. (Further) if this is so, what pleasure would there be in gifts, wisdom, or the power gained by religious practices? For another entity would get the fruit of what this man practises, since one man by means of another's nature, *prākṛtāḥ*, would be made wretched or blessed here on earth. (In this matter) the decision in regard to what is invisible (must rest on) what is visible. If you kill a body with a cudgel would another arise from it? Even so the separate consciousness would be a different consciousness, not the original one. This destruction of being (spoken of above, *satvasaṁkṣaya*) would be repeated like seasons and years; [there would indeed be no end to it, for if it is argued that destruction of consciousness ever results in a new consciousness, then destruction of being would result, not, as the Buddhists teach, in annihilation, but in new being; so there would be no escape from rebirth. If one says, however, that there is a conditioned soul, it can be only a physical bond of unity] like a house, growing gradually weaker through repeated aging and dying (consisting, as such a 'soul' must) of (mortal) senses, thoughts, breath, blood, flesh, bone, all of which perish and revert in due order to their original bases. And, further, (such a theory) would refute the practice of the world in

of relying on the commentator, who thinks that the elephant in the following stanza of *Çānti* is *Yoga*! *Yathā nāgapade 'nyāni padāni padaḡāminām, sarvāṇy evā 'pidhīyante padajātāni kāuñjare, evaṁ sarvaṁ ahiṁsāyām dharmārtham apidhīyate* (in xiii, *evaṁ lokeṣv ahiṁsā tu nirdiṣṭā*).



respect of obtaining advantage from gifts and other religious acts, since both the words of the Veda and the practice of the world (show that acts are performed) for this purpose (of gain). There are many proofs to be found in the mind, but what with the iteration of this and that cause no clear light is obtained, but men doubt and turn to some one explanation, till their intellect becomes fixed on one point and rots there like a tree. So all creatures, made wretched through (desiring) useless objects, are led away by received teaching, āgamāḥ, like elephants led by their keepers. Thus, desiring objects that bring endless pleasure, the dried-up many get instead a greater sorrow on being forced to abandon the bait and enter the power of death."

The argument is the familiar one that a man gets sorrow through desiring heaven, for after his Karma is exhausted he sinks down again to a lower level. So heaven is a bait which attracts men; but as it is only a temporary pleasure followed by pain, one suffers from it all the more (*nessun maggiore dolore che ricordarsi*). All this implies unconscious existence as the best goal.

To this it is said, 219, 2, in the words of the great Upaniṣad: "If there is no consciousness after death,<sup>1</sup> what difference does it make whether one has wisdom or not, or is careful or not?" Then Pāṇcaṅkha replies with a long exposition of his system, 219, 6 ff., of which I give the chief points:

It is not a system of annihilation, *ucchedaniṣṭhā*, nor one of the soul's separate existence, *bhāvaniṣṭhā*. The (visible) man consists of body, senses, and perception, *cetas*. The foundations are the five elements, which are independent and make the body. The body is not of one element, but of five. The aggregate causing activity is knowledge, heat, and wind.<sup>2</sup> From knowledge come the senses and their objects, separate existence, *svabhāva*, perception, *cetanā*, and mind; from wind come the two vital breaths; from heat come gall and other

<sup>1</sup> *yadi na pretya saṁjñā bhavati*; compare *tāny (bhūtāni) evā 'nuvināṣyati*, na pretya saṁjñā 'stī 'ti, BAU. II, 4, 12.

<sup>2</sup> 219, 9; compare below.

bases, dhātus. The five senses, indriyas, hearing, touch, taste, sight, smell, derive from the mind, citta, and have its characteristics. Eternal cetanā is threefold when united with discernment, vijñāna. This they call sukhaduḥkha and the opposite. Sound, touch, color, taste, smell, the forms (mūrtayaḥ, containing these as objects), make a group of six constant constituents, guṇas, to make knowledge perfect. Dependent on these are acts and visarga (?), and judgment in regard to the meaning of all topics. This they call the highest seed, çukra; it is intellect, the great undeteriorating (substance). This collection of attributes is not soul but is not-soul, anātman. The true teaching is contained in Renunciation-Çāstras, which enjoin renunciation of all. Having explained the six jñānendriyas, organs of knowledge, Pañcaçikha explains the "organs of action, which are five, with bala, power, as the sixth," çl. 20. There are twelve organs, five organs of knowledge with mind as sixth, and five of action with power as sixth. The eleven organs (with mind) one should renounce by means of the intellect. Ear, sound, and mind (citta, in 23 and 34; manas in 22) are necessary in hearing.<sup>1</sup> Thus for all the senses there are fifteen guṇas ( $3 \times 5$ ). There are also the three guṇas called sattva, rajas, tamas. Ear and sound are forms of air (space); so with the five others. In the ten senses there arises a creation (entity) simultaneous with their activity; this is (the eleventh), mind, citta. The intellect is the twelfth. In deep sleep, tāmase, there is no annihilation (of personality), although there is concerned no such creation simultaneous with the senses (the co-operation being a popular fallacy). (In deep sleep) in consequence of one's former waking experience, and because one is conditioned by the three guṇas, one imagines that one has material senses, although one can perceive only subtile senses. But though one imagines this, one does not really

<sup>1</sup> Compare Gītā, 18, 18 (threefold urges to action), knowledge, object, knower, jñānam jñeyam parijñātā trividhā karmacodanā; threefold action, organ, act, agent, karaṇam karma karte 'ti trividhaḥ karmasamgrahaḥ; in 14, the five kāraṇāni or karmaṇaḥ hetavaḥ are object, adhiṣṭhāna, agent, organ, action, and the dāiva (said to be Sāṃkhya, but interpreted as Vedānta).



co-operate (with the senses. Hence it may be inferred that a soul exists independent of mental processes). But the deep-sleep consciousness is a finite and darkened pleasure. Even the result one derives from traditional teaching, āgama, though not sorrowful, is also merely darkness, revealed lies, as it were.<sup>1</sup> Spirit, kṣetrajña, is the being, bhāva, standing in mind; it is immortal, flowing as a stream to the ocean. For the destruction of existence, satvasaṁkṣaya (the expression used above) is (in Upanishad language) as when rivers run into other rivers and to the ocean, losing their individuality, vyakti (equivalent to form) and name. Consequently, when the individual spirit, jīva, is united (with the ocean of being) and embraced on all sides, how could there be consciousness after death? (219, 43). As the creature that spins out of itself, wrapping itself in its web-house, stays there overpowered, so is the soul; but when freed, it abandons its misery, and then its woe is destroyed, like a clod falling on a rock. As the deer leaves its old horn, and the snake its skin, without looking behind, and a bird leaves the falling tree and flies away unattached, so the freed soul abandons its woe, and leaving pleasure and pain, *without even a subtle body*, goes the perfect way (47-49 repeats 45).<sup>2</sup>

For a Sāṁkhya philosopher Pañcaçikha teaches very extraordinary things, the most advanced Brahmaisism, which fails only of being Vedānta in its lack of Māyā. Three sets of philosophers are here refuted, — the materialist, the Buddhist,

<sup>1</sup> The commentator reads atha tatrā 'py upādatte tamo 'vyaktam ivā 'nṛtam, gl. 38, which is perhaps better "hidden falsehood." The meaning is, as explained above, that the joy given by Vedic teaching is a perishable heaven resulting in sorrow (darkness) and the teaching is not the highest truth. Compare, on the other side, the same reproach, Māit. Up. vii, 10, satyam ivā 'nṛtam paçyanti.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Praç. Up. v, 5; Muṇḍ. Up. 1, 7 and iii, 1. The first image is clearly not that of a spider (which is not destroyed by its web), but of a silkworm, though the commentator (and PW.) take ūṇanābhi as a spider, which comparison is common. Compare xii, 286, 40, ūṇanābhīr yathā sūtraṁ vijñeyāṁ tantuvad guṇāḥ (as in BAU. ii, 1, 20). But the silkworm is also common. Compare xii, 304, 4, koçakāro yathātmānaṁ kiṭāḥ samavarundhati sūtratantuguṇāir nityaṁ tathā 'yam aguṇo guṇāḥ dvandvam eti ca nir-dvandvaḥ, etc.

and the orthodox Vedist. The terms used are those of the Sāṅkhya, jīva and kṣetrajña rather than ātman (sthito manasi yo bhāvaḥ sa vāi kṣetrajña ucyate, çl. 40), but this spirit is only part of Brahman.<sup>1</sup>

Another point to be noticed is the absence of tanmātras. Before passing to the numerical analysis of the Pāñcarātra scheme into thirty elements, I would point out also that as in Gītā, 7, 4, so ib. 13, 5-6, there are gross elements, egoism, intellect, and mind (= 8), but also ten organs and five objects of sense plus avyakta (= 24 topics), to which are here added, Gītā, 13, 5-6, desire, aversion, pleasure, pain, and also body, perception, courage (saṁghāta, cetanā, dhṛti) or thirty-one elements of "modified Prakṛti."

### The Thirty-one Elements (Pañcaçikha).

Here there is a formal group of particles called kalās, not sixteen but thirty, but one (God) super-added makes thirty-one topics, the same number ascribed by tradition to the Pāçupatas. A most minute description is given in xii, 321, 96-112. This scheme is as follows:<sup>2</sup>

In order to act, the organs "await the outer constituents," guṇas. In perception, color, eye, and light are the *three causes, and so in all cases* where are found knowledge and the object of perception, (similar) causes of knowledge exist; between knowledge and the object intervenes the guṇa, constituent, mind, wherewith one judges. [The organs and mind make eleven.]<sup>3</sup> *The twelfth is intellect*, another constituent, wherewith one decides in the case of doubtful things to be

<sup>1</sup> The attribute of Jagatprakṛti applied to Nārāyaṇa in the Pāñcarātra hymn, xii, 339, 89, "the god who is the Source of the world," gives the vital difference between this teaching and that which inculcates a Prakṛti distinct from pure soul.

<sup>2</sup> I italicize below without extended comment the points of contact with the scheme just given.

<sup>3</sup> This must be supplied from the context. In the scheme at xiv, 42, 16, "mind must be recognized as belonging to both, and intellect is the twelfth," only ten organs are recognized, as here, and bala as a separate organ is unknown.



known. The thirteenth constituent is *sattva*. (It is real) for one is argued to be an individual having much or little *sattva* (hence it is a real constituent, a *guṇa*). The fourteenth constituent is egoism (when one says 'I am an agent'), with which one gets the notion of mine and not-mine. Then there is a fifteenth constituent, which is different from the others and is called the totality of the mass of separate factors, *prthakkalāsamūhasya sāmāgryam* (i. e., *the general disposition*). The sixteenth, a different constituent, is a sort of complex, *saṅghāta iva* (because it consists, says the commentator, in the union of the three factors of ignorance; the sixteenth is therefore *avidyā*, or ignorance itself), wherein are combined the Source and the individual manifestation, *vyakti*, which are respectively the seventeenth and eighteenth constituents, *guṇāu*. The nineteenth is the unification of doublets (opposites), such as pleasant and disagreeable, age and death, etc. The twentieth constituent is Time, the origin and destruction of all things. This complex, *saṅghāta*, of twenty, and in addition the seven constituents consisting of the five gross elements added to [the origin and relation of] being and not-being, (making twenty-seven, is to be added again to) three more constituents, *vidhi, śukra, bala* (cause, seed, power).<sup>1</sup> That is called the body in which these twenty and ten are all together. The Source (fore-cause) of these *kalās*, factors, one philosopher recognizes to be the Unmanifest; another, dull of insight, recognizes (as such) the Manifest. Metaphysicians recognize a Source of all beings, whether it is the Unmanifest or the Manifest or a double or quadruple source. This unmanifest Source becomes manifest by means of the *kalās* (the factors just enumerated). The individual is the Source so made manifest. From conception to old age there is an uninterrupted momentary splitting up of the factors (particles) of the body, although too minute to be observed (in detail). But this passing away and coming into existence of

<sup>1</sup> According to the commentator, these are right and wrong as originating false ideas, *vāsanā*; that which incites to wrong ideas; and the effort leading to the attainment of wrong ideas. But see the scheme above.

the separate particles goes on from stage to stage just like the course of a lamp's light. There is, therefore, no connection between the individual existent creature and his members. All creatures are born by the union of particles, *kalās*, as it were,<sup>1</sup> just as fire is produced by the union of sunlight and *fire-stone*, *maṇi*, or by sticks (rubbed together).

This exposition is given for a practical purpose, as is seen in the last paragraph. One should recognize no *own*, as all creatures are one, distinct from the physical parts. The "body of particles," as it is called in xii, 322, 25, reverts to the unmanifest Source, but the self or soul is but part of the same soul in any other body of particles. The doctrine is none the less that of *Pañcaçikha* because it is taught by *Sulabhā* to *Janaka*, though it is the latter who professes himself the disciple of *Pañcaçikha*, "the venerable beggar who belonged to the family of *Parāçara*," xii, 321, 24. For *Janaka* does not really understand, and so *Sulabhā* is enlightening him. *Pañcaçikha* is here said to be a *Sāṃkhya* leader. There is an imitation and would-be improvement in this late discourse (the metre shows the lateness) of *Gītā*, 3, 3, *loke 'smin dvidivdhā niṣṭhā*. Here çl. 38, the "point of view," is made treble, *trividhā niṣṭhā dṛṣṭā*; not that emancipation is got by knowledge or action, as in the *Gītā* passage, but by the third (and best view), that of *Pañcaçikha*, who "rejected both these two," 321, 40. The doctrine is that the *vāiçeṣikaṃ jñānam* or most excellent way, çl. 23, leads one to live a life of renunciation. All depends, says the king, on whether one is bond or free; the pure and good devotee may still be active; asceticism is not requisite; a king is as good as a beggar. "The bond of royalty (says the king in conclusion), the bond of affection, I have cut with the sword of renunciation, which has been sharpened on the anvil of emancipation," ib. 52. But his antagonist intimates that he has not learned the true religion, which is renunciation in deed as well as in thought. As a system, the doctrine of *Pañcaçikha* is said to be *sopāyah*

<sup>1</sup> The commentator says that "this expression, (*kalānām*)*iva*, has no meaning, and is merely used to fill up the verse," 321, 124.



sopaniṣadaḥ sopāsaṅgaḥ<sup>1</sup> saniṣṭayaḥ, çl. 163, a detailed philosophical exposition.

In xii, 276, 4 ff., there is a third exposition, oddly combined with the Sāṁkhya schedule, while at the end it shows resemblance to that just given. It is referred to Asita Devala, who in xiii, 18, 18, is said to have received glory from Īiva (Īiva is Sāṁkhyaprasādaḥ, xiii, 17, 63), who "gives the goal of Sāṁkhyayoga," xiii, 14, 198. In this scheme Time creates the five gross elements. Impelled by Being and Soul, Time creates beings out of these elements, which with Time make a group, rāḡi, of six. To these are added bhāva and abhāva, making the "eight beings, bhūtāni, of beings." When destroyed, a creature becomes fivefold (elements) because of these. The body is made of earth, bhūmimayo dehaḥ; the ear comes from air (space); the eye from the sun; the breath from the wind; the blood from water. The five senses are the "knowledges" (organs of knowledge, jñānāni). Sight, hearing, smelling, touch, taste, are five, distributed fivefold over five. Their constituents, tadguṇāḥ, are color, smell, taste, touch, and sound, apprehended in five ways by the five senses. These, their guṇas, the senses do not know, but the spirit knows them (this is a correction of the statement that objects of sense are apprehended by the senses). Higher than the group of senses is citta, perception; higher than citta is mind; higher than mind is intellect; higher than intellect is spirit. A creature first perceives, cetayati, different objects of sense. Then pondering, vicārya, with the mind, he next determines, vyavasyati, with the intellect. One that has intellect determines objects of sense apprehended by the senses. Perception, the (five) senses as a group, mind, and intellect are, according to metaphysicians, the eight jñāneन्द्रियाः, organs of knowledge. *There are five organs of action and bala is the sixth organ of action*, çl. 22. Sleep-sight is the activity of the mind when the activity of the senses is suspended. The states, bhāvas,<sup>2</sup> of sattva, tamas, and rajas

<sup>1</sup> upāsaṅga for upāsaṅgaḥ? N. defines as dhyānāṅgāni yamādini.

<sup>2</sup> This word means being as entity (and so is equivalent to guṇa, constitu-

(joy, success, insight, virtue, being the causes of one being endowed with *sattva*), which are associated with activity, whatever their cause of activity, *vidhi*, are retained (in sleep) by memory. There is an agreeable and constant immediate passage between the two states, *bhāvayoḥ* (that is the passage is immediately perceptible between waking and sleeping). The organs and the states are called the seventeen constituents, *guṇas*. The eighteenth is the eternal incorporate one in the body, *dehī ṇarīre* (spirit).

Here fourteen organs are added to the three *guṇas*, *sattva*, etc., for there are "eight organs of knowledge" and six of action (elsewhere there are only five organs of knowledge). Of the group of seventeen I have already spoken, and note here only the intrusion of *citta* between senses and mind. The account proceeds not very lucidly: There conconcorporate constituents bound up in body in the case of all incorporate creatures cease to be conconcorporate on the separation of the body; or the body made of five elements, *pāñcabhāutika*, is a mere (temporary) union, *saṁnipāta*. The one and the eighteen *guṇas* with the incorporate one and with heat, *ūṣman* (the internal heat of the stomach, says the commentator), make the complex, *saṁghāta*, of twenty composed of five elements, which (twenty) the Great One, *mahān*, with wind supports. The death of each creature is caused by this (wind). On destruction, the creature enters the five elements, and urged by its good and evil, assumes a body again; and so on from body to body, urged by Time the *kṣetrin* (spirit) goes, as if from one ruined house to another.<sup>1</sup>

The *viṅṣo saṁghātaḥ pāñcabhāutikaḥ* or complex of twenty composed of five elements in this passage is the same with the *viṅṣakaḥ saṁghātaḥ* of the preceding, 321, 109. But there

ent) or existence and so state of being. It often adds nothing to the meaning. For example in xiii, 141, 85, "bhāva of self" is the same with self: *ātmany eva 'tmano bhāvaṁ samāsajjeta vāi dvijaḥ*. "put self in self."

<sup>1</sup> *viṅṣpād vā (= iva) grhād grham*. The analysis above, 276 (5), 30: *ekaḥ ca ḍaḥ cā 'ṣṭāu ca (= 10) guṇāḥ, saha ṇarīriṇā* (dehin in cl. 28) *ūṣmaṇā saha* (besides heat) *viṅṣo vā saṁghātaḥ pāñcabhāutikaḥ, mahān saṁdhārayaty etac charīraṁ vāyunā saha*. Compare the first scheme above.



Time is the twentieth, and the twenty are the bodily *guṇas*. Nevertheless, the employment in each, not only of the group of twenty but also of *bala* and *vidhi*, as found above, points to a common basis.<sup>1</sup> In none is there a trace of Vishnuism.

### The Secret of the Vedānta.

The united systems of philosophy called "Secret of the Vedānta" and exploited in xii, 194, 248 ff., and 286, which in the following pages I shall designate as A, B, C, present a curious mixture, which on careful analysis show clearly that they are three different versions of an older Sāṃkhya tract, which is worked over into Brahmaism. There is no clear recognition of egoism, though the commentator so interprets the "maker of *bhūtas*" in C 9, and, as I have said above, I think it doubtful, both from these and other passages, whether the earlier Sāṃkhya recognized Intellect as other than self-conscious. One of the present three schemes introduces the *Bhūtātman* as *deus ex machina*. They all differ slightly and have the *Pañcaśikha* terminology to a certain extent. In their threefold form they offer an instructive example of how the epic copies itself. They all begin with the same request to the instructor to give a metaphysical, *adhyātma*, lecture. The first and last versions represent *Bhīṣma* as teacher and *Yudhiṣṭhira* as pupil; the other, *Vyāsa* as teacher and *Ṣuka* as pupil of the same lecture. The two *Bhīṣma* lectures do not agree so closely with each other throughout (though more alike at first)<sup>2</sup> as do the *Vyāsa* and second *Bhīṣma* version,

<sup>1</sup> Compare with this *saṃghāta* or vital complex the *jīvaḡhana*, *Praṇ. v. 5*.

<sup>2</sup> The closer agreement begins with A 9 as compared with B 9 and C 10; "sound, ear, and holes, this triad is born of air; touch, action, skin, are born of wind; color, eye, digestion, are called the threefold light, *tejas*." Here B and C have "vital airs" for skin, and *jyotis* for *tejas*. In the next group, where A has taste, *kleda*, tongue, B and C both have *sneha*. Again "mind as the sixth" organ appears in A 11 but is omitted in B 11 and C 12, to reappear in B 17, C 15. In all these versions, body, with smell and object, is of earth alone, *bhūmigūṇaḡ*, loc. cit. Besides these triads, B and C give sound, *ghoṣa*, (*ṣabda*) from air, smell alone as *bhūmigūṇa* in B, all composite matter, *saṃghāta*, as earth-*gūṇa* in C; breath (C) or touch (B) from wind, etc.

which lie nearer together in place. It will be necessary to treat these chapters rather fully if we wish to get a clear idea of the manufacture of epic philosophy.

Coming, then, to details, the *çlokas* are intermingled in such a way that part of one *çloka* in one discourse is part of another in another version. Thus, after the introductory stanza, which names the five elements with but trifling variations, A has: "Whence they are created thither they go, again and again, the great *bhūtas*, from other *bhūtas*, like waves of ocean; and as a tortoise, stretching forth limbs, retracts them again, so the *Bhūtātman* again withdraws the *bhūtas* he has created." In B, the expression "like waves of ocean" comes in the first stanza, replacing the expression "origin and destruction" in A. In C, as regards this expression, the reading is as in A, but the important lines of the tortoise and *Bhūtātman* appear here thus: "As a tortoise here, causing his limbs to stretch forth, retracts them, so the smaller *bhūtas* in respect of greater *bhūtas*;" while B has: "As a tortoise here, stretching forth limbs, retracts them again, so the great *bhūtas*, *mahānti bhūtāni*, modify themselves in the smaller" (younger); and this is repeated, *ib.* 14, in a stanza omitted in the other versions with the momentous alteration: "As a tortoise here, his limbs outstretching, withdraws them, even so *the Intellect*, having created the group of senses, withdraws them."

The next change is in A 8, where, after stating that the "maker of *bhūtas*" put the gross elements differently in all beings, the teacher here adds "but the *jīva* spirit does not see that difference," which in the other versions appears without mention of *jīva*, with *viṣayān* in C for *vaiṣamyam*. Of the new group of eight sources found here, I have spoken elsewhere. All the versions have the following stanza A 17, B 16, C 18:

guṇān (A, C, guṇāir) nenīyate buddhir, buddhir eve-  
'ndriyāṇy api (C, ca)  
manahṣaṣṭāni sarvāṇi (A, bhūtāni), buddhy (A, tad)  
abhāve kuto guṇāḥ,

that is, Intellect directs the *guṇas*; the senses are intellect



and their constituents could not exist without it. A and C make the intellect subservient to the *guṇas*! C, as if to explain the *guṇas*, inserts "tamas, sattva, rajas, time, and act," while in 13 it has a verse (mingling cases), "sattva, rajas, tamas, kāla (nom.), and karmabuddhi (nom.), and mind, the sixth, in these (bases) the Lord created." B, too, has an addition: "Mind, intellect, and nature, *svabhāva*, these three are born of their own sources; they do not overpass the *guṇas* on arriving at that which is higher than the *guṇas*" (13, *na guṇān ativartante*). So in 316, 2, *guṇasvabhāvas tv avyakto guṇān nāi 'vā 'tivarate*. But in 249, 8 ff., the continuation of B, the intellect, identified with the *bhāvas* (states produced by *guṇas*) does overpass them, "as the sea does the shore." The image here is so conventional, *saritām sāgaro bhartā mahāvelām ivo 'rmimān* (compare A, 23 ff.; C, 23 ff.) that there is no doubt what has happened. The constant unchanging epic simile is that one remains, not overstepping, "as the sea does not overpass its shore." In other words, there is in this passage an intrusion of the Yoga idea<sup>1</sup> that the soul can overpass the *guṇas* (compare *Gītā*, 14, 21, and xii, 252, 22), and so the ancient simile is introduced without its negation, making the absurdity shown above.<sup>2</sup>

B alone adds, in 249, 3, "the intellect is soul," *ātman*,

<sup>1</sup> Compare xii, 205, 17: "Mind abandoning *guṇas* attains freedom from *guṇas*" (above). *Guṇas* and *bhāvas* are here the same thing, for the latter are the result of the presence of the former. They (or the eight sources) "carry the universe but rest on God," 210, 28, 30. This is a Lord-system, though "Lord" is a form of ignorance: "elements, senses, *guṇas*, three worlds, the Lord himself, are all based on egoism," 212, 18-19.

<sup>2</sup> *svabhāva*, nature, is distinct from *sadbhāva*. One is temporary, the other is eternal, xiv, 28, 22; *Gītā*, 8, 3. The three texts in describing the modification of intellect "called mind when it desires," A 20; B (249), 2; C 20, have slight variants; "that with which it sees is eye, hearing it is called ear," A 19; B 4; C 19, where B and C have *ṣṛṇvatī*, etc., but A the verb throughout. In A 13 (and the corresponding verses B 18, C 19) "the mind doubts," *saṁcayaṁ kurute*, "the intellect decides," *adhyavasānāya*. Compare 249, 1, *mano viśṛjate bhāvam buddhir adhyavasāyini, hṛdayam priyāpriye veda, trividhā karmacodanā*. "The intellect is the chief thing in that which is to be made" (B 15), suggesting egoism, but C 14 has *kṛtsne* and A has no subject at all.

which is in line with the tendencies at work here. So in 249, 20, there is a stanza which must be compared step for step with the parallel passages: "Soul, ātman, puts forth intellect, but never (read *nā 'pi*) guṇas; the guṇas do not know soul, but soul, sa, knows guṇas always, and it is the observer and in proper order occupies itself with them. Know that this is the difference between intellect and spirit (*kṣetrajña* for the preceding ātman), one creates guṇas, one does not create guṇas; both being different but joined by the Source, united as a fish to water, or fly to udumbara, or as sheath to grass-blade. Intellect truly creates guṇas, but the spirit, the Lord, superintends, as the guṇas modify themselves; all that is part of its own nature, that intellect creates guṇas; as a spider does his thread, so that creates guṇas."

In A, 38 ff.: "See the difference between intellect and spirit, *kṣetrajña*; one creates guṇas, one does not create guṇas; as the fly and udumbara so are they joined; both being different, but joined by the Source; as a fish and water are joined so are they; the guṇas know not the soul, ātman, but the soul, sa, knows the guṇas always. But being an observer of the guṇas (the spirit) imagines them created (by himself). The soul, ātman, with the senses and intellect as the seventh, which are moveless and ignorant, illuminates the object, *pada*, like a lamp. Intellect truly creates the guṇas, the spirit, *kṣetrajña*, looks on; this is their connection. There is no support for the intellect and spirit. *Mind* creates intellect but never creates the guṇas . . . A Yogin in his proper nature creates (*srjate*) guṇas, as a spider his web."<sup>1</sup>

C 33 begins as in B, "Know that this is the difference," down to the image of the fish; then, omitting the fly, etc., goes on as in A: "The guṇas know not the soul, ātman, but the soul knows guṇas always, but, being an observer of the guṇas, it imagines itself the creator. There is no support for the intellect . . .<sup>2</sup> the intellect, *buddhir antarā*, with the

<sup>1</sup> Unique. Mind here is for ātman in B.

<sup>2</sup> A senseless addition is found here, followed by *srjate hi guṇān sattvaṁ kṣetrajñaḥ paripaçyati* (as in A). *Sattva*, itself a guṇa, rests on *rajas*, xii,



senses, which have no eyes and are ignorant, makes the senses luminous like a lamp (the intellect alone sees, the senses are like lamps) . . . this is even the fulfilment of its nature that (intellect creates) *guṇas* as a spider his thread; the *guṇas* should be recognized as a web."<sup>1</sup>

A Sāṃkhya text is here changed into a later philosophy, with soul substituted for spirit, and the Yogin making *guṇas*. Hence also the intellect is grouped with senses as ignorant instruments of the soul, while Mind is creative soul. Even apart from the philosophical modifications here visible, it is difficult to see how the synthetic method can account for these three

213, 12, *sattvaṃ ca rajasi sthitam, jñānādhiṣṭhānam avyaktam buddhy-ahankāralakṣaṇam tad bījaṃ dehinām āhuḥ*. Compare 215, 25, *jñānādhiṣṭhānam ajñānam vijñānānugataṃ jñānam ajñānenā 'pakṛṣyate*. But we have in *ācraḥ nā 'sti sattvasya* a phrase in which *sattva* is equivalent to conscious buddhi. The varied readings show clearly that the text has been tampered with. In *ācraḥ nā 'sti sattvasya guṇāḥ cābdo na cetanā* in 240, 14, followed by *sattvaṃ hi tejaḥ sṛjati na guṇān vāi katharīcana* there is still another parallel to our text. So in 241, 3 ff., *sattva* is *buddhi*, higher than *citta*, as it is said "merge *citta* in *sattva*" (247, 5 and 9, the Yogin's *sūkṣmā buddhiḥ*). Elsewhere *citta*, by the way, is an organ "lower than mind," 276, 16. The version in 194, 44, is *ācraḥ nā 'sti sattvasya kṣetrājñāsyā ca kaṣcana, sattvaṃ manaḥ saṃsṛjate na guṇān vāi kadācana* (after the words *sṛjate hi guṇān sattvaṃ*), where *manas* must represent *ātman* in the version above. The form *guṇāḥ cābdo na cetanā* appears, a scribe's error apparently, in 286, 36, as *guṇasargeṇa cetanā*, before the meaningless words: *sattvaṃ aśya sṛjanty anye guṇān veda kadācana*. The epic *sattva* is well known: "One is fitted for Brahman existence as *sattva* gradually departs," i. e., as circumscribed *jīva* becomes pure. Compare also 217, 21-25 (210-217 are a professed *adhyātma* of Nārāyaṇa), where it is said that *jīva* quits *rajas* and goes about like sound but in a body, and then gets established in Source, and finally leaves even that body and enters "end of body which rests on nothing," *nirācraḥ*.

<sup>1</sup> Other common metaphors and similes are that of the cocoon (pp. 36, 151), the "bonds of hope," *ācāpāḥ*, *Gītā*, 16, 12; the net, xii, 242, 7 ff.; but unique is the weaver of xii, 217, 36: "As a weaver passes the thread through cloth with a needle, so the thread of transmigration is fastened with the needle of desire, *saṃsārayati* (*saṃsārasūtra*) *trṣṇāsūcyā*. Compare foam-like body and bird-like soul, xii, 322, 7; as well as the elaborate river-metaphors (taken from the battle-epic), where the bank is truth, waves are untruth, desire is a crocodile, and the river of the unmanifest goes into the sea of transmigration, iii, 207, 72; xii, 251, 12 ff. (*Dh. Pad.*, 251, n' *atthi mohasamanī jālān n' atthi taṇhāsamā nadi*).

conversations. From an historical point of view the problem is of course simple.

The question asked above, "What would become of the *guṇas* in the absence of intellect?" is taken up and continued at the end of the discussion: "When the *guṇas*, the strands spun by intellect, are dispersed, *pradhvastāḥ*, they do not cease to be, *na nivartante*; a cessation, *nivṛtti*, is not perceived. This is beyond the sphere of what is immediately perceptible (but) it is ascertainable through reasoning, *anumāna*. So some decide, while others say they cease to be, *nivṛtti*. Let one consider both views and decide as one thinks best, loosening the firm knot of the heart (an Upanishad phrase) caused by a difference of judgment," 194, 50-52. B and C have "their activity, *pravṛtti*, is not perceived," for "a cessation is not perceived."

The Yogin, who according to the teaching of this lecture can overpass the *guṇas*, is said in the last section, in a supplement, xii, 252, ff., to surpass even the destruction of *guṇas*, *atīkrāntaguṇakṣaya*, and reach the highest goal.

### Details of Philosophical Speculation.

It has been shown thus far that there are not only three religious philosophies in the epic, but also three formal systems, one inculcating the twenty-five, one the twenty-six, and one the thirty-two categories.

These broad differences are sufficient to show how entirely lacking in any uniform plan or scope is epic philosophy as a whole, and also to prove that the epic does not represent a preliminary chaos of opinions, but reflects at last three perfected and systematized schemes of philosophy. I turn now to some details of speculation, incongruous for the most part, reflecting different interpretations and different views; but in some cases noteworthy not so much for their lack of harmony with other epic schemes as for the uniqueness of views found only in one or two passages of the pseudo-epic, amid a mass of theories covering the same general subject.



### The Sixty Constituents of Intellect.

This group, one of the most elaborate in the epic, is obtained by an "enumeration," *parisaṃkhyāna*, which analyzes the elements, xii, 256, 1 ff. They are thus distributed: "Earth has ten, firmness, weight (*gurutva*), hardness (*kāṭhinya*), the function of productivity, scent, density (also *gurutva*, but explained as *prathamānatā*, *piṇḍapuṣṭiḥ*), ability (to hold scents), compactness, support, endurance. Water has ten, coolness, taste, moistness, fluidity (*dravatva*), adhesiveness and softness (? *snehasāumyatā*), tongue, dispersion, also, and softening (*grapaṇa*) of earthy things (these make nine, but the commentator supplies 'freezing' from *ca*, 'and,' which I render 'also'! Probably *bhāumānām* contains an old error). Fire, ten, dangerousness, light, heat, cooking, brightness, pain, passion (and is) swift; (it has) sharpness and ever upward flaring. Wind (air), ten, tempered touch, (it is) the organ of speech, *vādashāna*; (it has) independence, power, speed, emission (of secretions), activity, movement (of breath), life (*ātmātā*, of the vital airs), and birth. The characteristic constituent of air (space) is sound; (it has also) comprehensiveness, openness, non-support, non-suspension, unmanifestness, steadfastness (*avikāritā*), non-resistance (*apratīghātītā*), elementality, and changes (*bhūtatvaṃ vikṛtāni ca*, 'that is, it causes hearing and apertures in the body,' N.). Thus related are the fifty constituents (*guṇāḥ pañcācatam*), which are the essentials of the five elements." To these are added nine constituents of mind and five of intellect, as follows: "Courage, reasoning, memory (so the commentator renders *upapatti* and *vyakti*, perhaps individuality), creation (*visarga*, rendered 'loss of memory' by the commentator), imagination, patience, good, evil, and swiftness, are the nine characteristics of mind. The destruction of the pleasant and the unpleasant (in deep sleep), judgment (*vyavasāya*), concentration, doubt, and insight are recognized as the five characteristics of intellect." The two last, *saṃcaya* and *pratipatti*, are rendered by the commentator in just the opposite meanings, namely knowledge in

doubtful matters and the application of other proofs as well as direct perception. In the light of explanations current elsewhere in the epic, where "doubt-making" is an attribute of mind, and judgment that of intellect, "doubt," which is here clearly attributed to intellect, must indeed, from a syncretical point of view, be interpreted by its opposite, or one may fall back on the remark cited below, that this is all nonsense. From an historical point of view, however, the statement may stand beside the many other inconsistencies of the epic.

The section closes with a query on the part of the listener as to how intellect has five constituents and how the five senses are reckoned as attributes, *katham pañcendriyā guṇāḥ*; to which the answer is the stanza: *āhuḥ ṣaṣṭim buddhiguṇān vāi bhūta-viṣṭā nityaviṣaktāḥ, bhūtavibhūtiḥ cā 'kṣarasṛṣṭāḥ putra na nityam tad iha vadanti*, "They say that the constituents of intellect are sixty. These are distinguished by the elements;<sup>1</sup> (but) are always attached (to the intellect). The manifestations of the elements are created by that which is indestructible. They say that that is non-eternal." "That," it is added, "which has been declared to you here is foolishness, *cintākalilam*, and unorthodox, *anāgatam*. Learning the whole truth in regard to the meaning of elements, gain peace of intellect by acquiring power over the elements" (*bhūtaprabhāvāt, Yogi-power*).

The sixty may be got by adding the five *guṇas* of intellect to the five elements plus their fifty characteristic constituents; but the commentator says the true count is seventy-one, five elements with their fifty constituents added to mind and intellect with their nine and five constituents respectively.

Two views are given. One is that there are fifty and nine and five constituents of five (elements), one (mind), and one (intellect) = 71. The other is that intellect has sixty constituents, five of its own, fifty of the elements (as parts of intellect), and the elements themselves (which are different

<sup>1</sup> The commentator paraphrases *bhūta-viṣṭāḥ* with *pañca bhūtāny api buddher eva guṇāḥ*, "the five elements are constituents of intellect."



from the constituents). The latter view is repudiated as unorthodox, and the final injunction is given to turn from this calculation to *Yogi-discipline*.

This unorthodox enumeration is represented elsewhere by the title of *Çiva*, who is called *ṣaṣtibhāga*, xiii, 17, 72, and perhaps also by the mysterious *manoviruddhāni* in the enumeration of the psychic colors explained below. Seven hundred *vyūhas*, or forms of activity, are traversed by the soul on its way through red and yellow, to white, when it courses above the eight worlds. Then follows, xii, 281, 46:

aṣṭāu ca ṣaṣṭim ca ṣaṭāni caī 'va  
manoviruddhāni mahādyutinām

"The eight (worlds) and the sixty and the hundreds (of *vyūhas*) are impediments to the mind of the illuminate." The sixty are here explained as constituents of existence still adhering to the white soul. The commentator, however, gives an entirely different explanation from the one above, and though much the same in regard to the last two cases, his interpretation is not quite uniform. In the former case, the god enjoys *tattvas* or topics, experienced as stated at the beginning of the *Māṇḍūkya*, in unconscious slumber, wakefulness, and ordinary sleep, each of the latter being the real or illusionary fine and gross elements added to the nineteen "doors of enjoyment," soul, five breaths, and the usual thirteen (ten organs, mind, intellect, and egoism); while two of the sixty are attributed to dreamless slumber, *cetas*, soul, and subtlest capacity. In the latter case, the three states are surpassed by a fourth state, to which the impeded white soul cannot attain. The impediments are much the same as those above, but include ignorance, desire and acts (the triad mentioned above), and the states themselves.

### The Seventeen.

In the exposition given in xii, 276, 6 ff., above, p. 156, there is a group of seventeen with an added spirit, making eighteen in all. Further there are "eight beings of beings," which re-

mind one of the "eight sources," but instead of the usual group we find here the gross elements, Time, being, and not-being (egoism is not a factor here at all).<sup>1</sup>

The group of seventeen plays an important part in epic categories, but it is clear from a comparison of the cases that there is no symmetry of system in the explanation. It is in short, as is the case in other instances, a Sāṃkhyan term used because it is an old term, but explained differently in different cases. One form we have just examined; another I gave in the first chapter, above, p. 33, where was shown a late group of seventeen, containing most of the elements of the same group in the Vedāntasāra, five elements, mind, intellect, egoism, five organs of sense, spirit, ātman, and the three guṇas or constituents of all that is not pure spirit.

On the other hand the Sāṃkhyan group, as in Aphorisms iii, 9, may be understood of the bodily constituents (ten organs, mind, intellect, and five elements) in a praise of Īśa who created the "seven guardians and ten others who guard this city,"<sup>2</sup> vii, 201, 76. The city here is the body, as in the Upanishads and Gītā (Çvet., 3, 18; G. 5, 13), elsewhere called "house," as in v, 33, 100, "this house of nine doors, three pillars, five witnesses, under control of the spirit."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This exposition is called "silly talk," duṣṭapralāpāḥ, xii, 280, 23, because it does not recognize that the course of transmigration may be brought to an end. For it is taught in the following chapter that not knowledge, penance, and sacrifice, but only self-restraint, can result in the attainment of Vishnu, the supreme God. For as a goldsmith purifies gold in fire so the soul is purified by many rebirths or by one alone. Hari creates, whose self consists of the eleven modifications, ekādaśavikārātmā, the sun is his eye, his mind is in the moon, his intellect is in knowledge, etc., and the guṇas are essentially of God, 281, 9, 11-12, 19-21, 24. Here, as I have elsewhere pointed out, eleven modifications take the place of the regular sixteen, evidently the organs and mind without the elements.

<sup>2</sup> In conjunction with the two birds (spirits) and pipal trees (vikāras), mānasāu dvāu suparṇāu vācāçākhāḥ pippalāḥ sapta gopāḥ daçā 'py anye ye purāṇi dhārayanti. Compare for the birds and pipal tree Muṇḍ. Up. iii, 1; Çvet. iv, 6.

<sup>3</sup> The five senses, mind, intellect, egoism, and the gross body, make the nine; the pillars are restraints, ignorance, desire, action; the house is the body; the witnesses are the senses, says the commentator, who at Gītā, 5, 13, gives a different explanation of the nine. The witness (as in popular style, i,



Another passing allusion is found in xii, 280, 4, "freed from the seventeen," where (since the context excludes objects of sense, *guṇas*, and the "eight") the seventeen are explained by the commentator as five breaths, mind, intellect, and ten organs (the eight being objects of sense and *guṇas*). Another passage alluding to the seventeen is taken in the same way: "Who are free of the seventeen, the *guṇas*, and acts, the fifteen *kalās*, particles, being abandoned,<sup>1</sup> they are released," xii, 335, 40. So again in xii, 352, 15-16: "The highest spirit is not affected by fruits, as the lotus leaf is not affected by water; but the other, the active spirit, *karmātman*, is bound by the bonds of salvation<sup>2</sup> and it is bound also by the group of seventeen," where *rāṣi*, group, is used as in the first example above, though the group is a different one.

It follows that the epic is not consistent with itself but interprets the "group of seventeen" in different ways.<sup>3</sup>

74, 31, *hr̥di sthitaḥ*) is sometimes made sixfold, as the spirit and five senses, xiii, 7, 5. Various poetical modifications occur: "A house, *agārakam*, of one pillar, nine doors," xii, 174, 59; a city, xii, 210, 37; nine doors again (still differently explained by the commentator) in xii, 240, 32, where the spirit is *haṁsa* (compare 246, 29-31). A very elaborate working-up of the body-city, with senses as citizens, *buddhi* as Lord, etc., will be found in xii, 255, 9 ff. The *haṁsa* passage reflects the Upanishads: 240, 29 = *Çvet.* iii, 16; 30 = v. l. of *Çvet.* ib. 20; 31 has the unique *dvāidhībāva* (*ātmanah*) of *Māitri*, vii, 11: 32 = later form of *Çvet.* iii, 18. On p. 45, I gave *kālāḥ pacati* in *Strip.* as accidental or universal. Not so here, however, where *Māitri* vi, 15, *kālāḥ pacati* . . . *yaśmiṁś tu paçyate kālo yas taṁ veda sa vedavit*, appears complete (with the v. l. *taṁ vede 'ha na kaçcana*) in 240, 25. So too çl. 17 = *Kaṭha* iii, 15; and 26 = *Çvet.* iv, 19; while in 15, *manīṣā manasā viprah paçyaty ātmānam ātmani* (*evam̐ saptadaçaṁ dehe vṛtaṁ ṣoḍaçaḥ karmāḥ*) there is a direct copy of the older form, *Çvet.* iv, 17, etc. Çl. 19, 20, 21 copy the *Gītā*.

<sup>1</sup> *ye hīnāḥ saptadaçaḥ karmāḥ karmāḥ eva ca, kalāḥ pañcadaça tyaktā te muktā iti niçayaḥ*. Here the commentator takes *guṇas* as *sattva*, *rajas*, and *tamas*. On the fifteen *kalās*, see below.

<sup>2</sup> *Mokṣabandhāḥ*, perhaps *moha* should be read, unless *mokṣa* implies desire.

<sup>3</sup> There are of course other groups of seventeen. Thus in xii, 269, 25-26, *Agni* is seventeenth in the sacrificial group, plants, cattle, trees, withes, butter, milk, sour milk, ghee, land, points of compass, faith, time (are twelve), the three Vedas, the sacrificer (are sixteen), and seventeenth is Fire, the house-lord.

### The Sixteen (A) Particles.

What has happened in the mixture just described is obvious enough. The fifteen kalās, mentioned above as something to be abandoned, imply a sixteenth kalā, the not-to-be-abandoned psychic entity itself. The impediments are called indifferently kalās and guṇas, the former being the old designation, as in Muṇḍ. Up. iii, 2, 7, "the fifteen kalās disappear." Here as in Bṛh. Āraṇ., i, 5, 15, the sixteenth is the soul; but in Praç. Up. vi, 2-5, the soul is the source of the sixteen, sa puruṣo yasminn etāḥ ṣoḍaṣa kalāḥ prabhavanti, Puruṣa makes them, each from the preceding: "breath, faith, five elements, sense, mind, food, energy, austerity, hymns, sacrifice, the world, and the name (individuality)," and they all flow back into Puruṣa in reverse order. In xii, 47, 53 ff., (where the sāṃkhyātman is yogātman, māyātman, viçvātman, goptṛātman) God is "the Sāṃkhyas' Seventeenth, having three-fold soul (tridhātman, awake, dreaming, in dreamless sleep), standing in soul, enveloped in the sixteen guṇas." The sixteen in xii, 210, 33 are the eleven organs and five objects of sense, which come from (1) the Unmanifest, producing (2) act-born intellect, which produces (3) egoism, whence come, one out of the other, (4) air, (5) wind, (6) light, (7) water, (8) earth, the eight fundamental sources on which the universe is established (vs. 29, the sixteen modifications, ten organs, five objects of sense, and mind). Compare also above the "freed from six and sixteen." So in xii, 242, 8 = xiv, 51, 31, where every creature has a body, mūr̥ti, and "consists of sixteen," murtimān ṣoḍaṣātmakah. The Upanishadic kalās and the Sāṃkhya groups have united, and in turn are affected by other later groups. In xii, 240, 13, there is a group of sixteen "always in the bodies of incorporate creatures," the five senses and the five objects of sense, the svabhāva or individual nature, intellect, cetanā, and mind added to two vital breaths and to spirit itself; while in 302, 24, svabhāva and cetanā are apparently not included in the "sixteen guṇas" which encompass the body; or, if the sixteen be interpreted as including



them, then in both cases we have a group of sixteen quite distinct from that in the previous section, where organs and objects of sense make the number. Further, in the former of the two last sections, *cetanā* is distinct from *manas*, with which it is elsewhere identified (see the section cited on p. 34 from the third book). Compare also the account of creation in xii, 233, 10 ff., already referred to, where the seven *mahātmanas*, intellect, mind, and the elements, unite to make body as a base for spirit, *ṣarīraṁ ṣṛayaṇād bhavati, mūrtimat ṣoḍaṣātmakam*, 233, 12, into which enter *mahānti bhūtāni*. The elements are the gross, as they are described in *ṣl. 8 (guṇāḥ sarvasya pūrvasya prāpnuvanty uttarottaram)*, and there seems no reason for differentiating them from the Great Beings, though the commentator takes them as intellect and *tanmātras*, and the sixteen as gross elements and eleven organs, explaining the whole process as the creation of the *līṅga* in the *sthūla* body.

The group of sixteen plus a seventeenth, as given in the scheme above, is a combination of two schedules, one the regular seventeen of the Aphorisms, the other an earlier group of sixteen only, in which the sixteenth is the permanent spiritual part as contrasted with the fifteen impermanent parts, like those of the moon, xii, 305, 4.

### **The Sixteen (B) or Eleven Modifications.**

The epic (as already cited) gives the modifications as eleven in number. Apart from the usual explanations of these eleven, there is a passage, xii, 253, 11: "Three higher *guṇas* are in all creatures, besides the five gross elements, with mind, which is essentially analytic, *vyākaraṇātmakam*, as the ninth, intellect the tenth, and the inner soul, *antarātman*, as the eleventh." Here the commentator explains the three as ignorance, desire, and action (*avidyā, kāma, karma*, *ṣl. 9*), though in the text *bhāva, abhāva, and kāla*, are given as three additions (*ṣl. 2*), with other departures from the scheme already recognized in what precedes. But apart from this special case, the fact remains that in some parts of the epic, as in iii,

213, 18 (p. 37), xii, 281, 20, only eleven modifications are admitted.

On the other hand, sixteen modifications, eleven organs and five elements, as in the regular Sāṃkhyan system, are fully recognized, as in xii, 311, 8 ff., and elsewhere.

There is, therefore, no uniform epic interpretation of the modifications.

### The Eight Sources.

As given above from xii, 210, 28 and 311, 10, the *mūla-prakṛtayaḥ* or eight fundamental procreative powers are the Unmanifest, intellect ("born of activity," the result of the equilibrium being disturbed by *tejas*, energy), egoism, air, wind, light, water, and earth; or in other words (the fine elements being ignored, as usual), the five elements and self-conscious intellect as the first manifest production of the unmanifest produce everything. But in *Gītā*, 7, 4, the "eight sources" are these elements plus mind, self-consciousness, and intellect. The terminology, it may be observed, is already broken up in the *Gītā*. In this passage "another source," *prakṛti*, is the *jīva* *bhūtā*, which is the same with one of the "two spirits," *puruṣas*, in 15, 16, one of which is "all beings," with a "third spirit," the Lord, *Īṣvara*, *paramātmā*, added in 17, who is not identified with the *akṣara* but is "higher." When, however, egoism is rejected in favor of spirit, as in the "Secret of the Vedānta," then the group of eight appears as the six senses ("the five senses which are perceptive, *viññānāni*, with mind as the sixth), intellect and spirit. Other groups of eight, like the last, seem to be based on this early grouping of productive elements. They are assumed in xiii, 16, 54, where *Īṣvara* is "the eight sources (above 'eight forms'), and he who is above the sources," and they are personified in the personal creation of xii, 341, 30 ff., as "eight sages," who are sources, though created from the elements:

Marīcīr Aṅgīraḥ cā 'triḥ Pulastyaḥ Pulahaḥ Kratuḥ  
Vasiṣṭhaḥ ca mahātmā vāi Manuḥ Svāyambhuvas  
tathā

jñeyāḥ prakṛtayo'ṣṭāu tā yāsu lokāḥ pratiṣṭhitāḥ



Compare 210, 28, *mūlaprakṛtayo hy aṣṭāu jagad etāsv avasthitam*. As already noticed, the system requires that the elements here should be "fine," and this is occasionally expressed (see p. 129), but elsewhere the fine elements are ignored in this group of sources. Then the five (gross) elements are productive, which leaves only eleven modifications.

### The Vital Airs and Senses.

In xii, 302, 27, there are seven breaths, the usual five and in addition an *adhaḥ anilaḥ* and a *pravahaḥ*. Instances where ten and five vital breaths are mentioned have already been given. So with two, which are often the only airs recognized, as in xii, 240, 13. These are all old groups,<sup>1</sup> and represent as varied opinions in the epic as in earlier literature.

Generally speaking, plants are ignored in the elaborate analysis of categories, but they are specifically mentioned at times. Thus in xii, 183 ff., there is an account of creation. Water was the first creation after space. Water pressing made wind. The friction of wind and water made fire which became solid and thus formed earth. There are five sense-making elements in all created things. Trees do not appear to possess them, but they really do. They have space or how could leaves come out? They have heat as is shown by withering. They have ears, for at the sound of thunder they lose leaves, and sound is heard only with ears. They have eyes for a wither can wind its way, and there is no path without sight. They can smell, for good and bad smells, of incense, etc., make them flourish or decline. They taste, for they drink water. So all creatures have the five elements. The earth-element is seen in skin, flesh, bone, marrow, sinew; the fire-element, in energy, wrath, sight, heat, and digestive fire; the air (or space) element in ear, nose, mouth, heart, and stomach (usually not as here, 184, 22, but in all the apertures); the water-

<sup>1</sup> Even the ten are recognized in *Çat. Br. xi, 6, 3, 5, daçe 'me puruṣe prāṇā ātmāi 'kadaçaḥ* (called *rudrāḥ*). These can scarcely be the organs, for as such they would include the *karmendriyas*, which do not "depart" at death. The names are given above, p. 33. Compare the *rudras* of xii, 317, 5.

element in slime, bile, sweat, fat, blood. There are five vital airs (winds) which cause a person to move, 184, 24-25:

prāṇāt praṇīyate prāṇī vyānād vyāyacchate tathā  
 gacchaty apāno 'dhaḥ cāi 'va <sup>1</sup> samāno hr̥dy avasthitaḥ  
 udānād ucchvasiti ca pratibhedāc ca bhāṣate  
 ity eva vāyavaḥ pañca ceṣṭayanti 'ha dehinam

The five senses belong to the five elements; one smells by reason of the earth-element; tastes because one has the element of water; knows color through the eye as the fire-element; knows touch through the wind. Smell is of *nine* sorts; taste is of six sorts; color (and form), of *sixteen* sorts (color as distinguished from form is of six sorts, white, black, bright-red, yellow, blue, yellow-red); wind has a double characteristic, sound and touch; touch is the characteristic of wind and is of many sorts, viz., twelve; air (space) has but one characteristic, sound. But there are *seven* sorts of sound (the gamut) called ṣaḍja, ṛṣabha, gāndhāra, madhyama, dhāivata, pañcama, niṣāda. Whatsoever sound of drum, thunder, etc., is heard is contained in this group of seven sounds (notes).<sup>2</sup>

The more extended account of airs in the next chapter gives ten vital breaths or airs, though it describes but five, nāḍyo daḥapraṇāpracoditāḥ, xii, 185, 15 (as noticed above, p. 36, with the correspondence in the third book). In xiv, 50, 42 ff., the same (duplicated) account says smell is of *ten* sorts; color (form), of *twelve* sorts; sound of *ten* sorts (the gamut and also "sounds which are agreeable, disagreeable, and com-

<sup>1</sup> This is the later view that apāna is the anus wind, pāyūpāsthe 'pānam, Praṇa Up. iii, 5.

<sup>2</sup> On the six colors mentioned together in the Rig Veda, and the light of thirty-four kinds, see my article on Color Words in the Rig Veda, Am. Journal of Phil. iv, p. 190. Seven recitations or notes are recognized in the Chānd. Up. ii, 22, 1; the roaring note is the Agni note; the unclear is Prajāpati's; the clear or definite is Soma's; the soft smooth, is Vāyu's; the smooth strong, is Indra's; the heron-note is Bṛhaspati's; the inharmonious, is Varuṇa's. The names here are indefinite and apply vaguely to seven divinities. They are found also in other early literature. The epic names have no analogy in the Upanishads till the Garbha. On the other hand the epic grāma, gamut, is late. Compare above, p. 13, vāṇī; also saptatantrī viṇā, iii, 134, 14, "the seven-stringed lyre," called ṣaḍgrāmarāgādisamādhīyuktā, in H. ii, 89, 68.



fact"), although the two descriptions are almost identical. Each, however, has added new factors. The *Anugītā* list betters the careless text above, whereby the sound called "Fifth," *pañcama*, stands in the sixth place (xii, 184, 39).

### The Five Subtile Elements. Gross and Subtile Bodies.

The word for subtile element, *tanmātra*, is late and, as I think, its equivalent is not often to be understood. The earlier schemes were content with "elements"; the later, or a divergent interpretation, introduced fine elements, *sūkṣmāṇi*, the latest have the classical term *tanmātrāṇi*. Of course the commentator often interprets fine elements where none is mentioned. Thus, in xii, 205, 15, "as the elements disappear on the destruction of the *guṇas*, so intellect taking the senses exists in mind," where subtile forms may be inferred, as they may be in xiv, 51, 13, where *viçvasṛj* is doubtful (v. l.). In xii, 252, 21, *aviçeṣāṇi bhūtāni*, and in xii, 311, 8 ff., where the modifications of the five elements are again elements (above, p. 129), fine elements are recognized. In xiii, 14, 423, *viditvā sapta sūkṣmāṇi ṣaḍaṅgaṁ tvāṁ ca mūrtitaḥ*, "knowing thee as having in bodily form the subtile seven, and having six limbs," the commentator may be right in analyzing the seven as intellect, egoism, and five *tanmātrāṇi*, as he does in the case of the Yogin's *līṅga*, soul, also said to have "seven *sūkṣmas*," xii, 254, 7.<sup>1</sup> Elsewhere there are eight (powers?) characteristics of the subtile body of the Yogin, xii, 317, 6.

But it must have caused surprise in the many schemes given above, that a clear indication of this theory is so often lacking where it would be most in place. The elements are simply *mahābhūtās* (sic, or *bhūtāni*). Only the latest part of the epic has the technical word, i, 90, 13-14, where the

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps, however, the sevenfold knowledge of the Yogin is meant as in *Sūtra*, ii, 27. The passage above, xiii, 14, 423, is a copy of xii, 254, 15, where the seven are explained as senses, objects, mind, intellect, mahat, the unmanifest, spirit (the six are here explained as all-knowing, content, knowledge without beginning, independence, ever-clear sight, endless power).

spirit, kṣetrajña, is connected with the tanmātras before birth in the body; and xiii, 14, 202, where the order of Īiva's creation is "mind, intellect,<sup>1</sup> egoism, the tanmātras, and the organs."<sup>2</sup>

In xii, 202, 18 ff., when the soul leaves the body and takes another, it is said: "A man leaving his body enters another unseen body. Abandoning his body to the five great (gross) elements, bhūteṣu mahatsu, he takes up a form also dependent on these, tadācraiyam<sup>3</sup> cāi 'va bibharti rūpam. The five (senses) exist in the five great elements and the five objects of sense, in the senses." Here there is another body, but it is composed of the same great elements and no other elements are recognized. The new body is called a līṅga,<sup>4</sup> but so is the old, crotṛādiyuktaḥ samanāḥ sabuddhir līṅgāt tathā gacchati līṅgam anyat, "possessed of hearing and other senses and having mind and intellect he passes out of one body to another," çl. 14.

Elsewhere it is said that the beings that pass out of the gross body pass into a subtile, sūkṣma, body, and are called sūkṣmabhūtāni sattvāni, "fine beings," which "wander about like sunbeams," superhuman, atimānuṣāṇi, xii, 254, 1-3 (sattva is bhūtātman). The passage in xii, 345, 14 ff. has already been referred to. Here the sun is the door (as in the Içā) and the dead become paramāṇubhūtāḥ, then manobhūtāḥ, and then

<sup>1</sup> Here mati stands for buddhi, as it does in xii, 202, 21, sarvāṇi cāi 'tāni manonugāni, buddhim mano 'nveti matiḥ svabhāvam, "the senses follow mind, mind follows intellect, intellect follows the pure entity (here equivalent to paramaḥ svabhāvaḥ of 203, 1).

<sup>2</sup> The word tanmātra occurs only in late Upanishads, according to Col. Jacob's Concordance (his reference s. pañca° includes Māitri, iii, 2). To the last, Garbe, in his Sāṅkhya-Philosophie adds (p. 239) Kaṭha, iv, 8, referring to Regnaud, Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de la philosophie de l'Inde, ii, 31, 32. This is an error. The Kaṭha knows nothing of tanmātras. Praṇa must be meant, where mātṛās are mentioned, iv, 8.

<sup>3</sup> Compare tan-mātram, but in the passage cited, tad must refer grammatically to the great elements.

<sup>4</sup> So in xii, 307, 18, the Yogin, still in his gross body, becomes quiet as a lamp in a windless place, shines like a lamp (or is like a stone or piece of wood). When he shines forth and is nirliṅgaḥ and moveless, he would not be reborn. Here līṅga seems to be merely a distinguishing mark.



trāigunyahīnāḥ, and enter Vāsudeva (nirguṇātmaka), the sarv-āvāsa (compare Īcāvāśya), the home of all (or dwelling in all). We may compare Vāsudeva derived from sarvabhūta-kṛtāvāsa, xii, 348, 94. The Yogin soul, "clothed in seven subtile things," has also been referred to above, p. 39.

In these cases there is evidence of a general belief in a subtile body, but evidence against a general belief in subtile elements, negative, of course, but rather strong when the elements called great beings (not necessarily gross, implying antithesis of subtile)<sup>1</sup> are said to be the constituents of the second body. I add another similar case where no mention is made of subtile elements, though the elements and the subtile post-mortem body are discussed, since it is an interesting passage in itself and also offers a particularly convenient opportunity for the introduction of the idea of subtile elements, but no such idea is suggested.

The discussion begins with an account of creation, explains the five elements, and proceeds with an argument in regard to the psychic agent. Life, it is said, is invisible and the question comes whether there is any vital, jīva, spirit, and how it survives apart from the body, when the latter "passes into the five elements" (i. e., into the gross elements, *tasmin pañcatvam āpanne jīvaḥ kim anudhāvati*, xii, 186, 10). "When a man's body has been eaten by birds, or has fallen from a cliff, or has been burned, how can life come to him again, *kutaḥ samjīvanam punaḥ*, 13. If the root of a cut-down tree does not grow again, but only the seeds of the tree grow, how can the man (cut-down) reappear? The seed alone, which has been started previously, that remains in existence; the seed comes from a seed, but dead men perish when they die," 15.<sup>2</sup> "No," says the teacher, "there is no destruction of the vital spirit, jīva. The vital part of a man, *prāṇī*, enters another body; the body

<sup>1</sup> The application of great in mahābhūta is expressly said to be (not in antithesis to subtile, but) on account of their unlimited character, *amītānām mahācābdo yānti bhūtāni sambhavam, tatas teṣām mahābhūtaçabdo 'yam upapadyate*, xii, 184, 3.

<sup>2</sup> Compare BAU. iii, 9, 28, *retasa iti mā vocata . . martyaḥ svit mṛtyunā vṛkṇaḥ kasmān mūlāt prarohati*. With the fire-simile, cf. Çvet. i, 13.

alone is destroyed. The vital spirit supported by the body, *çarīṇāçrīto jīvaḥ*, is not destroyed when the body is destroyed; for it is like the flame when the wood is burned" (implying that though invisible it exists). "Just so," says the objector, "it is like the flame, but no flame is apprehended when the wood is used up, and I regard such a fire, when the wood is used up, as destroyed, since it has no visible course, nor proof (*pramāṇa*), nor thing to hold to," *saṁsthāna*. To this the answer is: "The fire is not apprehended, because it has disappeared into air without a support. So the vital spirit, on abandoning the body, exists like air,<sup>1</sup> but like fire it is not apprehended, because of its subtilty, *sūkṣmatvāt*; the vital breaths are upheld by fire and this fire must be regarded as the vital spirit. When breathing is restrained, the breath-upholding fire is destroyed. When the bodily fire is destroyed, then the body (*deham, n.*) becomes senseless and falls and becomes earth, *yāti bhūmitvam*; for earth is the place it goes to, *ayana*. Breath and fire go to air, for these three are one; the pair (of other elements) is fixed on earth. These (elements) assume form only in connection with bodies (either mobile or immobile, 187, 9-10). . . . The five senses are not universally found<sup>2</sup> (and the body's resolution into elements does not affect the soul); the inner soul alone carries the body, it alone smells, tastes, hears, etc. The inner soul is (not local but) found in all the parts of the body, presiding over that (mind) which has five (characteristics), in that (body) which consists of five (elements) . . . The soul does not die when the body perishes."<sup>3</sup>

This is *Paramātman* doctrine, *ib.* 23, and since from the

<sup>1</sup> xii, 187, 6, *jīvo hy ākāçavat sthitaḥ* (*sarvagato nityaḥ ca, comm.*), reminds one of *BAU.* iii, 2, 13, *ākāçam ātmā*, only the strange Buddhist assumption (of Karma alone remaining) is here carefully guarded against, though the preceding simile suggests the soul's fate to be that in the *Upanishad*.

<sup>2</sup> Literally: "In respect to what you are saying (whether the operation of mind and senses indicates an agent) there is no general application of the five," 187, 19.

<sup>3</sup> *mithyāi 'tad āhur mṛta ity abuddhāḥ: daçārdhatāi 'vā 'sya çarīrabhedaḥ*, 187, 27.



beginning of the discussion where the elements are introduced, 184, 1 ff., to the close as given above, there is every opportunity to introduce the fine elements, it is evident they have no place in this system. We must either assume, therefore, that they are known in some parts of the epic and are not known in others, owing to a difference historically, or that they are taught and not taught in different passages, owing to a fundamental doctrinal difference. The synthetic interpreter is welcome to either horn of this dilemma.

The orthodox popular belief, which of course is also taught in the epic, is that one can go to heaven with a "divine form," as in xviii, 3, 42. In xvii, 3, 22-28, one goes to heaven "with his (human) body." The reason may be that explained in the words<sup>1</sup> "because of God's residence in them, the gross elements are eternal." These life-breaths and so forth exist eternally even in the other world, for a *Çruti* says so, in the words: "Even when gone to the other world the life-breaths of incorporate beings always (exist)," xv, 34, 10 (text, above, p. 25).

The body comes, according to the epic, from earth alone or from various elements. According to the scheme given above from xii, 184, 4, the body is made of earth. So the ear comes from air; the eye from the sun, etc., xii, 276, 11, *tasya bhū-mimayo dehaḥ*. Compare xii, 240, 7, "from earth the body, from water the fat, from light the eyes." Here wind is the support of the two vital breaths, *prāṇāpānāçrayo vāyuḥ*, and air (or space) is in the holes, *kheṣv ākāçam*, of corporate beings, a scheme of creation which attributes the "great beings" (elements) to the "first creation" of a personal creator.

In xii, 306, 5, the characteristics of male and female parents are traditionally<sup>2</sup> three each, as inherited by the offspring:

<sup>1</sup> *mahābhūtāni nityāni bhūtādhipatisaṃçrayāt*, xv, 34, 5.

<sup>2</sup> *çuçrūma . . . vede çāstre ca paṭhyate*. It is added: "Authoritative is what is declared in one's own Veda, *svavedoktam*, and what is read in the *Çāstras*," a restriction as to the Veda not elsewhere admitted.

bone, sinew, marrow from the father; skin, flesh, and blood from the mother. But in çl. 24 it is said that skin, flesh, blood, fat, bile, marrow, bone, and sinew are all eight produced by the male,<sup>1</sup> çukreṇa prākṛtāni. Here tradition is set aside for the sake of the new philosophy.

The growth of the body is described in xii, 321, 114 ff., the seed and blood, male and female, uniting produce a flake, kalala, which becomes a bubble, budbuda, which develops into a lump, peçī. From this lump come the limbs; from the limbs, nails and hair. At the end of the ninth month, "name and form (individuality)" are born.<sup>2</sup>

Besides one subtle body, the epic may recognize two, as do the Vedāntins and later Sāṃkhya philosophers (Garbe, Sāṃkhya Phil., p. 267). But the following text, I think, scarcely supports this interpretation of the commentator: "When the spirit in a body is out with rajas, it would wander about, like sound, with a body; having a mind unaffected by the result of action (the spirit) is established in Prakṛti because of its freedom from affection."<sup>3</sup> The commentator thinks that when the spirit is in Prakṛti it has a very minute body, different from the span-long or thumbkin body.<sup>4</sup> This is his explanation also of the unfinished sentence in xii, 254, 13. In 12 one sentence ends with the statement that unclarified spirits "do not see the bhūtātman in bodies." Then in 13, "those who are devoted

<sup>1</sup> Apparently a clear contradiction of the preceding, but excused by the author on the plea of understanding the inner meaning, and not the words alone, of Veda and Çāstra, granthārthatattva!

<sup>2</sup> The same process is described in late Sāṃkhya texts (Garbe, p. 273). Compare the Garbha Upanishad. "Name and form" is a phrase sometimes amplified: "The Lord creates name and form and acts," xii, 233, 25-26 (as in Brh. Up., i, 6, 1, nāma rūpaṃ karma, which may be referred to here, yaduktam vedavādeṣu . . . tadanteṣu).

<sup>3</sup> rajovarjyo 'py ayaṃ dehī dehavāṇ chabdavaś caret, kāryāir avyāhata-matir vāirāgyāt prakṛtāu sthitaḥ, xii, 217, 21. The next half-stanza, ādehād apramāḍāc ca dehāntād vipramucyate, is interpreted by the commentator to mean "the three bodies (sthūla-sūkṣma-kāraṇa) being abandoned, the soul (without body), because of its mental freedom, is released definitively."

<sup>4</sup> The subtle body is "span-long" in xii, 200, 22; "the size of a thumb," it wanders by reason of its connection with the liṅga, v, 46, 15, and 27; xii, 235, 175, aṅguṣṭhamātrāḥ puruṣā dehasthāḥ. See above, p. 32.



to Yoga-Çāstra, desirous of seeing that soul, — (things) without breath, (things) without form, and what (things) are like thunderbolts." Here the commentator takes the three, anucchvāsāni, amūrtāni, yāni vajropamāny 'pi, as bodies devoid of intelligence, sūkṣma or subtile bodies, and, thirdly, bodies indestructible even in the æonic destruction, or kāraṇa-çarīrāṇi, with atikrāmanti, overpass, to be supplied in the text. If anything is supplied it is "they see," but the passage is clearly without sense as it stands and probably represents a later and awkward interpolation of the three bodies.

### The Colors of the Soul.

The color of the soul is assumed through its union with the body, in the same way as when one near a fire gets a red color, xii, 202, 17. The incorporate spirit, dehin, is said to be without color, but it is tinged with the fruit of acts, and so is said to attain to color, varṇa, which is of course specifically "darkness." "But when the creature by means of knowledge puts off darkness, born of ignorance, then appears eternal Brahman" (pure, without color, 201, 26). "As wind," it is said, "becomes colored with dust and so itself colors all the air (space), thus the spirit, jīva, without color, because of acts' fruits becomes color-tinged," xii, 280, 9 ff.

This simple idea of pure white soul (as in Çvet. Up. iv, 1) being darkened by contact with impure darkness-born not-soul, and eventually becoming clear and colorless again, is worked up into a confused theory of spirit-color in the next chapter, where jīva, spirit, has six colors, ṣaḍjīvavarṇāḥ, xii, 281, 33, as follows: "Spirit has six colors, black, yellow-green (or grey), and blue, the middle color; red, more helpful and good, bright yellow, and, best of all, white. White is best, spotless, without sorrow, leading to success. . . . The course creatures take is made by their (spiritual) color. Color is caused by one's former acts (Time, as often, represents the Karma). The dark color leads to a low course and hell. After hell the spirit attains yellow-green (harit = dhūmra). When jīva is endowed with sattva it casts off tamas (darkness) by means

of intelligence, and after blue attains to red and lives as a human creature." Then the spirit attains to yellow as a god, returns to hell, and goes on in the same way to white, finally surpassing the three states (*guṇas*).<sup>1</sup> The inner meaning of this passage, according to the commentator, is that when the spirit has the three *guṇas*, *tamas*, *rajas*, *sattva*, in quantitative proportion to this sequence, the result is that the spirit is black; but in the order *tamas*, *sattva*, *rajas*, yellow-green (or grey); *rajas*, *tamas*, *sattva*, blue; *rajas*, *sattva*, *tamas*, red; *sattva*, *tamas*, *rajas*, yellow; *sattva*, *rajas*, *tamas*, white. The whole theory, which is alluded to again in 292, 4 ff., seems to be an elaboration of the simple thesis of the preceding section given above. In the passage following, the "higher color" is gained by "pure acts," *varṇotkarṣaṃ avāpnōti naraḥ puṇyena karmaṇā*. The identification of light with heaven ("bright-yellow gods," above) is as natural as that of darkness with hell. Thus xii, 190, 1 ff., after it is said that "truth is light and darkness is lies," we read: "Light is heaven and darkness is hell; man gets a mixture of both in this life, truth and lies." Compare Patañjali's Aphorisms, iv, 7: "Yogin's work is neither white nor black." I see no support in the text for the elaborate explanation of the commentator, as recorded above.

In xii, 303, 46, there are "three colors, white, red, and black, with which are affected all things in *Prakṛti*." Here these are set parallel to the *guṇas* (red apparently corresponding to energy, *rajas*), as signs of the soul, which goes to hell if it is *tāmasa*, humanity if *rājasa*, heaven if *sāttvika*; apparently an intermediate view between the six colors and the simple antithesis of pure and impure, white and dark. The tricolored being is known in a phrase common to epic, v, 44, 25, and Upanishad, *Ḡvet.*, iv, 5.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The commentator, instead of taking the states to be *guṇas*, takes them as waking, sleeping, and deep slumber, ending in *turya*, the fourth state.

<sup>2</sup> Epic text, xii, 303, 46: *ṣuklaloहितakṛṣṇāni rūpāṇy etāni trīṇi tu sarvāṇy etāni rūpāṇi yāni 'ha prakṛtāni vai*. *Ḡvet. Up.* iv, 5: *ajām ekām lohitaṣuklakṛṣṇām bahviḥ prajāḥ śṛjāmānām sarūpāḥ* (Müller gives the varied readings in his note, SBE., vol. ii, p. 250). For v, 44, 25, compare above, p. 28.



### The Five Faults of a Yogin.

In xii, 241, 3 ff., the faults of Yoga as known to the seers, Kavis, are desire, wrath, greed, fear, and sleep, *kāma*, *krodha*, *lobha*, *bhaya*, *svapna*, two added to an ancient trio. In xii, 301, 11, the five Yoga faults to be "cut off" are registered as *rāga*, *moha*, *sneha*, *kāma*, *krodha*. In xii, 302, 55, the "path-knowing Kāpila Sāṃkhya" give as the five faults, *kāma*, *krodha*, *bhaya*, *nidrā*, *çvāsa*. In xii, 317, 13, the five faults are simply the actions of the five senses. See also the list above, p. 119.

Patañjali, ii, 3, recognizes five *kleṣas* "to be abandoned" (*heyāḥ*), *avidyā* 'smitā *rāga*dveṣā 'bhiniveṣāḥ. Five to be "cut off" and "to be abandoned" are also recognized in the Dhammapada, 370, *pañca chinde*, *pañca jahe*. In the epic the "five" are known as such, but different expositions explain them differently.

### Discipline of the Yogin.

The perfected Yogin, who, by means of the sevenfold *dhāraṇās*, methods of fixing the mind, has overcome seven, the elements, egoism, and intellect, attains to "complete and faultless illumination," *pratibhā*, in which state he surpasses the *guṇas* and performs miracles. These technical terms of the Yoga are only two of many found in the later epic. *Pratibhā*, *upasargas*, the eightfold power, the various comfortable "sittings," calculated to induce concentration of thought, e. g., *vīrāsana*, the *codanās*, "urgings" (by which one controls the breaths), the "pressing of breaths" into the heart-canal, or into the space between the brows, the fixed hours of exercise in mental discipline — all this Yoga-machinery is as well known to the epic rewriters as to Patañjali. That the epic here precedes the Sūtra-maker may be inferred from the fact that in the matter of "faults" (above) and in other technical terms it does not always follow the latter, though it has the Sūtra terminology to a certain extent. But, on the other hand, there can be little doubt that the epic-writers were steeped in Yoga-terms and used to Yoga-

practices of extreme refinement, for they reveal a very intimate acquaintance with Yoga-technique. Over against these adepts, or scientific Yogins, stand the vulgar ascetics, whose practices consist simply in the austerity of painful posturing. The latter forms are antique, and continue, of course, through the whole epic, as indeed they continue till now in India; but in contrast with those who practise the scientific rules of the skilled Yogin, the "one-legged, up-arm" ascetic belongs to the vulgar cult, inherited as "Veda-enjoined penance," where the wretch is not so much engaged in control and samādhi, graduated concentration, as in mortifying himself to get power or win God's grace. Even Vishnu thus stands by his "eight-finger-high-altar," and performs austerities, "standing on one leg, with upturned arm and face;" and it is the worshippers of such gods who retain as their sole means of winning divine grace the same sort of practices. No sharper contrast can be imagined than the two disciplines, that of the votary and that of the scientific student of psychology (whose theology rests in Brahmaism), as presented in the epic.<sup>1</sup>

### The Destructible and Indestructible.

Both spirit and the Source according to the Sāṃkhya system are eternal and indestructible, xii, 217, 8; Gītā, 13, 19. They are therefore not created things. But spirit in other passages is a "created thing" and so is the source, xii, 205, 24. For according to the Brahmaistic interpretation, both of these are destructible so far as their entity goes. The twenty-fifth is reabsorbed and the twenty-fourth is also absorbed into Brahman, xii, 308, 7 ff. See above, pp. 134, 137. "Lord Time's Retaking" pratyāhāra, is the name given to the cosmic reabsorption as explained in xii, 234, 1 ff. The universe becomes subtile and metaphysical, adhyātma. All things are first burned and enter the condition of earth, till earth looks bare

<sup>1</sup> The chief chapters to be compared will be found in Čānti (237, 241, 317; also pp. 44, 107, above), but for details I must refer to a paper read at the Meeting of the Oriental Society in April, 1900 (to be published in the Journal, vol. xxii).



as a tortoise shell. Then water takes up earth; fire, water; wind, fire; air, wind; mind, air (with sound, etc., i. e., manifest mind passes into unmodified mind); the moon, as *saṁkalpa* or fancy, swallows mind, *citta*; then Time swallows this as knowledge.

Up to this point the retroaction is at least intelligible but it is interrupted here by a revealed text: *kālo girati vijñānaṁ kālam balam iti ṣṛtiḥ, balaṁ kālo grasati tu, taṁ vidyā kurute vaḥ*, "Time swallows knowledge, *power swallows Time, and Time swallows power*; then Wisdom overpowers Time." Finally: "The Wise One puts into himself the sound, *ghoṣa*, of air or space." That is unmanifest, highest, eternal Brahman, "and so Brahman alone is the recipient of all creatures."<sup>1</sup>

### The Gods and the Religious Life.

The orthodox Brahman's insistence on the four stadia of life is found in the normal attitude of the poets. Opposed to this is the direct teaching that these stadia are quite unnecessary, xii, 327, 26-27: "In the first stadium one can be perfected, what use is there of the other three?" Compare iii, 297, 25, *mā dvitīyam*, etc.

In some passages the god Brahman is indestructible and self-created; in others he is a creation; in some he is below Vishnu, in others above him; in some, he is below Īva; in others above him.<sup>2</sup> Brahman, again, appears as the equal of

<sup>1</sup> *çl. 17: evaṁ sarvāṇi bhūtāni brahmāi 'va pratisaṁcaraḥ*. This absorption is the counterpart to the personal creation of Brahman (see p. 142), from the "Seed made of Brahman-glory, whence all the world," 233, 1. I do not pretend to understand the final process of reabsorption described above: *Ākāśasya tadā ghoṣaṁ taṁ vidvān kurute 'tmani, tad avyaktam param brahma tac chāḥvatam anuttamam*. The eternal sound here implicated in Brahman may be that "Word without beginning or end, Wisdom, uttered by the Self-existent, from which, as Veda-sounds, the Lord (as cited in the note, p. 178) in the beginning creates names, forms, and acts," xii, 233, 24-26.

<sup>2</sup> In xii, 340, 116, Brahman knows that Vishnu is greatest; but in xii, 285, 165, Vishnu is unable to comprehend the greatness of Īva. Compare on the mixed ideas concerning Brahman, Holtzmann's essay, ZDMG. xxxviii, p. 167 ff. I cannot agree with the author in the opinion that Brahman is the chief God of the "older epic," but only of the older tales incorporated into the epic.

the other two gods in the trinitarian theosophy, which is represented in the epic, but only sporadically and in its latest additions.<sup>1</sup> He is sometimes looked upon as the chief of all gods, but his supreme attributes are in other passages taken by his later rivals. Three stages are clear, with a top story added last of all. The earliest tales received into the epic know no god higher than Brahmān, the later pseudo-epic knows no god equal to (a Pācupata) Īiva. Between the two lies the mass of the epic teaching, where supremacy is given to a sectarian Vishnu. The very latest additions to the epic adopt a synthetic view and make of this religious olla podrida one harmonious whole, where all three great gods are one.

Arjuna is a form of Vishnu. He is taught this with wonder and great amaze in the sixth book. But our amazement at his amazement is still greater, for this doctrine, apparently so new to him, was revealed to him long before, in the third book, and on that earlier occasion he appeared fully to appreciate the fact that he was divine and identical with Krishna, facts which in the sixth book he has totally forgotten.<sup>2</sup>

### Heaven and Hell. Death.

Inconsistent as is the Karma doctrine with the notion of heaven and hell, the Hindu, like Pindar, successfully combines the two beliefs by imagining that metempsychosis follows the

<sup>1</sup> For the usual caturmūrti, compare iii, 203, 15; vii, 29, 26; xii, 335, 8. In iii, 272, 47, is found the only definite expression of the late trinitarian belief in a trimūrti, an interpolated section (compare my *Religions of India*, p. 412); though it may be implied in i, 1, 32 and xiii, 16, 15, but only here till we reach the *Harivaṅṣa*, 2, 125, 31. It appears first in the later Upanishads, or in late additions, as in *Māitri* v (as distinguished from the close of iv), above, p. 46. Among other religious novelties the pseudo-epic introduces Citragupta, Death's secretary, xiii, 125, 6; 130, 14 ff. In several points, such as in this and in grammatical peculiarities, the *Anuṣāṣana* shows itself later in some parts even than *Ānti*, all ignored, of course, by the synthesist.

<sup>2</sup> Compare iii, 12, 16. In this passage, Arjuna exalts Krishna as the supreme Lord of the universe, and Krishna in turn identifies the two: *yas tvām dveṣṭi sa mām dveṣṭi*, etc., ib. 45 (Vishnu says the same thing almost to Rudra in xii, 343, 133; *yas tvām vetti sa mām vetti*, *yas tvām anu sa mām anu*). Arjuna's godhead is proclaimed to him in iii, 41, 35, 43; 47, 7. On the hymn, iii, 12, compare Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, i, p. 489.



penalty of hell, or reward of heaven. The two views stand sometimes separate, however, and the hero is promised an abode in Indra's heaven without any allusion to metempsychosis; or one is promised a high or low birth hereafter without allusion to the older teleological fancy. Ordinarily in the former case, the rule is that a good man goes to heaven and a bad man goes to hell, as in the Upanishads, e. g., *Mund.* i, 2, 10, and in the epic generally. But in one exegesis quite a different view is taken. The idea here is that a fairly good man goes first of all to hell; while a man who on the whole is rather sinful than good goes first of all to heaven. Afterwards the good man goes to heaven and the bad man goes to hell.<sup>1</sup>

The popular notion of the Yogin is not at all that of absorption into Brahman. "Grieve for the living, not for the dead; this pious hero after his death, like a Yogin, has become a being with a human body and shines glorious like a king."<sup>2</sup> In heaven there are cool breezes and perfume, no hunger, thirst, toil, old age, nor sin, but "eternal happiness," in heaven, which is here, in contrast to hell, the "highest place," xii, 190, 13-14. So in the *Sabhās*. The Yogin "revels in joy, knows no sorrow, and rides around on high in a heavenly car, attended by self-luminous women," xiii, 107, 130 (compare the *rāmāḥ sarathāḥ* of *Kaṭha Up.* i, 25). This is the happiness of a Yogin after death, a view of course diametrically opposed to that of the philosophy taught elsewhere, for it is taught as final, not as preliminary.

In various passages it is taught that a good man should aim at attaining to heaven. This too is not put forth as a half-view with a reservation, as in the case of the Upanishads. But in other cases it is expressly just such a half-view.<sup>3</sup> Heaven is

<sup>1</sup> *bhūyīṣṭham pāpakarmā yaḥ sa pūrvam svargam aṇute*, etc., xviii, 3, 14.

<sup>2</sup> *tām āindavam ātmatanum . . . gataḥ*, vii, 71, 17. Compare xii, 332, 53, *vāyubhūtaḥ pravekṣyāmi tejorācīm divākaram* (not here to the moon, which changes): "In the form of wind I shall enter the sun" (to live with the seers); *yatra nā 'vartate punaḥ* (50), "whence there is no return."

<sup>3</sup> Here it may be objected: But this is for warriors, and even in the Upanishads those that worship *Prajāpati* as matter instead of spirit are materially blessed. This raises the question again which I touched upon at the outset.

here a good place for good but unintelligent people, but it is scorned by the philosopher. "I have done with heaven, away with thee, heaven, whither thou hast come," says an enlightened king; "let the priest receive my merit if he wishes," xii, 199, 77-78. The priest, orthodox, is recognized as still striving for heaven and likely to go to hell, in the old way: "Hell is where priests go," it is said rather bluntly, *ib.* 14-15, *nirayaṁ nāi 'va yātā tvaṁ yatra yātā dvijaṣabhāḥ, yāsyasi Brahmaṇaḥ sthānam*. For of all the heavens of all the gods it is said, "these are but hells to the place of the Highest Soul," xii, 198, 6.

All kings but one go to Yama's heaven in the *Sabhā* account;<sup>1</sup> in the battle-scenes most of them go to Indra's heaven. But in vi, 16, 20, they go to the *Brahma*-world. Again, the heaven one goes to depends either on one's *guṇa*s (as explained above), or, according to where one dies (*Tīrtha*), or, as a third explanation, according to the place in the body through which the soul escapes at death. If it goes through the feet, one goes to Vishnu's place; if through the arms, to Indra's place; if through the crown, to *Brahmān*, etc., xii, 318, 1 ff. (with *viṣvedevān* in 5, common in the pseudo-epic).

Death, it may be observed, is usually a male; but in vii, 53, 17 and xii, 258, 16-21, a female. There are here two accounts which, though together opposed to the view held everywhere else, are of critical value, not on this account (for a poet may perhaps be allowed to unsex death), but on account of their being almost identical, two versions of one tale, one bearing traces of greater antiquity than the other.<sup>2</sup>

In one part the warrior auditors are taught the deepest mysteries, in another they are taught what is not taught in the *Upanishads* except as introduction to true teaching. Synthetically considered, the epic teaches nothing systematic in these varying expositions.

<sup>1</sup> Yama's home is here a heaven of delight, elsewhere in the epic it is a hell of horrors.

<sup>2</sup> The account in *Droṇa* is here the later of these two similar scenes, as has been shown by Holtzmann, *ZDMG.* xxxviii, p. 218. In philosophy, death is the dissyllabic *Ego* as opposed to the eternal, immortal, three-syllable non-ego, or *mama* versus *namama* ("this is mine" is a thought deadly to truth, and untruth is death), xii, 13, 4 and xiv, 13, 3 (identical passages).



### The Cosmic Egg and Creations.

According to the old belief, the universe comes from a cosmic egg. The philosophical schemes, of course, discard this egg, but we hear of it in the popular accounts often enough and meet it in the first verses of the epic. Occasionally, however, in the personal creation, which stands in so sharp contrast with the more philosophical schemes, this becomes a subject of controversy. Thus in xii, 312, the "Unmanifest" is a person, who first creates plants as the food of all incorporate things. "Then he produced Brahmán, born in a golden egg. Brahmán lived in the egg a year. Then he came out and put together the four forms of all beings, and earth and heaven above—as it is said in the Vedas, *dyāvāpṛthivyoḥ*<sup>1</sup>—and then the middle space. After this he created egoism, a being, *bhūta*, and four sons besides, who are the fathers' fathers. The gods are the sons of the fathers; by the gods the worlds were filled. Egoism, he that stands in the highest, created fivefold beings, earth and the other elements." Several verses follow on the impossibility of the senses acting alone ("the organs do not perceive, etc. Mind alone sees. Mind is the lord of the senses," etc.).<sup>2</sup> Here the egg-born creator is acknowledged in a scheme which is a mixture of mythology and philosophy. But in xiii, 154, 16 ff.: "Some fools say that Brahmán was born of an egg . . . but that is not to be regarded. How could the unborn be born? Air-space is the egg, according to tradition, and out of that was born Brahmán, the forefather. (He required no support, for he is) personified consciousness, the Lord. There is no egg; there is Brahmán . . . the unmanifest eternal Creator Lord" (15). This passage is not merely an allegorical interpretation of the egg-myth; for in the former, Brahmán creates space after he is born of the egg from which he is born, while here the egg is space. The number of crea-

<sup>1</sup> That is, the Vedic form implies the truth of heaven and earth as here stated.

<sup>2</sup> In this passage, etc *viṣeṣā mahābhūteṣu*, 312, 12, repeats the first half-stanza of 311, 14, cited above, p. 129.

tions in philosophy I have already discussed. They are given as nine, or again as five.<sup>1</sup>

### The Grace of God.

The belief in the saving grace of God is found only in the later Upanishads. It asserts that one sees the Self (or Lord) by the grace of the Creator, *Kaṭha Up.*, i, 2, 20 ff.; *Çvet.*, iii, 20; vi, 21; *Muṇḍ.*, iii. 2, 3. One is chosen, and cannot get salvation by knowledge alone. This general view is that maintained by the epic poet, who says: "The Vedas and Orders, though established on various opinions, *nānāmata-sa-māsthitaḥ*, unite in worshipping Spirit as the personal God by whose grace one is saved." So again: "That man can see Him, to whom He gives His grace," *yasya prasādam kurute sa vāi taṁ draṣṭum arhati*, xii, 337, 20, (a verse found also in the pseudo-Rāmāyaṇa). The grace of God is here the chief element of salvation, opposed to what is recognized as the severer school of those who attain salvation scientifically either by knowledge of soul or of God. This older system in the Upanishads is represented by those who are saved by knowledge alone; in the epic, by like-minded men, who have worked out a system or science of salvation, and depend wholly on this science, *jñāna*, or on ascetic practices, *tapas*, *yoga*, super-added to this science. Both of these are recognized as older systems in the epic, compared with the grace-of-God theory, and practically they are thrown over by the adherents of the latter school, who, however, differ from their ancestors in the Upanishads by a clear mark of lateness, in that they specify that the God whose grace saves is Krishna alone. Salvation not through knowledge, even of God, not through the grace of God, but through the grace of the man-god is the saving way, the easier way, or as it is called in the *Gītā*, the "less troublesome way," 12, 5.

Side by side stand in the epic these two great modern modi-

<sup>1</sup> These are the modifications of God, *avidyāsargas* and *vidyāsargas*, five in number in xii, 303, but when the account is repeated in 311, nine in all.



fications of the older Upanishads: there, knowledge, wisdom, *jñāna*, *vidyā*, contrasted with the later grace of the "Creator-Spirit," at most recognized as *Īva*. Here, the Sāṃkhya-Yoga system, contrasted with the later Krishna cult. "I will release thee from all thy sins, grieve not," says the man-god, *Gītā*, 18, 66. But the Yogin replies: "Sink or swim, let one put his trust in science alone," xii, 237, 1 and 238, 1, and claims that he is purified not by Krishna but by Yoga knowledge, rejecting even the purity induced by bathing in the sacred pools (for his purity is "obtained by knowledge"), which elsewhere in the epic are said to purify from all sin.<sup>1</sup> But inasmuch as the Yogin's science postulated what the Sāṃkhya denied, a personal God, the former became a bridge between the atheist and the devotee, a bridge, however, occasionally repudiated by the latter, who does not always, as usually, claim that he is thus philosophic, but exclaims: "By Sāṃkhya and by Yoga rule I meditate the way of God and find it not," xii, 352, 7-8.

The irreconcilable difference between the Sāṃkhya and the faith of the Krishnaite could be removed only by modifying one of these extreme views. Either the atheistic (or even Brahman) philosopher had to win over the adherents of the man-god to renounce him and return to the "ship of salvation of knowledge," or the devotee, having admitted that the Yogin's Spirit was God, had to identify his Krishna with that Purusha *Īvara*. Late as are all the purely philosophical chapters of the epic, they still show which power prevailed.

<sup>1</sup> There is of course, further, the *Īvaite*, who worshipped not Krishna but another as the highest God, not to speak of those that remained true to Vedic tradition and went for salvation no further than sacrifices and gifts. There are also, within the group of philosophers, those who recognized only the earlier twenty-five principles, and those who recognized twenty-six, as explained above. There is also the fractional sectary, who regarded Krishna as the "half of the fourth" of the "root-abiding Mahādeva" (as *tatstha*, p. 44, he creates existences, xii, 281, 61-62). All these divergent beliefs are represented in startling and irreconcilable antagonism in an epic concerning which the unhistorical view is dass es ächte zu einer einheitlichen Auffassung abgerundete Elemente sind, welche das Epos bietet, *Nirvāṇa*, p. 84!

Faith absorbed unfaith. The religious philosophy of the epic is a successful attempt to uphold Krishnaism not only against the science of atheism, but against a deistic science that postulated God but saw no godship in Krishna; a science which in its turn is technically elaborated, a long advance on the vague speculations of the Upanishads, but not yet as uniform as in the completed system. Krishnaism stands to Sāṃkhya-Yoga chronologically as stands the later grace-of-the-Creator theory to the earlier knowledge of the Upanishads. But both epic Sāṃkhya-Yoga and Krishnaism are later even than this modification of Upanishad teaching. Latest of all is trinitarianism. Side by side stand all these creeds, each pretending to be a definitive answer, each forming part of the contents of a poetic vessel, into which have been poured the vinegar and oil of doubt and faith; but:

ὄξος τ' ἄλειφά τ' ἐγχείας ταῦτ' ὅ κτεῖ  
 διχοστατοῦντ' ἂν οὐ φίλῳ προσενnéποις.



## CHAPTER FOUR.

### EPIC VERSIFICATION.

alamkṛtaṁ gubhāḥ ṣabdāḥ  
samayāir divyamānuṣāḥ  
chandovṛttāiḥ ca vividhāir  
anvitaṁ viduṣāṁ priyam

A Tale adorned with polished phrase  
And the wise lore of gods and men,  
With verses turned in various ways  
Replete, a joy to scholars' ken.

### **Epic Versification.**<sup>1</sup>

The poetry of the epic is composed in metres, chandas, of three sorts. The first is measured by syllables, the second by moræ, the third by groups of moræ. These rhythms ran the one into the other in the following course. The early free syllabic rhythm tended to assume a form where the syllables were differentiated as light or heavy at fixed places in the verse. Then the fixed syllabic rhythm was lightened by the resolution of specific heavy syllables, the beginning of mora-measurement. The resolution then became general and the number of moræ, not the number of syllables, was reckoned. Finally, the moræ tended to arrange themselves in groups and eventually became fixed in a wellnigh unchangeable form. Part of this development was reached before the epic began, but there were other parts, as will appear, still in process of completion. Neither

<sup>1</sup> I wish to acknowledge in beginning this chapter on epic metres the great help afforded me by Professor Cappeller of Jena, who put at my disposal a manuscript on the metrical forms in the epic, in which all the metres were located and the triṣṭubhs of the first three books were analyzed seriatim. I need hardly say that this loan has materially lightened the labor of preparing the following sketch, a loan the kindness of which was the more appreciated as it was entirely unsolicited, though most gratefully received.

of the chief metres in the early epic was quite reduced to the later stereotyped norm. The stanza-form, too, of certain metres was still inchoate.

The mass of the great epic (about ninety-five per cent) is written in one of the two current forms of free syllabic rhythm; about five per cent in another form of the same class; and only two-tenths of a percent in any other metre. The two predominant rhythms, *çloka* and *triṣṭubh*, are in origin the oldest Indic or pre-Indic rhythms, while of the others some are in turn early developments from the first epic rhythms. For convenience of reference, before discussing these rhythms in detail, I give a list of all those used in one or both of the two epics according as they are free syllabic (*çloka*, *triṣṭubh*), fixed syllabic (*akṣaracchandas*),<sup>1</sup> *mora-metre* (*mātrūcchandas*), and group-rhythms (*gaṇacchandas*).

*çloka*: a stanza of two verses (hemistichs) of sixteen syllables each, restricted to a certain extent as to the place where heavy and light syllables (or long and short vowels) are permitted. Originally the stanza consisted of four verses of eight syllables each and many traces of this division, by independent "quarters," *pādas*, survive in the *Mahābhārata*.

*triṣṭubh*: a stanza of four verses of eleven syllables each, arranged with very little restriction (and consequently of various types) in the *Mahābhārata*; reduced to one prevailing type in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Increased by one heavy syllable in each *pāda*, this metre is called *jagatī*, but the two types are interchangeable in the same stanza. Fixed types of this metre are common in verse form, but rare in stanza form<sup>2</sup> except as given in the next group (of four-verse stanzas).

<sup>1</sup> The fixed syllabic is called also *varṇavṛtta*, "syllabic verse" (*vṛtta* = *versus*).

<sup>2</sup> That is, pure in the form (a) and (b),  $\cup - \cup - - \cup \cup - \cup - \cup ( - )$ ; (e)  $- - - - - \cup - - \cup - -$ ; (f)  $- - - - - \cup \cup - - \cup - -$ . These are called (a) *upendravajrā*; (b) *vaṇcastha(bīla)*; (e) *çālīnī*; (f) *vārtomī*; or (a) and (b) with the opening  $- - \cup -$ , called (c) *indravajrā* and (d) *indravaṇçā*, as they have eleven or twelve syllables, respectively. When (a) and (c) or (b) and (d) are mingled, the stanza is called *upajātī*.





**Çloka and Triṣṭubh.**

## THE PĀDAS.

The number of verses in a çloka or triṣṭubh stanza may be decreased or increased by one or two, respectively; but in the great majority of cases, two in a çloka and four in a triṣṭubh constitute a stanza. Sometimes, however, where one or three hemistichs make a stanza, it is merely a matter of editing. Compare, for instance, i, 90, 22; i, 93, 19-21 with 3,682-83; iii, 4, 17 with 234; iii, 111, 14 ff., with 10,040, ff. But, on the other hand, no arrangement can always group the hemistichs into uniform stanzas. Thus in xii, 350, 49 ff., five triṣṭubh hemistichs follow three çloka hemistichs. A stanza of three hemistichs is apt to close a section, as in vii, 54 and 187. In G. vi, 49, 55, there is one hemistich in excess because 53 a-b were added to the original, and this is doubtless the cause of many such cases; though it is also true that a half stanza is often found where there is no reason to suspect a later addition. Six pādas in a triṣṭubh occur occasionally.

But in the case of the çloka, the pādas are metrically linked in pairs, while triṣṭubh pādas are metrically independent. The çloka, therefore, is a couplet. Its two halves are metrically disjunct and may be treated as independent wholes. Each hemistich is a complete verse. The two halves of this verse, the quarters, pādas, of the whole stanza, are sometimes knit together into euphonic combination and a syntactical whole. But, relatively speaking, this is seldom the case. The unity consists rather in the fact that one half of the verse is metrically different from the other and cannot be substituted for it, whereas in the triṣṭubh any pāda can be substituted, if the sense permits, for any other.<sup>1</sup> The different fall of the çloka pādas may be seen very well when the words are almost identical:

<sup>1</sup> In some forms of the triṣṭubh, however, there is a restriction in the final syllaba anceps of the first and third pādas, not found in the second and fourth pādas. In such cases (discussed hereafter) the triṣṭubh, like the çloka, consists of two parts (hemistichs) and the perfect independence of the pāda is modified. This does not affect the free epic triṣṭubh.



amitrāṇām bhayakaro mitrāṇām abhayaṁkaraḥ  
 ṣalabhā iva kedāram maṣakā iva pāvakam  
 nā 'tantrī vidyate vīṇā nā 'cakro vidyate rathaḥ  
 rukmapuṅkhāir ajihmāgrāi rukmapuṅkhāir ajihma-  
 gāiḥ (G. vi, 20, 26 and 19, 68)<sup>1</sup>

kiṁ nu me syād idaṁ kṛtvā kiṁ nu me syād akur-  
 vataḥ

yato dharmas tataḥ Kṛṣṇo yataḥ Kṛṣṇas tato jayah  
 paçyan çṛṇvan sṛṇan jighraṇaṇ aṇan gaçchan svapan  
 çvasan

japate japyate cāi 'va tapate tapyate punaḥ

The final syllaba anceps of all pādas indicates, however, that the ṣloka, like the triṣṭubh, originally permitted the same metrical fall in both pādas, and such we know to have been the case in the older metre from which the ṣloka derives. The Mahābhārata retains this identical measure here and there, as in

tad vāi devā upāsate tasmāt sūryo virājate,

but such cases, usually reflecting or imitating the older verse of the Upanishads, as in this example, v, 46, 1, are regularly avoided, even by the substitution of irregular or dialectic forms. Thus in viii, 84, 12, where the same verb is employed,

Duryodhanam upāsante parivārya samantataḥ

The ṣloka verse (hemistich) does not often indicate its unity by its form. Generally its prior half, or the pāda (to retain this word for the division of eight syllables), is not united with the posterior pāda. Verses that do unite the two usually give lists of objects, which is the ordinary case in the early epic, though the later epic does not hesitate to make freer use of this unit-verse. But on the whole, though common enough in post-epical writing, this is by no means typical of the epic itself. The great bulk of the poem does indeed furnish a goodly number of examples, but relatively speaking cases like the following are rare:

<sup>1</sup> The other verses are found in R. vii, 36, 22; 7, 3; ii, 39, 29; M. iii, 62, 10; vi, 23, 28; 29, 8; xiii, 14, 159.

mahāmaṇiṣṭhīlāpattābaddhaparyantavedikām, ii, 3, 32  
 āikyasaṁyoganānātvasamavāyaviṣāradah, ii, 5, 3  
 vayan hi devagandharvamānuṣyoraṅgarākṣasān, iii, 53, 29  
 jambvāmralodhrakhadirasālavetrasamākulam, ib. 64, 4  
 cīnhaṇḍulāmātāṅgavarāharkṣamṛgāyutam, ib. 39  
 badareṇḍudakāṁṣaplaṣṭāṣvathabibhītakāḥ, ix, 37, 61  
 gadāmusalānārācaṣaktitomarastayā, ix, 46, 66  
 dṛṣyate hi dharmarūpeṇā 'dharmam prākṛtaṣ caran,  
 xii, 261, 6  
 ajāyata mahārājavanṣe sa ca mahādṛyutī, xiii, 10, 35  
 sa bhavān daṇḍasaṁyogenā 'nena hṛtakilbiṣaḥ, G. iv, 17, 58  
 bhavadbhīr nīcayasa tattvavijñānakuṣalāir mama, G. iv,  
 32, 5.<sup>1</sup>

The hemistich of the śloka is also generally independent of the rest of the stanza in sense as well as in metre, but it is not infrequently united with it syntactically, as in vi, 19, 12,

na hi so 'sti pumāṇī loke yaḥ saṁkrudhām  
 Vṛkodaram  
 draṣṭum atyugrakarmāṇaṁ viśaheta nararābham .  
 Not a mortal on earth exists, who deep-incensed  
 Vṛkodara,  
 Mighty, a chief of awful strength, could a mo-  
 ment behold in war.

So samalāṁkṛtam: śatam, in the first chapter of Nala, 11; krodhasya ca vinigrahaḥ: kāryaḥ, xii, 330, 10; asambhāvyam vadham tasya Vṛtrasya vibudhādhipaḥ: cintayāno jagāmā 'ṇu, R. vii, 85, 15, etc. Inside the hemistich, the pādas are frequently euphonically independent (hiatus);

Prajāṅgho Vāliputrāya abhidudrāva, R. vi, 76, 22.  
 na kimcid abhidhātavyā aham, R. vi, 118, 10  
 mā vināṣaṁ gamiṣyāma<sup>2</sup> aprasādyā 'diteḥ sutam,  
 R. vii, 35, 63

<sup>1</sup> R. (Bombay) has caesura between pādas and avoids both these forms (saṁyogāt in 18, 64, for saṁyogena, etc.).

<sup>2</sup> G. here, 38, 113, has the future imperative, gamiṣyadhvam. Other examples of hiatus may be seen in R. v, 60, 8; vi, 60, 8; vii, 11, 42, etc., besides the ample collection of Böhtlingk for the first four books.



Sāumitraṁ sampariṣvajya idaṁ vacanam abravīt,  
 R. vi, 23, 1  
 nihanyād antaraṁ labdhvā ūlako vāyasān iva, R. vi,  
 17, 19  
 çaraṇāny açaṇānyāni açaṇmāṇi kṛtāni naḥ, R. vii, 6, 5

In G. the hiatus is usually avoided, but it is sometimes kept here, as where R. vii, 21, 19 has gorasaṁ gopradātāro annaṁ cāi.'va (adrākṣīt) and G. rectifies the grammar but keeps the hiatus, gopradātṛṇç ca annam.<sup>1</sup> In the last book of the poem, hiatus in G. is more common than in the earlier epic; for example, G. has the hiatus of R. vii, 6, 40, svadhītaṁ dattam iṣṭaṁ ca āiçvaryaṁ paripālitaṁ. On the other hand, within the pāda attempts are sometimes made to avoid hiatus at the expense of form, as in R. vii, 109, 4, brahmam (cf. 88, 20) āvartayan param. Contrast is often the cause of hiatus, both in the pāda, as in apāyaṁ vā upāyaṁ vā, R. iii, 40, 8, and in the hemistich, as in hīnaṁ mām manyase kena ahīnaṁ sarvavikramāiḥ, R. vi, 36, 5.<sup>2</sup> So in the Mahābhārata, satyanāmā bhavā 'çoka, 'açokaḥ çokanāçanaḥ, iii, 64, 107. The latter epic otherwise presents the same phenomena:

yeṣāṁ mūtram upāghrāya api bandhyā prasūyate,  
 iv, 10, 14  
 upāvartasva tad brahma antarātmāni viçrutam, v,  
 43, 59  
 viveça Gaṅgāṁ Kāuravya Ulūpi, xvii, 1, 27  
 devā 'pi mārge muhyanti apadasya padāiṣiṇaḥ, xii,  
 270, 22  
 anāhūtaḥ praviçati aprṣṭo bahu bhāṣate, v, 33, 36, etc.

There is nothing peculiarly epic in hiatus. It is found in precedent and subsequent poetry. Its occurrence in the

<sup>1</sup> R. in the second hemistich has gṛhāṇç ca gṛhadātāraḥ (acc.) svakarmaphalam açnataḥ, aç for bhuç, as in M. iii, 32, 6.

<sup>2</sup> Emphasis also may cause hiatus, as in dharmātmā iti, R. i, 21, 7; na tu vaktuṁ samartho 'haṁ teçyī ātmagatān guṇān, R. iv, 8, 5; or it may be employed to save the life of a word, as in dakṣiṇārthe 'tha ṛtvigbhyaḥ, xiii, 93, 25 (the commonest hiatus is this before ṛ, as in sarve ca ṛtavaḥ; kāravyasva ṛçe; anye ṛkṣavataḥ, etc.).

Mahābhāṣya, as in *ṣayānā vardhate dūrvā āśinām vardhate viṣam*, IS., xiii, p. 461, may be epic.

The cadence of the *ṣloka*, like that of all other poetry, depends on the sense, and the *cæsura* cannot be determined by rule. In most cases there is a *cæsura* at the end of the *pāda*, but it is frequently shifted, as in *kvā 'rjunaḥ nṛpatiḥ? cīghram samyag ākhyātum arhatha*, R. vii, 31, 11. A complete sentence seldom exceeds the limit of a stanza, and when it goes further it may be set down as a mark of lateness. Quite anomalous in epic style are those long sentences, usually relative, which, as in *Gītā* 2, 42-44 and 6, 20-23 run through twelve or fourteen *pādas*. Still more awkward are the sentences found in the later epic. Thus in xii, 302, occurs a sentence, not of fourteen *pādas* as in the *Gītā*, but of fourteen *ṣlokas* (5-17): yet this is surpassed in the same section by a sentence of thirty *ṣlokas*, which even then has no finite verb and in reality never comes to an end at all (24-52). Such monstrosities, however, belong only to the pseudo-epic.

Like the *ṣloka*, the *triṣṭubh*, in euphony and sense, may be a couplet, the first two and last two *pādas* making a unit, as in iii, 118, 20 c - d, *anyāñc ca Vṛṣṇīn upagamya pūjām: cakre*; vii, 2, 33 a - b, *na tv evā 'ham na gamiṣyāmi teṣām: madhye cūrānām*. Euphonic unity is illustrated by the elision in vii, 163, 14 of a in *adr̥ṣyanta* at the beginning of the *pāda* after o; by *tāñc cāpy: upopaviṣṭān* between c - d in i, 191, 19; and by the complete hemistichs:

*yadā 'grāuṣam Bhīmasenā 'nuyātenā 'ṣvatthāmnā parama-*  
*mastram prayuktam*, i, 1, 213

*sa-Karṇa-Duryodhana-Çalva-Çalya-Draunāyani-Krātha-*  
*Sunītha-Vakraḥ*, i, 187, 15 (compare in *ṣloka*;  
*Bhīṣma-Droṇa-Kṛpa-Drauṇi-Karṇa'rjuna-Janār-*  
*danān*, viii, 20, 3; *bahuṣo Vidura-Droṇa-Kṛpa-*  
*Gāṅgeya-Sṛjījayāiḥ*, ix, 61, 20)

*uddhūtalāṅgūlamahāpatākadhvajottamānsākulabhīṣaṇ-*  
*āntam*, iv, 54, 27.

Ordinarily, however, disjunction and not conjunction of *pādas* is the rule. Thus between b - c, iii, 132, 5, a + a, and



even between a — b and c — d. Here also hiatus appears even in the pāda, as in i, 1, 214 b, svastī 'ty uktvā astram astreṇa ṇāntam (so must be read); or in i, 74, 30 c, ahaṇ ca rātriḥ ca ubhe ca saṁdhye. It may then be expected between pādas, as in

yadā 'vamaṁsthāḥ<sup>1</sup> sadrṇaḥ ṇreyaṣaḥ ca, alpīyaṣaḥ  
ca, i, 88, 3 a — b

vanaspatīn oṣadhīḥ cā 'viṇanti, āpo (= apo) vāyum,  
i, 90, 11 a — b

santi lokā bahavas te narendra, apy ekāi 'kaḥ, i, 92,  
15 a — b

So in Yājñaseni: ekāmbārā, ii, 67, 34 a — b; utsahāmi: āyus-  
mān, iii, 192, 67 c — d; putri: Ikṣvāku, ib. 70 c — d; tapaḥ  
ca: amātsūryam, v, 43, 20 a — b; ācāryeṇa: ātmakṛtam (text  
-ṇāt), v, 44, 14 a; apo 'tha adbhyaḥ salilasya madhye, v, 46,  
3 a. B. occasionally rejects (betters) the text of C., as in vi,  
129 c — d, stands na cā 'pi te madvaṇagā maharṣe, 'nugrahaṁ  
kartum arhā hi me matiḥ, where B. 3, 61, has na cā 'dharmam,  
etc. So in viii, 4,340, paṇcād vadhiṣye tvāṁ api, sampramūḍha,  
aham, etc., where B., 85, 33, has mūḍham. Both, however,  
continue with ahaṁ haniṣye 'rjuna ājīmadhye, and in the next  
verse both have prasahya asyāi 'va in c — d.<sup>2</sup> Other cases  
are: ṇatruhaṇtā: uvāca, viii, 85, 30 c — d; mudam ca lebhe  
ṇṣabhaḥ Kurūṇām, ix, 17, 18 d; uttāna-āsye na havir juhoti,  
xii, 246, 27 a; bibheti: aṇraddeyam, xiv, 9, 27 c — d; Madam  
nāma asuraṁ viṇvarūpam, xiv, 9, 33, c (from the text in B.,  
nāmāsuram, and in C. 251, Madam nāmānam); Tilottamā cā  
'py atha Menakā ca: etās, H. 2, 89, 71 a — b. Examples from  
the Rāmāyaṇa are given by Böhtlingk, or may be seen in the  
conjunction of mahārathasya: Ikṣvāku, R. vi, 14, 12 a — b;  
abhyupetya: uvāca, R. vi, 59, 45 c — d. In both metres, to

<sup>1</sup> The first foot consists of five syllables.

<sup>2</sup> B.'s reading in iii, 112, 15 d, caliteva cā 'sit for caliteva āsit, 10,065, may be to avoid hiatus. In ii, 63, 6 d = 2,116, both texts have acintito 'bhimataḥ svabandhunā, where hiatus may be assumed, though not necessarily, as also in iii, 197, 13 b, na (vāl) vāsaṁ pitaro (a)sya kurvata. Ib. 15 a — b, both texts have hiatus, ukṣāṇam paktvā saha odanena asmāt kapotāt prati te nayantu (give you for).

avoid hiatus, irrational particles are often inserted. A good example is: *purā kṛtayuge tāta hy āsīd rājā hy Akampanaḥ*, vii, 2,029, where B., 52, 26, omits the first hi.

### Rhyme.

Connection of *pādas* by rhyme is not uncommon. It is less noticeable in *çlokas* than in *triṣṭubhs* on account of the alternate trochaic and iambic cadence employed in the former, and some, for example, may think that in iii, 65, 65-66,

*vasasva mayi kalyāṇi*  
*prītir me paramā tvayi . . .*  
*ihāi 'va vasatī bhadre*  
*bhartāram upalapsyase*

the rhymes of the nameless queen are practically unfelt,<sup>1</sup> but this is scarcely possible when alternate rhymes occur, as in R. ii, 88, 7:

*prāsādavaravaryesu*  
*çītavatsu sugandhiṣu*  
*uṣitvā Merukalpesu*  
*kṛtakāñcanabhittiṣu*

In çl. 13 of the same section, three successive *pādas* end in -am; in 14, two end in -ā; and in 23-25 seven end in -ām, or -ām, with some inserted besides:

*bāhuvīryābhirakṣitām*  
*çūnyasaṁvaranāraḥṣām*  
*ayantritahayadvipām*  
*anāvṛtapuradvārām*  
*rājadhānīm arakṣitām*  
*aprahṛṣṭabalām nyūnām*  
*viṣamasthām anāvṛtām*

So in *triṣṭubhs*, rhymes are both irregular and regular, as in R. iv, 24, 13,

<sup>1</sup> Compare, however, the affected initial assonance (with the same difference) in R. iv, 33, 62:

*Tārāyā cā 'py anujñātas*  
*tvarāyā vā 'pi coditaḥ*



*acintanīyam parivarjanīyam anīpsanīyaṁ svana-  
vekṣanīyam*

and in R. vi, 73, 55, where three pādas end in *-dhāni*, *-bhāni*, *-kāni*, respectively; the same (in *-tāni*, *-jāni*, *-nāni*) appearing also in a *puṣpitāgrā* stanza, R. v, 20, 36. In R. iv, 28, 41, we find:

*pramattasamādita-barhiṇāni  
saṣakragopākulaṣādvalāni  
caranti nīpārjunavāsītāni  
gajāḥ suramyāni vanāntarāni  
navāmbudhārāhatakeṣarāni  
dhruvam pariṣvajya saroruhāni  
kadambapuspāni sakeṣarāni  
navāni hr̥ṣṭā bhramarāḥ pibanti*

In the following passage the effect of rhyme is given by simple repetition of the whole word, R. iv, 28, 25 (not in G.):

*nīdrā ṣaṇāiḥ keṣavam abhyupāiti  
drutaṁ nadī sāgaram abhyupāiti  
hr̥ṣṭā balākā ghanam abhyupāiti  
kāntā sakāmā priyam abhyupāiti*

words put into the mouth of love-sick Rāma (*kāmapradhānaḥ*, as he is called) by some late poetaster, who, not content with the last stanza, adds to it (27):

*vahanti varṣanti nadanti bhānti  
dhyāyanti nṛtyanti samāṣvasanti*

Compare also in the same section, weak rhymes in *-tānām*, *-vānām*, *-kānām*, *-rānām* (at the end of the pāda in 31). This reaches its height in the ridiculous (late) section R. v, 5, where the same word is repeated at the end of each pāda till even 6 is a relief, where occurs the alternation: *-paṅko*, *-paṅkaḥ*, *-lāṅko*, *-ṣāṅkaḥ*. But elsewhere in R., e. g., ii, 16, 47, three pādas of a *triṣṭubh* end in *-am*, the other in *-am(d)*; and in the preceding stanza three pādas end in *-āiḥ*, though *jagatī* pādas are here interchanged with *triṣṭubh*.

Foot may rhyme with foot or with alternate foot in the

çloka, just as pāda rhymes with pāda, that is, either with a modification of the precedent syllable, thus, x, 15, 34,

evaiṁ kuru  
na cā 'nyā tu

or even with alternate rhyme, as in R. v, 59, 24,

pativratā  
ca suçronī  
avaṣṭabdhā  
ca Jānakī

but the same sound may also be repeated without any such precedent difference, as in x, 15, 14,

adharmag ca  
kṛto 'nena

Such light fundamental rhymes cannot be said to be produced without design. They are, in fact, the vulgar rhyme of the common proverb, such as is conspicuous in all popular sayings. Compare for instance the following Marathi proverbs:

- (a) icchi parā  
yei gharā
- (b) jyātse kuḍe  
tyātse puḍhe
- (c) svarga lokī  
vāitaranī
- (d) zase zhāḍa  
tase phala<sup>1</sup>

### Alliteration.

Alliteration, according to the native rhetorician Daṇḍin, is affected rather by the Gāuḍas than by the Vidarbhas, the

<sup>1</sup> (a) what is wished for another will come to one's own house; (b) evil is in front of an evil man (honi soṭi qui mal y pense); (c) in heaven the river Vāitaranī (the river of death precedes the joy of heaven); (d) as is the tree, so the fruit. Manwaring, Marathi Proverbs. The earlier anuṣṭubh shows the rhyme better on account of the iambus in the prior pāda, e. g., RV. v, 86, 5:

arhantā cit puro dadhe  
aṅgeva devāṁ arvate.



latter preferring cognate sounds to mere repetition. The reference is rather to classical affectations than to epic style, where alliteration is a common trick, but is not so overdone as it is in the works of later poets. A great deal of it is probably unconscious, or at least required and almost unavoidable. Still, the later epic writers certainly affect the anuprāsa which Daṇḍin says is not liked by the Vīdarbhas. Thus in vii, 118, 16,

mudā sametaḥ parayā mahātmā  
rarāja rājan surarājakalpāḥ

and in viii, 94, 54,

nihatya Karmāṇ ripum āhave 'rjunāḥ  
rarāja rājan paramēṇa varcasā  
yathā purā vṛtravadhe çatakratuḥ

So in ix, 35, 24,

deçe deçe, tu deçāni dānāni vividdhāni ca

and in iii, 63 21,

jagrāhā 'jagaro grāhāḥ

or iii, 64, 118,

kā 'si kasyā 'si kalyāṇi, kim vā, etc.

Cf. iv, 14, 12,

kā tvam kasyā 'si kalyāṇi, kuto vā, etc.

or iii, 64, 99,

phalapuspopaçobhitāḥ

The taste for jingling is clearly seen in such examples from both epics as the following:

Tāro 'bravīt tatas tatra, G. v, 1, 49

çayānām çayane çubhe, R. v, 10, 50

pralīnamīnamakaram, vii, 146, 3

Kuruçreṣṭha Kurukṣetre kuruṣva mahatmā kriyām,

ix, 37, 57.

Alliteration is sometimes built on a foundation of older phrase, such as bhīmo bhīmaparākramāḥ, Rāmo ramayatām varāḥ. Thus in R. vii, 42, 22-23,

mano 'bhirāmā rāmās tā  
Rāmo ramayatām varah  
ramayāmāsa dharmātmā

A good deal of this is due to the later revisors. Thus R. v, 56, 51 (also a pun in sa lilam), not in G.,

sa lilaṅghayiṣur bhīmaṁ salilaṁ lavaṇārṇavam  
kallolāspḥalavelāntam utpapāta nabho hariḥ

As it is quite impossible to tell what proportion of such verses reverts to the original epic, it must suffice to show that epic poetry as we have it, while not attaining to the perfected abominations of classical works, nevertheless employs alliteration to portray situations. Thus the *rāudrarasa* in R. vi, 65, 41,

rāudraḥ ṣakaṭacakraḥṣo mahāparvatasāminibhaḥ

where the "harsh thunder-sound" is well given by *ṣakaṭacakraḥṣo*. Admirable, too, is the phonetic imitation of motion, stumbling, falling, and dying in Mbh. vii, 146, 86:

babhramuḥ *caskhaluḥ petuḥ*, sedur *mamluḥ* ca, Bhārata

The rhapsode's clay is moulded variously, but it is the same stuff, the last example being a studied improvement, to suit the situation, of viii, 19, 2:

vicelur babhramur neṇuḥ petur mamluḥ ca, Bhārata,

repeated in 21, 16, with varied reading, but leaving (*tresuḥ*) *petur mamluḥ* ca (*sāinikāḥ*), and varied in 19, 15 with the fatal *māriṣa* of the later poets (here in place of Bhārata).<sup>1</sup> The examples given above show both the Northern and the Southern style used in both epics.

That Vālmiki was copied by his successors goes without saying. The pseudo-Rāmāyaṇa shows, e. g., vii, 32, 64:

<sup>1</sup> One of the signs that the completed Mahābhārata is posterior to the Rāmāyaṇa. Compare A. J. Phil., vol. xix, p. 142. It is a Buddhistic term, *māriṣa*, foreign to the Rāmāyaṇa but current in the Mahābhārata and later Sanskrit works. The word, be it noted, is as old as one pleases, but its stereotyped employment in the Bhārata puts that whole work from a synthetic point of view on a par with other non-Buddhistic literature using it.



sa tu bāhusahasreṇa balād gṛhya daṣānanam  
 babandha balavān rājā Baliṃ Nārāyaṇo yathā,

and this atrocity in G. v, 32, 45 (not in B.):

suvarṇasya suvarṇasya suvarṇasya ca bhāvinī  
 Rāmeṇa prahitaṃ devi suvarṇasyā 'ṅguriyakam,<sup>1</sup>

where the poetaster alliterates the whole word in an attempt at pathetic repetition. Though this is not in B., yet the latter countenances iii, 39, 18, where "words beginning with R" frighten Rāma's victim:

ra-kārādīni nāmāni Rāmatrastasya Rāvaṇa  
 ratnāni ca rathāḥ cāi 'va vitrāsaṃ janayanti me.

### Similes and Metaphors. Pathetic Repetition.

On epic similes and metaphors an interesting essay remains to be written. As these subjects lie quite apart from a study of the verse itself, I shall at present make only one or two observations touching on the significance of these figures. First of all, the presence in the epic of rūpakas, metaphors, of this or that form, no more implies acquaintance with a studied *ars poetica* than do such phenomena in other early epic poetry. The pseudo-epic has a disquisition on rhetoric, as it has on every other subject, but rhetoric is older than Rhetoric, and I cannot see that illustrations of later norms found in the epic prove acquaintance with those norms.

In the rewritten Gītā, unquestionably one of the older poems in the epic, though not necessarily an old part of the epic, we find that the current dīpo nivāsthaḥ simile is introduced as a "traditional simile," *upamā smṛtā*, 6, 19. Such stock similes belong to neither epic, but to the epic store in general, as may be seen by consulting the long list of identical similes in identical phraseology common to both epics. But the epics lack the more complicated figures of classic form, just as they lack the later complicated *yamakās*. What they have

<sup>1</sup> Compare G. iv, 42, 12 = 44, 12 (*aṅguriyam*, sic, in the latter), where the ring is "engraved with the mark of Rāma's name" (as arrows are marked in M.). So R. v, 36, 2, (*aṅguriyakam*) *Rāmanāmāṅkitam*.

in abundance is (a) the simile; (b) the simple metaphor; (c) the double metaphor. They have also a most atrocious mixture of metaphor and simile, as in R. vi, 41, 45, te tu vānaraçārdulāḥ çārdulā iva daṇṣṭriṇaḥ, "those ape-tigers like fanged tigers." The simile is sufficiently illustrated in Appendix A. I note only that it may be doubled, Rāhur yathā candram iva, "he, like Rāhu, him, as if the moon" (overcame). Illustrations of the double metaphor are found, for example, in xiii, 107, 33, sarasvatīm gopayānaḥ, keeping silence ("herding fluency"); xiv, 90, 95, svargāgalaṁ lobhabījam, "heaven's bar has greed as its seed!"

For my present purpose it is necessary only to point out that the later part of the epic exceeds the earlier epic in involved metaphor. Nothing, for example, in the early epic is quite equal to xiii, 107, 26, where after mentioning billions, sāgara, in 21, the poet adds:

āvartanāni catvāri tadā padmāni dvādaça  
çarāgniparimāṇaṁ ca tatrā 'sāu vasate sukham,

which means that one remains in bliss fifty-one padmas of years, sixteen plus the aggregate of the (five) arrows (of Love) into the (seven)<sup>1</sup> flames = 35 (+16).<sup>2</sup> But parallels almost as extravagant (including the *gopay* simile above) have been noticed by Professor Lanman in the interesting essay referred to in the last note. Not so striking, though in style more rhetorical than is found in the love-passages of the early epic, is the metaphor of iv, 14, 25:

ātmapradānavarṣeṇa saṁgamāmbhodhareṇa ca  
çamayasva varārohe jvalantam manmathānalam,

"O graceful maid, quench the mind-shaker's (Love's) glowing fire with the rain of self-surrender and the water of union."

<sup>1</sup> PW., s. çarāgni, says three fires. But compare yad agne te çivam rūpaṁ ye ca te sapta hetayaḥ, i, 232, 10, and saptārcis, passim: and Muṇḍ. Up. ii, 1, 8. Besides, the result is 35 and one multiple is 5, so the other must be 7 (flames).

<sup>2</sup> These high numbers, while not confined to the pseudo-epic (Ind. Streifen, i, p. 97 ff.), receive fresh additions there in names of numbers before unknown. Compare xiii, 107, 63, for example, where occur the çāṅku and patākā: tathā çāṅkupatāke dve yugāntam kalpam eva ca, ayutāyutam tathā padmaṁ samudraṁ ca tathā vaset. On similes, cf. Lanman, JAOS. xx, p. 16.



Another rhetorical trick, which appears not to have been noticed in the epic, is the occurrence of distinct attempts at "pathetic repetition." A comical example is given above. I have noted cases but rarely, and only from late parts of the great epic, but I cannot say they are not found elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> The first is from viii, 75, 6-7 a:

ratham sasūtam sahayam ca kancit  
kaṇcid rathī mṛtyuvaṇam nināya  
nināya cā 'py ekagajena kaṇcid  
rathān bahūn mṛtyuvaṇe tathā 'gvān  
rathān sasūtān sahayān gajāṇc ca  
sarvān arin mṛtyuvaṇam ṣarāughāih

Another is found, H. 3, 118, 9 = 15,776:

adrākṣam adrākṣam <sup>2</sup> aham sunirvṛtaḥ  
piban pibaṇs tasya vapuḥ punaḥ punaḥ,  
(B. has purātanam)

and in the next stanza:

saṁsmṛtya saṁsmṛtya tam eva nirvṛtaḥ.

This differs from simple repetition, such as that of jānāmi in R. iv, 33, 53 ff., but only in the effect aimed at. Perhaps the yadā 'grāuṣam passage may be included.

### Cadence in *Çloka* and *Triṣṭubh*.

The gibberish of xii, 10,399 (v. l. in 285, 125),

hāyi hāyi huvā hoyi huvā hoyi tathā 'sakṛt

is interesting as showing the epic's recognition of this form of interjectional piety (gāyanti tvām suraṣreṣṭha sāmāgā brahmavādinah);<sup>3</sup> but I introduce it here as illustrating the

<sup>1</sup> Without the attempted pathos, mere repetition is an ancient trait exhibited as early as the Rig Veda, as pointed out, e. g., by Weber, *Vedische Beiträge*, 1900, p. 7, on RV. ii, 11. Repetition of the same words in succeeding stanzas is perhaps best illustrated by R. ii, 28, where duḥkham ato vanam is the pathetic refrain.

<sup>2</sup> Compare RV. i, 25, 18, dārṣam . . . dārṣam.

<sup>3</sup> Compare the stobha ib. 105: hūn hūn hūn kārāpārāya, etc.

common occurrence of the repetition of the final foot of the prior at the beginning of the posterior pāda. This extreme example duplicates even the syllables, but in the pathyā form of the śloka the duplication of the whole foot, while not reproducing the syllables, may extend backward as well as forward, thus giving three identical feet, as in R. vii, 28, 6,

na bhetavyaṁ na gantavyaṁ nivartadhvaṁ raṇe  
surāḥ

Such a verse, however, is often modified as in iii, 168, 80:

nibodhata mahābhāgāḥ Çivaṁ cā 'çāsta me 'naghāḥ,

or, if the first two are maintained, by making the third foot — ∪ — ∪ or — — —. The different possibilities concern us here only as they affect the cadence, for the monotony of the pāda is varied quite as much by the rhetorical cadence as by the foot. Even the stereotyped diiambic close of the posterior pāda is constantly broken by a choice of words which, far from lending themselves to iambic rhythm, impede it. So instead of the posterior ∪ — — ∪, ∪ — ∪ — the pāda must often be read as ∪ —, — ∪ ∪ —, ∪ —; while in the prior pāda ∪ ∪ — ∪, ∪ — — ∪ is frequently to be read as ∪ ∪, — ∪ ∪ —, — ∪. Pronounced cretics and dactyls often claim recognition, as at R. vi, 17, 12,

Rāvaṇo, nāma, durvṛtto, rākṣaso, rākṣaseçvaraḥ,<sup>1</sup>

or ib. 17, 67, vidyate tasya saṁgrahaḥ; ib. 18, 7, iti ho 'vāca Kākutstho vākyam, satyaparākramaḥ. Hence even in the more rigid posterior pāda the śloka presents great variety. The effect, for example, of the diiambic ending is quite lost in the following typical examples:

balād ādāya, vīryavān  
nava, pañca ca, sapta ca  
sandhim Rāmeṇa, Rāvana

To read such pādas mechanically, as if they had a pause before the diiamb (as Occidental scholars almost always read

<sup>1</sup> A stock phrase, the parallel to Rāvaṇo lokarāvaṇaḥ, R. vi, 20, 21, etc.



them), is vicious. The *çloka*, more than any other metre, must be read by sense rather than by scheme. The latter method is bad enough in all metres, but peculiarly so in the short *çloka*, where, unless the stress jibes with the words, the result is a peculiarly painful tum-tum, which in no way gives the rhythm; for in reality the *çloka* is a metre of great subtlety and force, in which neither iambic nor trochaic cadence has ever held sway, but both interchange with pleasing variety even in *pathyās*,<sup>1</sup> often uniting in a dactylic or choriambic measure, as in iii, 56, 24,

kim abravī ca naḥ sarvān,  
vada, bhūmipate, 'nagha

or R. vi, 65, 11,

gaccha çatruvadhāya tvaṁ,  
Kumbhakarnaḥajayāya ca

or ib. 59, 47,

tam abravī mahātejā  
Rāmaḥ, satyaparākramaḥ,  
gaccha, yatnaparaḥ cā 'pi  
bhava, Lakṣmaṇa, saṁyuge

With the same freedom at the outset, the *triṣṭubh*, instead of embracing all forms, as it might have done, continued on a more and more restricted path. It kept the iambic cadence much more closely than did the *çloka* and contracted its middle to an almost unvarying shape. It thus grew more and more monotonous, and not having even the advantage of hemistich-unity it became a mere collocation of hendekasyllabic verses, each *pāda* having the same unvarying quantity:

— — — — —

<sup>1</sup> Still greater variety is given by the melodious *vipulās*, of which I shall speak below. But seven-eighths of epic verse are in *pathyā* form, that is, half the syllables in the verse are unalterably fixed as — — — and — — —, so that it is of interest to see how with this self-imposed restriction the Hindu poet still manages to make verses so melodious, energetic, and varied, when read properly.

(called upajāti), as in Horace's

trahuntque siccas machinae carinas.<sup>1</sup>

The only way to save from dead uniformity a rhythm so stereotyped was to shift the cæsura frequently.<sup>2</sup> In the Rāmāyaṇa, where upajātis are the rule (the Mahābhārata triṣṭubh did not reach the same level of monotony), there is often a constant play from fourth to fifth or a remoter syllable, as the place of rest. With the usual pause at the fifth, the dactylic middle foot is converted into an anapaestic iambic slide, as in the following examples from R. iv, 43, 62; 44, 16; v, 32, 10, the last two examples showing also the lighter cæsura not of sense-pause but of breathing:

- (a) tataḥ kṛtārthāḥ  
       sahitāḥ sabāndhavā  
       mayā 'reitāḥ  
       sarvagunāir manoramāiḥ  
       carisyatho 'rvīm  
       pratiṣāntaṣātravaḥ  
       sahapriyā  
       bhūtadharāḥ plavaṅgamāḥ
- (b) sa tat prakarṣan  
       harinām mahad balam  
       babhūva vīraḥ  
       pavanātmajāḥ kapiḥ  
       gatāmbude  
       vyomni viṣuddhamaṇḍalāḥ  
       ṣaṣi 'va nakṣatraganopagaḥobhitāḥ
- (c) svapno hi nā 'yam  
       na hi me 'sti nidrā

<sup>1</sup> Brown's Sanskrit Prosody, p. 9. On the other hand the jagatī corresponds in outer form to the iambic trimeter with twelve syllables. I treat the jagatī throughout as a triṣṭubh with one syllable added (the final syllable anceps of the former becoming fixed as brevis), — — — — —; not assuming this as a genetic fact but as a convenience, the same body appearing in both and the pādas being interchangeable except in the akṣaracchandās.

<sup>2</sup> On the derivation of types fixed in respect of the initial syllable (the upendra and indravajrā being derived from the upajāti and not vice versa), see below, the section on the Stanza.



çokena duḥkhena ca  
 pīḍitāyāḥ  
 sukhāṃ hi me  
 nā 'sti yato vihinā  
 tene 'ndupūrṇapratimānanena

But this tendency ran to extremes also, and as the syllabic arrangement became fixed, so the cæsura became stereotyped, till stanzas showed an almost unvarying cæsura of the painful type of R. v, 47, 30,

iti pravegaṃ tu  
 parasya tarkayan  
 svakarmayogaṃ ca  
 vidhāya vīryavān  
 cakāra vegaṃ tu  
 mahābalas tadā  
 matiṃ ca cakre 'sya  
 vadhe tadānīm

or of R. vi, 126, 55,

tataḥ sa vākyāir  
 madhurāir Hanūmato  
 niçamyā hr̥ṣṭo  
 Bharataḥ kṛtāñjaliḥ  
 uvāca vāṇīm  
 manasaḥ praharṣiṇīm  
 cirasya pūrṇaḥ  
 khalu me manorathaḥ

Even if Vālmīki did not write these stanzas, which may be doubted, a greater poet than he is guilty of the same sleepy iteration of cadences, as may be seen in Raghuvāṇça iii, 30; v, 18; vii, 19 (cæsura after the fifth in all pādas); vii, 16 (after the fourth in all pādas).

### Tags.

Alternation of triṣṭubh and jagatī pādas in the same stanza helped somewhat to mitigate the weary effect of this metre; but it gradually yielded before the çloka or passed into other

forms. One of its decadent uses was to furnish new tags for the end of chapters of *çlokas*. This was an old use, but it is extended in the later epic. The different texts show no uniformity in the insertion of these tag-triṣṭubhs, one text having several, where another has one or none, just as in the case of other tag-metres, for example, a *puṣpitaḡrā*, G. iii, 39, 42; two *rucirās* between G. iii, 56 and 57, but none in R. Plainly a late insertion, for instance, is the imitation-stanza which serves as a tag to G. iii, 43, 42 (not in R.),

*kālasya kālaç ca bhavet sa Rāmaḥ  
saṁkṣīpya lokāṇç ca sṛjed athā 'nyān,*

Manu, ix, 315; Mbh. ix, 36, 40,

*sa hi krudhhaḥ sṛjed anyān devān api mahātapāḥ*  
xiii, 152, 16,

*adāivam dāivatam kuryur, dāivatam cā 'py adāivatam  
lokān anyān sṛjeyus te*

Such tags may, in fact, be made of adjacent *çlokas*. An instance is given below where a *rucirā* has thus been created. As regards triṣṭubhs, G. iii, 62 ends with a tag made out of a *çloka* omitted in this text but kept in the other, *na çarma labhate bhīruḥ* and *na vindate tatra tu çarma Māithilī*. A good example is found in R. vii, 75, 18 ff., where a triṣṭubh tag is added in almost the same words with those wherewith the following chapter begins, showing that with the division into two chapters a tag was simply manufactured out of the next stanza; as is still more clearly indicated by the fact that 76, 2 answers the question of 75, 18, *vāiçyas tṛtīyo varṇo vā çūdro vā ('si)? çūdrayonyām prajāto 'smi*. Evidently only one verse intervened, the *çloka*: *tasya tad vacanam çrutvā avākçirāḥ . . . uvāca ha*.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The same thing occurs in R. iv, 50, where the chapter closes with the *çloka*: *papraccha Hanumāns tatra kā 'si tvaṁ kasya vā bilam*. Then follows the tag: *tato Hanumān girisaṁnikāçaḥ kṛtāñjalīḥ tām abhivādyā vṛddhām, papraccha kā tvaṁ bhavanam bilam ca ratnāni ce 'māni vadasva kasya*, simply repeating the last *çloka* in triṣṭubh form. G. very properly drops the *çloka*; but it is clear that originally the *çloka* closed the question.



The tag-function of the *triṣṭubh* is also known in the *Mahābhārata*, notably in the one *triṣṭubh* found in the *Nala*, iii, 76, 53, which has been regarded as spurious on account of its isolation. But the following sections, after the *Nala* episode, show just the same conditions, the end of chapters 83 and 100. So, too, at the end of ix, 24 and 28. *Hariv.* 2, 66, and 69 end with one *jagatī* each; 2, 68, with three.

The present text of the *Rāmāyaṇa* shows many cases of *triṣṭubhs* and *jagatīs* interpolated into the middle of a *çloka* section. Some of these at least are clearly the finale of former chapters. Thus *R.* vi, 69, 15 looks like an inserted *jagatī*, but its function is to close the chapter in *G.* 48, 13. So *R.* vi, 69, 88-96 appear as a group of interpolated *triṣṭubhs*; but in *G.* the same group is a tag to chapter 49. Probably the break in *R.* vi, 69, 44, *G.* 49, 31, is the original *finis* of a chapter. Occasionally, when one edition breaks a chapter, only the new division is found to have *triṣṭubh* or *jagatī*, as an accepted sign of conclusion, as in *R.* iii, 11, after 70; *G.* 16, 41.

A special function of the later *triṣṭubh* is to produce pathetic effect.<sup>1</sup> In this guise it wins new life and makes whole chapters, as in *R.* v, 28, where the burden of the chapter is expressed by *hā Rāma hā Lakṣmaṇa hā Sumitre*, etc.; or in *R.* iv, 24 (not in *G.*), a lament, the dolorous style of which may be illustrated by the reminiscent verses, 13-14:

prāpto 'smi pāpmānam idaṁ vayasya  
bhrātur vadhāt Tvāṣṭravadhād ive 'ndrah  
pāpmānam Indrasya mahī jalāṁ ca  
vrkṣāṇ ca kāmāṁ jagṛhuḥ striyaṇ ca, etc.

Closely allied is the employment of the *triṣṭubh* to describe not mental conditions but operations of nature. The Vedic *pra vātā vānti patayanti vidyutah*, *RV.*, v, 83, 4, appears in

<sup>1</sup> This begins in the *Mahābhārata* as an extension of the tag-function. Compare the illustrations given in *A. J. Phil.*, vol. xix, p. 18 ff. A good example of the sentimental effect, intensification of horrors, etc., deputed to the *triṣṭubh* by predilection, is found in *R.*, v, 54, 30 ff. The action is in *çlokas*. The moral effect is given by the following *triṣṭubhs*.

R. iv, 28, 45 as *varṣapravegā vipulāḥ patanti pra vānti vātāḥ samudīrṇavegāḥ*, in a long section wholly descriptive. Another example is found in R. iv, 30, 28-57.

Çlokas and triṣṭubhs are not often commingled, save in a few late passages of the great epic, i, 232, 10 ff.; Hariv. 3, 82, 3 ff.; and in R. v, 41; G. 37 (chiefly upendras), throughout a section. In R. a few long passages occur in the sixth book, 59-61, 67, but apart from these books the exchange of the two metres is avoided.<sup>1</sup> In the Sanatsujātīya, v, 46, there is, indeed, a regular çloka refrain besides other çlokas intermingled with triṣṭubhs, but this is because the author is reducing Upanishad stanzas, and at the same time adding some of his own. The practice belongs to those scriptures, and is not generally kept up in the epic, though occasionally a çloka or two appears among triṣṭubhs, as in ii, 64, 9-10. In xii, 350, 49 ff., two triṣṭubhs (the second having three hemistichs) are inserted between çlokas (after a çloka of three verses).

### Common Forms of Çloka and Triṣṭubh.

From a mechanical point of view, the prior pāda of the çloka and the triṣṭubh are identical, except for the fact that to the eight syllables of the çloka pāda the triṣṭubh appends a scolus or amphibrach. The natural division of the eight syllables in each case is into groups of four or five, followed respectively by four or three. For convenience the group of four, which is found oftenest, is usually called a foot, and to have a name I shall so designate it. Now in epic (Mahābhārata) poetry, every foot of the çloka pāda is found in the triṣṭubh, and, vice versa (as will be seen from the following table), every prior foot and every last foot of the triṣṭubh's eight syllables is also a corresponding çloka foot:

<sup>1</sup> G. ii, 110, 3 ff. is not in R., and appears to be an interpolation. The parallels to G. v, 89 are also lacking in R. Verse 7 in G. vi, 34, is *prakṣipta* (the passage is not in R., but compare R. iv, 33, 53).



PRIOR FOOT OF ÇLOKA  
AND TRIṢṬUBH.

- 1, x \_ \_ \_
- 2, x \_ \_ \_
- 3, x \_ \_ \_
- 4, x \_ \_ \_
- 5, x \_ \_ \_
- 6, x \_ \_ \_
- 7, x \_ \_ \_
- 8, x \_ \_ \_

LAST FOOT OF ÇLOKA  
AND TRIṢṬUBH.

- 1, \_ \_ \_ \_
- 2, \_ \_ \_ \_
- 3, \_ \_ \_ \_
- 4, \_ \_ \_ \_
- 5, \_ \_ \_ \_
- 6, \_ \_ \_ \_
- 7, \_ \_ \_ \_
- 8, \_ \_ \_ \_

But, curious as is this purely mechanical identity, it is subject to three limitations, which prevent the effect one might think would be caused by it. First, the triṣṭubh's eighth syllable is long, while in the çloka, since the pāda ends here, the same syllable is anceps. Second, the scolus of the triṣṭubh is usually closely united with the second foot, while in the case of upajātis and some other triṣṭubhs the cæsura occurs in a majority of cases after the fifth syllable, so that the feet are not in reality what they are in the measured division given above; but the pāda appears, for example, as \_ \_ \_ \_ , \_ \_ \_ \_ \_ , whereas in the çloka the usual cæsura is after the fourth, and only in certain cases falls after the fifth syllable. But the third difference, that of the general effect given by the çloka cadence and that of the corresponding syllables in the triṣṭubh, is produced by the interrelation of the first and second foot. Here there is a wide divergence, and it is the preference for one combination over another that makes the greatest difference between the form of the çloka as a whole and the triṣṭubh as a whole. Although it is true, as has been remarked by Professor Jacobi, that the essential difference in metres lies not in the opening but in the close of the pāda, yet in this case the interrelation just referred to is almost as important. Thus, to take a striking example, while \_ \_ \_ \_ is a second foot both in çloka and triṣṭubh, in the former it is pathyā, "regular," in all combinations, the commonest of all, while in triṣṭubh it is a rarity in any combination. So \_ \_ \_ \_ occurs after four or five forms of the first foot in çloka, yet is never a favorite, in triṣṭubhs after six forms, and is here everywhere common.

It is, however, interesting to see in how many cases a permissible form of both metres is used, so that one cannot tell which metre one is reading till the pāda is nearly complete. Ordinarily the general rhythm determines the anticipation and the expected metre is duly met; but not infrequently is the justified anticipation deceived, and the metre, still keeping on the lines of the preceding form, suddenly changes. A penultimate verse, for example, in R. ii, 38, 14, begins mayā vihinām varada prapannam, but we no sooner learn that this is a ṣloka verse, not a triṣṭubh tag (as we might expect from its form and position), than in 15 we read imām mahendropa-majātagardhinīm, the real tag of the section.

The form just cited is the usual one in which the ṣloka coincides with the body of the triṣṭubh. Sometimes, as in set phrases, the same words are used; thus in G. ii, 18, 33, and 55,

prasādaye tvām çirasā kariṣye vacanam pituḥ  
prasādaye tvām çirasā yatavrate (triṣṭubh)

or in R. vi, 106, 4 and 59, 36,

tam āpatantam sahasā svanavantam mahādhvajam  
tam āpatantam sahasā samīkṣya (triṣṭubh)

With the prevalent upajāti cæsura and almost after a system of upajātis (one ṣloka intervening), appears in R. vi, 69, 130, sa vāyusūnuḥ kupitaç cikṣepa çikharam gireḥ, a perfect upendravajrā pāda in a ṣloka verse. Such alien pādas are not very common in the midst of a ṣloka system,<sup>1</sup> but are common in close conjunction with triṣṭubhs, as if the poet either wished to trick or could not himself get the last metre out of his ear. Another instance like the one above is found in R. v, 54, 48 ff., where only a ṣloka hemistich intervenes between a triṣṭubh system and the triṣṭubh-like cadence of the ṣloka: vyarājatā 'ditya ivā 'reimālī; Laṅkāṁ samastām sampīḍya lāṅgūlāgnim mahākapiḥ, nirvāpayām āsa tadā samudre (haripuṅgavaḥ). Cases where a whole ṣloka is interposed

<sup>1</sup> But compare R. v, 2, 31, anena rūpeṇa mayā na çakyā rakṣasām puri; R. vi, 43, 17, çarīrasaṁghāṭavahāḥ prasuruḥ çopitāpagāḥ; Nala, 3, 1, tebhyaḥ pratiñāya Nalaḥ kariṣya iti, Bhārata; and ib. 12, but no more cases till 6, 8.



are not at all rare. In R. vi, 67, 99–101, 99 ends in a *triṣṭubh*, 100 is a *çloka* *pathyā*, 101 begins *sa Kumbhakarnāsa çarān çarīre* (*sapta, vīryavān*). Less striking is the case where only one *pāda* of a *çloka* of *choriambic* form (second *vipulā*) corresponds to the *triṣṭubh* it follows, for here the former's cadence is not kept up. Such a *pāda* needs no intervening *pathyā*, but may follow directly on the *triṣṭubh*, as in R. vi, 67, 21–22,

*pradudruvuh saṁyati Kumbhakarnāt*  
*tatas tu Nīlo balavān (paryavasthāpayan balam)*

When an unimportant word or a superfluous adornment, an unnecessary adverb or epithet, is added, it arouses a suspicion that some of the *çlokas* may be reduced from an older form. Thus *vidyunmālī* appears to stop a *jaḡatī* in R. vi, 43, 41 a,

*çilāprahārā 'bhihato (vidyunmālī) niçācarah*

So in R. vi, 69, 138 a,

*khadgaprahārā 'bhihato Hanūmān (mārutātmajaḥ)*

So, too in the verse cited above, *haripuṅgavaḥ* fills out the verse where *mahākapiḥ* precedes, a sufficient subject. In G. iv, 60, 2, *nivedayāmāsa tadā maharṣim (samhatāñjaliḥ)*; in the other example above, *sapta, vīryavān*; and in the following example both terminals (even the accusative) are unnecessary, R. vi, 71, 37,

*tato 'tikāyo balavān praviçya (harivāhinīm)*  
*visphārayāmāsa dhanur nanāda ca (punaḥ punaḥ)*

And very likely, since an inspection of epic phraseology shows that there were many stereotyped turns of expression, there were phrases used first in the *triṣṭubh* which were preserved in a crystallized form in the general *çloka* solution in which the epic was immersed. But to say, except in the case of such stereotyped phrases, whether this happened in any one instance, would be at best rather an idle expression of opinion.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In *sādhū sādhv iti (te) neduḥ (ca) drṣtvā çatrum (or rakṣaḥ) parājitam*, R. vi, 44, 31, G. 10, 37, a stock phrase in either form, an old *triṣṭubh*, — — —, might be preserved, but a varied reading is more likely.

Certain verbal forms lend themselves best to one cadence and it is not surprising, for instance, that one turn should go to make both *çloka* and *triṣṭubh* (R. v, 47, 10; vi, 106, 14), or that the exact form here is elsewhere, G. vi, 89, 25 (R. has *hayān*), used as part of another *triṣṭubh*, so that we find:

pracodayāmāsa ratham sa sārathih  
 pracodayāmāsa ratham surasārathir uttamah

pracodayāmāsa çitāih çarais tribhih  
 pracodayāmāsa çitāih çarair hemavibhūṣitāih

On this point I have only to add that a complete *jagatī* *pāda*, as well as a *triṣṭubh* *pāda*, may thus appear in a *çloka*, as in the example above and in R. v, 57, 15 b,

sa pūrayāmāsa kapir diço daça (samantatah)

and that, next to the choriambic form, the old *triṣṭubh*s in  $\times \cup \_ \cup \cup \cup \_ \cup \_ \cup$ , and  $\times \_ \cup \_ \cup \cup \cup \_ \cup \_ \cup$  are most often incorporate in *çlokas*, as in Nala, 4, 28, *varṇyamāneṣu ca mayā bhavatsu*; 9, 4, *vyadīryate 'va hṛdayam na cāi 'nam*; and 12, 39, *patatribhir bahuvidhāih samantād*, etc., etc. Professor Jacobi has suggested that the *çloka* has borrowed such forms from the *triṣṭubh*. This seems to be a reasonable suggestion, yet it should be said that the argument advanced in favor of it is scarcely valid. Professor Jacobi bases the derivation of the second *vipulā* from the *triṣṭubh* on the assumed fact that in this form of the *pāda* " $\_ \cup \cup \cup$ " almost never takes the place of " $\_ \cup \cup \_$ ," IS. vol xvii, p. 450. This statement, however, is based on a rather restricted area of examples. In the *Bhārata çlokas*,  $\_ \cup \cup \cup$  is not uncommon except in late passages, and even there two or three cases out of twenty-five to thirty are not very unusual. All that we can say is that final *brevis* is much less frequent than in the first *vipulā*.



### The Epic Çloka.

#### THE PRIOR PĀDA OF THE ÇLOKA.

##### *The Pathyā.*

The pathyā, or ordinary form of the first pāda, should exclude sporadic cases, but including them for convenience we may say that the pathyā foot  $\cup - - \cup$  is preceded by five kinds of feet, sporadic choriambus or proceleusmaticus; iambic,  $\cup - \cup -$ ; pyrrhic,  $\cup - \cup \cup$ ; trochaic,  $\cup - - \cup$  and  $\cup \cup - \cup$ ; spondaic,  $\cup - - -$  and  $\cup \cup - -$ . The frequency of these feet advances in the order here given. With the exception of a sporadic choriambus or other wild irregularity, all these forms occur passim, even that with precedent iambus. This last is sure to be found so many times in a given number of çlokas and it must therefore be marked as occurring passim rather than as common; but it is far less frequent than the other forms, often less than half as frequent as the pyrrhic, as this is often only half as common as the precedent trochee. The relation between the trochee and spondee is from one-half to two-thirds. A curious fact in regard to the avoided iambus (before the iambus of the pathyā, as in the posterior pāda) is that when used it is sometimes preferred in its double form. Thus in xii, 312 ff., for about two hundred hemistichs, the precedent spondees, trochees, pyrrhics, and iambs are (respectively) 82, 54, 29, 11; but of the 11 iambs, 10 are double  $\cup - \cup -$  (against  $- - \cup -$ ). On the other hand, in xiv, 59 ff., these precedents are 73, 38, 31, 20; and of the 20 iambs, only 8 are double; while the opening stanzas of the Gītā (introduction, ch. 13) show 96, 62, 27, 14; but only 6 double iambs out of the 14. The precedent double iambus is characteristic also of Pāli verse. It does not seem to me that any great weight is to be laid on this or that ratio in the use of these feet, since all are used by epic writers everywhere, and the only striking distinction as regards their employment is that spondees naturally (it is a matter of nice ear to a great extent) occur oftenest before an iamb, and iambs least often; while

trochees and pyrrhics lie between. But very often a double trochee (— ∪ — ∪) is preferred to a spondee (— ∪ — —).<sup>1</sup> As regards minor differences, as for example whether ∪ ∪ — ∪ or ∪ — — ∪ is used more frequently, I have not thought it worth while to gather the statistics. Only the curious preference in later writers for three successive iambs seemed worth noticing, as it leads to the hemistich of eight iambs sometimes affected by doggerel epic poets.<sup>2</sup> Such a combination regularly occurs only at the beginning of a prior pāda, being tabooed in the posterior pāda, though occasionally found there. The general (not inviolate) rule for the pathyā is that any foot may stand before ∪ — — ∪ which does not make tribrach or anapæst after the initial syllaba anceps of the pāda. The final syllable of the pathyā is long in about two-thirds of the cases.

More important are the facts in regard to the preference for certain forms combined with the vipulās, although these make but a small proportion of prior pādas.

### *The Vipulās.*

The vipulās (syllables five to eight) are four in number: (1) ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪, (2) — ∪ ∪ ∪, (3) — — — ∪, (4) — ∪ — ∪. Only the third (as indicated) has an almost invariable cæsura. In respect of the general rules for these vipulās, from an examination of a considerable mass of material, I would state first that the epic śloka generally conforms, as far as I can formulate them, to the following conditions:<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The preference for — ∪ — ∪ instead of — ∪ — — is illustrated below. Cases of double iambus before the pathyā seem to me rather characteristic of the popular and late scholastic style than an archaic survival (the late scholastic often coincides with the popular through a common carelessness or ignorance). To be compared are Simons, *Der Śloka im Pāli*, ZDMG., vol. xlv, p. 84 ff., and Oldenberg, *ib.* liv, p. 194. The latter seems inclined to see (with due caution) evidence of antiquity in the precedent iambus. I regard this combination rather as a sign that the writer is more careless.

<sup>2</sup> See below for an example.

<sup>3</sup> Besides the articles above, see Colebrooke; Gildermeister, ZKM. v, 260; Weber, IS., vol. viii; Oldenberg, *Bemerkungen zur Theorie des Śloka*, ZDMG. xxxv, p. 187; and Jacobi, IS., vol. xvii, p. 443; *Das Rāmāyaṇa*; and Gurupū-jākāumudī. Professor Jacobi's rules given first as "valid for the older epics"



1. The first *vipulā*,  $\cup \cup \cup \cup$  usually follows  $\cup - \cup -$ ,  $\cup - - -$ , or  $\cup \cup - -$ , though it is sufficient to have the preceding syllable long (even this restriction is not always observed). The later style has fewer cases of the first of these combinations. The *cæsura* is after the (*pāda*'s) fourth or fifth syllable, sometimes after the sixth. The last syllable of the *vipulā* is prevailingly long but not infrequently short, especially apt to be short after the diambic opening. When the *cæsura* is after the fifth syllable of the *pāda* the last syllable of the *vipulā* as a rule is long (which would indicate that this *cæsura* is later than the one after the fourth).

2. The second *vipulā*,  $- \cup \cup \cup$ , usually follows  $\cup - \cup -$ , though a preceding  $\cup - - -$  or even  $\cup \cup - -$  is not a great rarity. Any other precedent foot is sporadic only. The *cæsura* is after the fourth or fifth syllable of the *pāda*, inclining to the latter place (at times twice as frequent). The last syllable of the *vipulā* is sometimes short, most often when the *cæsura* is after the fourth syllable of the *pāda*, but is prevailingly long, especially in the later epic, where a short final is often rather rare (rarer than in the first *vipulā*).<sup>1</sup>

3. The third *vipulā*,  $- - - \cup$  usually follows  $\cup - \cup -$ . The *cæsura* is very rarely after any other syllable than the fifth, and is seldom neglected. The last syllable is indifferently short or long. This is the most rigid form, both in

were modified in the later articles cited (1884, 1893, 1896). Professor Oldenberg's observations give an excellent comparison of Manu's practice with that of an epic passage. The statements in Colebrooke's and Weber's works mentioned above, based on the rules of native metricists, often conform, through no fault save that of the metricists, neither to epic nor to classical usage and historically considered are useless as regards the extant epic *çloka*. Professor Jacobi's rules, as modified by him, though not exhaustive, are generally quite unimpeachable and give the best (as did Gildermeister's in his day) presentation of epic conditions. I follow his order in numbering the four *vipulās*, and his rules, with some revision.

<sup>1</sup> The age of the piece affects the quantity of the final syllable. For example, of the two lotus-theft versions, the prior (as is often the case) is the more modern (xiii, 93). Here there is no case of  $- \cup \cup \cup$ , but fourteen cases of  $- \cup \cup -$  (one hundred forty-nine *çlokas*). But in 94, in the compass of forty *çlokas*,  $- \cup \cup \cup$  occurs six times (against  $- \cup \cup -$ , four times).

respect of cæsura and of precedent foot, so that the pāda is almost always  $\cup - \cup - -$ ,  $- - \cup$ .

4. The fourth vipulā,  $\cup - \cup$ , usually follows  $\cup - \cup -$ , but in some sections is found quite as often after  $\cup - - -$  and  $\cup \cup - -$ . The cæsura rarely changes from the fourth syllable. The last syllable of the vipulā is generally long.

5. The Mahābhārata has what may be called a fifth vipulā,  $\cup \cup - -$ . It occurs sporadically in all parts of the epic and is not very uncommon, though not so current as in the Upanishads. This form crops up occasionally in the Purāṇas, but is ignored by Vālmīki and later Kavis.

These epic conditions may be condensed into one short rule of general usage: All vipulās are found after  $\cup - \cup -$ , but with occasional exceptions<sup>1</sup> only the first vipulā after  $\cup - - -$  and  $\cup \cup - -$ , and no other precedent feet are admitted before vipulās. The cæsura is free (usually after the fourth or fifth syllable) in the first and second vipulā; after the fifth in the third; after the fourth in the fourth vipulā.

The chief difference between the normal type of the epic pāda and that of classical writers lies in the circumstance that, as contrasted with the facts stated above, in classical works there is

- 1) almost complete absence of the fourth vipulā,
- 2) greater rarity of the first vipulā after diiambus,
- 3) greater strictness in the cæsura of the third vipulā,
- 4) very rare exceptions in the employment of other precedent feet (e. g., the third vipulā after  $\cup - - -$ , Ragh. xii, 71),
- 5) almost exclusive use of long finals in first and second vipulās.<sup>2</sup>

Thus it will be seen that there is still an appreciable advance

<sup>1</sup> The commonest exception is found in the case of the fourth vipulā. On an average half-a-dozen exceptions occur in the course of a thousand hemistichs, but excluding the fourth vipulā only one or two exceptions, generally in the form  $\cup - - -$ ,  $- \cup \cup -$ .

<sup>2</sup> On the rarity of the fourth vipulā in classical writers, see Jacobi, IS., vol. xvii, pp. 443. The rule for the long finals is cited by Weber, IS., vol. viii, p. 345: sarvāsām vipulānām caturtho varṇaḥ prāyeṇa gurur bhavati.



to be noticed in the classical style as compared not only with the style of older parts of the epic but also with the normal epic. Fewer *vipulās* (especially fewer second *vipulās*) in general, avoidance of the fourth *vipulā*, and greater strictness in the use of *vipulās* mark in some passages an advance even on the normal epic.

There is no "epic usage" in respect of the proportion of *vipulās* to *pathyās*. The fact that there is considerable variety proves little in regard to difference of authors, since many conditions affect the ratio. Not only is there apt to be a larger number of *vipulās* in scenes of excitement, as Professor Jacobi, I think, has somewhere observed, but also a monotonous list develops *vipulās*, partly because it is apt to be composed of names which, as they are harder to manage, always receive a certain latitude of treatment, partly because the dullness of the subject requires the livelier effect of the skipping *vipulā*. The *vipulā* (in excess of the normal) may then be due to a) personal style; b) intensity; c) formality; d) avoidance of dullness; to which must be added imitation or actual citation of older material. For this reason there is, in mere ratio of *vipulās* to *pathyās*, no especial significance, as may be further shown by the fact that on an average this ratio is about the same in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Bhārata*, though each poem shows great variations within itself. Thus in the first thousand verses (hemistichs) of the *Rāmāyaṇa*'s third and fourth books respectively the *vipulās* are 125 and 118, or one-eighth. But twenty thousand hemistichs, which I have examined from all parts of the *Bhārata*, give twenty-six hundred *vipulās*, or a trifle over the same ratio. I do not then lay much stress on the presence or absence of *vipulās* in an epic section unless it shows remarkable extremes. Thus if we compare the 1098 *çloka* verses of the *Raghuvaṇṇa* and the 1070 which make the first half of *Nala*, we find that in *Nala* the ratio of *vipulās* is one-sixth, while in the *Raghuvaṇṇa* it is one-fourteenth (184 in *Nala*, 76 in *Raghuvaṇṇa*). But this paucity of *vipulās*, though common to most classical writers, is not found in *Māgha* (according

to Professor Jacobi because he was a Westerner, loc. cit. p. 444), so that in itself it is no criterion of lateness.

The number of vipulās gives the general average (of 12½ per cent) already noticed.<sup>1</sup> But this ratio is sometimes almost halved and sometimes nearly doubled, small sections of two hundred verses (hemistichs) not infrequently showing from fourteen to forty-six non-pathyā forms; while in special cases even greater disproportion may be observed, some of which when taken into consideration along with other elements may still be worth noting. Thus as between the old tale, Upā-khyāna, of Namuci, as told in ix, 43, 33 ff., and the following account, hanta te kathayisyāmi, of Skanda, in 44, 5 ff., the weight of probable seniority lies with the Vedic tale. Here there are vipulās enough to make the ratio 33½ per cent, instead of the average 12½ per cent; whereas in the Skanda tale there are only half as many. But again, the list of Skanda's followers, ib. 45, 86 ff., shows fourteen vipulās in fifteen ślokas, as the list of Mothers in 46 shows forty-six in one hundred ślokas, and the list of nations in xii, 101, 3 ff., has thirteen vipulās in twenty ślokas, all of these, however, being names and therefore exceptional. There are, on the other hand, good reasons, apart from vipulās, for considering that the conversation of Sulabhā and Janaka is not an ancient part of the epic (bad grammar is one item), and here in nearly four hundred cases there are but eight vipulās, or less than 3 per cent; instead of the average 12½ per cent.

Not the number of vipulās per se, but the use of vipulās may be a determining factor. The refined classical style differs, however, not from the epic alone but from the Purāṇas, where obtains even greater freedom than in the epic, especially in the nice test of the fourth vipulā. Thus, fifteen fourth vipulās is not a high number in a thousand Puranic verses, e. g., exactly this number is found in Vāyu

<sup>1</sup> In simple narrative, with no disturbing factors, the compass ranges from fourteen to thirty vipulās in one hundred ślokas (two hundred cases), three times more often above twenty than below it, and seldom exceeding thirty, for instance, only once in the first 4,000 cases of the ninth book.



Purāṇa, ch. 4-9, five hundred ślokaś; and in the epic section of Ṣānti from the end of the prose in 243 to the end of 351 (13,224-13,740). The Agni Purāṇa has as many as fifty-seven fourth vipulāś in the same number of verses, the first twenty chapters, five hundred and five ślokaś. But if we compare the use of the vipulāś we see at once a striking difference in these passages. The epic selection has fifty second vipulāś and thirty-two third vipulāś; the Vāyu selection, thirty-three second and fifty-one third; the Agni selection, twenty-six second and fifty third; withal, despite the carelessness in the last, which gives four cases of the second after  $\simeq \cup \_ \_$  and three of the third after  $\simeq \_ \_ \_$ . That is to say, even the late and careless Puranic style still inclines to the third instead of second vipulā, which is the classical preference. If, however, we revert to an older selection of the epic, we find, for instance, in the heart of the Bhagavad Gītā (830-1,382), that the second vipulā (in the same number of verses, hemistichs, namely one thousand, which in all the examples now to be given is the number to be assumed) has twenty-nine cases and the third but eleven; that is, the proportion is not only reversed but is in very striking contrast both to the norm of the Rāmāyaṇa and Raghuvāṇa on the one hand and the Purāṇas on the other. Coincident with this is the further fact that, whereas Vālmīki and Kālidāśa have proportionally few first vipulāś after diiambus, both epic selections above have more first vipulāś after diiambus than after any other combination; while the Puranic specimens are quite classical in this regard, the Vāyu having only one-fourth, the Agni only one-third of all the first vipulāś after diiambus. An extract from the Anuṣāśana Parvan of the epic, śl. 3,732-4,240, shows also an approach to the classical model (ten first vipulāś after diiambus, twenty-three after  $\simeq \_ \_ \_$  and  $\simeq \cup \_ \_$  each). The last case has thirty-six second vipulāś against fifty-four third vipulāś and only seven fourth vipulāś (whereas the Gītā extract has twenty-two fourth vipulāś).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The five texts, Gītā, Nala, Anuṣ. P.; Rāmāyaṇa iv, 1-11, and Raghuvāṇa show as fourth vipulāś (in 1000 verses) 22, 10, 7, 2, 0, respectively

A curious fact is, further, that, while this extract of the *Anuṣāsana*, which is a medley on the gifts of cows, origin of gold, and other late stuff, has but seven fourth vipulās in five hundred ślokaś, the following chapter on *Āraddhaś*, the basis of which is old (rules expanded from *Manu*'s list of guests), has four in sixty ślokaś. Another interesting fact is that the thousand verses which lead up to and follow after the extract from the *Gītā* given above, 495-830, 1,382-1,532 do not keep the ratio between the second and third vipulāś, but approach the later norm, having an equal number of each vipulā. The *Anugītā* itself contains only one-half as many "irregular" forms as does the *Gītā* in the same amount of matter;<sup>1</sup> but following this the epic narrative is expanded in modern form, and here, where the subjects are the mountain festival, recapitulation of the *Bhārata* war (xv, 61, 1), digging for buried treasure, *Parikṣit*'s birth, demise, and restoration to life, losing the white horse, and *Arjuna*'s renewed battles, the metre becomes almost classical, with scarcely a single violation of vipulā rules and with only five cases of the fourth vipulā to the thousand verses. Compare for instance the vipulāś in *Raghuvaiṇya*, the *Rāmāyaṇa* (iv, 1-11), and *Āṣvamedhika*<sup>2</sup> *Parv.* 59-77, according to vipulāś:

	i	ii	iii	iv
Ragh.,	33	17	26	0
Rām.,	62	20	34	2
Āṣv.,	74	27	34	5

The vipulāś of the first thousand verses (hemistichs) of *Nala* are, in their order, 91, 33, 50, 10. Though modernized, the irregularities in *Nala* are antique: 3, 13, *iva* *prabhāṃ*; 12, 105, *Nalaṃ nāmā 'rimardanam* (changed to *damanam*); 16, 37, *katham ca bhraṣṭā (?) jñātibhyah*; 20, 18, *tvam iva yantā* (now *eva*); in 12, 55, and 91, *vilapatim* must be read (grammar is of no importance here, as will be shown below).

<sup>1</sup> They are three cases of the second vipulā after  $\cup \_ \_ \_$  and  $\cup \cup \_ \_$  respectively; five and one each of the fourth vipulā after the same feet respectively.

<sup>2</sup> The strictness here may be measured by the fact that there is only one case of final brevis in the second vipulā and only three in the first; no case of second or third vipulā after any precedent foot save  $\cup \_ \cup \_$  (and only one of the fourth vipulā). Further, only one-third of the first vipulāś follow a *ditiāmbus*.



Also in the first thousand hemistichs of *Āṣrama* there are only four cases of the fourth *vipulā*. Like *Māgha* of the West, the *Māusala*, on the other hand, which treats of *Dvāraka* and was probably a clan-tale of the West, comes much nearer to the antique standard, having ten fourth *vipulās* in five hundred hemistichs, three of them irregular, besides one further *vipulā* irregularity (stz. 47, 132, 211, 253).<sup>1</sup> It should be added too that, though (as just stated) there are four fourth *vipulās* in the first thousand hemistichs of the fifteenth book, yet they are all found in the first seventy-seven verses, and from this point on there is not another case of fourth *vipulā* for one thousand hemistichs, which is as classical as *Vālmīki*. This last selection is, in fact, almost precisely on the classical model, and differs from it anyway only in having two second *vipulās* after ∪ — — —. This would imply an acquaintance with the classical norm, which can perhaps scarcely be doubted in the case of the writers who finally completed the poem.

A very interesting example of how the antique will make the poet hark back to an older norm is given by the *Sāuptika*. It will be remembered that this is almost pure narrative, but that at one point *Çiva* is addressed with a hymn and his demons are briefly described. This occurs just at the middle of a selection like those above of one thousand hemistichs. Now up to this point there is no fourth *vipulā* at all, but with the hymn and names come five fourth *vipulās* within thirty-five *çlokas*. Then the narrative is resumed, and till the end of the thousand hemistichs appear only three more. Some smaller points here also deserve attention. The num-

<sup>1</sup> In the next *Parvan*, there are four fourth *vipulās* in two hundred verses, but three are at the beginning and in three successive hemistichs, and of these, two are forced by proper names. That proper names are quite important may be shown by the catalogue at the beginning of the *Harivaṅṣa*, where the names force up the fourth *vipulā* to twelve (seven of these being in nom. prop.), and a third *vipulā* occurs after ∪ — — — (in a name); as contrasted with the next thousand verses, where there are only four fourth *vipulās*. *Bhaviṣya*, partly owing to imitation of *Gitā* and *Smṛti*, partly to names, has nine in its first thousand verses.

ber of first and second vipulās with cæsura after the fifth is double that of those with cæsura after the fourth, and there is only one first vipulā, and no second vipulā, with final brevis. Finally, there are only fourteen cases of first vipulā after  $\simeq - \cup -$  out of fifty-four in all. Thus from every point of view the same result is obtained. The little Parvan is comparatively refined in style (number of vipulās, 54, 30, 35, 8).

No doubt this parisānikhyā philosophy is tiresome reading, but as it is even more tiresome to obtain the facts than to glance at them, I shall beg the reader to have patience while I give the results of a few more reckonings, since I believe they are not without a certain value. What I want to show is that the treatment of the fourth vipulā goes hand-in-hand with that of other factors involving a more or less refined style, but not necessarily with all of them. I will take as my first illustration the tent-scene from Droṇa 72-84, and ib. 51-71, a group of apparently old stories on the "sixteen kings that died" and allied tales. In the former there are four, in the latter twenty-one fourth vipulās to the thousand hemistichs; in the former there is but one slight irregularity ( $\simeq \cup -$ ,  $- \cup \cup -$ ); in the latter there are six. But in the former there is one more second vipulā than there is third; in the latter these stand thirty to forty-seven; while after diiambus in the former there are nine out of forty in all, and in the latter sixteen out of fifty-five in all. In other words, in the last test there is scarcely any difference, but in that of second and third vipulās such evidence of antiquity as is furnished at all by this test is in favor of the former, whereas in the other tests it is in favor of the latter specimen. I have not selected these specimens, however, to show that all these tests are useless. On the contrary, I believe they may be applied, but all together and with constant reference to all other factors. The modifying factor here, for example, is that though the tales of the "kings that died" are undoubtedly old, yet they are told (or retold) in such modern careless Sanskrit that final i is here kept short not only before br but even before



vy. It is not enough then to say that a story in Droṇa or Anuṣāsana is "undoubtedly old," because perhaps it smacks of antiquity or even is found in a Buddhist record. It is not the age of the story but the age of the form in which it is couched that marks the age of the literature. This specimen, for example, enumerates earth's islands as eighteen in number, a sure mark of lateness, but here supported by other data. Another extract from Droṇa, an ordinary battle-scene, adhy. 92-100, has, to be sure, thirteen fourth vipulās, but the vipulās, in their order, run 44, 14, 37, 13, with not a single irregularity of any sort, while only ten of the forty-four are after diiambus; in other words, as clean a scheme as might be met in Vālmīki, except for the fourth vipulā, and even here eight of the thirteen are in proper names. Less classic in appearance, but still far removed from the free epic type, is the passage dealing with the deaths of Bhūriṣravas and Jayadratha (vii, 141-146, not quite a thousand verses), important because of its mention of Vālmīki, 143, 67. Here the vipulās run 43, 33, 18, 11 (four of these in nom. prop.), with three irregular forms of the second vipulā.<sup>1</sup> A fourth of the first vipulās follow iambus. On the other hand, in the death of Droṇa and the following scene, vii, 190-198 = 8,695-9,195, only one-sixth of the first vipulās follow iambus and there are no certain exceptions. The scheme of vipulās is here 30, 28, 43, 9 (two in nom. prop.), that is, a more modern preponderance of third vipulās. Several other features show modern touches. Thus in 192, 7, Rudrasye 'va hi kruddhasya is either a very careless vipulā or contains an example of the Puranic licence (taken from Prākṛit) of short vowel before kr; while in the same passage, ḡl. 13, eṣo or eṣa hi pārṣato vīraḥ, we have to choose between careless sandhi or careless metre. In 190, 33, the antiquity of ∪ ∪ — — is in an inherited name, Jamadagniḥ, where, as in similar cases, the old licence persists even into Puranic writings.<sup>2</sup> In 195, 44, kadamhi-

<sup>1</sup> In 146, 7, occurs the rare combination ∪ — — ∪, ∪ ∪ ∪ —. The reading of C. 6,245 = 146, 92 is vicious, and is corrected in B.

<sup>2</sup> Names, formulæ, and numerals often retain this licence, e. g., ṛṣayaḥ ca,

kr̥tya is a late phrase, and in 191, 37, the stereotyped manœuvres are twenty-one in number (the earlier epic having fourteen). Here, then, the vipulās (110 in number, slightly below the average) do not badly represent the period of the selection, which is a worked-over piece, intended to save the heroes from blame, and is often incongruous with the rest of the epic; as in the humbug of the war-car "not touching the ground hitherto." When Yudhiṣṭhira tells a lie his car drops to the earth for the first time! But "hitherto" there has been no mention of this conscientious chariot, which here is represented as having floated just above the earth.

In Kārṇa we may compare the thousand verses of 18-29, where there is late battle-action (guṇa for jyā for example), with the five hundred fifty verses of old tales in 33-34. Each has seven fourth vipulās, though one is only half the length of the other. In Sabhā the interest centres on the gambling-scene, certainly the kernel of the old tale. Here, ii, 50 ff., for a thousand verses, there is the greatest number of fourth vipulās (thirty-six, nine of which are in proper names) and the most irregular forms; three cases of a third vipulā after a spondee, one case of a prior pāda ending in iambus, two cases of the "fifth" vipulā, ∪∪ — ∪, one case of first vipulā after a brevis, besides six cases of ordinary exceptions (second vipulā not after ∪ — ∪∪), all of which remove the piece far from the almost classical norm found in some of the cases given above. It is in fact Puranic.<sup>1</sup> Of course the scene is intense and exciting; but I opine that no poet who had once learned to walk the straight and narrow way of the later stylists would ever get so excited as to use thirty-six fourth

xii, 349, 78; daça devāḥ, Ag. P. xvii, 6. The same cause induces the fourth vipulā in many cases of the Rāmāyana. For example, the only fourth vipulā in the first thousand verses of R. iii, vāikhānasāḥ vāḥkilyāḥ, 6. 2.

<sup>1</sup> Compare for instance the 505 çlokas or 1010 verses in the first twenty chapters of the Agni Purāṇa, where the vipulās in their order are 41, 26, 50, 57, with six irregular second vipulās (not after iambus); five third vipulās not after iambus; and only nineteen of the fifty-seven fourth vipulās after iambus. The first vipulā in the gambling-scene is run up by the repetition of one phrase. They are in order, 60 (odd), 34, 51, 36.



vipulās in a thousand verses! Besides, there are other passages almost as dramatic. If we compare the *Jaṭugṛha* and four hundred verses of the *Hiḍimbā* stories, which together make about a thousand verses, we find eleven fourth vipulās, half of which are in proper names, only one case of a third vipulā not after  $\simeq - \cup -$ , and three ordinary exceptions in the case of the second vipulā. The *Kīcaka* in *Virāṭa* is also a lively scene, which with a slight addition of circumjacent verses contains a thousand verses (325-825), and here the vipulās are in order, 42, 24, 52, 6, with no unusual exceptions and only three ordinary exceptions in the second vipulā;<sup>1</sup> while five of the six fourth vipulās are in proper names and in the title *rājaputrī*.

But since it may be objected that the subject matter is after all the essential factor, I will compare a philosophical section where the matter is that of the *Bhagavad Gītā*, for example *Çānti*, adhy. 311 and following for one thousand verses. Here the vipulās in their order are:

<i>Gītā</i> ,	38	29	11	22
<i>Çānti</i> ,	50	31	29	3
Compare <i>R. iii</i> , 1-16, 60		33	31	1

It will be seen that the extract from *Çānti* is almost on a metrical par with the ordinary narrative of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (1010 verses). But further, of the three cases of fourth vipulā in *Çānti*, one is in a proper name and there are no anomalous forms of unusual character, and only two ordinary exceptions (second vipulā), while the *Gītā* has a dozen irregularities of all kinds (including "fifth vipulās"). I may add to these specimens the instructive opening of *Udyoga*, where for nearly two hundred *çloka*s there is epic narrative followed by the old tale of *Nahūṣa* and *Indra*. The vipulās, for one thousand hemistichs, are here 55, 25, 46, 10, respectively, but nine of the ten are in the old tale, adhy. 9 ff., *çl.* 227, the other one being in a proper name. In the old-style didactic

<sup>1</sup> By ordinary exceptions I mean cases where the second vipulā does not follow an iambus.

verses, v, 35, 60 ff., on the other hand, there are six fourth vipulās in only five ślokaś.

Whether we are entitled to draw from these data conclusions in regard to the time when the several selections were written may be doubted in all cases when the percentage of fourth vipulās is not sustained by other factors. But it seems to me, as I have said, that it is not unreasonable to assume a more modern authorship in the case of a sustained refinement of style. Even in cases where the data are not of an extreme character I think it is legitimate to question whether a comparative refinement is not of significance. Take for example the thousand verses of Udyoga, 119-133 (4,000-4,500). Here the subject-matter of the selection is the Bhagavadgītā. Nothing in the account seems antique; on the contrary, the whole story appears on the surface to be a late addition. Now, going beneath the surface, we find that the vipulās are in order 48, 23, 39, 13, but that eight of the last are in proper names. The collateral evidence agrees with the two factors here shown (preponderance of third vipulā over second, comparative scarcity of fourth vipulā); for of the forty-eight only twelve are after iambus; of the twenty-three, nineteen are after iambus; while of the four ordinary exceptions (after  $\surd$  — — —) two are in the same phrase, yathā Bhīṣmaḥ Śāntanavaḥ; the third vipulā is perfectly regular or has at most one exception, mānena bhraṣṭaḥ svargas te (though, as a matter of fact, there cannot be much doubt that we have here the late light syllable before bhr); the five fourth vipulās not in proper names are all after iambus except one, contained in an hereditary phrase, eṣa dharmāḥ kṣatriyāṇām. Here then, though there is not the striking classical smoothness found in parts of the pseudo-epic, the few fourth vipulās agree with the other data in marking the piece as rather refined, perhaps modern, when compared with the oldest epic style.

When, however, the data are contradictory, as often happens, we may imagine a rehandling, as in the suspected<sup>1</sup> Nārāyaṇa exploitation in Śānti, from the end of the prose in

<sup>1</sup> Compare Bühler in *Indian Studies*, No. ii, p. 52.



343 to the end of 351, about a thousand verses, 13,224-13,740, where the scheme of *vipulās* is in order 80, 50, 32, 15; thirty-one of the eighty being after iambus; with five cases of irregular second *vipulā* and perfectly regular third *vipulā* (save for a slightly neglected *cæsura*, *dharmapratisthāhetuḥ ca*). The fourth *vipulā* here owes its large number solely to names, numbers, and an old phrase. Thus we find, not after iambus, *tasmin yājñe vartamāne* (like the regular phrase *tasmin yuddhe vartamāne*); *Vāsudevam* (second foot); *Sāṅkhyaiṁ Yogam Pañcarātram*; *Sāṅkhyayogam* (second foot); *Pañcarātram* (second foot); *Vāikhānasāḥ phenapebhyaḥ*; *Sarva-kṛochram* (name of *vrata*); *aṣṭadañṣṭrāu*; leaving two cases, *durviññeyo duṣkaraḥ ca* and *jāyamānam* (as second foot) after  $\simeq$  — — —; with five more after iambus.

Rather a striking example of the mixture of styles is given by ix, 48, where Indra and the jujube-girl are concerned. This is plainly interpolated with a *Īva* parody. Compare, for instance, *prīto 'smi te ṣubhe bhaktyā tapasā niyamena ca*, in the Indra dialogue, with çl. 45 (in the interpolation), *prīto 'smi tava dharmajñe tapasā niyamena ca*. Now the original Indra tale has fifteen *vipulās* in the first thirty odd verses; but the same number of *çlokas* in the following *Īva* parody shows only five *vipulās*.

Again it must be remembered that some rather modern selections are interspersed with old material. In the six hundred odd verses of the *Çakuntalā* episode, for instance, the style is modern to a certain extent, the first *vipulā* being less common after iambus than after spondee, and only one ordinary exception occurring in the second *vipulā*, while there are no unusual anomalies. But the passage has thirteen fourth *vipulās*, which is not a refined ratio and may be explained only partly by the presence of *Dharmaçāstra* material, *hr̥ḍi sthitaḥ karmasūksī, bhāryām patiḥ sampravṛiṣya* (*Manu*, ix, 8). In my opinion the episode is old, but, like many ancient tales in the epic, it has been rewritten and in its present shape is not so old as the *vaṇça* and *Yayāti* episodes following, where there are as many fourth *vipulās* and more

anomalies. This episode has recently been made the subject of an interesting study by Dr. Winternitz,<sup>1</sup> who believes that it is of very doubtful antiquity, because it is lacking in the Southern manuscript examined by him and because the knot is untied by a "divine voice," instead of by a ring. One point not noticed by Dr. Winternitz must be remembered, however, namely that the Harivaṅṣa recognizes the episode and cites from it, apropos of the "divine voice,"<sup>2</sup> so that it existed in the present version, if not in its exact form, before the Harivaṅṣa was added to the poem; though I should not deny on that account that it was of doubtful antiquity.

I think I have now shown sufficiently that the different parts of the epic cannot revert to one period, still less to one poet, and will leave this minute analysis with a repetition of the statement that, whereas the parts already cited clearly reveal more styles than we may attribute to one age or man, occasional freedom of style in respect of *vipulās* does not in itself indicate antiquity; but when all the elements agree in refinement, this sustained refinement certainly points to a different environment and may imply that some parts of the epic are later than others. There is a refined style and there is a careless style, but the latter is late Puranic as well as antique, and mere carelessness proves nothing beyond the fact that the poet either did not know or did not regard classical rules. On the other hand, even the careless Puranic writers generally show a greater number of first *vipulās* after spondee than after iambus and more third than second *vipulās*. When, therefore, even these rules are not upheld and we find besides other irregularities, such as the three cases of the fifth *vipulā* in the *Gītā*, we may rest assured that the writer was rehandling material more antique than that of other passages. I say rehandling, because the *Gītā* has clearly been rewritten by a modernizing hand, as is shown not only by the circumstance already noticed that the heart of the poem differs in style from its beginning and ending, but also, for example, by the

<sup>1</sup> *Indian Antiquary*, 1898, pp. 67 and 136 ff.

<sup>2</sup> i, 74, 111 = H. i, 32, 12.



fact that in *Gītā*, 12, 15 we read *yasmān no 'dvijate lokaḥ*, a metrically bettered form of *yadā cā 'yam na bibheti*, a phrase found intact in other parts of the epic.<sup>1</sup>

The usual epic *gloka*, apart from occasional variations, differs, as I have said, from the classical model most conspicuously in *vipulā* licence; as will clearly be seen at a glance on comparing the normal epic forms with the classical in the following tables, where is given first the average epic usage:

First Foot	Second Foot			
	υ υ υ υ	— υ υ υ	— — — υ	— υ — υ
υ — υ —	passim	passim	passim	passim
υ — — —	passim	common	rare	common
υ υ — —	passim	common	sporadic	common

and then the forms permitted and almost never exceeded in *Kālidāsa* ("common" here means not unusual yet not *passim*):

First Foot	Second Foot			
	υ υ υ —	— υ υ —	— — — υ	— υ — υ
υ — υ —	common	passim	passim	
υ — — —	passim			
υ υ — —	passim			

<sup>1</sup> Per contra, in the *Sanatsujāta Parvan*, v, 46, 26, *yatho 'dapāne mahati* is a metrical improvement on *Gītā*, 2, 46, *yāvān artha udapāne*. Other later features in the *Gītā* are the long sentences already referred to; the sporadic intrusion of the *Māyā* doctrine (discussed above in Chapter Three), and perhaps also the recognition of the *Vedānta Sūtra*.

The usual Rāmāyaṇa ṣloka agrees with this later scheme, except in admitting sporadic cases of the fourth vipulā after an iambus.<sup>1</sup>

But, to get a comprehensive notion of the epic ṣloka, in its rarer forms as well as in its normal or average appearance, one must contrast these tables with the next, which gives, I believe, about all the Bhārata combinations for the prior pāda:

First Foot	Second Foot of Prior Pāda of Ṣloka in the Mahābhārata							
	⋈ — — — ⋈	⋈ — — — ⋈	⋈ — — — ⋈	⋈ — — — ⋈	⋈ — — — ⋈	⋈ — — — ⋈	⋈ — — — ⋈	⋈ — — — ⋈
⋈ — — —	p 1	p 9	p 14	p 21	p 28	s 34	r 39	s 43
⋈ — — —	p 2	p 10	c 15	r 22	c 29	s 35	s 40	s 44
⋈ — — —	p 3	p 11	c 16	s 23	c 30	s 36	?	s 45
⋈ — — —	p 4	s 12	s 17	?	s 31	s 37	s 42	
⋈ — — —	p 5		s 18	s 25	s 32	s 38		?
⋈ — — —	p 6		s 19	s 26	?	33		
⋈ — — —	s 7	s 13	s 20	s 27				
⋈ — — —	s 8							
	Pathyā	First Vipulā	Second Vipulā	Third Vipulā	Fourth Vipulā	Minor Ionic	Major Ionic	Ditambus

Abbreviations: p, passim; c, quite common; r, rare; s, very rare, sporadic. The interrogation marks indicate doubtful cases, for which the illustrations (as numbered in the table) must be consulted in Appendix B. For the corresponding table of triṣṭubh forms, see below.

<sup>1</sup> For the few exceptions to these much more restricted forms of the Rāmāyaṇa, see Jacobi's Rāmāyaṇa. There is to this uniformity not a single exception, for example, in the two thousand hemistichs found in R. iii, 1-16; iv, 1-11. Final brevis is rare in the second, but not in the first, R. vipulā.



Midway between the classical and the normal Bhārata *çloka* stands that of the Rāmāyaṇa. The latter does not admit many forms found in the Mahābhārata. Some of these are older, some are later. But in its aberrations from the subsequent type of the classical writers the Mahābhārata is much freer than the Rāmāyaṇa; freer not only in admitting other types of *çloka* than those found in the Rāmāyaṇa, but also in the way of handling *çlokas* common to both epics. The *çloka* of the Upanishads (Kaṭha, Kena, Içā) admits as prior *pādas*,

— — — —	— — — —
— — — —	— — — —
— — — —	— — — —
— — — —	— — — —
— — — —	— — — —
— — — —	— — — —
— — — —	— — — —
— — — —	— — — —
— — — —	— — — —
— — — —	— — — —
— — — —	— — — —
— — — —	— — — —

Quite so free the Mahābhārata *çloka* is not, but it admits here and there as second foot — — — — and — — — —, and as first foot, — — — —, which is also found as first foot of the second *pāda*. So free as this the Rāmāyaṇa is not. From the occurrence of these freer forms we are entitled, however, to say only that the Mahābhārata is occasionally freer in its *çloka*-foot than is the Rāmāyaṇa. But it is generally freer, and much freer, in the non-observance of *vipulā* rules. This “characteristic stamp” of the Mahābhārata, as Professor Jacobi calls it,<sup>1</sup> in distinction from the Rāmāyaṇa, is one that it shares to a great degree, as I have said above, p. 79, with the early Buddhistic and Upanishad *çloka*, which is so wide a province that the explanation given by Professor Jacobi seems to me to be inadequate.

Yet if, as I think, the *çloka* of the Rāmāyaṇa shows that it is in its present form not only more refined (which is conceded) but also later than parts of the Mahābhārata, the latter no less is later than the Rāmāyaṇa in other parts. There are five sorts (perhaps stages) of *çloka* reflected in epic and pre-

<sup>1</sup> Gurupūjākāumudī, p. 53.

epic literature (besides its parent Vedic anuṣṭubh). The first is the free ṣloka of the Upanishads. The second is the less free, but still unrefined, ṣloka of certain parts of the Mahābhārata. The third is the current Bhārata ṣloka. The fourth is the ṣloka found in parts of the pseudo-epic, a ṣloka which stands on a par with the ṣloka of the Rāmāyaṇa. The fifth is the continuous iambic ṣloka, which is found only in the Mahābhārata and is certainly later than other epic forms of ṣloka. Nearly forty stanzas of this type, consisting of iambs only (allowing final anceps), that is, over six hundred successive iambs — evidently a late tour de force — occur in xii, 322, 33-71, written by a poetaster who presents old ideas in a new style,<sup>1</sup> as in this specimen :

purā vrkā bhayaṁkarā manuṣyadehagocarāḥ  
 abhidravanti sarvato yataḥ ca puṇyaçilane  
 purā hiraṇmayān nagān<sup>2</sup> nirīkṣase 'drimūrdhani  
 na mātṛputrabāndhavā na saṁstutaḥ priyo janāḥ  
 anuvrajanti saṁkaṣṭe vrajantam ekapātinam  
 yad eva karma kevalam purākṛtaṁ çubhāçubham  
 tad eva putra sārthikam bhavaty amutra gacchataḥ  
 ihā 'gnisūryavāyavaḥ çariram āçritās trayāḥ  
 ta eva tasya sāksīṇo bhavanti dharmadarçināḥ

So far as I have observed, although the prior pāda may end either in ◡◡— or in ◡—◡—, the union of both in one ṣloka is unknown to the epic. This is a combination of one freedom with another. The forms, therefore, were felt as liberties and consequently were not multiplied in narrow compass. Such ṣlokas, however, are found in the early style, and even the Mahābhāṣya gives us a sample, apparently from some defunct epic source, where one prior pāda is aharahar nayamāno and the following is Vāivasvato na tṛpyati.<sup>3</sup> This

<sup>1</sup> Found, for example, in the Vedāntasāra of Sadānanda: satattvato 'nyathāprathā vikāra ity udiritaḥ, 162, etc. For the single pāda, diiambic prior, see vii, 55, 49, cited below under Diiambus. A single pāda of this sort is both Vedic and Puranic.

<sup>2</sup> See Proverbs and Tales in the Sanskrit Epics, A. J. Phil., vol. xx, p. 24.

<sup>3</sup> Cited by Weber, Indische Studien, vol. xiii, p. 483.



may indicate that our epic has been metrically refined; otherwise we should perhaps find in it the same freedom. Noticeable also, I may say in view of the paragraph below on the posterior pāda, is the absence of any certain case of a hemistich ending like the prior pāda in  $\cup - - -$ . This Gāthā form is found in the examples from the Bhāṣya (compare, for instance, *rātriṃ rātriṃ smariṣyanto rātriṃ rātriṃ ajānantah*<sup>1</sup>); but the utmost freedom of the epic is  $- - \cup -$  at the end of a hemistich, except in the semi-prose example given below (on the Diiambus); a circumstance that makes it impossible to believe that the epic in its present form is older than the second century B. C.

### THE POSTERIOR PĀDA OF THE ĠLOKA.

Owing to the prevailing diiambic close of the hemistich there is little variety in the posterior pāda. The first foot may have (sporadically) any one of seven forms, that is, with the exception of the unique opening of the prior pāda in proceleusmaticus, the first foot of the posterior pāda may be identical with any of those of the prior pāda. The second foot is a diiambus, or sporadically  $- - \cup -$ , and  $\cup - - -$  (doubtful).

FIRST FOOT.	SECOND FOOT.
1. $\cup - \cup -$	regular
2. $\cup - - -$	
3. $\cup \cup - -$	sporadic
4. $\cup - - \cup$	
5. $\cup \cup \cup -$	[ $\cup - - -$ ]
6. $\cup - \cup \cup$	
7. $\cup \cup \cup -$	

Of these forms, the first three and the fifth occur also as prior pādas (with diiambic close). The seventh form is avoided because it is the jagatī measure; but in general three final iambs are avoided. The first form is an oddity. Illustrations of all the forms of prior and posterior pādas will be found in Appendix B. The rules for this pāda are given below.

<sup>1</sup> Weber, loc. cit., p. 485.

Of the forms of the first foot (third of the hemistich), all except Nos. 1 and 7 are found *passim* in both epics; of the forms of the second (fourth) foot, with rare exceptions only the diiambus is found. The commonest forms are Nos. 2 and 3 (ending in spondees). After the first *vipulā* both of these are equally common and each is about twice as frequent as No. 4, and from two to four times as common as No. 5 (final trochees). No. 6, ending in a pyrrhic, is sometimes surprisingly frequent after this *vipulā*; but at other times is lacking for whole test-sections of a thousand verses. After the second *vipulā*, which usually ends in an iambus, as after the first *vipulā* (also iambic), Nos. 2 and 3 are favorites; No. 3 being perhaps a little more frequent. Here Nos. 4, 5, 6, are much less common; No. 6, however, is rarest of all. After the third *vipulā*, No. 2 sometimes yields in frequency to No. 3; but in other sections this foot still holds its own, and as in the former examples is even twice as common as other combinations, though it practically repeats the *vipulā*, —, — — —, ∽ — — —. Here Nos. 4 and 5 are about on a par, sometimes only a third as common as No. 2, sometimes more frequent, with No. 6 half as common as Nos. 4 and 5.<sup>1</sup> After the fourth *vipulā*, however, No. 6 is as common as any other, sometimes slightly in excess, with the others about on a par; No. 4 being perhaps the rarest.

Such varying ratios are not worth tabulating. They show that while the posterior *pāda* is not absolutely uninfluenced by the form of the prior, yet the determining factor is rather the inevitable presence of the former's diiambus, since the only marked choice is for spondees before it, as in the first *pāda* before an iambus (*pathyā*). The other cases reveal merely a shifting predilection for one of several forms, all of which are used pretty freely, the strongest influence of the preceding *vipulās* being simply that the usual prefer-

<sup>1</sup> For example in one text case of a thousand verses, there were twelve cases of No. 2; four each of Nos. 4 and 5; and two of No. 6. In another, nine of No. 2; eleven each of Nos. 4 and 5; four of No. 6.



ence for a spondee before the final diiambus is changed into a natural aversion after a spondaic vipulā, —, — — — or — ∪ — —, but this is what might have been predicated in advance. After pathyās one foot is as permissible as another. Occasional variations here are of even less significance than in the case of precedent vipulās.

As all the forms of the prior and posterior pādas may have syllaba anceps, both initial and final, each pāda may appear in four forms.<sup>1</sup> Not to speak of the important modifications introduced by a varying cæsura, the syllabic combinations resulting from joining any one of the four kinds of each form of the posterior pāda with any one of the four kinds of each form of the prior pāda results in a large number of possible verse (hemistich) forms; while, since any form of the first hemistich may be united with any form of the second hemistich—to take only the commonest eighteen forms of prior pāda<sup>2</sup> and the five current forms of posterior pāda—the resultant variations in the form of the verse (hemistich) are 1440; in the case of the whole stanza (çloka), 2,073,600; so that one could write twenty Mahābhāratas in çlokas (the present one in the Calcutta edition contains 95,739 çlokas) and never repeat the same metrical stanza. Despite this latitude, however, the poets are not at all shy of repeating the same syllabic hemistich in juxtaposition, showing that they were indifferent to the vast possibilities before them and cared for cæsura more than for syllables. Thus Nala v, 45 b–46 a:

Damayantī sāha Nalo vijahārā 'maropamaḥ  
janayāmāsa ca Nalo Damayantī mahāmanah

<sup>1</sup> In explanation of the number of examples in Appendix B, I would say that, for the sake of showing the truth of this anceps theory, I have given the four forms, syllaba anceps at both ends of the pāda.

<sup>2</sup> That is, the first six pathyās, the first four forms of the first and second vipulās respectively, the first form of the third vipulā, and the first three forms of the fourth vipulā. These, by the way, are the forms "approved" by modern native scholars, according to Brown, Prosody, p. 6.

### The Diambus

The rule of diiambic cadence appears to be violated in the epic. Far from regarding this as an archaism on the part of epic poets, one should recognize in such cases only a Puranic licence or adaptation of the Gāthā freedom conspicuous in all popular and therefore loose composition. Not only is that rule for Sanskrit which allows a syllable to remain light before kr, pr, br, hr, valid for the later epic, but the extended Prākṛit licence is also found, whereby almost any conjunct<sup>1</sup> may be treated for metrical purposes like a single consonant. Examples are found both in the Mahābhārata and the later Rāmāyaṇa. For the latter epic, Jacobi, *Das Rāmāyaṇa*, p. 25 ff., should be consulted, where are given examples in br, pr, mr, ml, tr, hr, kl, and ṣr, e. g., *kiṁ tu Rāmasya prītyartham*, R. v, 53, 13; *vināṣayati trāilokyam*, ib. 1, 65, 13. From the Mahābhārata (in the appended illustrations of epic ṣloka forms) I have drawn several examples which are doubtful, because they may be regarded either as irregular (unusual) forms without this licence or regular forms with it. Such are *daṣa pañca ca prāptāni* (No. 25); *hate Bhīṣme ca Droṇe ca* (No. 22); *sarvaṣūceṣu Brāhṁeṇa* (No. 23); *abhiṣmāmi brāhṁaṇam* (No. 41); *mānena bhraṣṭaḥ svargasya te* (No. 22); *Rudrasye 'va hi kruddhasya* (No. 24). But further, in a few cases, ṣr also seem to leave the syllable light behind them, as in R.; e. g., *adyaprabhṛti ṣrīvatsaḥ* (Nos. 15, 26, 39). Nor are we aided as much as we should like to be, when, turning from these doubtful priors, we examine the posterior pādas. For though at first it seems decisive that such a pāda appears as *putram īpsanti brāhṁaṇāḥ*, vii, 55, 21; *toṣayiṣyāmi bhrātaram*, viii, 74, 30; yet it is not quite settled whether we have here a syllable to be read light because, as in Greek, mute and liquid really make insufficient position, or whether the syllable is heavy but is allowed to stand for a light. For there are other cases where mute and liquid are not the

<sup>1</sup> Colebrooke, *Essays*, vol. ii, p. 65, note ("any conjunct" in Prākṛit).



components of the conjunct. First we have double semi-vowels, which ordinarily make position, but fail to do so, for example, in vii, 55, 50, *abhi Ġvāitye 'tī vyāharan*, which appears after a *çloka* with a diiambic prior *pāda* (sa cen *mamāra Sṛñjaya*). So the syllable remains light before *cc*h and *kṣ* and *dv*, or the metrical rule is violated. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* and in the *Mahābhārata*, cases of liquid and *kṣ* are found more rarely in *triṣṭubhs*, but often enough to show that they are occasionally allowed. Thus in R. iii, 63, 6 b, °*etya kleçam* (*triṣṭubh*).<sup>1</sup> In M.:

viii, 37, 24 d, *tyaktvā prāṇān anuyāsyāmī Droṇam*

xii, 73, 7 a-b, *yadā hi °brahma prajahātī kṣatram*

*kṣatram yadā vā prajahātī brahma*

xii, 319, 89 b, *sarve nityam vyāharante cā brahma*

In sum, the cases where this licence may be assumed for the later epic style<sup>3</sup> are before *dr*, *br*, *bhr*, *mr*, *kr*, *pr*, *kl*, *tr*, *çr*, *hr*, *ty*, *vy*, *çy*, *dv*, *cc*h, *kṣ*. For *dv*, compare *striyaç ca kanyāç ca dvijāç ca suvratāḥ*, iv, 37, 33; *āvartanāni catvāri tathā padmānī dvādaça*, xiii, 107, 26; for *cc*h, *yugeṣv īṣāṣu chatreṣu*, vii, 159, 36, where the texts avoid the third *vipulā* by writing *ch* for *cc*h. But whenever a short syllable is needed before *cc*h it is got by dropping *c* (sometimes in one text, sometimes in another). For *kṣ*, *ca kṣīyate*, xii, 343, 87; *raṇabhītāç cā kṣatriyāḥ*, vii, 73, 39 (apparently an interpolated passage); exactly as we find the same licence in *Vāyu Purāṇa*, viii, 155, where the *çloka* ends °*sā kṣatriyān*, or as *ib. v*, 28, we find the common licence before *br*, *lokān sṛjati brahmatve*. For *çy*, see below on the *triṣṭubh* scoli; *mr*, *ml*, *ty*, *tr*, I have not found in the *Mahābhārata*. They seem to belong to the latest parts of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

<sup>1</sup> Jacobi, *Rām.* p. 27, gives cases from the later R. In G. v, 28, 5, *na tyajet* (B. correct v. l.); G. ii, 27, 24, *tvayā sāham* (B. correct v. l.).

<sup>2</sup> This section is free; but in xii, 202, 22 b, there is an *upajāti* group where we find *tad evā pratyādadate svadehe* (— — — being demanded).

<sup>3</sup> Examples of regular (heavy) position before mute and liquid are found everywhere, e. g., ix, 17, 41, 43, 44, 47, 51, 52; xii, 63, 8, 27; 64, 16, 18, etc. This is the rule; failure to make position or neglect of quantity is the exception and is characteristic rather of the later epic, as shown by the examples above.

We may, I think, assume that the liberty in respect of liquid and consonant was first introduced into epic Sanskrit, and that then in the later epic this was extended, with Gāthā freedom, to cases where the precedent syllable cannot be light, but is reckoned so. Therefore, while the early epic has only diiambic close, the later epic (like the Purāṇas) admits — — ∪ — as an equivalent; not of course generally, but sporadically, where the writer is late and careless, as is indicated by the character of the sections where such illegitimate freedom is found. So in the triṣṭubh scoliis, there are a few cases of careless writing where a heavy syllable stands in the place of a light one. To say that this heavy syllable is light because it ought to be, is misleading. The weight may be ignored, as in Prākṛit (though there mutilation explains much that appears of this nature), but it must exist. Even the Greek poets occasionally pretended that a heavy syllable was light. In fine, — — ∪ — must be admitted as an occasional fourth foot of the hemistich, though it is avoided whenever possible.<sup>1</sup> For the foot ∪ — — —, I have only the hemistich *etac chrutvā tu Kāuravyaḥ Āibim pradakṣiṇam kṛtvā*, iii, 194, 7, but this is apparently an accidental verse in a prose narration.

### Poetic Licence.

In general, however, while the epic poets are here and there rough and uncouth in their versification, the normal epic style sacrifices a good deal to what is regarded as good metrical form. Such a sacrifice, which culminates in the classical rule that one may use *bēn* for *bean* (*maṣa* for *māṣa*) if one only follows the metrical norm, is found most clearly exemplified in this very case of the diiambic close; a proof that the diiambus was regarded in general as obligatory.<sup>2</sup> But it is also to be noticed in the observance of preferred *vipulā* forms at the sac-

<sup>1</sup> Its restitution in *Praṇa* ii, 6, *ṛco yajūṇi sāmāni, yajñāḥ kṣatram* [ca] *brahma ca*, is at least probable.

<sup>2</sup> Compare even in the *Rig Veda* the regular irregularity of *yaviṣṭham*, for *yaviṣṭham*, for the sake of the diiambus; and see now an article by Professor Bloomfield on this very point, *JAOS.* xxi, p. 50 ff.



rifice of (Sanskrit) grammatical accuracy. There are, indeed, cases where word-structure appears to be needlessly sacrificed; but the vast majority of cases in which Sanskrit grammar is violated have to do with metrical necessity or predilection.

As already stated, the most frequent cause of such violation is the well-nigh obligatory diiambus at the close of a verse, as in *phullam Gomatī-tīrajam*, iv, 17, 12. The diiambic rule, as ordinarily stated, is included in this presentment of *çloka* restrictions: "The second, third, and fourth syllables of a posterior *pāda* should not form a tribrach, anapæst, or amphimacer, and the fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth syllables should make a diiambus or second pæon, while the tribrach and anapæst rule apply also to the prior *pāda*." Obviously, in the posterior *pāda*, the tribrach rule, forbidding

υ υ υ υ υ - υ υ

is to avoid a succession of four or five short syllables; while the anapæst and amphimacer rule, forbidding

υ υ υ - υ - υ υ

is to avoid the (*jagatī*) close of three final iambs. The rule then for the even *pāda* is simply: Posterior *pādas* must end with diiambus, but must not end with triiambus, and must not contain a proceleusmaticus.

The following examples illustrate how secondary is Sanskrit grammar to this metrical rule: *yaç ca çūnyam upāsate* (for *upāste*),<sup>1</sup> v, 33, 39; *na sma paçyāma lāghavāt*, vii, 146, 5 (necessarily present); *bhāryāyāi gacchatī vanam*, R. ii, 32, 8; *setihāse cā chandasi*, xiii, 111, 42; *kathākhyāyikāḥkārīkāḥ*, ii, 11, 36, and *svadhā ca svadhābhojinām*, R. vii, 23, 23; *yathā hi kurute rājā prajāḥ tam anuvartate*,<sup>2</sup> R. vii, 43, 19; *madhūni droṇamātrāṇi bāhubhiḥ parigrhyate*, R. v, 62, 9 (not in G.); *apākrāmat*, ix, 11, 62.

<sup>1</sup> So we find at the end of a *triṣṭubh* *pāda*, *upāsate yaḥ*, iii, 5, 19 b. Less common is the second person, *mokṣadharmam upāsase*, xii, 315, 15.

<sup>2</sup> This is simply a case of sacrifice to metre by a pedant who imitates *Manu* viii, 175, where *prajāḥ tam anuvartante* is the close of a *prior* *pāda*. Another form of this proverb, by the way, is shown in R. ii, 109, 9: *yadvṛttāḥ santi rājānas tadvṛttaḥ santi hi prajāḥ* (Spr. 1,643, 1,652, 5,768).

These examples comprise different classes, where, metri causâ, are changed (a) the conjugation or mode; (b) the temporal termination; (c) the feminine participle; (d) the euphonic rule; (e) the gender; (f) the syntactical combination;<sup>1</sup> (g) length of root-vowel and other sporadic cases.

Of these, by far the commonest are irregularities in the temporal termination, and in the ending of the feminine participle. Of these two, the usual changes are the substitution of preterite for present endings and *atī* for *antī*; less often, present for preterite and *antī* for *atī*. The participial change is the commonest of all, and what is most important is that scarcely any of the irregular participial stems are irregular from any other cause than that of metrical preference, and the greater number are fashioned simply to give diiambus at the end of the hemistich. I lay especial stress on this because in the lists of such changes occasionally published either no weight at all has been laid on the motive of the change, or the motive has been only incidentally acknowledged, or thirdly the lists have been made with reference to the class of the participle, as if the conjugation were especially important.<sup>2</sup> The only thing of importance, however, is the metre. What has been lost sight of, or not seen, is that not only the obvious diiambic rule but also the vipulā preferences come strongly in play, especially in the Rāmāyaṇa. A few examples will illustrate this.

First for the diiambus: *cā 'nyām gatim apaçyatī*, R. vi, 47, 10; *kurarīm iva vāçatīm*, Nala, 11, 20; so elsewhere in Mbh., *abhilapsatī*, *cikīrṣatī*, *nādayatī*, *avekṣatī*, *anveṣatī*; and in Rām., *parigarjatī*, *yācatī*, *anudhāvātī*, *janayatī mama*, etc. Likewise in the verbal ending: *adho gacchāmā medinīm*, i, 13, 18; *duḥkham prāpsyāmā dāruṇam*, ix, 59, 30; *yuddhe kiṁ kur mā te priyam*, ix, 32, 62; *kathā drakṣyāmā tām purīm*,

<sup>1</sup> See below, on dialectic Sanskrit.

<sup>2</sup> At the same time I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to the following lists as collections of material: For four books of the Rāmāyaṇa, Böhtlingk, *Berichte d. philol. histor. Classe d. Königl. Sächs. Gesell. d. Wiss.* 1887, p. 213; Holtzmann, *Grammatisches aus dem Mahābhārata*.



R. ii, 47, 11; na ca paçyāmā Māithilīm, R. iv, 50, 15; 56, 13. Compare also the striking example in R. ii, 91, 59: nāi 'vā 'yodhyām gamiṣyāmo na gamiṣyāmā Daṇḍakān. These ordinary irregularities might be exemplified with hundreds.<sup>1</sup> Other cases are less frequent; but to the same cause is due the close of hemistichs in tāv akurvātām, i, 176, 9; the frequent change of voice, as in svargam īhantī nityaçaḥ, vii, 71, 14; the change of vowel-length in upākramat, apākramat, parākramet, vii, 54, 58; ix, 11, 47; 11, 62; xii, 140, 25; so 'pi niṣkrāman, R. iv, 50, 9; Lakṣmīvardhanaḥ (passim) and the frequent loss of augment.<sup>2</sup> One of the most striking verbal changes is in na bibhyati for na bibhēti in i, 75, 53; na bibhyase, R. iii, 46, 30.

The other half of the rule for the posterior pāda is kept by avoiding three iambs and a succession of four breves, with a sacrifice of the normal quantity, in prācetaso daça (so explained in PW. s. v.); sakhīgaṇāvṛtā, Nala, i, 24; na çrīr jahāti vāi tanūḥ, xi, 25, 5 (jahanti for jahati, below); upāsante mahāujasaḥ, R. vii, 37, 19 (upāsate in 20) and 21; āyatīhitam ucyate, G. iii, 44, 11; and instead of adhārayam (mahāvratam), samadhāram, R. vii, 13, 25. Compare also na svapāmi niçās tadā, Nala, 13, 61, patois for svapimi; and the middle drakṣyase vigatajvaram, ib. 12, 93, with drakṣyasi in 92 and 95; drakṣyase surasattamam, v, 14, 5.<sup>3</sup>

In the prior pāda, to avoid the anapæst the same form is used, drakṣyase devarājānam, v, 11, 24; the sandhi of eṣo hi

<sup>1</sup> One of the commonest cases is the substitution of sma for smaḥ. This is found oftenest in the prior pāda but also in the posterior, e. g., R. iv, 65, 11, anuprāptāḥ sma sāmpratam.

<sup>2</sup> Compare also the endings patnīṣu, prakṛtījanaḥ, R. i, 37, 6; 42, 1; gr̥hagr̥hṇānām, R. vi, 75, 14, manyūnām, ib. 15 (dīrghābhāva āṛṣaḥ says the scholiast); kopenā bhiparivṛtaḥ, R. vii, 58, 22 (below); anūdaram, xiv, 46, 47.

<sup>3</sup> Here too belongs the use of the future imperative in ix, 25, 44, drakṣyadhvam yadi jīvati, followed by yudhyadhvam sahitāḥ sarve. Böhtlingk, loc. cit., denies to the epic a future imperative. The case I have cited, however, is not in Holtzmann's list (loc. cit. § 938), on which B. draws for his material, and it seems to me conclusive in favor of such a form (and meaning). Were it not for the breves the poet would have used paçyata (not drakṣyatha), as is shown by yudhyadhvam and the general situation.

pārṣato virah, vii, 192, 13; the long vowels in Pūṣāṇam abhyadravata, vii, 202, 59; ṣrutāvātī nāma vibho, ix, 48, 2; and the change of conjugation in dadanti vasudhām sphītām, xiii, 62, 46. To avoid diiambus at the close of the prior pāda we find, for the genitive, dadarṣa dvāiratham tābhyām, vii, 98, 26; the participial exchange noted above, kusumāny apacinvanti, R. iii, 42, 32; jānanti, R. ii, 10, 35 and Mbh. i, 78, 6; and various sporadic irregularities in the latter poem: pradakṣiṇam akurvanta, viii, 72, 12; puṣṇāmy āuśadhayaḥ sarvāḥ, i, 78, 40; Duryodhanam upāsante, viii, 84, 12; ṣayānam samupāsanti, vii, 72, 40 (so G. vii, 41, 2); vālūkām, pattībhiḥ, etc., R. iii, 73, 12; iv, 25, 23; ṣaktībhiḥ, R. vi, 71, 14. For a like reason, but to avoid a final minor Ionic, we find paṣyate rājā, R. vii, 32, 25; drakṣyase tatra, ib. 34, 10, etc.

Less generally have been recognized irregularities due to vipulās. But here too Sanskrit grammar yields to the decided tendency to have an iambus or diiambus precede in three of the four forms and also to less marked tendencies. Even the pathyā shows similar cases, though in this foot more latitude is allowed. But there often is, for example, in the pathyā a decided preference for the opening  $\simeq \cup - \cup$  rather than  $\simeq \cup - -$ , and in accordance with this we find arditāḥ sma bhṛṣāṁ Rāma, in R. iii, 10, 11, and āgatāḥ sma, ib. 15, 2; where sma must be for smaḥ (in some cases this is doubtful).<sup>1</sup> Of the vipulās, the third is naturally chiefly affected. In the last passage, for example, cl. 19, we read iha vatsyāma Sāumitre, which is changed as certainly for metrical reasons as are the similar cases in the diiambic ending. So in R. ii, 17, 10; 40, 22, etc. So, too, loss of augment in sa praviṣya ca paṣyad vāi; the participle in -ant, tathā rudantīm Kausalyām, R. ii, 40, 44; duḥkhāny asahatī devī, R. ii, 12, 89; kācie cintayatī tatra, R. vii, 24, 11 (as opposed to sā cintayantī buddhyā 'tha, Nala, 5, 12); and shortening of a long vowel, sapatnīvṛddhāu yā me tvam, R. ii, 8, 26; pitur iṅgudīpaṇyā-

<sup>1</sup> In upāsanta mahārājam, iv, 18, 16, the form is chosen not from any aversion to  $\cup - \cup \cup$ , but for variety, because this foot precedes in the same śloka. In R. i, 4, 4, aṅghītām ("Vedic") is merely an error.



kam, R. ii, 104, 8; so 'marāvatisamkācam, R. vii, 33, 4. The commonest form here is the *sma* just referred to: *pitṛmatyaḥ sma bhadraṁ te*; *kṛtapuṇyāḥ sma bhadraṁ te*, R. i, 33, 3; ii, 55, 12. So, *adharmam vidma Kākutstha asmin*, R. vii, 63, 2. Offensive is the heavy third *vipulā* preceded by a succession of heavy syllables, and so we find: *aho tṛptāḥ sma bhadraṁ te*, R. i, 14, 17; *nūnam prāptāḥ sma sambhedam*, R. ii, 54, 6; *vyaktam prāptāḥ sma taṁ deçam*, ib. 93, 7.<sup>1</sup>

The *Mahābhārata* is not so strict in its *vipulā* regulation, but even here we find the same condition of things, though in less careful observance. Thus, *tvayy adhināḥ sma rājendra*, v, 8, 22; *tvadadhīnāḥ sma rājendra*, xv, 3, 54; *upaçikṣāma te vṛttam*, xii, 16, 2;<sup>2</sup> *iḥāi 'va vasatī bhadre*, Nala, 13, 66. Both texts, merely in accordance with the *vipulā* rule or predilection, have *kim mām vilapatīm ekām* in Nala, 12, 55, and 91, which modern editors, sure of grammar but ignorant of metre, change to *vilapatīm* (compare R. iv, 20, 22, *kim mām evam pralapatīm*); *evam vilapatīm dīnām*, vii, 78, 36. Other examples are *tato rudantīm tāṁ dṛṣtvā*, Nala, 16, 33 (as in R. vii, 80, 18, *arajā 'pi rudantī sā*, to avoid the Ionic; but *visamjñakalpām rudatīm*, vii, 78, 39, etc.); *mām anusmaratī çete*, viii, 44, 17; *paitim anveṣatīm ekām*, Nala, 12, 34. Most participial changes of this sort not due to the *dīambus* (avoided or sought) are due here as in the *Rāmāyaṇa* to the natural disinclination to heap up long syllables and the grad-

<sup>1</sup> About half the cases of *sma* for *smaḥ* are due to metre. This word before sonants on account of its monosyllable would lose its character, and for this reason most of the cases not due to metre are before sonants to avoid *smo*. Of all the cases in Böhtlingk's list only two are before surds. At the *pāda*-end, where length is indifferent, *sma* stands only before sonants. With the exception of *sma*, in the first four books of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (according to Böhtlingk's list) the only examples of *ma* for *maḥ* which appear to be independent of metre are *vidma pūrvam* and *pravekṣyāma* at the beginning of posterior *pādas*. The first is not in G.; the second appears in G. as *vekṣyāmi*. I may add of *sma*, as indicative of the pseudo-epic, that the thirteenth book has three forms of this word, *smaḥ*, *sma* (perhaps dialectic), and *smahe*. The last, a modern form, is found not only in xiii, 1, 13, but in 93, 41, *na smahe mandavijñānā na smahe mandabuddhayaḥ . . . pratibuddhā sma jāgṛma*.

<sup>2</sup> Holtzmann, at § 548; but I should not entertain the notion that any of these forms (as here suggested) was other than indicative.

ual creation of the iambic rule for the third 'vipulā.<sup>1</sup> The change to *antī*, illustrated by *muṣṇantī* and *kurvantī* in Nala, 5, 8, and 16, 11, respectively, and *āyāntī*, R. vii, 26, 47; 96, 11, etc., is in part explained by preferred combinations and in part by analogy, the great mass of verbs making the form *antī*. The best case of change for metre is furnished, however, by the *triṣṭubh* in ii, 67, 53 (ॐ — ॐ ॐ begins a *triṣṭubh* only before ॐ ॐ — ):

tathā bruvantīm karuṇāṁ rudantīm<sup>2</sup>

The first *vipulā* is responsible for the form *upāsanta* in ix, 38, 53, *tvām upāsanta varadam*; the second, for *aho mūdhāḥ sma suciram*, xiii, 16, 27; the third, for *vicariṣyāma loke 'smin*, viii, 33, 12. For the fourth I have no sure case.

In regard to the augment, it is omitted so freely that only in pronounced cases are we sure that it is dropped for metre, especially as the endings *ta* and *tha* are interchanged (as they are in the later Upanishads). Thus in R. iv, 53, 8 *kiṁ na budhyata* may be present, or, as the commentator says, stand for *nābudhyata* (*dīambus*); but again there appears to be no reason for *samantāt paridhāvata* in R. vii, 28, 17, for the augmented form would serve as well. But in this category, besides the influence of patois, we have a more than usual source of pseudo-archaisms. For in many other cases we can but assume that copyists have tampered with the text, correcting after their wont, sometimes for grammar and sometimes for metre, according to their individual taste; a process that explains in our printed texts the frequent divergences that depend on these points.<sup>3</sup> But with the augment it is especially easy to give an archaic effect, since, while Sanskrit

<sup>1</sup> In Holtzmann's list, for example, the only case of *atī* for *antī* that does not come under these rules is *caratī* in Nala, 12, 10; which may be attracted by *anveṣatī* in the same verse (the latter caused by the *dīambic* rule).

<sup>2</sup> Holtzmann registers *rudantī* for i, 6, 5, where B. has *rudatī*; and for Nala, 17, 12, but B. has *rudatyāu*.

<sup>3</sup> For this reason I have elsewhere called them "unguarded texts," meaning of course that they were not protected, as were the poems of sacred character, by artificial methods of transmission.



kept the augment, most of the other forms dealt with are current side-forms as well as antique. So we find, for example, in R. vii, 28, 26, *nānāvadyāni vādyanta*, but in G. 36, 26, *ny avādyanta*, and here, as in parallel cases, it is quite impossible to say whether we have a grammatically emended text or a mere imitation of the antique on the part of a copyist.

Instances of alteration in *triṣṭubh* verse are of the same sort as those just mentioned and need not be specifically detailed. Here too we find the same imitation of the antique. One example will illustrate both cases. In xiii, 102, 55 a – b, occurs, *budhyāmi tvām Vṛtrahaṇam ṣatakṛatam, vyatikrāmantam bhuvanāni viçvā*.<sup>1</sup> Compare also *na cā 'pi jānīmā tave 'ha nātham*, iii, 265, 4 d; *nā 'bhūtikāleṣu phalaṁ dadanti*, xii, 25, 7 a; and the following examples:

*na tām vaded uṣatīm pāpalokyām*, xii, 300, 8 d  
*prayāma sarve ṣaraṇam bhavantam*, i, 197, 4 d  
*Karṇam bibhedeuḥ sahitāḥ prṣatkāiḥ*, viii, 82, 16 c  
*jahāra pāpas taruṇīm viceṣṭatīm*, R. iii, 53, 26 c  
*apaçyati Rāghava-Lakṣmaṇāv ubhāu*, R. iii, 52, 44 c  
*hatāḥ sma sarvāḥ saha mantribhiḥ ca*, R. ii, 61, 26 b

Here, as will be seen from the structure of the *triṣṭubh*, the cases of grammatical irregularity are of the same type and character as those in *çloka*. The prevailing type, namely, is the patois substitution of *ma* for *mas* as verbal ending, and the alternate participial form. The change here also, as in *çloka*, induces a preferred or “regular” form against a more unusual, more disliked, or more irregular form. The last example above, for example, gives a cadence common to both epics; but to have *smaḥ* for *sma* would be a cadence of the *Mahābhārata*, not of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

To sum up for the *çloka*: In the occasional modification of accepted Sanskrit forms purely for the sake of metre and in the lack of a thorough observance of metrical laws, which have

<sup>1</sup> This form occurs also in i, 3, 57 *bhuvanāni viçvā*; and vii, 201, 77, *bhuvanāni 'ha viçvā*, in the same formula. Generally *sapta* takes its place.

yet obviously affected certain parts of the epic, we can see the rules themselves in process of making. For the greater part of the Bhārata there is no fixed rule, but the foundation of the rule is there in popular liking and dislike. Thus cases do exist, and they are not infrequent, of  $\simeq \cup$  — before a second vipulā, but there is a decided tendency against such a combination, and as a result we find bhakṣayiṣyāva sahitāu, i, 152, 13; to explain which we need only say that the first vipulā favors, while the second does not favor, this precedent foot; just as ib. 154, 35, ṣiḡhram gaḥchāma bhadram te is merely a present indicative with a preterite (patois) ending, substituted because the Sanskrit ending would oppose a metrical combination to which there is a growing though not yet thoroughgoing aversion.

Finally, as already abundantly illustrated, the statement that "the laws of the ṣloka are the same in the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata and the classical poets"<sup>1</sup> is certainly much too strong. What is quite fixed in the last is not so rigid in the first, and is much looser in the Bhārata than in either of the other two.<sup>2</sup>

### The Hypermetric Ṣloka.<sup>3</sup>

A ninth syllable is often attached to the octosyllabic prior ṣloka pāda, regularly prefixed, sporadically incorporated; the hypermetric syllable in the former case being, with the next also, a brevis, while the third is long before an iambus, the whole foot preceding a pathyā or any vipulā, thus: —

<sup>1</sup> Das Rāmāyaṇa, 1893, p. 24.

<sup>2</sup> It is indeed enough if the vipulā be preceded by a heavy syllable or long vowel, as has justly been remarked by Jacobi, in his article Ueber den Ṣloka im Mahābhārata, but this rule does not mark the distinction between precedent iambs and spondees. The rule is to have a precedent iamb, and a spondee is always exceptional; but in R. it is a very rare exception; in Mbh. a very common exception.

<sup>3</sup> Analogous to the freedom in triṣṭubhs we might expect to find also cases of catalectic, or more properly abridged, ṣloka-pādas, such as, e. g., puraṣ cakre dvipadaḥ, BAU. ii, 5, 18 (cakāra ?); but I have not noticed any such epic pādas.



pathyā :

anubhūyatām ayaṁ vīrāḥ, Nala, 2, 9

first vipulā :

prakṛtir guṇān vikurute, xii, 314, 15

second vipulā :

katham Ārṣṭiṣeṇo bhagavān, ix, 40, 1

third vipulā :

navanītapāṅkaḥ kṣīrodāḥ, xiii, 80, 6

fourth vipulā :

çaraṇāgataṁ na tyajeyam, v, 12, 16

The regular hypermeter thus coincides in its opening with the irregular and unusual octosyllabic pāda, ∪ ∪ — ∪ — — —. For instance, akṛtavraṇaḥ çubhāir vākyāiḥ, v, 184, 14, is hypermetric, while apakāriṇam mām viddhi, xiii, 96, 7, is an acatalectic pāda; for which reason, probably, the latter is so rare.

Such hypermeters are not unusual in the Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa, though more frequent in the former, not only on account of the mass, but in the same amount of matter. They seem to be at times rather affected by the later epic poets; perhaps to give an appearance of antiquity, whereby, as often, the effect is overdone. I know at least of no passage in either epic where, as in Harivaṇṣa, 1, 3, 54, and 87, and 91, and 108, four hypermeters can be found in the space of fifty odd çlokas. They are common too in the Purāṇas.

Certain phrases are apt to appear in this form. The commonest is abhivādayanti or some similar derivative, which often introduces hypermeters in çlokas (as also in triṣṭubhs). Thus, for example :

abhivādayanti bhavatīm, v, 90, 98

abhivādayanti vṛddhāṅ ca, v, 47, 16

abhivādaye tvām rājendra, iii, 291, 37

abhivādaye tvām bhagavan, iii, 207, 13 and R. iii,

11, 72

abhivāditaḥ kaṇṭyobhiḥ, iii, 257, 8

abhivādyā cāi 'nam vidhivat, v, 179, 13

abhivādayitvā çirasā, v, 176, 28

abhivādayīta vṛddhāṇḥ ca, xiii, 104, 65

abhivādayiṣye hr̥ṣṭe 'ti, xiv, 68, 19

abhivādayāmas tvām sarvāḥ, R. vii, 49, 15

Although avamanyase mām nr̥pate, v, 189, 22, might suggest the possibility of pronouncing omanyase, and abhivā-denti in the examples above, yet this explanation is almost excluded by the fact that parallel examples, in overwhelming majority, admit of no such solution. Many of the cases have been collected by Gildermeister in his excellent article in the fifth volume of the *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, p. 269.<sup>1</sup> It is easy to add many parallel examples. Thus abhiṣektukāmas taṁ rājā, G. ii, 74, 55, is a parallel to abhiṣektukāmaṁ nr̥patim, Mbh. i, 85, 19, and çaraṇāgataṁ is an opening used repeatedly, e. g., v, 178, 9; viii, 90, 112; xiii, 32, 2 and 34 (but in 38 b, çaraṇāgatasakṣaṇam).<sup>2</sup> Some difference of texts is to be noticed. Thus in xiii, 93, 119, çaraṇāgataṁ hantu sa vāi, C. omits vāi, an impossible pāda. On the other hand, in xiii, 94, 27, anṛtāu vratī jaṭī cāi 'va, of C. 4,573 is converted into anṛtāu ca vratī cāi 'va. So in G. v, 63, 2, abhayaṁ dadāmi te vīra; but in B., abhayaṁ te pradāsyāmi. The commonest words thus employed, owing perhaps merely to opportunity, are abhivādayanti, or an equivalent, çaraṇāgata°, and Janamejaya. Those mentioned by Benfey, in the notes to his *Chrestomathie*, are chiefly of the same character, but he also adduces long initials, of which I shall speak presently. Although, as shown above, any form of vipulā or a pathyā may contain the hypermetric pāda, and the fourth vipulā is very common, yet the pathyā is the usual place for it, so that the last may be regarded as itself the pathyā or regular form of this irregularity.

Besides the cases noticed by others, to which references will be found loc. cit., Janamejaya, abhiṣaryamāṇam, aditir

<sup>1</sup> Compare also Jacobi, *Das Rāmāyaṇa*, p. 24 and in the *Gurupūjākāumudī*.

<sup>2</sup> In v, 12, 15, and 16 (cited above), çaraṇāgatā'smi te brahman, and çaraṇāgataṁ na tyajeyam, respectively. But in v, 15, 33, çaraṇaṁ tvām prapanno'smi.



ditih, balavat sapat-, upajīvanam, vṛṣālīpatih, puruṣam tv idānīm, aruṇodaye, tam ahaṁ smayann iva raṇe (one of the repeated phrases, v, 179, 22, etc.), atithivratī (also repeated, iii, 260, 4, etc.), akṛtavraṇaprabhṛtayaḥ (repeated opening, v, 180, 17, etc.),<sup>1</sup> and a few more hitherto cited, I add with references:

aparājito jyotikaḥ ca, i, 35, 13; upagīyamānā nārībhiḥ, etc., ii, 58, 36 (iii, 158, 83; vii, 82, 28); kapilāvaṭam, iii, 84, 31; (kapilasya goḥ, xii, 269, 5); bhagavān anekaḥ, iii, 99, 39; 188, 9; viyunaḥmi dehāt, iii, 142, 26; paricārakeṣu, iii, 200, 9; amitāujase, v, 4, 12; Sumanomukho Dadhimukhaḥ, v, 103, 12 (in i, 35, 8, as Sumanākhyo Dadhimukhaḥ); kṛtakilbiṣaḥ, v, 165, 22; puruṣaḥ sanātanamayāḥ, vi, 21, 14 = 773, v. l.;<sup>2</sup> madanugrahāya paramam, vi, 35, 1; avamanyamāno yān yāti, vii, 73, 30; aruṇām Sarasvatīm prāpya, ix, 5, 51; Garuḍānanāḥ kaṅkamukhāḥ, ix, 45, 83; madadhiṣṭhitatvāt samare, ix, 62, 18; Ḍakune vayanī sma devā vāi, xii, 300, 4; avyaktarūpo bhagavān ḡatadhā ca sahasradhā, ḡatadhā sahasradhā cāi 'va tathā ḡatasahasradhā, xii, 315, 2; tadanantaram ca Rudrasya, xii, 319, 62; araṇī mamantha brahmaṛṣiḥ, xii, 325, 9; Uḡanā Bṛhaspatiḡ cāi 'va, xii, 336, 45; ayajad dharīm surapatim, xii, 338, 30; paramāṇubhūtā bhūtva tu, xii, 345, 15; sahasā jagṛhatur vedān, xii, 348, 29; tridaḡas trikaladhṛk karma, xiii, 17, 62; animantrito na gaccheta, xiii, 104, 143; Vidurādayaḡ ca, xv, 3, 76; aṡavībalam, xv, 7, 7; Upadānavī sutāñl lebhe, H. i, 32, 8; asatīm Vapuṡtamām etām, H. 3, 5, 21; dhvajinaḡ patākinaḡ cāi 'va, R. v, 4, 20; Amarāvatīm samāsādyā, R. vii, 5, 26; Yamalārjunāu, R. vii, 6, 35; Kṛtavān Pracetasas putraḡ, R. vii, 111, 11.

It will be observed that Yamalārjunāu and Amarāvatīm (these Rāmāyaṇa passages have already been cited by Jacobi) are exactly of the same type as are dhvajinaḡ patākinaḡ, abhivādaye, and abhiṡektukāmāḡ, though the first two occur together in a late addition to the epic and the other three examples are in the body of the work. As the type per se

<sup>1</sup> These are complementary references.

<sup>2</sup> Ends, yataḡ Kṛṡṇas tato jayaḡ, variant on the older phrase, just preceding, yato dharmaṡ tato jayaḡ.

is old (Upanishads),<sup>1</sup> the occurrence of hypermeters denotes rather lack of refinement than lack of antiquity, so that the phenomena as a class stand parallel to the care or carelessness in the making of *vipulās*.

When on two short syllables a third short follows, the phrase is rudely adapted to metrical needs. Hence also *manyata* for *ahar amanyata* in R. iv, 35, 7.<sup>2</sup> Some exceptions occur to mar the uniformity of the phenomena, but for the most part they are in words or phrases which are forced upon the poets and which they have to handle as best they can. So we find a variant on the *daça* proverbs<sup>3</sup> in the form *daçaçrotriyasamo rājā ity evam Manur abravīt*, i, 41, 31, where there are two departures from the norm and the verse is a hypermetric form of the *pathyā*  $\simeq \text{— } \cup \cup, \cup \text{— } \text{— } \cup$ .<sup>4</sup> A similar case occurs in R. iii, 35, 9, where we find *daçaagrīvo viñcatibhujāḥ*. Here I can scarcely agree with Professor Jacobi in regarding *daça* as monosyllabic (*Rām.*, p. 24). So in the case of *Daçakandhara-rājasunvoh*, cited by the same author (in *Gurupūj*, p. 52) from iii, 290, 19, which is like *pratibodhaviditam matam*, simply hypermetric but answering to the type  $\simeq \text{— } \cup \cup, \text{— } \cup \text{— } \text{—}$  (not to be read as *Daçakandharā*, as Jacobi suggests). Either this or the explanation offered below of suppressed *a* seems to me most probable.

Hypermeters with long initial syllable are sometimes found. They are of two sorts and should be carefully distinguished. The first is where the *pāda* corresponds exactly to those just discussed save that a long syllable takes the place of the first brevis. So far as I know, this occurs only in the later epic portions (also Puranic). It is a clumsy or careless form which, induced generally by proper names, regards only the mechanically counted syllables and entirely disregards the

<sup>1</sup> For example, *pratibodhaviditam matam*, *Kena*, ii, 4; *abhayaṁ titirṣatām pāram Kaṭha*, iii, 2. Gildermeister, loc. cit., p. 275.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Böhlingk, loc. cit., p. 214 ad fin. So *puno pi*, *Gāthā* and *Pāli*.

<sup>3</sup> Compare xii, 108, 16, *daçāi 'va tu sadā 'cāryaḥ çrotriyān atiricyate*; xiii, 105, 14, *daçā 'cāryān upādhyāyāḥ*.

<sup>4</sup> The partial parallel, *uttarāyaṇam* from *Manu* vi, 10, cited by Gildermeister, loc. cit., p. 272, is a later text for *turāyaṇam* (see Jolly's text).



essence of the hypermetric light dissyllable. This consists in a mora measurement of two breves, or light syllables, as a substitute for one long vowel or heavy syllable, which is impossible in pādas that have such initials as

Ekata-Dvita-Tritāṅ co 'cuḥ, xii, 337, 20

Āṅvamedhikam samāsāḍya, xviii, 278, corrected in

B. 6, 69 to āsāḍya.<sup>1</sup>

Nāimiṣāranye kulapatih, H. 1, 1, 4 (C. 11)

dakṣiṇāyanam smṛtā rātriḥ, H. 1, 8, 9 e<sup>2</sup>

Where a short vowel follows (as in other parallel cases mentioned hereafter) it is practically suppressed. So asthīny antarato dārūṇi, BAU. iii, 9, 28 (asthīny antar 'to)<sup>3</sup> and in the epic:

pakṣivānararutajñāṅ ca, i, 70, 45 (vān 'ra),

or the two breves must be read as a mora-equivalent. It is a mark of the popular style, as in Agni Purāṇa, iii, 11, bibhṛata kamaṇḍalam pūrṇam; ib. x, 28, brahmaṇā Daṣarathena tvam. Prefixed extra metrum is āum in xii, 348, 38, āum, namas te brahmahṛdaya, and elsewhere.

The cases of long initial cited from the older epic are of quite different character from the form with initial long. The supposed parallel from Manu vi, 10, adduced by Gildemeister, and cited above, being removed in the revised text, there remain only a few pādas of entirely different formation. Instead of having a long syllable prefixed they follow a distinct type of triṣṭubh. The pāda does not begin with a long syllable and then continue with a short, but begins with two long vowels or heavy syllables, or a short followed by a long:

(a) retodhāḥ putra unnayati, i, 74, 111; H. 1, 32, 12

(b) Bhīṣmo vasūnām anyatamaḥ, v, 185, 18

(c) ṣṛāddham pitṛbhyo na dadāti,<sup>4</sup> v, 33, 35

<sup>1</sup> Compare Amarāvatiḥ samāsāḍya, v. l. āsāḍya, R. vii, 5, 26.

<sup>2</sup> In Manu i, 67, rātriḥ syād dakṣiṇāyanam. Compare the similar "Puranic" verse, dakṣiṇenā 'ryamaḥ panthānam, cited above, p. 6, note 2.

<sup>3</sup> Compare the subsequent pādas: retasa iti mā vocata: dhānāruha iva vāi vrkṣaḥ, though here we may read a(h) + i = e, as also occasionally in epic verse.

<sup>4</sup> Cited by Gildemeister, loc. cit., p. 273.

One case (cited like these by Jacobi) is found in the later Rāmāyaṇa, vii, 21, 14,

saṁtāryamāṇān Vāitarāṇīm

with the first syllable short and second long, e. g., v, 43, 11,

(d) katham samṛddham asaṁṛddham

It will be noticed that the cæsura is after the fifth syllable. The forms in the corresponding (a, b, c, d) triṣṭubh pādas, where the initial length is indifferent, may be illustrated by :

(a) na cen mām Jiṣṇur | āhvayitā sabhāyām

(b) āmantraye tvām | brūhi jayam raṇe me

(c) yasyā 'vibhaktaṁ | vasu rājan sahāyāḥ

(d) samānam mūrdhni | rathayānam viyanti

Many cases of these forms will be shown in the next section on triṣṭubhs. The two formations are evidently identical; but what occurs passim in the triṣṭubh is sporadic in the śloka. The pāda in each case consists of a complex of two metrical groups,  $\underline{\cup} - \underline{\cup} - \underline{\cup}$  and  $- \cup \cup -$  or  $\cup \cup -$ .<sup>1</sup>

An extra syllable in the posterior pāda is indicative merely of late carelessness under the power exerted by names and titles which are hard to coerce into normal metrical form; as in the spurious verse cited by Professor Jacobi from R. vi, 105, 10, Hiranyaretā divākaraḥ. Such cases as Pulastyoṽca rājānam or Lakṣmaṇas tu tatovāca indicate not a precedent hypermeter but the looseness of epic sandhi. They are very common.

There is, however, a more regular interior hypermeter which is old. Thus in Kaṭha Upanishad, vi, 8 and vi, 11, respectively, we find

avyaktāt tu paraḥ puruṣaḥ  
apramattas tadā bhavati

<sup>1</sup> The references for the triṣṭubh pādas will be given below. The pāda cited from the Mahābhāṣya, IS. vol. xiii, p. 459, avidvāṁsaḥ pratyabhivāde is without parallel, I believe, in the epic. The same rule appears in Manu ii, 123 with abhivāda, which may have stood here originally, unless abhi was monosyllabic.



It was suggested by Gildermeister, loc. cit. p. 274, that in such instances in the epic, *bhavati* might be read as two syllables, but he seems inclined to reject the notion. Professor Jacobi, on the other hand, favors this reading, and says of such cases, "All is in order if one pronounces *bhavati* as *bhoti*" (Gurupūj., p. 52). But he is forced to add immediately, "It is more difficult to decide how one could have managed with *kinsvit* *suptam* *na* *nimiṣati* and *katham* *samrddham* *asamrddham*."

The explanation lies, I think, in the fact that mora-measurement was at work in syllabic verse. This is very clear in *triṣṭubh*; in fact, it is the only possible explanation for a mass of forms which from a syllabic point of view are wildly irregular but with this admission of mora-measurement are easily understood. The *çloka* cases are generally found at the end of *pādas*, where *cæsura* aids the reading of two breves as equivalent to one long. In the case of *bhavati* itself and a few similar forms, where we know that *bhoti* or *hoti* is a dialectic equivalent, there is, to be sure, no great objection to reading *bhavati* as *bhoti*, but the general explanation of the phenomena as a class is not that *υ υ* is *contracted*, for some of the intervening consonants would make this impossible, but measured as the metrical equivalent of one long. In the examples above *bhavati* and *puruṣaḥ* and *nimiṣati* are thus parallel cases. In *Kaṭha* iii, 5-6, both *pādas* are hypermetric:

yas tv avijñānavān bhavaty  
 ayuktena manasā sadā  
 yas tu vijñānavān bhavati  
 yuktena manasā sadā

I see no reason to separate these cases from their epic analogues.<sup>1</sup> Here we have the oft-cited examples of prior *pādas* ending in *-triyo bhavati*, *priyo bhavati*, *nivartayitum*, *unnayati*, iii, 313, 45-48.<sup>2</sup> In the cases cited above from this passage,

<sup>1</sup> For more examples from the Upanishads, compare Gildermeister, loc. cit., p. 275, ff.

<sup>2</sup> The irregular use of *svit* in this passage probably explains the impossible *pāda*, *kena [svid] dvitīyavān bhavati*, ib. 47. In the following question, *svit*

313, 61, and from v, 43, 11, the same principle is extended, exactly as we shall see it in triṣṭubh verse, where the second foot after the first dipody,  $\cup - \cup -$ , may be resolved from  $\cup \cup -$  into  $\cup \cup \cup -$ . So here, *kiṃ svit suptam na nimīṣati* may be on the triṣṭubh model,  $- - - - \cup, \cup \cup \cup$ , which passes into and appears as  $- - - -$ ,  $\cup \cup \cup \cup$ , as in the triṣṭubh, v, 16, 5, *prāpte kāle pacasi punaḥ samiddhaḥ, tvam evā 'gne bhavasi punaḥ pratiṣṭhā*. So we shall find *labhate* in a triṣṭubh, where it must be equal to  $\cup -$ , just as in the śloka of the Dhammapada, No. 131, we find *pecca so na labhate sukham*, where the two breves must be measured as one long (so the MSS., but changed in the new text), but is not contracted (compare in prior, *prajāpatiḥ carasi garbhe*, Praṇa ii, 7; *ṣṛiḥ ca prajānāṃ ca vidhehi naḥ*, ib. 13).

A very interesting phase of this question is the relation of the Sanskrit to the Pāli. We have a proverb in R. ii, 103, 30,

*yadannaḥ puruṣo bhavati tadannās tasya devatāḥ,*

which Professor Lanman at the Meeting of the Oriental Society in 1899 argued was from the Pāli form because there *hoti* actually occurs in the same proverb.<sup>1</sup> But against the certainty (though not the probability) of this conclusion stand the facts that the form of the verb is undetermined in Pāli and the hypermeter of this sort is just as common there as in Sanskrit. It is clear, for example, that in such verses as *na tena bhikkhū hoti*, Dhammapada 266, must be read (as the text now stands) *bhavati* (compare *tatrāyam ādi bhavati*, sic, in 375, and in other verses of the same collection); while on the other hand, in 387, *sannaddho khattiyo tapati* (= *tap'ti*) stands parallel to similar uncontractile forms in Sanskrit śloka

is omitted, as it should be here. The other cases are all parallel to *kena svic chrotiyo bhavati, grutena grotiyo bhavati*, 47-48.

<sup>1</sup> Since publishing an article on the Parallel Proverbs of the two epics in A. J. Phil., vol. xx, p. 22, ff., I have found a parallel to this *yadannaḥ* proverb in the Mahābhārata, viz. *yadannā hi narā rājans tadannās tasya devatāḥ*, where *tasya* is still preserved though the plural noun precedes! It is (of course) from the careless pseudo-epic, xiii, 66, 61.



and triṣṭubh forms. There is then no real necessity for changing the latter to khatyo (a possible form.)

Nevertheless, in the case of bhavati itself, which like bhos may have been current as bhoti in Sanskrit as well as in dialectic form, the latter may have been used, and a dual pronunciation may be accepted and given as a probable reason for its frequent recurrence in apparent hypermeters.<sup>1</sup> In other words, pādas with this word *may possibly* not be true hypermeters, as *must* be other forms which are not thus contracted or contractile. That a hoti in Pāli may stand for an original bhavati, may be seen by comparing Dhammap. 260 with Mbh. iii, 133, 11:

na tena thero hoti [bhavati] yen' assa phalitāṃ siro  
na tena sthaviro bhavati yenā 'sya palitāṃ ṇiraḥ

Compare Manu ii, 156, na tena vṛddho bhavati (v. l. sthaviro in some of the commentators). Another of these numerous bhavati proverbs is found in Dhammap. 268, na monena munī hoti, Mbh. v, 43, 60, mānān na sa munir bhavati.<sup>2</sup>

### Dialectic Sanskrit.

Accepting bhoti (= hoti) as a possible dialectic Sanskrit form, I have next to show that the maṣa for māṣa principle, as illustrated in the paragraph above, is subject to an important restriction. It would be quite wrong to suppose that the mass of grammatical irregularities are of a form entirely arbitrary, or that, in general, a grammatical modification that is found repeatedly in one category may be utilized for metrical purposes in any other of the same outer appearance. I say in general, because I admit that here and there in the epic occur grammatical monstrosities and forms not subject to metre, though irregular, but what is of moment is that *most of the grammatical irregularities in the epic are merely dialectic*

<sup>1</sup> Thus xii, 233, 12, ṇarīraṃ ṇrayaṇād bhavati, mūrtimat ṣoḍaṇātmakam, and often.

<sup>2</sup> On the variant to the yadannaḥ proverb contained in the words yaccittas tanmayo bhavati, see p. 42.

*variations.* For this reason in the paragraph above, headed Poetic Licence, I have been careful to state that the modifications were those of Sanskrit forms, not that they were absolute alterations of received forms, independent of any grammatical basis. I believe the latter cases to be excessively rare, while on the contrary there is some sort of grammatical authority for most of the changes so abundantly introduced. Metre surpasses Sanskrit grammar but not grammar altogether. What then? Where Sanskrit grammar fails, the poets had recourse to *patois*.<sup>1</sup>

As I have already shown, a large majority of the cases under consideration are comprised under the head of feminine participles and first plurals of verbs, with a smaller number of various forms.<sup>2</sup>

Some of these, like *brūmi*, are at once dialectic and yet accepted as Sanskrit. There is no reason why we should not regard *kurmi*, *Gāthā kurumi*, in *tathā kurmi* and *kiṃ kurmi* 'ti *kṛtāñjaliḥ*, iii, 142, 44; H. 3, 14, 12, as on a par with *brūmi*. The latter occurs not only in R. vi, 9, 20 (where G. reads *bravāmi*, v, 80, 22), but also in R. ii, 19, 4; iii, 13, 17; iv, 7, 14. So R. ii, 12, 36, *añjaliṃ kurmi*; vii, 78, 20, *āhāraṃ garhitaṃ kurmi*. So too *vedmi* and *dadmi*, e. g., R. ii, 53, 21; vi, 124, 17, *aham apy atra te dadmi*, which in the later *Bhārata* is more and more frequent. Others appear to be gross violations of grammar, like *°nāti* and *viduṣaḥ*, nominative, as in parallel forms, *tasthuṣaṃ puruṣaṃ*, xii, 317, 17, etc.,<sup>3</sup> but they may be not only Vedic but dialectic, as Pāli *°āti* and *vidū* (= *vidvān*) may imply. Doubtless some are pure archaisms,

<sup>1</sup> So far as I know, this important subject has only been touched upon in a note by Kielhorn, JRAS., 1898, p. 18, who says: "In the so-called epic Sanskrit there are not a few forms and constructions which seem to me to be Pāli rather than Sanskrit."

<sup>2</sup> Lengthening of a vowel *metri gratiā* is called *ārjham* almost invariably by the commentators. Some of the cases are really archaic; others are clearly a sacrifice of form to metre, generally for the *dilambus*, as in R. v, 36, 21, *sukhānām ucito nityam asukhānām anūcitaḥ*.

<sup>3</sup> To Prof. Holtzmann's list I add (the reduplicated forms, § 803) *tasthuṣi*, x, 8, 70, and *neduṣām* (*apsarasām*), ix, 57, 68.



as in *viçvā*, lack of augment, *vā* for *iva*, and varying final vowel length (*athā parī*, *nā*, etc.); but when we consider that the participle is indifferently *bhavatī* and *bhavantī*, and that the first plural verb ends regularly in *ma* in all forms,<sup>1</sup> that, for instance, *asma* is regular, we shall hesitate to speak of any general grammar-sacrifice save that of Sanskrit. Thus *krāmati* (for *krām*) is Prākṛit.<sup>2</sup> In the older epic, arbitrary changes were not introduced at will, but dialectic forms were borrowed. Even *upāsante* for *upāsate* (compare the older *hiṁsate* for *hiṁste*, R. iv, 53, 16) is merely a dialectic change of conjugation, just as is the case with the forms *dadanti*, *jahanti* (compare Dhammap., *hiṁsati* and *dadanti*, *okam okam jahanti te*, etc.). These forms, it is important to observe, cannot be explained on the assumption that epic Sanskrit precedes the differentiation of correct (Sanskrit) and vulgar (Prākṛit) forms, because, were that the case, they would appear passim; whereas they appear usually, as in *svapāmi* for *svapimi* and *grhya* for *grhītvā* (cited above, pp. 205, 247), only when the metre requires them. Take, for instance, the clear case of *patois*, *geha* for *grha*. It occurs in iii, 69 (*Nala* 17), 15-16 to prevent a diiambus at the end of a prior *pāda* (though *grha* is used in the preceding verse); again at v, 36, 34, to prevent the minor Ionic; in ii, 68, 1, to prevent a third *vipulā* from following a *brevis*, *bhavanti gehe bandhakayah*; in iii, 303, 13, to prevent an *anapæst*, *mama gehe mayā cā 'sya* (for the same reason in R. vii, 68, 20); in xii, 336, 25, to avoid triiambus in an even *pāda*. Dialectic are further, in all probability, the exchange of weak and strong perfect forms

<sup>1</sup> The change is not really grammatical but phonetic, as Dr. Thorp has shown, since the preterite is not used for the present but the primary ending is reduced from *mas* to *ma* (and may be contracted, as in *na jānīme 'ty athā 'bruvan*, v, 120, 21).

<sup>2</sup> Pischel, *Grammatik der Prākṛit Sprachen*, § 481. For *svapāmi*, compare *ib.*, § 497; for *asiyā* as *na syāt*, § 464; for neuter instead of masc., § 357. Professor Pischel's mine of wealth came to hand only after this book had gone to press, or I could have given a more systematic as well as fuller treatment of a comparison based chiefly on Sanskrit and Pāli, and such few dialectic forms as chance furnished. But I think the more the epic is studied the more Prākṛit will be found.

and perfects without reduplication, when needed for metre, ākarṣatuḥ, i, 153, 44; bibheduḥ, viii, 82, 16 (to avoid a brevis before a second vipulā); the exchange of nominative and accusative, auśadhayaḥ (acc.),<sup>1</sup> though this is also Vedic.

But the epic took long in making, and while the earlier poets drew on dialectic forms (thereby creating a sort of Gāthā dialect, though not so gross as the genuine article), the later poets did exactly what the later Greek hexameter poets did, viz., copied their predecessors instead of borrowing from the life. Consequently they made blunders. The early poets, for example, used, metri causā, optative for indicative, viii, 89, 22, and often (as in late Upanishads, e. g., Īvet. v, 5) a vulgar confusion; and ma for mas and dadanti for dadati; because they knew that these were spoken forms, if not the polite forms (which they used by preference when convenient); but the later poetaster knew only that the old epic poets had mixed up ma and mas and anti and ati, and so he used the un-Sanskrit forms not only more frequently but more incorrectly. Thus he said apaçyāmas, ix, 1, 20, and did not hesitate to use bhavati for bhavanti, of course only in the later epic, as in iii, 211, 9 (a late chapter, above, p. 34), anyonyaṁ nā 'tivartante samyak ca bhavati, dvija. Compare the wisdom to be learned at Mithilā, in the preceding copy of Vālmiki's proverb, striyo hy avadhyāḥ sarveṣāṁ ye dharmam abhivindate, iii, 206, 46 (na hantavya striya iti, vii, 143, 67). So in xiii, 145, 20 (alpabuddhayaḥ), bubhūṣate (for diiambus); and, in the later Rāmāyaṇa, prajāṣ tam anuvartate, R. vii, 43, 19 (v. 62, 9, interpolated? above, p. 245).

<sup>1</sup> Both in Mhb., puṣpāmy auśadhayaḥ sarvāḥ, i, 78, 40; and R. drakṣyasi oṣadhayo diptāḥ, vi, 74, 32. Compare sarvāḥ prakṛtayaḥ çanāḥ . . . saṁ-jahāra (Jaṭugrha Parvan) and ib. 145, 4; with R. vi, 112, 19, sāntvayitvā prakṛtayaḥ. Carelessness in the length of vowels in declension is also a mark of patois (epic examples above). The Rāmāyaṇa has some genders which may be dialectic. They certainly are not Sanskrit: parikhāṇ (!) pūrayantaç ca, R. vi, 42, 16; cikṣipur vidadhāṇ çastrāṇ (!), R. vi, 53, 20 (both lacking as such in pw.), etc. As remarked above, some of this may be scribe's work. Thus yadā vedaçrutir naṣṭā, xii, 340, 105; vedaçrutim yathā, G. iv, 5, 4; but in R. 6, 5, naṣṭāṁ devaçrutim ("ārṣa") iva. But merely for metre is doṣam for doṣaḥ, R. v, 28, 5; G. vi, 33, 30.



In the careless writing of the pseudo-epic, Sanskrit grammar is flung to the winds. I do not mean that irregular forms are not found outside of it. Substitution of the a-conjugation is found in *adadāt*, iii, 173, 8; 275, 40; ix, 51, 10; though the last is an evident interpolation, and as the forms are not required metrically in the other cases it is still open to question whether they do not contain just such copy-slips as are found, e.g., in the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, where viii, 163 has *vyadadhāt prabhuh*, while 165 has *adadat prabhuh*. The cases in the older epic are, however, not frequent (in xi, 25, 5, *jahāti* is 3d sg.), but in the late epic they flourish like reeds (compare *jahanti* in i, 172, 8; *dadanti* in xii, 25, 7; 341, 16; xiii, 62, 46, etc.), and it is just here that new irregularities are found. Thus *viṣvedevān āpnoti*, xii, 318, 5; *viṣvedevebhyaḥ*, xiii, 97, 14. Even such a syntactical monstrosity as the *Gāthāism* *iti vāi menire vayam* (with similar cases there) is not shunned, xii, 337, 38, to say nothing of the syntactical confusion in *aṣvi-bhyām pataye cāi 'va marutām pataye tathā*, xii, 341, 103. In the thirteenth book, besides *kurvāṇas*, xiii, 17, 131, we find *smahe*, xiii, 1, 13; 93, 41; *stām* for *astām*, ib. 98, 7; the first instance of a finite negative verb,<sup>1</sup> another *Gāthāism* (compare *ajānehi* for *mā janaya*), afterwards somewhat affected: *dr̥ṣyate 'dr̥ṣyate cā 'pi*, xiii, 14, 160. Here also, another *Gāthāism*, the popularized change of the ṛ-declension, *apaharta* and *harta* (together with *Atharva*, which, however, is in late *Upanishads*, *Mund.* i, 1, epic *atharvāya namaḥ*), *sraṣṭārāya namaḥ*, ib. 309-310 and 313-314. So *etān* for *etāni*, xiii, 62, 55. Such neologisms go far beyond the current interchange in *upāsante* and *vilāsinyaḥ* (acc.),<sup>2</sup> also found here, xiii, 104, 19;

<sup>1</sup> With the infinitive, e.g., xv, 11, 15, *nā 'dātum*. The negative finite verb (given here in C., and required by the sense) is not recognized in the grammars as occurring before the classical period.

<sup>2</sup> In *Gītā* 10, 16 and 19, *ātmavibhūṭayaḥ* may be nominative. The form as acc. can scarcely be a Vedic reversion. The *Gītā* still uses *no = na u*, and so in iii, 34, 11: but in xiii, 51, 10, *yad etad api no mūlyam*, *no* is simply late and careless for *na*. Editors or copyists have tried to change *bhavati* and acc., the text in C. xv, 376 (= 11, 21), but they cannot in xiii, 62, 30, and in *bhūmir bhavati bhūmidam*, it still governs the accusative.

107, 39, and bring us into the field of slovenly adaptation from any source, which characterizes the slipshod Sanskrit of later epic and Purāṇas alike.

### Prose-Poetry Tales.

In the *Verhandlungen der Philologenversammlung in Gera*, 1878, attention was called by Professor Windisch to a "pre-epic phase of poetry," consisting of prose narration interspersed with gāthās or verses of popular form which helped on the story. One epic tale, which has gone over into later verse-form, has been shown by Professor Oldenberg, in his article on the old-Indic Ākhyāna,<sup>1</sup> to exist in a prototype of this kind. Such mingling of prose and verse, as remarked by the latter writer, is found in the epic itself, in i, 3. There is also, though not of epic content, a kind of rhythmic prose which is half metrical, as in xii, 190, 5 ff.: tatra yat satyaṁ sa dharmo, yo dharmāḥ sa prakāṣo, yaḥ prakāṣas tat sukham iti . . . yat tamas tad duḥkham iti, atro 'cyate (three ślokaḥ); tat khalu dvidvidham sukham ucyate (. . . to 13): susukhaḥ pavanaḥ svarge, gandhaḥ ca surabhiḥ tathā, etc. Here the epic Upanishad glides in and out of metre, the last verse before the resumption of śloka being again metrical, in a form of triṣṭubh found elsewhere in the epic: na cāi 'te doṣāḥ svarge prādur bhavanti.

The next chapters to this have alternate prose and ślokaḥ, the latter appearing either, as at the end of 191, without warning, or introduced with the words "there's a stanza about that," bhavati cā 'tra ślokaḥ. In 192, one unannounced śloka follows the introductory prose, then more prose, and with the words bhavanti cā 'tra ślokaḥ follow one śloka and two triṣṭubhs.<sup>2</sup> after which ślokaḥ are again resumed.

It happens that a late poet runs on in triṣṭubhs till he

<sup>1</sup> ZDMG., vol. xxxvii, p. 54 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The śloka here, xii, 7006, is another form of a proverb given elsewhere in the epic, abhayaṁ sarvabhūtebhyo dattvā, and may be added to Sprüche, 485, 486. Ślokaḥ here scarcely connotes triṣṭubhs (as in the Brāhmaṇas), but includes them with the śloka.



stumbles and ends in prose, xii, 336, 10, after several triṣṭubhs: çvetāḥ pumāṁso gatasarvapāpāç cakṣurmuṣaḥ pāpakṛtām narānām, vajrāsthikāyāḥ samamānonmānā divyā(n) -vaya(va)rūpāḥ çubhasāropetāḥ, etc., in pure prose. There is, further, a good deal of plain prose narration in the first, third, and twelfth books and in a hymn in H. 3, 68 (praise by titles).

But a tale of the prose-verse variety exists complete in the story of the Frog-girl, iii, 192. In this apparent prose there are not only metrical and half-metrical pādas and hemistichs, such as ramaṇīyaṁ saro dṛṣṭvā, but even regular epic pādas, such as mudā paramayā yutaḥ, the latter being indeed a stereotyped epic phrase, as in iii, 256, 20; 295, 16. The verses here, as was to be expected, are freer than in the regular epic style.<sup>1</sup>

The tale begins:

2. athā 'caṣṭa Mārkaṇḍeyaḥ (apūrvam idaṁ çrūyatām)

The opening line of C., 13,143, is not in B. From the openings in the following tales, parv. 196 and 198, the phrase athā 'caṣṭa Mārkaṇḍeyaḥ was stereotyped and united with the preceding, thus:

bhūya eva mahābhāgyaṁ kathyatām iti abravīt  
athā 'caṣṭa Mārkaṇḍeyaḥ

In the present tale the former appears as: bhūya eva brāhmaṇamahābhāgyaṁ vaktum arhasī 'ti abravīt.

In the following mixture of prose and metre it is sometimes difficult to say whether the rougher metrical parts ought to be touched. For instance, at the beginning, Ikṣvākukulodvahaḥ pārthivaḥ Parikṣin nāma mṛgayām agamat may have been prosed out of Ikṣvākukulavardhanaḥ Parikṣin nāma pārthivaḥ mṛgayām gataṁ nṛpaḥ, or some such turn. So in the next sentence, tam ekāçvena mṛgam anusarantam, from tam açvenā 'nusarantam; while for the ninth stanza or paragraph it would be a sin of omission not to note how easy it is to read: atha

<sup>1</sup> In another case, iii, 194, the section begins and ends in prose, but has çloka between, the last hemistich of which, before the narration closes in prose, has the free measure cited above, p. 244, — — —, ∪ — — —, ∪ — ∪ — ∪ — — —, etac chrutvā tu Kāuravyaḥ Çibim pradakṣiṇaṁ kṛtvā.

kanyām gāyantīm ca puṣpāṇi cā 'vacinvatīm; apaçyaḍ, atha sã rājñāḥ samīpataḥ paryakrāmat; all with freedom not unknown to the epic çloka. But any change would in the first place be pure guesswork, and besides why should çlokas have become prose? Again, these tales are built with prose bricks and metrical mortar and it is not strange that the mortar occasionally runs over the brick.<sup>1</sup> I therefore abstain except in two or three cases (in some, as will be seen, where the length of prose invites verse) from the temptation to make çloka pādas out of clauses more or less metrical, and write the story as it stands (with prose omissions as indicated below):

1-4, Ayodhyāyām Ikṣvākukulodvahaḥ pāṛthivaḥ Parīkṣin nāma mṛgayām agamat, tam ekāçvena mṛgam anusarantam  
mṛgo dūram apāharat (5, prose)

6, ramaṇīyam saro drṣṭvā  
sāçva eva vyagāhata

7, madhuraṁ gītam aṇṇat

8, sa çrutvā 'cintayan ne 'ha  
manuṣyagatim paçyāmi

kasya khalv ayaṁ gītaçabda iti.<sup>2</sup> 9, athā 'paçyat kanyām paramarūpadarçanīyam puṣpāṇy avacinvatīm gāyantīm ca, atha sã rājñāḥ samīpe paryakrāmat. 10, tām abravīd rājā

kasyā 'si bhadre kã vā tvam (iti) <sup>3</sup>  
sã pratyuvāca kanyā 'smi (iti)

<sup>1</sup> That is to say, as in the case given in the last note, a more or less regular verse may incidentally and accidentally be shaped in prose narration without its being intended as regular verse, though the poetic style of the environment may have induced such prose-poetry subconsciously. As for the metaphor above, except as illustrating my meaning very roughly, I cannot defend it. On the contrary, as the verse-element in tales was fixed and used in many buildings, while the prose was crumbled up and renewed in each new edifice built of the same brick, it would not be quite unhistorical to invert it and speak of poetic bricks and prose mortar.

<sup>2</sup> Was this: kasya khalu ayaṁ çabdaḥ?

<sup>3</sup> This or kã 'si kasya kutaç ca tvam is an ordinary epic (verse) formula. With the preceding, compare (Sitā) kusumāñy apacinvantī (prior pāda), and kusumāñi vicinvatī, R. iii, 42, 32; 43, 1.



tām rājo 'vāca arthī tvayā 'ham iti.<sup>1</sup> 11, atho 'vāca kanyā

samayena ahaṁ çakyā  
tvayā labdhum na anyathā

iti, rājā tām samayam aprēchat, kanyo 'vāca

no 'dakam me darçayitavyam (darçetavyam ?)

iti, 12, sa rājā tām bādham ity uktvā tām upayeme,<sup>2</sup> kṛtodvāhaç  
ca rājā Parīkṣit kṛdamāno

mudā paramayā yutaḥ<sup>3</sup>

tuṣṇīm saṁgamyā tayā sahā 'ste. 13, tatas tatrāi 'vā 'sine  
rājāni senā 'nvagacchat(a). 14, sā seno 'paviṣṭāṁ rājānam pari-  
vāryā 'tiṣṭhat, paryāçvastaç ca rājā tayāi 'va saha çibikayā prāyād  
avaghoṭitayā sva(m) nagaram anuprāpya rahasi tayā sahā 'ste.<sup>4</sup>  
15, tatra 'bhyāçastho 'pi kaçcin nā 'paçyad atha pradhānāmātyo  
'bhyāçacarās tasya striyo 'prēchat.<sup>5</sup> 16, kim atra prayojanam  
vartate (vartata) ity, athā 'bruvanṣ tāḥ striyaḥ.<sup>6</sup>

17, apūrvam idam paçyāma  
udakam nā 'tra nīyata(e)

ity, athā 'mātyo 'nudakam vanam kārāyitvo 'dāravṛkṣam, etc.

18, vanam idam udārakam<sup>7</sup>  
sādhv atra ramyatām iti

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps samarthī tvayā bhadre 'ham (compare 33).

<sup>2</sup> More natural would be: sa rājā bādham ity uktvā tām kanyām upayeme  
ha.

<sup>3</sup> A regular epic phrase in various forms, mudā, çriyā, prītyā, etc., with  
yutaḥ or yuktaḥ, according to the pāda. Compare the references above and  
ii, 53, 23; Nala, 20, 40; ix, 27, 6; 36, 42; prītyā paramayā yuktaḥ, ix, 55, 4; R.  
i, 52, 11, etc.

<sup>4</sup> The texts give 'nvagacchat and 'nvagacchata, svanagaram and svam  
nagaram. This may point to a corruption. Leaving out the fine palanquin:  
tatas tatrāi 'vā 'sine (tu ?) rājāni senā 'nvagacchata sā (tu) seno 'paviṣṭāṁ (ha)  
parivārya atiṣṭhata, paryāçvastaç ca (sa) rājā anuprāpya svanagaram rahasy  
āste tayā saha. The long stretch of prose favors this. Compare uvāca ca  
tayā saha, an epic phrase, e. g., i, 73, 20.

<sup>5</sup> There is no object to the first verb. Was it not: tatrā 'bhyāçastho 'pi  
kaçcin rājānam na apaçyata, atha pradhānāmātyas tu tasya striyaḥ aprēchata ?

<sup>6</sup> The more probable form is vartate kim prayojanam; kim prayojanam is  
a regular epic close of a hemistich. Compare for example, xiii, 93, 81, kasyā  
'rthe, kim prayojanam.

<sup>7</sup> Sic, B.; C., udāram anudakam.

After this, prose to 23-25,

kruddho ājñāpayāmāsa (sa rājā) . . .  
yathā vṛttaṁ nyavedayan

. . . 27, iti, ṣlokāu cā 'tra bhavataḥ (28-29). Compare v, 64, 5, where, although the whole text is in ṣlokas, one stanza is especially mentioned, ṣlokenā 'nena, Kāuravya, papraccha sa munis tadā.

30, tam evaṁ vādinam iṣṭajanaṣoka-paritātmā rājā 'tho 'vāca

31, na hi kṣamyate tan mayā

haniṣyāmy etān etāir durātmabhiḥ, etc. ; prose to

32, sa tad vākyam upalabhya

etc., prose to 33.

In the following I omit references to the intervening prose and give the metrical pādas in their order:

33, tam abravīd rājā tayā  
samarthi,<sup>1</sup> sā me diyatām

34, athāi 'nām rājñe pitā 'dād<sup>2</sup>  
abravīc ca enām enām  
rājānam ṣuṣṛṣasve 'ti<sup>3</sup>

35, evam uktvā duhitaram

36, harṣeṇa bāṣpakalayā  
vācā<sup>4</sup> prapatyā 'bhipūjya  
maṇḍūkarājam abravīd  
anugrḥīto 'smi iti (sc. te, omit iti)

37, yathāgatam agacchat(a)

<sup>1</sup> In C., asmy aham arthī.

<sup>2</sup> In C., dadāu. Perhaps sa dadāu.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps: abravīc ca duhitaram enām rājānam ṣuṣṛṣa, iti.

<sup>4</sup> A stereotyped phrase, either straddling the pādas of a verse, Nala, 9, 25; or in a pāda (after one syllable), as in sñ, iv, 20, 28; R. ii, 82, 10. Perhaps here: sa bāṣpakalayā vāca prapātyā 'bhipūjya ca.



- 38, atha kasyacit kālasya <sup>1</sup>  
 tasyām kumārās (te) trayas  
 tasya rājñah sambabhūvuh  
 Çalo Dalo Balaç ce 'ti  
 tatas teṣām jyeṣṭham Çalam

samaye pitā rājye 'bhiṣicya <sup>2</sup> tapasi dhṛtātmā vanam jagāma,  
 prose through 39. In the following Tale of Çala:

- 40, sūtam co 'vāca, çighram mām  
 vahasva [iti], sa tathā uktaḥ <sup>3</sup>  
 sūto rājānam abravīt
- 41, na kriyatām anubandho  
 nāi 'ṣa çakyas tvayā mṛgo  
 'yam grahitum, yady api te  
 rathe yuktāu vāmyāu syātām (iti)  
 tato 'bravīd rājā sūtam
- 42, athāi 'nam evam bruvānam  
 [abravīd rājā]  
 Vāmadevāçramam yāhi (iti) <sup>4</sup>
- 43, bhagavan, mṛgo [me viddhaḥ] palāyate  
 sāmabhāvayitum arhasi  
 [vāmyāu dātum, iti, tam abravīd ṛṣir  
 dadāni te vāmyāu]
- kṛtakāryeṇa bhavatā  
 mamāi 'va <sup>5</sup> vāmyāu niryātyāu  
 [kṣipram iti]  
 . . . antahpure asthāpayat
- 44, atha 'rṣiç cintayāmāsa  
 taruṇo rājaputro ('sti)  
 kalyāṇam pattram āsādyā

<sup>1</sup> An epic phrase with variations, kasyacit tv atha kālasya, H. 3, 5, 11, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly: pitā rājye 'bhyāçecayat tataḥ tapasi dhṛtātmā vanam jagāma (sa rājā); or: pitā rājye 'bhiṣicya ca. Both are formulas, as in i, 74, 126 and 75, 55.

<sup>3</sup> The text has: vahasveti sa tatho 'ktaḥ, perhaps as much of a verse as is the form above. As in 36, the iti pādas are, I admit, particularly bad.

<sup>4</sup> B. prayāhi.

<sup>5</sup> So B.

ramate na (me) pratiniryātayaty, aho kaṣṭam iti (prose to 48, ff. triṣṭubhs).

Though far from epic verse, this is not exactly prose,<sup>1</sup> which, though often rhythmical, is not metrical to such an extent as this. Further, the actual presence of epic pādas in the narrative shows beyond question that it is meant to be couched more or less in metrical form. Of what sort then is this metrical prose? It is, I think, an early form of popular verse, older than the present epic śloka, which, as I have remarked above, is probably more refined than it was when first written and is less free even than the Mahābhāṣya epic śloka. It is not, however, necessarily antique, nor necessarily modern. It is, in short, the instrument of the perpetual story-teller, a naïve form, running in and out of prose like rhymes in fairy tales.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Benfey, *Panchatantra* (translation), vol. i, p. 250, says that with the exception of the two ślokas (28-29), "the rest of the narrative is in prose."

<sup>2</sup> The same tendency to the creation of pāda verse (not arranged in śloka form) may be seen in the prose tale of i, 3, where, besides the regular verses in the prose narration, are found such metrical combinations as :

Janamejaya evam ukto  
devaṇyā Saramayā . . .  
etasminn antare kaṣṭid  
ṛṣir Dhūmyo nāmā 'podas . . .  
sa ekaṁ śīṣyam Āruṇim  
Pāñcālyam preṣayāmāsa . . .  
sa upadhyāyena saṁdiṣṭa Āruṇiḥ,

the last being a respectable triṣṭubh pāda. If, however, this and the tale of Suçobhanā be regarded (as Benfey says) as pure prose, what difference is there between the other parts which will not give any rhythmical cadence and such a rhythmical complex as, e.g., ramaṇīyaṁ saro dṛṣṭvā, sācya eva vyagāhata, kruddho ājñāpayām āsa, and yathā vṛttam nyavedayan? And how does it happen that kasyā 'si 'bhadre kā vā tvam, and mudā paramayā yutaḥ and . . . bāṣpakalayā | vācā are actual verses found in the epic? There is a literary product which is neither prose nor poetry, but a middle genre, a sort of dog-trot between walking and running, into which a narrator may drop without the conscious campū alternation of padya and gadya (poetry and prose) found in more precise literature. It is perhaps not extravagant to say that beneath the cultured verse of the literati this kind of style may have existed for centuries and even have been the foundation of the earliest literary



### The Epic Triṣṭubh

#### i. THE REGULAR TRIṢṬUBH IN THE MAHĀBHĀRATA

The rarest forms of the epic triṣṭubhs are those that in the corresponding syllables answer to the commonest forms of the *ṣloka*, namely the *pathyā* and first and third *vipulās*. The commonest forms of triṣṭubh are those that answer to the second and fourth *vipulās* (decadent in the more refined *ṣloka*) and to the minor Ionic, a form of *ṣloka* almost extinct in the later epic style. Both metres have besides the *dīambic* and major Ionic forms, but in both they are exceptional.

Measured by their precedent combinations, the triṣṭubh forms thus corresponding to the *ṣlokas* in second and fourth *vipulās* and minor Ionic, outclass the others as decidedly as they do in the number of their occurrences; for whereas before the triṣṭubh feet corresponding to the *pathyā* and first *vipulā* forms stand only  $\cup - \cup -$  and  $\cup - -$ , before the second and fourth *vipulā* forms stand five, and before the minor Ionic form stand seven combinations, respectively.

In thus grouping the triṣṭubhs *ṣloka*-wise I have wished merely to contrast the general structure of this metre with that of the *ṣloka*,<sup>1</sup> and have included only the *hendekasyllabic* triṣṭubh. For the sake of convenience, I shall call regular all forms of the eleven-syllable triṣṭubh (*pāda*), however unusual, in distinction from other forms, and will now give a scheme of these regular triṣṭubh forms (omitting the *scolius* or terminal *amphibrach*).<sup>2</sup>

product. That any of it has been preserved is a mere accident, not antecedently to be expected.

<sup>1</sup> Of course, as previously explained, the syllaba anceps of the eighth syllable must be given up; but the initial syllable is anceps, as it is in the *ṣloka*, in the usual forms.

<sup>2</sup> The *jagatī* occurs in the same forms as the triṣṭubh and needs no special table (though separately discussed below). Mechanically, it is merely a triṣṭubh with an extra syllable added, making the close with *dīambus* instead of *amphibrach*.

## COMBINATIONS OF THE REGULAR EPIC TRIṢṬUBH IN THE MAHĀBHĀRATA.

First Foot	Second Foot of Triṣṭubh							
	— — —	— — —	— — —	— — —	— — —	— — —	— — —	— — —
— — —	p <sub>1</sub>	p <sub>6</sub>	p <sub>12</sub>	c <sub>19</sub>	s <sub>21</sub>	s <sub>23</sub>	s <sub>24</sub>	s <sub>26</sub>
— — —	p <sub>2</sub>	p <sub>7</sub>	p <sub>13</sub>	r <sub>20</sub>	s <sub>22</sub>		r <sub>25</sub>	s <sub>27</sub>
— — —	c <sub>3</sub>	c <sub>8</sub>	c <sub>14</sub>					
— — —	s <sub>4</sub>	s <sub>9</sub>	c <sub>15</sub>			23b	s <sub>25</sub>	25b
— — —		?	s <sub>16</sub>					
— — —		s <sub>10</sub>	s <sub>17</sub>					
— — —	s <sub>5</sub>	?	s <sub>18</sub>					
— — —		?						

For the abbreviations, compare the table above, p. 236. For — — — as a second foot in a hypermetric pāda, see the paragraph in the list of illustrations in Appendix C, under No. 11. For — — — as second foot, see under No. 15. The hypermetric forms indicated in Appendix C, when references are not given, will be found illustrated in the following paragraphs. Triṣṭubhs of catalectic and hypermetric form are not included in this table.

The Illustrations in Appendix C give a full discussion of the occurrences of these forms as they appear in combination with the cæsura, now after the fourth now after the fifth syllable. Here I will point out that, as is shown by the table, all cases of pyrrhic and most cases of trochee in the syllables immediately preceding the fourth syllable are merely sporadic, whatever be the cæsura; but that the trochee before the vārtomic middle, — — —, is not uncommon; and add that the cæsura is here after the fourth syllable (No. 15). The prevailing types of the great epic are (as is also shown by the table) an iambic or spondaic opening, — — —, followed by



— ∪ ∪ —, — ∪ — —, ∪ ∪ — —, all three of which are found in the same stanzas. They are always commingled in the older parts of the epic and even in later parts, but, on the other hand, the first, or choriambic middle, is the stanza-form often exclusively employed in late sections, as is shown below in the paragraphs on the Stanza.

### Bird's-eye View of Triṣṭubh Pādas.

The regular Mahābhārata triṣṭubh, which is of the hendeka variety (i), appears then in three (four) principal phases (all others being rare or sporadic), thus:

- i { (a) — ∪ — ∪ — — ∪ ∪ ∪ — — ∪ — ∪, passim, but restricted as in (b).  
 (b) — ∪ — ∪ — — ∪ ∪ ∪ — — ∪ — ∪ } common  
 (c) — ∪ ∪ — — — ∪ ∪ — — — ∪ — ∪  
 (d) — — — ∪ — — — ∪ ∪ — — — ∪ — ∪ }

Besides these, as will be shown below, there are other Bhārata types, thus:

- ii — ∪ — ∪ — — ∪ | — ∪ — — — ∪ } catalectic, dekasyllabic.  
 iii — — — ∪ — — — | ∪ ∪ — — — ∪  
 iv — ∪ — — — ∪ — — — | — ∪ — — — ∪ — — — }  
 v { (a) { — ∪ — ∪ — — — | — ∪ — — — ∪ — — — } hypermeters, dodekas (with  
 (b) { — ∪ — ∪ — — — | ∪ ∪ — — — ∪ — — — } still other sporadic ar-  
 vi { — ∪ — ∪ — — — — | ∪ ∪ — — — ∪ } rangements of syllables).  
 vii — ∪ — — — — — | — ∪ — — — — — }  
 viii — — — — — — — | — ∪ — — — — — } Double hypermeters, thirteen  
 ix — — — — — — — | ∪ ∪ — — — — — } syllables.

Jagatī forms of these pādas will be discussed below.

The epic triṣṭubh, then, is not (as has been affirmed by a distinguished scholar) of one uniform type. On an average, about one-fifth of the Bhārata triṣṭubhs of the regular mixed type have twelve-syllable pādas, which, however, are not jagatīs, since they have the triṣṭubh finale. A noticeable point is the common (not passim) occurrence of the trochaic opening, — ∪ — —, in some sections of triṣṭubhs, and also in such sections the comparative rarity of the choriambic triṣṭubh as compared with the triṣṭubhs which have forms of çālinī, — ∪ — —, or vātormī, ∪ ∪ — —, character (though not strictly çālinī or vātormī pādas). Thus in the hundred odd pādas

that complete in triṣṭubh form the story of the Frog-girl given above, there are only a dozen of choriambic form; while only one stanza out of the twenty-five is of upajāti (— — — — —) form throughout, though two others have two consecutive choriambic pādas.

### The Rāmāyaṇa Triṣṭubh.

Very different is the scheme presented by the Rāmāyaṇa. Here the upajāti is almost exclusively the form of triṣṭubh employed, and all the variegated pādas of the Bhārata are practically reduced to one type. In fact, the exceptions, given under Nos. 7, 13, 19, 23, of the Illustrations, Appendix C, are so few as scarcely to modify the statement that the Rāmāyaṇa employs only one kind of triṣṭubh,<sup>1</sup> which is — — — — —, with variable cæsura, as in

R. vi, 128, 122:

āyusyaṃ ārogyakaram yaçasyaṃ  
sāubhrātṛkaṃ buddhikaram çubhaṃ ca  
çrotavyam etan niyamena sadbhir  
ākhyānam ojaskaram ṛddhikāmāḥ

R. ii, 82, 32:

tataḥ samutthāya kule kule te  
rājanyavāciçyā vṛṣalāç ca viprāḥ  
ayūyujann uṣṭrarathān kharāṇç ca  
nāgān hayāṇç cāi 'va kulaprasūtān

<sup>1</sup> I pass over some obvious errors, noticing their place: typographical, G. iv, 43, 69, vicetum; R. vi, 59, 12, patākā; G. vii, 7, 48 (açani in R). These affect the fourth syllable. R. iv, 28, 66, affects the eighth, niçṛhe for nigrahe. Other palpable errors affecting the metre are: G. ii, 80, 24, kṣudhā ca tandryā (ca †) vipannatām gatāḥ, not in R.; G. iii, 63, 28, jahāu tadā ṛtsamudbhavaṃ klamam (in R., kṣudhā duḥkha<sup>o</sup>); ib. 29, pāda ends eças tadā (compare end of R. iii, 63, 6 b, etya kleçam, where, however, kl probably does not make position); G. v, 14, 66, priyām avikṣamāṇo Raghunandasya, corrected by R., priyām apaçyan Raghunandanasya tām; ib. 19, 34, evaṃ sa tām hetubhir anuvikṣya, for anvavekṣya (the form, though with v. l., in R.); naçati for naçyati in v, 80, 24, is noticed under No. 19; G. vii, 20, 44, tam arcayitvā niçācaro jagāu (not in R.) has apparently lost a ca (cf. d); G. vii, 40, 19, Hanūmataḥ kaḥ sthāsyati purastāt, for sthāsyati kaḥ (R. 38, 46). In R. vi, 59, 12, nānāpatākā dhvajachatrajuṣṭam (çastra in G. 35, 6), cch becomes ch as in Mbh. i, 3, 658, prēhāmi tvām. Contrast sāçvadhvajacchatramahāpatākam, R. ib. 135.



R. iv, 11, 93:

yathā hi tejahsu <sup>1</sup> varah sadā ravir  
 yathā hi çāilo Himavān mahādriṣu  
 yathā catuṣpatsu ca kesarī varas  
 tathā narāṇām asi vikrame varah

This uniformity of metre, resulting in an almost classical triṣṭubh, places the Rāmāyaṇa on the same plane, when compared with the Bhārata, as we saw it occupied from the point of view of the śloka. The more antique forms of regular triṣṭubhs are found in the Bhārata.<sup>2</sup>

Yet if this is the case in the regular triṣṭubh, still more striking is the difference between the two epics in respect of the catalectic, hypermetric, and other irregular triṣṭubhs, which are antique and found in the Bhārata, but are unknown to the Rāmāyaṇa. But before taking up these three classes as they appear in the great epic, I have a few words to say in regard to the final amphibrach or scolius.

### The Scolius.

The many examples given in Appendix C sufficiently illustrate the fact that after the long eighth syllable (very rarely short)<sup>3</sup> the ninth syllable of the triṣṭubh is regularly

<sup>1</sup> In G. 11, 11, yathā hi tejasvivarō divākaro, etc., followed by a stanza not in R., with na sarvayakṣeḍhaneçvaro vibhuḥ, the other pādas having cæsura after fourth or fifth.

<sup>2</sup> One cannot, however, claim as evidence of antiquity the antique çālinī and vārtormī type of pāda, either pure or in parti-form, ∪ — ∪ — — ∪ — — and ∪ — ∪ — — ∪ — —, without noting that these are also Purāṇic, though rare here, and chiefly loans. Thus in a pure single (separate) upendra stanza at Vāyu P. v, 19, stands pravartate codyamānaḥ samantāt. So ib. ix, 113, where a, b, d, have çālinī form, and c has: diçaḥ çrotre caraṇāu cā 'sya bhūmih. Most of this is epic, e. g., ib. xvii, 7 d, na jāyate mriyate vā kadācit (Gītā, 2, 20). Still rarer (as in Gītā, 8, 9) is the form in the same Purāṇa, xiv, 7 c, kavim purāṇam anuṣāsītāram. I take this opportunity of stating that I shall hereafter use upendra and vaṇçastha as shorter forms of upendravajrā and vaṇçasthabila, though I believe only the latter has authority.

<sup>3</sup> See Appendix C, under No. 15, ekaṁ sāma yajur ekām ṛg ekā, xii, 60, 47 c.

short, the tenth is long, and the eleventh is anceps. This rule is seldom violated, but in the Çibicarita, iii, 197, 8, we find:—

gadāmi vedān vicinomi cchandaḥ  
sarve vedā akṣaraso me adhitāḥ  
na sādhu dānam çotriyasya pradānam  
mā pradāḥ çyenāya na kapoto 'smi

Here we find, in pāda a, the phenomenon discussed, above, in relation to the close of the çloka. Before cchandaḥ the vowel should weigh heavy, but it is doubtless reckoned light. In b, me 'dhitāḥ is more probable than the (hypermetric) pāda, as it appears in both texts (above); but since this is a possible form, the pāda cannot be cited for a long ninth. Pāda c is regular. In d, the pāda may be corrupt, the necessary mā (= mām) apparently being lost after the prohibitive mā, though a long ninth cannot be avoided in any circumstances with the rest of the text as it is. I suspect that çyenāya has taken the place of a vocative, and that the verse read originally: mā mā pradā nā 'smi rājan kapotaḥ; but it may be a specimen of the group of six before cæsura, like yatra devī Gaṅgā | satatam prasūtā, and the other cases of the sort cited below, if the hiatus may be assumed to leave a short vowel, mā pradāḥ, çyenāya na kapotō asmi (hypermetric), as in xiv, 9, 9 a, just below. The tale, however, is a popular story, doubtless handed down in rough verse, and since the long ninth is actually found in such verse, it is not necessary to assume that the pāda must be correct. In the following stanzas, in the same way, we find the vowel apparently reckoned as still short (light) before çy. The cases are:

iii, 197, 15 c, yasmin deçe ramase 'tiva, çyena  
ib. 18 b, sāumyo hy ayaṁ, kiṁ na jānāsi, çyena  
ib. 24 b, pricchāmi te,<sup>1</sup> çakune, ko nu çyenah<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps accusative. I refer to C. only when the reading differs.

<sup>2</sup> On çyena as çiena in 19 c, see the paragraph on Defective Triṣṭubhs below. Above I have cited cases where the vowel is short (light syllable) before mute and liquid in çlokas and also given examples in triṣṭubh, where cā brahma, °ti kṣatram, and °mī Droṇam make the scolus. The latter is, as it were, strengthened to make position in vii, 179, 47 b, antarmanāḥ kuruṣu prādravatsu (C. 8,161, prā).



In v, 44, 24 d the long ninth is admitted into an old pāda: nā 'nyaḥ panthā ayanāya vidyate, in VS. 31, 18; Çvet. Up. 3, 8: vidyate (a)yanāya (perhaps in the epic for: na anyāḥ panthā ayanāya vidyate).

Another apparent example is found in the stanza<sup>1</sup> xii, 270, 23:

caturdvāram puruṣaṁ caturmukhaṁ  
caturdhā cāi 'nam upayāti vācā  
bāhubhyāṁ vāca udarād upasthāt  
teṣāṁ dvāraṁ dvārapālo bubhūṣet

But here the first pāda is perhaps a jagatī, either with ca lost before puruṣam or (but this is unlikely) with resolution of the semivowel: caturduāram puruṣaṁ caturmukham (as in RV. iv, 51, 2, vi ū vrajasya tamaso duārā); though as it stands it is a metrical duplicate of nā 'nyaḥ panthā (above).

Two metrical irregularities appear in xiv, 9, 4 c:

saṁvarto yājyati 'ti me çrutam

This pāda also is of the same form as the two last, with the irregular ∪ ∪ — ∪ as second foot and — ∪ ∪ as the scolus; yet to read *çrutam me* corrects them both. But in iv, 8, 8 a, çr certainly fail to make position, though not before a scolus. The first section has another example, xiv, 9, 9 a, ahaṁ gacchāmi maghavan dūto 'dya, where hiatus, as in the first example above, may perhaps be assumed with a short vowel: ahaṁ gacchāmi | maghavan dūtō adya, unless an inversion has taken place, adya dūtaḥ, with maghavo (or bhagavo, C.) before it. Below, ib. 31 b, sahā 'çvibhyāṁ somam aghṇād ekaḥ, B. saves the metre and C. 249 saves the grammar.

In the Harivaṅṣa is found one case at 7,593 c, which is corrected in B.:

prāhur viprās tvāṁ guṇinaṁ tattvajñāḥ

Though of the same class with the Anuṣāṣana pāda (cited below) ending in prāyacchat, yet, while the latter may be easily emended, tattvajñāḥ is intractable, and the hypermeter

<sup>1</sup> For the meaning, compare ib. 28; v. l. in 300, 28: catvāri yasya dvārāpi suguptāny amarottamāḥ, upastham udaraṁ hastāu vāc caturthī sa dharmavit.

of B. 2, 74, 32, is probably correct: *prāhur viprās tvām | guṇi-  
naṁ tattvavijñāḥ*. Another apparent case in H. 14,732 d,  
where *yadā ve 'çvaraḥ* ends a *triṣṭubh*, is a mere misprint for  
*yādaवेçvaraḥ*, 3, 82, 13. But xii, 292, 22 d, *antye madhye vā  
vanam āçritya stheyam*, has a clear case of — — ∪ for ∪ — ∪.

A secondary *cæsura* is more likely not to be found before  
the *scolius* than to be found there. Examples of both cases  
are given (incidentally) in the examples of the different sorts  
of *triṣṭubh*. Calling the *scolius* an addition is, then, merely a  
mechanical device, to show the *pāda* forms free of their uni-  
form close. In reality, the *scolius*, because it is always the  
same, is the most important part of the *pāda*, since it seals the  
*triṣṭubh*. To show how the second *cæsura* does not divide off  
the *scolius* as a sort of tail tied on to the *pāda* proper, may be  
taken vii, 179, 13 a-b:

*āsthāya taṁ kāñcanaratnacitraṁ  
rathottamaṁ sinhavat saṁnanāda*

The form ∪ — ∪ is then the only form of the epic *scolius*,  
except for a few cases of seeming carelessness, as in *prāyacchat*  
and *vidyate*, where special reasons may have induced the ex-  
tant form, or, as in cases before *kṣ*, *cch*, etc., where advantage  
appears to have been taken of a *Gāthā* freedom in reckoning  
a heavy syllable as light in certain cases. Of the *scolius* type  
— ∪ — ∪, which Fausböll (previously) set up for the *Dhamma-  
pada*, the epic has parallel examples, but I doubt whether  
the single example to be found in the *Dhamma*, vs. 306:

*yo vā 'pi ka- | tvā na karo- | mī 'ti cā 'ha*

will be found on second thought really to support this inter-  
pretation. For in this case, as in all similar epic examples, the  
division is not, as Fausböll assumed, — — ∪ — | — ∪ — | — ∪ — ∪,  
but (as a hypermeter) — — ∪ — — | ∪ ∪ — — | ∪ — ∪, exactly as  
in the common hypermeters of the epic, e.g., *sa vāi rājan nā |  
'bhyadhikaḥ kathyate ca*, where the only difference between  
the scansion and that of the more usual hypermeter, e.g.,  
*yasyā 'vibhaktaṁ | vasu rājan sahāyāih*, is that in the latter



case the cæsura is normal, while in the former it is neglected.<sup>1</sup> On such cases, see the section just below, on Hypermeters.

The epic, then, as a whole, has passed far beyond the Vedic stage, where the final syllables of a triṣṭubh are (◡) ◡ ◡ ◡; nor is it likely that the few cases above are to be explained as archaisms rather than as further examples of such slovenliness as has been met before in the examples already given. For even the Rig Veda poets are already tending to a stricter form, ◡ — ◡, as is shown, for example, by the substitution of māṣīya for maṁṣīya, RV. x, 53, 4, merely to win an amphibrach.

### Catalectic and Hypermetric Triṣṭubhs.

A short form of triṣṭubh is where a syllable is omitted, but in such a way as to preserve the characteristic final cadence, giving the pentad form familiar to the Rig Veda; as in Mbh. iii, 195, 3, taṁ tvām prachāmi | kathāṁ tu rājan, like RV. i, 67, 8, ya im ciketa | guhā bhavantam. Although catalectic is a name more properly applied to a pāda cut off at the end, I shall yet call the double pentad a catalectic triṣṭubh.

In a jagatī, by the addition of a syllable, the final trochee or spondee of the triṣṭubh's amphibrach is converted into a diiambus; in a hypermetric triṣṭubh, the final cadence is preserved intact, the triṣṭubh's nature is not lost, but a syllable is prefixed or inserted elsewhere. It may be said that any dodeka is a jagatī pāda. I shall not quarrel with this (native) definition, but the difference here is one of metrical character, and must be strongly marked in name. Admitting then that it is somewhat arbitrary, I shall designate as a jagatī only the diiambically closed pāda; the other, as a hypermetric triṣṭubh.

<sup>1</sup> This interpretation, anyway, seems to be merely a slight oversight on the part of the learned editor. In No. 329, eko care mātañg' araññe va nāgo, the first foot is correctly given as — ◡ — —. The choriamb doubtless caused the different interpretation; but the middle foot — ◡ — — is parallel to ◡ ◡ — —, as shown in the examples cited below. [The new text in 306 omits iti: but I keep the remark above, written prior to the new text's appearance, as the old text has authority and need not be changed metri causā.]

Besides the prefixed or inserted syllable, which gives two varieties of the hypermetric triṣṭubh, a triṣṭubh pāda may have both the prefixed and inserted syllables. The triṣṭubh, then, as shown in the bird's-eye view on p. 275, may consist of ten, eleven, twelve, or thirteen syllables, without losing its characteristic cadence. Unique, however, and not typical (I may add) is a fourteen-syllable triṣṭubh. Apart from all these forms lies the mātrā-triṣṭubh, of thirteen syllables, but with two breves reckoned as equivalent to one long syllable. Postponing the examination of these forms, I take up now, reckoning the regular triṣṭubh (above) as i, the catalectic and simple or dodeka hypermetric triṣṭubh, ii-vi.

### ii-iii. The Catalectic Triṣṭubh.

ii. In this form the cæsura falls after the fifth syllable. The pāda is one of a triṣṭubh stanza. Examples are iii, 113, 23:

Arundhatī vā subhagā Vasiṣṭham  
Lopāmudrā vā yathā hy Agastyam  
Nalasya vāi Damayanti yathā 'bhūd  
yathā Ḡaci Vajradharasya cāi 'va

Here b can be scanned only as Lopāmudrā vā | yathā hy Agastyam. Another case, referred to above, is found in the stanzas at iii, 195, 3-4:

- 3, vidveṣaṇam paramaiṁ jīvaloke  
kuryān naraḥ pārthiva yācyamānaḥ  
taṁ tvām prechāmi katham tu rājan  
dadyād bhavān dayitaṁ ca me 'dya  
4, na cā 'nukīrtayed<sup>1</sup> adya dattvā  
ayācyam arthaṁ na ca saṁcṛṇomi  
prāpyam arthaṁ ca saṁcṛutya  
taṁ cā 'pi dattvā susukhī bhavāmi

In 3 d and 4 a, the cæsura is shifted, and the pādas can be read as

dadyād bhavān da- | yitaṁ ca me 'dya  
na cā 'nukīrta- | yed adya dattvā

<sup>1</sup> This seems better than anukīrtaye (he) dadya (N.).



In 4 c, there is a *çloka pāda*; unless d be reft of its opening, to leave another pentad: *prāpyam artham ca samṅrutya tam ca*, which would leave d as: *api dattvā su- | sukhī bhavāmi*.

The dekasyllabic *pāda* is particularly striking when united with the hypermetric *pāda* (10 + 12.) An example occurs in the same story, iii, 197, 26, c-d:

etad vo lakṣma | çivam karomi  
hiranyavarṇam | ruciram puṇyagandham

The ten-syllable *pāda* ib. 17 b, has, perhaps, lost a syllable, (*taṁ*) *te paçyantu*:

(a) ukṣānam vohatam anūnam nayantu  
(b) *te paçyantu puruṣā mamāi 'va*  
*bhayāhitasya dāyam mamā 'ntikāt tvām*  
*pratyāmnāyantu tvam hy enam mā hiṁsīḥ*

(a) ——— ∪, ∪ ∪ — — ∪ — ∪ (No. 13, hypermetric)

(b) (—) — — — ∪ ∪ ∪ — — ∪ — ∪ (No. 20)

For c and d, see No. 23 and No. 7, in the Illustrations of Appendix C. It is possible, however, that b belongs under another head (below). Giving a patois pronunciation, *paçyantu*, would make the verse quite smooth. In the subsequent stanza, 19 c, there appears to be a case of resolved semi-vowel (*çiena* for *çyena*), a regular *pāda*:

yathā çiena priyam eva kuryām,

though it may be read as catalectic.<sup>1</sup>

A case in C. viii, 4,545 d, is corrected in B. 89, 22:

C.: vāyavyāstrenā, tataḥ sa Karṇāt  
B.: vāyavyāstrenā 'patataḥ sa Karṇāt

In xii, 322, 72 = 12,115, where C. has *kim te dhanena bandhubhis te*, B. has the dekasyllabic *pāda*:

kim te dhanena, kim bandhubhis te,

the other *pādas* being hendekas. A combination of hyper-

<sup>1</sup> For the verse in the same stanza, *yathā mām (hi) vāi sādhu vādāḥ pra-sannaḥ*, see below, The Hypermetric Triṣṭubh.

metric, catalectic, and hyper-hypermetric pāda occurs in H. 7,448:

yasmād bhūtānām | bhūtir anto 'tha madhyam  
*dhr̥tir vibhūtiḥ | śrutīḥ ca Rudraḥ*  
 grahā (sic) 'bhībūtasya puruṣasye 'ṣvarasya

Compare<sup>1</sup> H. 8,399:

taṁ kūrda mānam madhusūdanāḥ sa  
 dṛṣṭvā mahātmā | harṣānvitās tāḥ  
 cukūrda satyā sahito mahātmā  
 balasya dhīmān | harṣāgamārtham

iii. This pāda is what may be called cæsurally catalectic. Like the last, it is antique, in Veda and Upanishads, and the epic has but few examples. The pause follows the fourth syllable, which is usually heavy. Here the cæsura, so to speak, costs a syllable and, unless read with sufficient time allowance, the triṣṭubh appears to be crippled. Of this sort are:

i, 3, 61 d, māyā 'ṣvināu samanakti carṣaṇī (so 66 c)  
 i, 92, 14 a, pr̥chāmi tvām, spr̥haṇīyarūpa

In the latter example there may be corruption. Compare i, 88, 10 c, tat tvām pr̥chāmi spr̥haṇīyarūpa, but the opening phrase, pr̥chāmi tvām is stereotyped, i, 93, 21 a; v, 48, 1 a, etc. We may compare RV. i, 120, 4, vi pr̥chāmi pākīā na devān.<sup>2</sup> The next case is

iii, 197, 27 b, surarṣiṇām atha sammato bhṛṣam

Although this pāda has eleven syllables, it is not a triṣṭubh, but a catalectic jagatī, analogous to the triṣṭubhs of the same nature. The whole stanza consists of syllables 13 + 11 + 12 + 11, but a is doubly hypermetric (explained below), so that there is no alternate symmetry but chiasitic symmetry, thus:

13 (= 11) + 12 + 12 + 11

<sup>1</sup> In the Bombay edition, 2, 72, 59: dhr̥tir bhūtir yaḥ ca guhā ṣrutīḥ ca guhā 'bhi°, etc. (on this, see below). The following 8,399 = 2, 89, 17, also avoids the same cadence by reading: dṛṣṭvā mahātmā ca mudānvito 'bhūt . . . harṣāgamārtham ca balasya dhīmān.

<sup>2</sup> C. in 3,664 has pr̥chāmi (sic) tvām.



It is, however, possible, perhaps, to resolve the *-ām*.

v, 42, 5 a, pramādād vāi asurāḥ parābhavan (jagatī)

v, 42, 21 a, ya etad vā bhagavān sa nityo

In this case, although there is no possible objection to reading the *pāda* as it stands, it is possible that a *bhāti* has been lost after *etad*. The sense is *yaj jagad iva bhāti sa nityo* 'vikārī bhagavān (N.)'. Compare 43, 7, *jagad bhāti*.

v, 46, 3 c, atandritaḥ Savitur vivasvān

The same criticism. Before *Savitur*, *sa* may have been dropped, as in C. viii, 3,343 c, *çete pāpaḥ suvibhinnagātraḥ*, where B. restores the metre with *çete sa pāpaḥ*. So C. omits *su* in the *aparavaktra*, xii, 9,035 b, but corrects it in repeating the verse at 10,530. Nevertheless, I prefer the text as it stands, especially as any correction would have to be extended into the next stanza, where we find :

ib. 4 b, *diçāḥ çukro bhuvanam bibharti*

Here it is easy to suggest *sambibharti*, but emendation is otiose.

v, 48, 37 c, *Matsyāiḥ sārddham anṛṇaṇṣarūpāiḥ*

The next stanza has *jyeṣṭham Mātsyam anṛṇaṇsāryarūpam*, which makes it rather doubtful whether this form may not have stood in 37 c.

v, 67, 6 c, *ānayasva pitaram mahāvratam (jagatī)*

viii, 68, 7 a, *apy āçiṣma vayam Arjuna tvayi*

C. 3,386 has *athā 'çiṣma*. Possibly *āçiṣāma* should be read but it is not necessary. The *brevis* is noticeable (compare above, in § ii, iii, 197, 17 b).

xiii, 76, 7 a (after the injunction in the half-çloka, vs. 6) :

6, *praviçya ca gavām madhye imām çrutim udāharet*

7 a, *gāur me mātā vṛṣabhaḥ pitā me*

*divaṁ çarma jagatī me pratiṣṭhā, etc.*

xiii, 102, 55 d:

budhyāmi tvām Vṛtrahanām çatakratum  
vyatikramantam bhuvanāni viçvā  
kaccin na vācā vṛjinām kadācid  
*akārṣam te manaso 'bhiṣaṅgāt*

#### iv-ix. The Hypermetric Triṣṭubh.

##### iv-vi. SIMPLE HYPERMETERS.

The first form, iv, is the initial hypermeter; a light syllable appears to be prefixed to an iambic opening. The same effect is produced, in some cases with the same words, as that already described in the account of the çloka. The pāda starts with an anapaestic slide. The difference is one of frequency, since in the case of the triṣṭubh the initial hypermeter is not very common. Most of the cases have a brevis and in fact, to my ear, the long (heavy) initial belongs in another category (vi); but I admit that in yatra devī Gaṅgā satatam prasūtā and the few similar cases it is doubtful how we should regard the extra syllable. I have noticed with short initial the following cases (iv):

i, 3, 147 b, vayatas tantūn satatam vartayantyāu (No. 13)

i, 76, 55 a, asurāḥ surāyām bhavato 'smi dattaḥ (No. 1)

Here the preceding pāda ends in i, but it is scarcely possible that the two triṣṭubhs should have been read as a unit. The same thing occurs occasionally in the examples of hypermetric çlokas.

i, 92, 6 c,	kuta āyātaḥ katarasyām diçi tvam (No. 13)
iii, 5, 10 a,	tata utthāya Viduram Pāṇḍaveyāḥ (No. 15)
v, 42, 6 c,	pitṛloke rājyam anuçāsti devaḥ (No. 20)
v, 44, 18 b,	dhanam ācāryāya tad anuprayacchet (No. 20)
xii, 63, 4 c,	vṛṣalīpatiḥ piçuno nartanaç ca (No. 12)
xiii, 76, 14 d,	pratigrhṇan vāi gopradāne vidhiḥ (No. 7)
xiii, 102, 19 a,	atithivratāḥ suvratā ye janā vāi (No. 6)
ib. 35 c, (jagatī),	Varuṇasya rājūḥ sadane mahātmanah
xiii, 126, 38 a,	bahule samaṅge hy akutobhaye ca (No. 1)
H. 2, 72, 33 b,	kṛtinām vīram (C, 7, 422 dhīraṁ) dāna- vānām ca bādham (No. 7)



All these cases have an anapæstic opening; all but one have the fifth syllable heavy.<sup>1</sup> Some have been given under the examples referred to above.

v, a. Much more frequent is the inserted fifth. I do not mean, of course, that a regular triṣṭubh is first made and a syllable is then inserted, but that the cadence does not have the rhythm of iv, to wit,  $\cup \cup \underline{\cup} \cup \underline{\cup}$ , but (with the cæsura regularly after the fifth syllable)  $\cup \underline{\cup} \cup \underline{\cup} \underline{\cup}$ , so that the effect is that of a syllable inserted at the place of cæsura. This measure produces rather a pleasing alteration and is frequently found in regular triṣṭubh stanzas, scanned exactly like the other pādas with the modification thus indicated. The form is Vedic, and is found also in the Upanishads and in the Buddhistic texts. Examples are:

i, 71, 40 d, yathā tvadartham | rakṣitā 'ham careyam<sup>2</sup>

v, 48, 101 d, samyudhyamānā | Dhārtarāṣṭrā na santi

The effect of this measure I have endeavored to reproduce from the following extract, v, 48, 75-76:

ayam Gāndhārās tarasā sampramathya  
jitvā putrān Nagnajitaḥ samagrān  
baddham mumoca vinadantam prasahya  
Sudarṣanam vāi devatānām lalāmam  
ayam Kapāṭe<sup>3</sup> nijaghāna Pāṇḍyam  
tathā Kaliṅgān Dantakūre mamarda  
anena dagdhā varṣapūgān vināthā  
Vārāṇasī nagarī sambabhūva

And yon Gāndhārās, at a blow Krishna vanquished,  
And conquered all Nagnajita's descendants,  
Their plaining victim, as he lay bound, releasing  
(Of gods the jewel, "Beautiful" called, a fair man);

<sup>1</sup> On this case (tata utthāya), see below, p. 290.

<sup>2</sup> Compare with this example, Rīg Veda, i, 120, 3, tā no vidvāṁsā | manma vocetam adya, and for other Vedic parallels, Oldenberg, Hymnen des Rīg Veda, vol. i, p. 66 ff. (ZDMG. vol. xxvii, p. 75).

<sup>3</sup> v. l., kapāṭena jaghāna. Below, the scholiast explains dantakūre as in battle rather than as a proper name. Perhaps Dantakrūrām jaghāna (ā before kr), as in vii, 70, 5.

He at Kapât slew in a war the Pândya,  
 He smote Kalingas, Dantakûr's men a-fighting,  
 He too, that hero, burned and enslaved a long time  
 Benares town, city sans help unaided.

It will be observed that the first part of this measure is that of the regular triṣṭubh with the cæsura after the fifth, as in Yamo 'bravîn<sup>1</sup> mām: na mrto 'si sāumya, xiii, 71, 18 a, which form may have led to the establishment of the hypermeter on the one hand and the cæsurally catalectic pāda on the other.

The texts sometimes show variations, like those found in the simple triṣṭubh forms.<sup>2</sup> Thus in vii, 179, 45 d, where C. has the hypermeter, B. omits the extra syllable: sampāyānto (vāi) vijayāṁ rākṣasasya.

Of the different hypermetric forms, the commonest are those in which the fifth syllable is followed by — — — or — — —; less often by — — —. All three occur at i, 76, 50 ff.:

50, kacasya mārṅam pratipatsye na bhokṣye

53, guror hi bhīto vidyayā co 'pahūtaḥ

54, smarāmi sarvaṁ yac ca yathā ca vṛttam

The extra syllable, like the initial, may be heavy or light; but except when followed by — — — the latter is rare. The second and fourth syllables are rarely light. I give below examples of the different forms. First of the common varieties (but — — — as second foot is the rarest of these):

— — —

yāco na naçyej, jñātibhedaç ca na syāt, iii, 4, 8 a

vadhāya rājan, Karpasūtasya saṁkhye, viii, 85, 36 b

mā vāi dvitīyam mā tṛtīyam ca vāñce(t), iii, 297, 25 c

<sup>1</sup> On page 186, note 1, I have referred to Yama's world as portrayed in Sabhā in contrast to "elsewhere." The remark is correct, but elsewhere is not everywhere else; e. g., this account of Nācīketas represents it as blissful. Usually, of course, it is a hell.

<sup>2</sup> These changes I have discussed in A. J. Phil., xx, p. 18 ff. as affecting vii, 163. In vii, 179, 24 a, B. has — — — for — — — in C., with several similar changes close by; strikingly in 32 d = 8,146, where B has no babhūvuh (C., na).



So in v, 44, 24 c; vii, 2, 33 b; viii, 42, 17 c; xii 278 (7), 6 a, etc.

A case of fifth brevis and also fourth brevis is found in i, 1, 217 c, *dvyūnā viṇṇatir āhatā 'kṣāuhiṇinām*; and fourth brevis in iii, 197, 12 d, *na trāṇaṁ labhet trāṇaṁ icchan sa kāle*; where, however, C. has *labhate* (*labh'te*) which may be correct.<sup>1</sup> All five syllables are heavy in ii, 77, 10 b; *kan-yām Pāñcālīm Pāñḍāvebhyaḥ pradāya*. Unique (I think) are breves in the third and fourth syllables: *datvā 'naḍuham sūryalokaṁ vrajanti*,<sup>2</sup> iii, 186, 8 b (No. 10).

— — —

Preceded by brevis (fifth syllable):

*samānam mūrdhni rathayānam viyanti*, i, 3, 64 b  
*tathā titikṣur atitikṣor viṇṣṭaḥ*, i, 87, 6 b = xii, 300, 15 b  
*yas tv evam brahma tapasā 'nveti vidvān*, iii, 192, 56 c  
*dharmam purāṇam upajivanti santaḥ*, viii, 45, 16 c  
*taṁ vāi manyeta pitaram mātaram ca*, xii, 108, 22 c  
*garbho 'mṛtasya jagato 'sya pratiṣṭhā*, xiii, 76, 10 b

So i, 1, 212 c; 1, 213 c; 89, 6 c; 232, 16 c; iii, 4, 13 a; viii, 42, 16 b; etc.

Preceded by a heavy syllable:

*hataṁ saṁgrāme Sahadevena pāpam*, i, 1, 208 c  
*idaṁ ca rājan hitam uktaṁ na cet tvam*, iii, 4, 12 c  
*tathā ṣaktīr apy adhamāṁ ghorarūpāḥ*, v, 181, 9 d  
*tathā vāyvaṇī pramimāṇaṁ jagac ca*, vii, 201, 67 b  
*yasyā 'vibhaktaṁ vasu rājan sahāyāḥ*, iii, 5, 20 a  
*tān āha sarvān ṛṣimukhyān Agastyāḥ*, xiii, 94, 9 a

So iii, 5, 18 b; 113, 6 b; v, 42, 15 a; 48, 46 c; vii, 179, 42 a; viii, 37, 30 b; 42, 9 d, etc.

Cases of fourth brevis are ii, 56, 15 c, *paṇḍit tapsyase tad upākramya vākyaṁ*; and i, 1, 216 b, *tathā bandhubhiḥ pitṛbhir bhrātṛbhiḥ ca*.

<sup>1</sup> Compare also iii, 13, 291 a, *yathā mām hi vāi sādhu vādāḥ prasannāḥ*, where, however, B. 197, 19, omits *hi*, which makes, when retained, a *bhujam-gaprayāta pāda*; q. v. below, under the head of *Akṣaracchandās*.

<sup>2</sup> Compare RV. viii, 59, 7, *indrāvaruṇā | sāmānasam adṛptam*, cited by Oldenberg, loc. cit., p. 68.

For v, 516, prayaccha mahyam *bhavatsahyam* kariṣye, B. 16, 32 d, has tava sāhyam. In vii, 200, 82 a, B. has tasyā 'syatas tām niçitām pītadhāraṇ, where C. 9,339 has suniçitām. All five syllables are heavy in ii, 77, 7 a; citrāṇ saṁnāhāṇ avamuñc-  
antu cāi 'ṣām.

— ∪ ∪ —

Preceded by brevis:

na cen mām Jiṣṇur āhvayitā sabhāyām, ii, 58, 16 b  
tāns te dadāni mā prapata prapātam, i, 92, 11 a = 93, 3

Preceded by a heavy syllable:

gomāyur uccāir vyāharad agnihotre, ii, 71, 22 b  
amanyamānaḥ kṣatriya kiñcid anyat, v, 42, 15 c  
āmantraye tvām brūhi jayam raṇe me, viii, 67, 22 c  
anarthakam me darçitavān asi tvam, viii, 68, 8 c  
prayacchā 'nyasmāi Gāṇḍivam etad adya, viii, 68, 28 a<sup>1</sup>  
nāi 'ko bahubhyo Gāutami rakṣitavyaḥ, xiii, 1, 30 b

There is, I believe, only one other case of this form in the thirteenth book, 103, 42 c. It is rare as a triṣṭubh hypermeter, but it occurs also (see below) as a jagatī.

Besides these forms are found: ∪ ∪ ∪ —, of which I have but sporadic examples: sa yatre 'echasi, Vidura, tatra gaccha, ii, 64, 11 c (note to No. 20); aham karte 'ti, Vidura, mā ca mañsthāḥ, and na tvām prcchāmi, Vidura, yad dhitam me, ii, 64, 7 a and c (C. has mā 'vamañsthāḥ); prātas trivargā ghr̥tavahā vipāpmā, xiii, 26, 88 c (No. 19, ad fin.).

Between divisions iv and v stand a couple of cases in which the initial syllable is heavy but the second is light. They belong neither to iv with its anapaestic opening, nor to v with its iambic or spondaic opening: aṇvināv indum | amṛtam vṛttabhūyāu, i, 3, 63 a; atra Kāunteya | sahito bhrātṛbhis tvam, iii, 134, 41 a. Compare above p. 286, tatā utthāyā viduram Pāṇḍaveyāḥ (No. 15).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This pāda is followed by tvatto yo 'strāir abhyadhiko vā narendrah, with the caesura ignored. Pāda a is virtually repeated in viii, 69, 72 c-d, anyasmāi tvām Gāṇḍivam dehi Pārtha, tvatto 'strāir vā vīryato vā viçiṣṭaḥ.

<sup>2</sup> Such Vedic cases as this last are grouped by Oldenberg, loc. cit., with those just mentioned, e. g., abhi kṛṣṇena rajasā dyām ṛnoti, RV. i, 35, 9,



Quite exceptional, though corresponding to recognized (but unusual) forms of the regular triṣṭubh, are further:

dadarçā 'sīnām dharmātmānām vivikte, iii, 5, 6 c  
(No. 27)

kiṁ vidviṣo vāi mām evaṁ vyāhareyuḥ, ii, 71, 7 c  
(No. 26)

dhṛtāyudhaḥ su-kṛtīnām uttamāujah (v. l. sukṛtīnām),  
H. 7,442 c (No. 24; v. l. in ii, 72, 53).

Compare also a case of No. 23, below, p. 294.

The hypermeter beginning with an anapæst, iv, is found also in popular Buddhistic poetry, where also a long syllable rarely takes the place of the initial brevis. There are, for example, in the Dhammapada, half a dozen cases with anapæst, but none with long initial (vs. 40 has naga-, in the new text).

Examples of jagatī like the triṣṭubh hypermeters given above<sup>1</sup> are:

athāi 'va çyeno vajrahastaḥ çacīpatiḥ, iii, 197, 25 b  
bhītam prapannam yo hi dadāti çatrave, iii, 197, 12 c  
svādhyāyaçilā guruçuçrūṣaṇe ratāḥ, xiii, 102, 33 a  
satye sthitānām vedavidām mahātmanām, xiii, 102, 34 c  
balena tulyo yasya pumān na vidyate, ii, 65, 25 a  
(a has 13 syllables; b, 12; c-d, 11 each)

Occasionally a triṣṭubh and jagatī occur in the same stanza in hypermetric form, as in iii, 134, 39:

tato 'ṣṭāvakraṁ mātur athā 'ntike pitā  
nadīm samaṅgām çighram imām viçasva  
(provāca cāi 'nam sa tathā viveça)

The unique triṣṭubh-pāda of fourteen syllables, of which I spoke above, runs, ii, 64, 1 d:

bālān ivā 'smān avamanyase nityam eva

perhaps better so than with the initial hypermeter, as the latter, except for this example, is characterized by a heavy fifth, as stated above.

<sup>1</sup> Also Vedic, e. g., viçvāsu dhūrṣu vājakṛtyeṣu satpate, RV. x, 50, 2 (included under triṣṭubhs in Oldenberg's list, loc. cit.).

The scholiast, who rarely touches on purely metrical phenomena,<sup>1</sup> explains this as "redundant and archaic," recognizing the pāda as it stands. But it is impossible to suppress the suspicion that avamanyase stands for an original manyase, a regular hypermeter (—, — ∪ —), "thou regardest us as children," strengthened by some one to "thou despisest us." Another, but doubtful, example is given below.

The distribution of these hypermetric forms, *va*, is somewhat uneven. The examples run in groups, showing clearly the effect of different styles. A baker's dozen of hypermeters, for example, are found in the seventh book, which has three hundred and twenty *triṣṭubhs*; but half of the dozen are in the fifty-seven *triṣṭubhs* of *adhy. 179*. On the other hand, the fourth book, which has two hundred *triṣṭubhs*, has no example.<sup>2</sup> The second book, which has only one hundred and fifty-five *triṣṭubhs*, has thirty examples.<sup>3</sup> In the thirteenth book the older parts have most examples. Thus in the few *triṣṭubhs* that tell of the seers' oath, *adhy. 94*, there are twelve hypermeters in thirteen *triṣṭubhs*, a much greater proportion, as the tale is much more ancient, than is found in any other part of equal length in this book.<sup>4</sup>

As an illustration of the epic free *triṣṭubh* with hypermeters may be taken the following stanzas from the continuation of the story of the Frog-girl in *iii, 192, 48 ff.*:

[Vāmadeva uvāca]

prayaccha vāmyāu mama pārthiva tvam  
kṛtaṁ hi te kāryam ābhyām açakyam

<sup>1</sup> He seldom comments on unusual rhythms, although often remarking on archaisms real or fancied, as for example on *prasthe dattvā vipinam brāhmaṇebhyaḥ*, at *i, 93, 23 b*, explaining *prasthe* as for *pratasthe* "with Vedic loss of reduplication."

<sup>2</sup> The fourth book is writ like the *Rāmāyaṇa*, in the refined style, and has scarcely a dozen pādas of the free *triṣṭubh* type, almost all its *triṣṭubhs* being *apajātis*.

<sup>3</sup> Two such hypermeters in one stanza are not unusual in old tales, e. g., *iii, 192, 63 a-b*, *jānāmi putraṁ daçavarṣaṁ tavā 'haṁ jātam mahiṣyāṁ Çyena-jitam narendra*.

<sup>4</sup> Compare what was said above, in the note on p. 221, regarding the *çloka*s in this section.



mā tvā 'vadhīd Varuṇo ghorapāçāir  
brahmakṣatrasya 'ntare vartamānam

[rājo 'vāca]

anaḍvāhāu suvratāu sādhudāntāv (— ∪ — —)  
etad viprāṇām | vāhanām Vāmadeva (—, — ∪ — —)  
tābhyām yāhi tvām | yatra kāmo maharṣe (—, — ∪ — —)  
cchandaṇsi vāi tvāḍṛçam saṁvahanti (— ∪ — —)

[Vāmadevaḥ]

chandaṇsi vāi māḍṛçam saṁvahanti  
loke 'muṣmin pārthiva yāni santi  
asmiṇs tu loke mama yānam etad  
asmadvidhānām | apareṣām ca rājan (—, ∪ ∪ — —)

[rājā]

catvāras tvām vā | gardabhāḥ saṁvahantu (—, — ∪ — —)  
çreṣṭhāçvataryo | harayo vātarāṇhāḥ (—, ∪ ∪ — —)  
tāis tvām yāhi kṣatriyasyāi 'sa vāho (— ∪ — —)  
mamāi 'va vāmyāu | na tavāi 'tau hi viddhi (—, ∪ ∪ — —)

[Vāmadevaḥ]

ghoraṁ vratam brāhmaṇasyāi 'tad āhur  
etad rājan yad ihā 'jivamānaḥ  
ayasmayā ghorarūpā mahāntaḥ  
catvāro vā yātudhānāḥ surāudrāḥ  
mayā prayuktās | tvadvadham ipsamānā (—, — ∪ ∪ —)  
vahantu tvām çitaçulāç caturdhā

And so on (the last stanza has six pādas, as not infrequently happens).<sup>1</sup>

As seen in some of these stanzas, there is sometimes accord between the hypermeter and its environment. This is not rare. Thus in ii, 58, 9, three pādas have the form ∪ — ∪ — ∪ ∪ — — ∪ — ∪, and these are followed by pāda d as a hypermeter of the same sort; ity āgato 'haṁ nrpa te taj ju-ṣasva. The hypermetric cadence to close a passage is not unusual. Thus to close a stanza, xiii, 159, 11: sa eva pūrvaṁ nijaghāna dāityān, sa pūrvadevaç ca babhūva samrāt, sa bhūtānām bhāvano bhūtabhavyaḥ, sa viçvasyā 'sya jagataç

<sup>1</sup> That is, it is a strophe of two three-pāda triṣṭubhs (above, p. 194).

cā 'bhigoptā. Again, in i, 90, 5 d: bhūyaç ce 'dānīm vada  
kiṁ te vadāmi; then Aṣṭaka uvāca. As hypermeters I  
should explain the difficult pādas, 1, 3, 123 c-d, the latter  
having (affectation of the antique?) choriambic opening be-  
fore ∪ ∪ — — (No. 18 has ∪ ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — — ∪ — ∪):

vān navañītaṁ | hṛdayaṁ tīkṣṇadhāraṁ(iti).

The preceding pāda is, I think, to be read as:

tad viparītaṁ | ubhayaṁ kṣatriyasya,

instead of tad ubhayaṁ etad viparītaṁ. Then all the pādas  
are metrical, after a fashion.

There is a regular triṣṭubh with the movement ∪ — ∪ —,  
— — ∪ —, and hypermetric in bhayāhitasya dāyaṁ mamā  
'ntikāt tvām (cited under No. 23). Like this, but with a  
different hypermetric opening, is the apparent pāda found in  
1, 3, 63 c: hitvā | girim aṣvi- | nāu gā mudā carantāu, — —  
∪ — ∪ — — ∪ —, with neglected cæsura.

This brings me to the comparatively few cases of different  
cæsura in this form of hypermeter. As shown in the exam-  
ples given above, the cæsural pause comes after the fifth  
syllable. When this is neglected (but the practice is ob-  
served in a large majority of the cases), we have an approach  
to the shifting cæsura of the former division, iv, and, as I  
have said already, it may seem simpler to regard such cases  
as initial hypermeters with long instead of short initial. But  
the difference of cadence between the opening ∪ ∪ — ∪ —, and  
∪ — ∪ — ∪, seems, as in the case of the ḡloka, to mark an  
important though not a radical distinction, between these  
groups. While the ictus of the former, as in vṛṣālīpatiḥ, is  
∪ ∪ ∪ — ∪ —, that of the latter, as in hataṁ sañgrāme is ∪ —,  
— — ∪ —. Nor does the shift of cæsura in asurāḥ surāyāṁ  
bhavato 'smi dattaḥ, etc., change this. But when the second  
class shifts the cæsura to the sixth syllable, as in yatra devī  
Gaṅgā satatam prasūtā, then, instead of coinciding with the  
ictus of iv, we still have necessarily the same opening with  
that of v, but still differentiated in the following. For in



the whole triṣṭubh, we certainly cannot read haṭam saṅgrāme Sahadevena pāpam as ∪ — — — ∪, etc., whereas in the other case the only way, as it seems to me, to read the pāda is yatrā devī Gaṇ | gā | satatām prasūtā. I prefer, therefore, not to call these cases long initial hypermeters, but to class them separately, as vi. There are, as I have shown, cases which bridge the distinction and connect these classes in their extreme varieties, so that some may choose rather to consider them as radically identical openings; but it is certainly convenient to distinguish these forms. Of vi I have the following examples, the type being antique, as in Muṇḍ. Up., iii, 1, 6, yatra tat satyasya paramaṁ nidhānam, as distinguished from ib. ii, 2, 10, na tatra sūryo bhāti na candratārakam, ne 'mā vidyuto bhānti kuto 'yam agniḥ, etc. I unite with them the sporadic cases where the caesura, instead of coming after the sixth, where it is usually found, is neglected or falls after the fourth syllable, except where, in the latter case, two light syllables follow: <sup>1</sup>

- |                             |   |          |
|-----------------------------|---|----------|
| i, 89, 3 b,                 | sa vāi rājan nā 'bhyadhikāḥ kathyate ca | (No. 13) |
| i, 197, 10 d,               | yatra devī Gaṅgā satatam prasūtā        | (No. 3)  |
| ii, 64, 11 b,               | viṣeṣataḥ kṣattarahitam manuṣyam        | (No. 19) |
| iii, 134, 7 a,              | evam Aṣṭāvakraḥ samitāu hi garjan       | (No. 3)  |
| ib, 27 c,                   | bāleṣu putreṣu kṛpanam vadatsu          | (No. 19) |
| iii, 13, 193 a (B. 192, 54) | mamāi 'va tāu vāmyāu parigṛhya<br>rājan |          |

B. omits *eva*, but both texts immediately after have —

- iii, 192, 55 b,    na tvā'nuçāsmy adya prabhṛti hy asatyam (No. 1)  
v, 42, 9 b,        tatrā'nu te yānti na taranti mṛtyam<sup>2</sup> (No. 19)  
v (42, 17), 1,592 d, etad vidvān upāiti kathān nu karma (No. 2)

B. has *no* 'pāiti —

- v, 44, 10 a, gurum çisyo nityam abhivādayīta (No. 20)  
v, 44, 28 c, rathamtare bāhadratthe vā 'pi rājan (No. 6)  
v, 48, 77 c, vegenāi 'va çāilam abhihatya jambhaḥ  
(No. 20. note)

<sup>1</sup> For these cases see below.

<sup>2</sup> C. 1,584 has *te tatrā 'nuvānti*.

vii, 2, 1 b, bhinnām nāvam ivā 'tyagādhe Kurūpām (No. 9)<sup>1</sup>

vii, 179, 26 b, çaktyr̥ṣṭiprāsamusalāny āyudhāni (No. 13)<sup>2</sup>

But C. 8, 140, has çaktyaḥ prāsā (regular) —

viii, 4, 546 b, prāduç cakre vajrapratimaprabhāvam (No. 2)

Here B. 89, 23 has vajram atiprabhāvam, but C.'s form (words) is a stereotyped triṣṭubh ending, as in viii, 89, 61 d; ix, 17, 19 d; 35, 37 c; xii, 112, 21 b, etc.; e. g., in the last case, purā mahendra pratimaprabhāva.

[xii, 108, 33 a, etat sarvam anirdeçenāi 'vam uktam<sup>3</sup>]

xiii, 94, 13 d, na hy utsahe draṣṭum iha jivalokam (No. 19)

xiv, 9, 34 c, sahasraṁ dantānām çatayojanānām (No. 2)

H. 2, 72, 31 c, virūpākṣaṁ sudarçanam puṇyayonim (No. 7)

ib. 32 d, somapāuṇām marīçipānām variṣṭhaḥ (No. 8)

ib. 44 a, vi-añjano jano 'tha vidvān samagraḥ

(Note to No. 9 in Appendix, with the pāda tri-ambakam puṣṭidam, etc., another case of resolution.)

Compare also the pāda cited above p. 278, mā pradāḥ çyenāya, etc.

In the explanation of the pādas given above, I have partially accepted<sup>4</sup> the analysis of Kühnau, who in his book, *Die Trishtubh-Jagatī Familie*, has divided yatrā tat sātyasyā | paramām nidhānām; but I cannot carry this out in tāns te dadāni, mā prapata prapātam, and therefore separate the classes, reading the latter as tāns té dadāni | mā prapatā prapātam. The pāda with cæsura after the sixth syllable,

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps vā for iva (as below).

<sup>2</sup> On this pāda also, see below.

<sup>3</sup> This extraordinary verse, though anirdeçena is vouched for by the commentator, seems by metre and meaning to have been originally a sample of No. 27 (with nirdeçena in its usual sense),  $\cup - - - , - - - - \cup - \cup$ . As it stands it must have fourth brevis (hypermeter),  $- - - \cup \cup - - - - \cup - \cup$ .

<sup>4</sup> Kühnau's schemes (loc. cit., pp. 104, 159) find a place even for the pāda: yadā 'çrāuṣaṁ Droṇaḥ Kṛtavarmā Kṛpaç ca, which does indeed stand in C. 196a, but is corrected in B. i, 1, 198, 'çrāuṣam having been taken over from the circumjacent pādas, but being properly omitted (as in C. 201, yadā Droṇe), leaving a regular triṣṭubh. See, however, viii, below.



examples above, may, however, be grouped for mechanical clearness with the regular triṣṭubhs, the numbers of which I have added to the various specimens.

As in the case of triṣṭubh versus ṣloka pāda, one cannot always say just which measure one has in hand when regular and hypermetric triṣṭubhs run together. Thus in xiii, 80, 11 a-b:

dhenuṁ savatsām,  
kapilām bhūriçrīgīm  
kāṁsyopadohām,  
vasanottariyām ;

or in iii, 34, 21 c-d :

mitrāṇi cāi 'nam | acirād bhajante  
devā ive 'ndram | upajīvanti cāi 'nam,

like a vāitālīya.

The hypermetric syllable may be only apparent (elision) in some cases. In the older epic I have noticed only *a* elided thus, as in v, 44, 10 d :

eṣa prath 'mo brahmacaryasya pādah

In the later epic, such elision takes place as well in the case of *u* and *i*, unless we assume a freer use of hypermetric syllables ; as in :

i, 55, 11 d,                      tvam vā Varuṇo dharmarājā Yamo vā  
vii, 201, 65 b,                paraçvadhinam gadinam cā 'yatāsim  
ib. c,                              çubhram jaṭilam musalinam candramāulim  
vii, 9,455 d (=ib. d),      vyāghrājinam paridadhānam daṇḍapāṇim

But here B. has parighinam.

xiv, 10, 2 a, Dhṛtarāṣṭra ! prahito gaccha Maruttam <sup>1</sup>

H., 2, 79, 9 c, where the whole stanza reads :

a, āpo devya | ṛṣiṇām (hi<sup>2</sup>) viçvadhātryo  
b, divyā madantyo yāḥ | çamkarā dharmadhātryaḥ  
c, hiranyavarṇāḥ | pāvakaḥ çivatamena  
d, rasena çreyaso mām juṣantu

<sup>1</sup> Read gacch' (a common type, No. 14).

<sup>2</sup> C., 7,794, omits hi, and in b reads dharmarātryaḥ.

If yāḥ followed rasena it would improve both pādas; but on this see the next paragraph. In c, hypermetric, çivatamena must be read as çiv'tamena. In the next stanza (after apām eṣa smṛto mantrāḥ, intervening), C., d, has (sc. mā)

bhartur bhaveyaṁ ruṣatī syām ca vaçagā

but here B., 11, has syām vaçāṁgā, which smacks of B.'s usual improving process.

### vii-ix. Double Hypermeters or Triṣṭubhs of Thirteen Syllables.

vii. Sporadically appears an "inserted fifth" in addition to the initial hypermeter:

xiii, 94, 3 a, ṛṣayaḥ sametāḥ | paçime vā prabhāse  
xiii, 102, 39 a, çatavarsajivī | yaç ca çūro manuṣyaḥ

If the reading is right, this is found, but with different opening, in

iii, 197, 27 a, etāsām prajānām | pālayitā yaçasvī.

viii. But in the last case (though tāsām may be suggested for etāsām) a combination seems to be at work which is like that wrought by the cæsura after the fifth, in cases where the triṣṭubh then builds up its second half independently. Thus pālayitā yaçasvī would be a regular second half and etāsām prajānām would be a rough metrical equivalent of the type yatra devī Gaṅgā. The cases are:

- (1) ii, 67, 4 c, sā tvam prapadyasva | Dhṛtarāṣṭrasya veçma<sup>1</sup>
- (2) iii, 5, 20 c, sahāyānām eṣa | saṁgrahaṇe 'bhyupāyaḥ
- (3) v, 46, 27 c, ajaç caro divā- | rātram atandritaç ca<sup>2</sup>
- (4) viii, 76, 18 a, prāsaç ca mudgarāḥ | çaktayaç tomarāç ca
- (5) xiii, 159, 26 a, sa eva pārthāya | çvetam açvam prāyacchat  
(read prāyacchat?)
- (6) xiv, 9, 10 b, balāni sarvāṇi | vīrudhaç cā 'py amṛdan

<sup>1</sup> Possibly, however, prapadya has been altered here by a grammarian.

<sup>2</sup> In 30, ajaç caro divārātram atandrito 'ham, where C., 1,790, has ajaç cā 'horātram. The stanza is Upanishadic: aṅguṣṭhamātrāḥ puruṣo mahātmā na drçyate 'sau hṛdi saṁniviṣṭaḥ. ajaç (etc.), sa tam matvā kavir āste prāsannaḥ (as in Kaṭha vi, 17, etc.).



- (7) H. 2, 72, 32 a, bhuñkte ya eko (pronounce yāiko) vibhur |  
jagato viçvam agryam  
(8) ib. 47 d, abhi triviṣṭapam | çaraṇam yāmi Rudram  
(9) ib. C. 7448 c, guhā 'bhībhūtasya | puruṣasye 'çvarasya<sup>1</sup>

And so, perhaps, in the case cited above from H., 2, 79, 9 b, divyā madantyo yāḥ | çamkarā dharmadhātṛyaḥ (when, after rasena in d, tāḥ may be supplied).

The number of cases (all I have found) is considerably reduced by reading in the etāsām verse above,

	tāsām prājānām
in (1)	sā tvam prapadya
in (4)	prāsāç ca mudg'rāḥ
in (5)	sāiva pāṛthāya
in (6)	balāni sarvā (analogous to viçvā)
in (8)	triviṣṭapam (omitting abhi)

But the type seems to be established by bhuñkte yāiko vibhuḥ in (7), and guhā 'bhībhūtasya in (9); so it may seem better to stick to the text than to adopt an explanation which would demand still further changes, such as omitting eṣa in (2), and vibhuḥ in (7); or rejecting the form of (9). Other examples of thirteen-syllable triṣṭubhs exist, but they seem to belong to another category, as shown below, where, however, chandovidas te | ya uta nā 'dhītavedāḥ differs from adyāi'va puṇyā 'ham | uta vaḥ Pāṇḍaveyāḥ only by cæsura, the latter (from i, 198, 5 b) belonging here.

### Defective Triṣṭubhs.

Considering the extent of the epic, the number of defective (impossible) triṣṭubh pādas is small. Some of these I have already noticed incidentally, and need not take up again. The others I group in their order:

- i, 197, 23 d, adyā 'çeṣasya bhuvanasya tvam bhavā 'dyāḥ  
Omit Bhava, Çiva (No. 13, hypermetric).

<sup>1</sup> Here B. (59) has puruṣeçvarasya.

- v, 42, 15 d,      nā 'dhīyīta nirṇudann ivā 'sya cā 'yuh  
                             Read vā for iva.<sup>1</sup>
- v, 44, 3 c,      anārabhyān vasatī 'ha kāryakāle  
                             Omit iha (= ātmany eva).
- v, 44, 25 a,      ābhāti çuklam iva lohitaṃ ivā 'tho  
                             kṛṣṇam athā 'ñjanam kādravaṃ vā (v. l. in 26 a,  
                             kṛṣṇam āyasam arkavarṇam).

Read vā for ivā 'tho and atho kṛṣṇam añjanam. In 26 a, a like change. So v, 48, 86 d, ākāçe cā 'psu ca te kramah syāt, for ca apsu.

- v, 44, 28 a-c,      nāi 'varkṣu tan na yajuḥṣu nā 'py atharvasu  
                             na dṛçyate vāi vimaleṣu sāmāsu  
                             rathamtare bārhadrathe vā 'pi rājan

For c, see the list above, p. 295. In a, read nāivarkṣu tan nā 'pi yajuḥṣv atharvasu, or as hypermetric with yajūṣu?

- viii, 3,338 c,      ditsuh Karnaḥ samare hastiṣatkaṃ yah  
                             B. 66, 30, has hastiṣaḍgavam and omits yah
- xii, 60, 46 c-d,      adhara vitānaḥ sāmsrṣṭo vāiçyo brāhmaṇas triṣu  
                             varṇesu yajñasrṣṭah

The preceding pādas make metre and sense. These make neither.

- xii, 226, 18,      na tat sadaḥ satpariṣat sabhā ca sā  
                             prāpya yām na kurute sadā bhayam  
                             dharmatattvam avagāhya buddhimān  
                             yo 'bhyupāiti sa dhurāṃdharah pumān (v. l. narah)

Read (?)

na tat sadaḥ satpariṣat sabhā ca sā  
     samprāpya yām na kurute sadā bhayam  
     tad dharmatattvam avagāhya buddhimān  
     yas tv abhyupāiti sa dhurāṃdharo narah

The sā has caused the loss of the following sam, a copy-error. Just so, bhavātmakam parivartamānam has lost sam before the

<sup>1</sup> The form vā for iva is found everywhere, e. g., xiii, 90, 42 c, sa vāi muktaḥ, pippalam bandhanād vā (cyavate). So R. vii, 34, 15; 36, 42.





ācaryavat paçyati kaçcid enam  
 ācaryavad vadati tathāi 'va cā 'nyaḥ  
 ācaryavac cāi 'nam anyāḥ çṛṇoti.

As resolution may take place in several places, we get quite a variety of rucirā-like pādas. The common alternation of the — ∪ — — and ∪ ∪ — — pādas is thus represented :

xiv, 10, 19 a-b, ayam indro haribhir āyāti rājan  
 devāiḥ sarvāis tvaritāiḥ stūyamānaḥ

ib. 10, 23 c-d, ayam yajñam kurute me surendra  
 Brhaspater avarajo vipramukhyaḥ

But the choriambus-equivalent is more common, as in

iii, 134, 28 c, hasti 'va tvam, Janaka, vinudyamānaḥ  
 xiv, 26, 1 ff. (refrain), yo hṛchayas, tam aham anubravāmi

Two or three of these pādas together are not unusual :

iii, 132, 9 d-10 a, bhāryām ca vāi duhitaram svām sujātām  
 tasyā garbhaḥ samabhavad agnikalpaḥ<sup>1</sup>

viii, 68, 7 d and 8 a-b, phalārthinām viphalā ivā 'tipuṣpaḥ  
 pracchāditaḥ baḍiçam ivā 'miçena  
 sañchāditaḥ garalam ivā 'çanena

So in the jagatī-pāda iii, 133, 10 d, kasmād bālaḥ sthavira iva prabhāṣase. Here it needs only the iambic opening to make a true rucirā, ∪ — ∪ — ∪ ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ —, and this pāda is found repeatedly, not in complete rucirā-stanzas alone, but in jagatī stanzas. For example, iii, 3, 31 is a vañçasthabila stanza, where three pādas are regular, but b has :

prakīrtayec chucisumanāḥ samāhitāḥ

On the other hand, in i, 34, 26, the first pāda alone is of vañçastha type, while three rucirā pādas follow, e. g., pāda d :

mahātmanāḥ patagapateḥ prakīrtanāt

These are both tag-stanzas, embellishing the close of a chapter

<sup>1</sup> The naïve pādas 10,606 b-7 a, following this stanza, are omitted in B. The embryo here says: vedān sāṅgān sarvaçāstrāir upetān adhītavān asmi tava prasādāt, etc.!



and of benedictive content.<sup>1</sup> A similar case occurs in iii, 3, 75 a, where, after praise, is said:

imaṁ stavam prayatamanāḥ samādhinā  
pathed ihā 'nyo 'pi varam samarthayan, etc.

But this arrangement is found also apart from such employment. So in viii, 66, 47, a, b, d are of this rucirā type; c is of upendra form, thus c-d:

hato mayā so 'dya sametya Karṇa  
iti bruvan praṇamayase (v. l. me) 'dya Phālguna

Here eleven syllables do not equate twelve (thirteen), but d equals ॐ ॐ ॐ —. In viii, 84, 20 a, B. has sphāṭikacitra, where C. 4,281 has (tato dhvajam) sphāṭikavicitrakañcukam, probably the original, as B. is apt in varied readings to have the more uniform (improved) types.

As upendra and vañçastha pādas alternate, so rucirā pādas alternate with vañçasthas. Thus in xii, 244, 29, a and c are of rucirā form; b and d, of vañçastha form. In a stanza of mixed upajātis, xii, 341, 119 b has

mahātmanah puruṣavarasya kīrtitam <sup>2</sup>

The seventh book has a number of these combinations of rucirā pādas and stanzas and upajāti pādas and stanzas, usually as pāda tags at the end of chapters, for example, adhy. 26, 29, 30, 32; but it has also incorporated complete rucirās as parts of an upajāti system, as in 2, 15 and 16.

I give now — reverting to the triṣṭubh — a few more examples:

ii, 58, 16 a, na cā 'kāmaḥ Ṣakuninā devitā 'ham  
iii, 4, 17 a, tvayā prṣṭaḥ kim aham anyad vadeyam  
iii, 4, 18 a, etad vākyam Vidura yat te sabhāyām

<sup>1</sup> In xii, 219, 52, two or three pādas in a benedictive stanza are of this type. The first pāda in C. begins imaṁ yaḥ paṭhati vimokṣaṇiṣṭhayaṁ, for B.'s imaṁ hi yaḥ paṭhati (vi?) mokṣaṇiṣṭhayaṁ. In xii, 114, 21, a benedictive stanza, rucirā pādas appear in a and d, e. g., the latter: na vāṇmayam sa labhati kinēid apriyam. xiii, 77, 32 has a whole rucirā in benediction.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Gītā, 8, 10, sa tam param puruṣam upāṭi divyam, etc.

In this example, ii, 71, 17, the much affected pāda symmetry is shown, b and d having ∪ ∪ — —, a and c having ∪ ∪ — —:

atidyūtaṁ kṛtaṁ idaṁ Dhārtarāṣṭrā  
yasmāt striyaṁ vivadadhvaṁ sabhāyām  
yogakṣemāu naçyato vaḥ samagrāu  
pāpān mantrān Kuravo mantrayanti

Similar is ib. 3, only the first pāda is jagatī. But the second foot corresponds to that of the third pāda; and so the fourth pāda has ∪ ∪ — — corresponding to ∪ ∪ ∪ — in the second pāda:

anyaṁ vṛṇīṣva patim āçubhāvini  
yasmād dāsyam na labhasi devanena  
avācyā vai patiṣu kāmavṛttir  
nityam dāsyē viditaṁ tat tavā 'stu

Contrast this, for example, with the following pādas, 20 a, 24 a, 26 c, of the same section:

Bhīmasya vākye tadvad evā 'rjunasya  
tato Gāndhārī Viduraç cā 'pi vidvān  
Kṛṣṇām Pāñcālīm abravīt sântvapūrvam

The last is a pure vāiçvadevī pāda, as above nityam dāsyē viditaṁ tat tavā 'stu is a pure vātormī pāda, and yogakṣemāu naçyato vaḥ samagrāu is a pure çālinī pāda.

In pādas of the rucirā or rucirā-like type, the same word appears in the triṣṭubh, which has caused a discussion in the çloka:

iii, 192, 56 d, tena çreṣṭho bhavati hi jīvamānaḥ

v, 44, 18 c-d: sa tām vṛttim bahugunām evam eti  
guroḥ putre bhavati ca vṛttir eṣā

xii, 300, 27 d, moghaḥ çramo bhavati hi krodhanasya

Here bhavati need not be pronounced bhoti, as it is a perfect parallel to bahu gu- in this stanza and to pacasi (bhavasi) in the following:



- i, 232, 14, sṛṣṭvā lokāns trīn imān havyavāha  
kāle prāpte pacasi punaḥ samiddhaḥ  
tvam sarvasya bhuvanasya prasūtiḥ  
tvam evā 'gne bhavasi punaḥ pratiṣṭhā

A monosyllabic pronunciation cannot be claimed for all these cases, though it might be maintained for special words:

- i, 197, 42 a, tān cāi 'vā 'gryām striyam atirūpayuktām<sup>1</sup>  
iii, 4, 1 c, dharmātmānam Viduram agādhabuddhim  
iii, 4, 3 a, evam gate Vidura yad adya kāryam  
iii, 26, 11 d, labdhvā dvijam nudati nṛpaḥ sapatnān  
iii, 34, 9 b, yathākāmaṁ viditam Ajātaśatṛo  
iii, 34, 20 c, mahāguṇam harati hi pāuruṣeṇa  
iii, 111, 10 d, vratam brahmaṇḥ carasi hi devavat tvam  
xii, 302, 114 b, mahārṇavam vimalam udārakāntam  
xiii, 71, 16 a, dṛṣtvāi 'va mām abhimukham āpatantam  
xiii, 93, 136 a, adhvaryave duhitaram vā dadātu<sup>2</sup>  
xiii, 102, 36 b, tathe 'ṣṭinām daṣaṣatam prāpnuvanti  
xiii, 103, 35 b, tathāi 'vā 'nyān anaḍuho lokanātha  
H. 2, 72, 33 a, Atharvānam suçirasam bhūtayonim  
H. 2, 74, 23 b, khyāto devaḥ paçupatiḥ sarvakarmā

But the great objection to a monosyllabic pronunciation is that the rucirā pāda interchanges up to three pādas with the ordinary triṣṭubh pāda, and must therefore be identical in structure with the same pāda when four times repeated, in a perfect rucirā stanza. But in the rucirā stanza, no one can maintain for a moment that ○○○○ — is to be read with crasis. Why then when a stanza has three pādas of the same type or even one?

It may be said, however, that the mora triṣṭubh pāda differs in no respect from the "inserted fifth," when the latter is a light syllable. For example in this stanza:

- iii, 4, 21, sa mām jihmam, Vidura, sarvam bravīṣi  
mānam ca te 'ham adhikam dhārayāmi  
yathe 'cchakam gaccha vā tiṣṭha vā tvam  
susantvyamānā 'py asatī strī jahāti

<sup>1</sup> All the other pādas here are of strict çālinī type, — — — —, — ○ — —

<sup>2</sup> ib, 94, 44, idem, but vā fails.

Here it is clear that *susantvyamānā* 'py is a complete foot of the inserted fifth variety; but *pāda* b is indifferently an inserted fifth or a *mora pāda*, the *cæsura* pointing but lightly to the latter explanation. One reason, however, against such an identification is that the *mora* explanation in almost all cases is indicated, as in most of the examples given, by a plain *cæsura* before the fifth. Another is that this explanation brings the various *pādas* of a stanza into symmetry, as in iii, 192, where — ∪ — — is employed with predilection throughout, and we find in

iii, 192, 69, *yathā yuktā | vāmadevā 'ham enām*  
*dine dine | samdiçantī nṛṇaṁsam*  
*brāhmaṇebhyo | mṛgayatī sūnṛtāni*  
*tathā brahman | puṇyalokaṁ labheyam*

Here *mṛgayatī sū* —, as ∪ ∪ ∪ — —, accords with the structure of the other *pādas*. So in *jagatīś*, e. g.,

vii, 26, 65–66, *sa nāgarājaḥ pravarāṅkuçāhataḥ*  
*purā sapakṣo 'drivaro yathā nṛpa*  
*bhayaṁ tadā ripuṣu samādadhad bhṛṣam*  
*vaṇigjanānāṁ kṣubhito yathā 'rṇavaḥ*  
*tato dhvanir dviradarathāçvapārthivāih, etc.*

vii, 50, 14a–b, *tathā tadā yodhanam ugradarçanam*  
*niçāmukhe pitṛpatirāṣṭravardhanam*<sup>1</sup>

vii, 109, 37 c–d *niçamya tam pratyanadaṁs tu Pāṇḍavās*  
*tato dhvanir bhuvanapathā 'sprçad bhṛṣam*

Compare the close of vii, 155, four stanzas of *rucirās* and of *vaṇçasthas*, with the same *mora-pādas*.

A third point to be noticed is that the "inserted fifth" as *brevis*, and with its *cæsura* there, is always a rarity (as indicated in the lists above) unless followed by two (or three) other *breves*, so that we have finally two chief classes to explain, one with *cæsura* after the fifth heavy syllable, and the other with *cæsura* after the fourth, followed by *breves* equiva-

<sup>1</sup> Variant on the old stereotyped *yamarāṣṭravardhana*, of battle, hero, etc. as in vii, 145, 97 d; ib. 98 d.



lent in moræ to the rucirā pāda. There are a few cases bridging these classes and showing that the metrical equation was not always in harmony with the cæsura, but this is no more than was to be expected. We are not to imagine that the poets set themselves to compose pādas by categories; but we can hardly escape the conclusion that a pāda identical with a rucirā pāda was felt to be the same with it, though the characteristic pause of the rucirā may be absent; for in the regular rucirā the sense-pause and rhythmical pause are not always identical. Hence, when we find samānam mūrdhni rathayānam viyanti in one stanza, and yuvām varṇān vikurutho viçvarūpān in the next, i, 3, 65 a, we may explain them as belonging to two categories cæsurally distinct, or put them into one category, remarking that usually the cæsura is after the fourth in such syllabic combinations; for even with two breves following (the commonest case with the cæsura after the fifth) the examples are rare in comparison with the rucirā-like or true rucirā pāda,  $\underline{\text{v}} - \underline{\text{v}} - \underline{\text{v}}, \underline{\text{v}} \underline{\text{v}} - \underline{\text{v}} - \underline{\text{v}}; \underline{\text{v}} - \underline{\text{v}} - , \underline{\text{v}} \underline{\text{v}} \underline{\text{v}} \underline{\text{v}} - \underline{\text{v}} - \underline{\text{v}}$  (rucirā-like);  $\underline{\text{v}} - \underline{\text{v}} - , \underline{\text{v}} \underline{\text{v}} \underline{\text{v}} \underline{\text{v}} - \underline{\text{v}} - \underline{\text{v}}$  (rucirā). It is perhaps in each case merely a question of how the pāda is naturally to be read. Some will scan only one way, e. g., mārge bhagnam çakaṭam ivā 'calākṣam in iii, 133, 23 d, irrespective of the stanza; while others may be read either way, as in the stanza ib. 19:

so 'ham çrutvā brāhmaṇānām sakāçe  
brahmādvāitam kathayitum āgato 'smi  
kvā 'sāu bandī yāvad enām sametya  
nakṣatrāṇi 'va savitā nāçayāmi

or when united with the five-syllable foot, as in i, 89, 20:

tatra sthitam mām devasukheṣu saktam  
kāle 'tite mahati tato 'timātram  
dūto devānām abravīd ugrarūpo  
dhvaṇse 'ty uccāis trihplutena svareṇa

ix. The mātṛā or ati-triṣṭubh pāda may even be combined with the pāda having inserted fifth, where the breves following the cæsura seem to be only rucirā-like resolution. It is a treiskaideka measure:

i, 89, 23 b, samikṣya ce 'mām | tvaritam upāgato 'smi  
(i, 198, 5 b, adyāi 'va puṇyā 'ham | uta vaḥ Pāṇḍaveyāḥ<sup>1</sup>)  
v, 43, 50 c, chandovidas te | ya uta nā 'dhitavedāḥ  
xvii, 3, 13 b, yad dattam iṣṭam | vivṛtam atho hutam ca

In xiii, 1, 32 d, kṣipram sarpaṁ jahi, mā bhūt te viṣaṅkā, as compared with caktyā rakṣo jahi Karṇā 'dya tūrṇam, vii, 179, 48 c; tapantam enaṁ jahi pāpaṁ niṣṭhe, ib. 49 b, *te* may be thought to be an intrusion, but it has a sort of parallel in iii, 4, 22 d, ne 'dam astī 'ty atha Viduro bhāṣamāṇaḥ (where C. has atho!).

The mora rhythm in general is early, being found not only in the epic but in the Upanishad and Buddhistic verse. But it is found also in imitative parts of the Purāṇas, as in Vāyu P., xiv, 7, in a section where upendra pādas interchange with the ṣālinī-like pāda (— — — — —). Here in 7 b-d: mahātmānam paramamatiṁ vareṇyam, kavim purāṇam anuṣṭit-āram, where, as often in the epic, — — — — — stands with — — — — — and — — — — — (e. g., 9 a) as the equivalent, — — — — —, of the latter. On the last verse above, see the note on p. 277. The measure appears in triṣṭubhs as an ati-triṣṭubh of twelve; in jagatīs, as an ati-jagatī of thirteen syllables.

In the Rāmāyaṇa I know of only one case where this resolved form is found, and that is peculiar. In R. vii, 81, 22, an extraordinary ṣloka closes the section, and in G. 88 a tag-triṣṭubh of the form above is made out of it. The extraordinary ṣloka is: sa tāir brāhmaṇam abhyastam sahitāir brahmavittamāih, ravir astam gato Rāma gaccho 'dakam upasṛṣṭa, "the sun has set (after accepting as a laudation) the secret worship by the assembled Veda-versed (seers)," according to the commentator. The parallel in G. indicates a brāhmaṇair abhiṣṭutaḥ instead of brāhmaṇa = upaniṣad or pūjā. The tag-end in G. vii, 88, 22 seems to be from a phrase just preceding (found in G. and R.), saṁdhyām upāsitum vira (Rāma). The whole tag reads:

<sup>1</sup> As remarked above, p. 290, this, though inserted here on account of its likeness to the next example, belongs rather to the group of Double Hyper-meters.



abhiṣṭutaḥ suravaraḥ siddhasaṅgair  
 gato ravis suruciram astaçāilam  
 tvam apy ato Raghuvara gaccha saṁdhyām  
 upāsītum prayatamanā narendra

This may be called a rucirā-triṣṭubh. On the rucirā stanza, see the section on akṣaracchandas below.

### The Triṣṭubh Stanza.

#### UPAJĀTIS. UPENDRAVAJRĀS AND INDRAVAJRĀS.

As stanzas, the forms that begin with a diiamb and continue with a choriamb are not particularly common. They are generally modified as upajātis, by combination with the *indra* varieties, which begin with a spondee, indravajrā and indravañçā. Sometimes the perfect form appears as a mere later addition. Thus in iii, 23, only one stanza, 14, is upendra in sixteen upajātis (pāda a has final brevis). So iii, 111, 17-18 = 10,044; while in iii, 295, 9 and 10 are two perfect vañçasthas, interpolated among çlokas. In iii, 232, 14, an almost perfect<sup>1</sup> upendra is ensconced in a stuti of Skanda, where the environment is upajāti. Again, in iii, 236, in an upajāti system of thirty-one stanzas, one, 15, is pure upendra, except that pāda a ends in a brevis; and 19, 25, 27 are also pure upendras,<sup>2</sup> except that in 27, pāda a ends in brevis. In xii, 201, out of twenty-seven triṣṭubhs, two, 6 and 23, are pure upendras. A pair of pādas occurs in viii, 89, 47, tato mahīm sāgaramekhalām tvam sapattanām grāmavatiṁ saṁdhyām. But two pādas together is a large number except in late passages, like iii, 176 and 177, where they are not uncommon (176, 7, 15, 16; 177, 11, 21, 22); vañçasthas in vii, 109, 36-37, with a rucirā pāda, etc.

As the vañçastha(bila) is merely an upendra with a sylla-

<sup>1</sup> The third pāda, however, ends in a brevis. On this point is to be noticed that such a brevis is not uncommon in the Bhārata, but in the Rāmāyaṇa is rare enough to deserve a special notice of R. vi, 74, 54, where every pāda ends in brevis. Here the stanza itself is upendra, but the system is upajāti.

<sup>2</sup> Here only eight pādas are not of upajāti form, but ∞ — ∞ —, ∞ ∞ — —.

ble added,<sup>1</sup> so the jagatī corresponds to the different forms of the triṣṭubh. Thus in i, 197, 25, it takes the place of a vātormī, tatra hy ekam bhavitāro na sañçayo, yoniṁ sarve mānuṣīm āviçadhvam, tatra yūyaṁ karma kṛtvā 'viṣahyam, bahūn anyān nidhanam prāpayitvā; and just below, 53 b, pañcānām ekā svakṛtene 'ha karmaṇā, where it is hyper-metric. Here a and d have eleven, c, 12, and b, 13 syllables. A near approach to a perfect vañçastha is found in i, 198, 8, where all four pādas are normal, except that in b, — — ∪ — takes the place of the opening diiamb. In ii, 64, 5, all pādas are perfectly regular. The interchange of an occasional vañçastha pāda with the other pādas of an upajāti triṣṭubh is too common to call for further remark. Two instances will be found in i, 193, 20 and 22. In the former, the stanza would be a perfect upendra, but pāda c is of vañçastha form; in the latter, which is an upajāti triṣṭubh, pāda c again is of pure vañçastha form. So in i, 197, 11, an indravañçā pāda heads and closes a triṣṭubh stanza. The cæsura is after the fifth or fourth, passim; or after the sixth, as in i, 197, 17 a, yadā tu paryāptam ihā 'sya<sup>2</sup> kriḍayā; or a second occurs, as in iii, 5, 19 c, saṁvardhayan stokam ivā 'gnim ātmavān. The sixth place is often half as common as the fifth.

The cæsura in the pādas of the upajāti system is found most frequently after the fourth or fifth. The former, perhaps, in isolated pādas, as in xii, 64, 18 d, tatas te 'ham dadmi varān yatheṣṭam, and i, 92, 9 a and 11 d; but the forms in the Bhārata, though inclining largely to the fifth place, vary constantly, as they do in the Rāmāyaṇa. Examples from the latter have been given above in the introductory paragraph. I add some specimens from the other epic:

tad vāi nṛṇāṁsaṁ tad asatyam āhur  
 yaḥ sevate dharmam anarthabuddhiḥ  
 artho 'py anīçasya tathāi 'va rājan, i, 92, 5 a-c  
 nilotpālābhā suradevate 'va  
 Kṛṣṇā sthitā mūrtimatī 'va Lakṣmīḥ, iv, 71, 17 c-d,

<sup>1</sup> That is for ∪ — ∪, ∪ — ∪ —, mechanically considered.

<sup>2</sup> On the light syllable before mute and liquid, see above, p. 242.



where a-b have cæsura after the fifth and fourth respectively. Not infrequently where the triṣṭubhs pause after the fifth, the jagatī, in the same stanza, pauses after the fourth, as in iii, 268, 19:

saçaṅkhaghoṣaḥ satalatraghoṣo  
gāṇḍīvadhanvā muhur udvahaṇiḥ ca  
yadā çarān arpayitā tavo'rasi  
tadā manas te kim ivā 'bhaviṣyat

But in pure vaṇçasthas, the cæsura is apt to vary almost with the pāda, as in xii, 103, 40:

na sāmadaṇḍopaniṣat<sup>1</sup> praçasyate  
na mārḍavaṁ çatruṣu yātrikaṁ sadā  
na sasyaghāto na ca saṁkarakriyā  
na cā 'pi bhūyaḥ prakṛter vicāraṇā

So in viii, 18, 12, the cæsura of two pādas falls after the fourth and fifth respectively, and then comes the pāda: atīva cukṣobhayiṣur janārdanam; while the fourth pāda is cut after the fourth syllable. Alternation is common, as ib. 14-15 (— — — — and — — — — alternately). Sometimes there is no cæsura:

vāditraçaṅkhasvanasinhanādāiḥ  
çarāsiçaktyṛṣṭinipātaduḥsaham, viii, 88, 3-4

or it is irregular:

alam virodhena ! dhig astu vighrahaṁ, ib. 21 b.  
kṛtyām atharvāṅgirasīm ivo 'grām, viii, 91, 48 = ix, 17, 44.

Upajātis are sometimes used to close systems, as are also upendras and vaṇçasthas. Pure vaṇçasthas may end a system of upajāti triṣṭubhs, as in viii, 76 and 79, xii, 167, 49-51, just as upajātis close a scene composed in old triṣṭubhs. The analogy with the tag-measures (discussed below) is here complete; the scene is set off with something better than the ordinary. As an example of the way in which upajātis are thus used may serve the end of iii, 154; or in i, 197 and 198,

<sup>1</sup> Upaniṣad is here secrecy. So perhaps in xii, 271, 30, (apetatṛṣṇānām, etc.) caturthopaniṣaddharmaḥ sādharmaṇa iti smṛtiḥ.

where the first part of the wedding scene at Drupada's is in irregular old *triṣṭubhs*, but regular *upajātis* conclude the scene; the latter beginning just where the actual wedding is described, and taking in the statement that the heroine was first married to Yudhiṣṭhira, then to the other brothers; that she preserved her virginity day by day; and that Drupada in conclusion gave most extravagant gifts. The smoothness of the statement *babhūva kanyāi 'va gate gate 'hani*, etc., 198, 14, stands with its surrounding verses in at least metrical contrast to the part that goes before, where *triṣṭubhs* of *vātermī* and *çālinī* *pādas* and every sort of irregular combination is the rule. Whether the uniform *upajātis* conform to the uniforming of the poem is certainly a proper question to raise, though no signed and sealed statement to that effect is extant.

Another interesting example will be found at the end of the gambling scene, where from ii, 67, 24, almost regular *upajātis* continue to the end. This happens to be the passage where the heroine puts the legal question to which Bhīṣma is unable to reply, and where Karna joins in the laugh. The question is implied in what follows (68-70), but the passage in its present form is certainly open to the suspicion of having been rewritten by a more modern hand.

The first chapter of the *R̥ṣyaçr̥ṅga* episode is in old *triṣṭubhs*. With the beginning of the sensuous description in the second chapter begin the *upajātis*, iii, 111, 112.

In the systems of the older epic,  $\cup - \cup -$ ,  $\cup \cup -$ ,  $- \cup -$ , and  $- \cup \cup -$ , are used as interchangeable second feet. So universal are  $- \cup -$  and  $\cup \cup -$  that they must be considered as the chief *triṣṭubh* measure of the older epic, greatly in excess of  $- \cup \cup -$ . But in the fourth book and most later parts, these recede before the *upajāti* forms. *Jagatī* *pādas* are inserted occasionally in all the free *triṣṭubh* sections.<sup>1</sup> It is perhaps worthy of remark that, for example, in the *Dyūta* *Parvan*, the *dīambic* opening, or even, it might be said, the

<sup>1</sup> The process elsewhere of making a *jagatī* *pāda* is sometimes patent, as in viii, 90, 72 d: *bhindhi tvam enam Namuciṁ yathā Hariḥ* (for *yath 'endrah*); here in an *upajāti* system of *jagatīs*.



whole upendra form, is found par excellence in the final pāda(s), though found also in a, b, c, especially as the section gradually passes (towards its end) into regular upajātis, 67, 26 ff. For example, at the beginning of the scene, 56, 12-16:

- 12, ∪ — ∪ — —, — ∪ — — ∪ — ∪; — — ∪ —, ∪ ∪ — — ∪ — ∪;  
       — — ∪ — —, ∪ ∪ — — —; ∪ — ∪ — —, ∪ ∪ — — ∪ — ∪  
 13, — — ∪ — —, ∪ ∪ — — ∪ — —; — — ∪ — —, — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — —;  
       — — ∪ — —, ∪ ∪ — — ∪ — ∪; ∪ — — —, ∪ ∪ — — ∪ — ∪  
 14, — — — —, — ∪ — — ∪ — —; — — ∪ — —, — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪;  
       ∪ — — —, — ∪ — — ∪ — ∪; ∪ — ∪ — —, — ∪ — — ∪ — ∪  
 15, — — ∪ — —, — ∪ — — ∪ — —; — — ∪ — —, — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪;  
       — — — —, ∪ ∪ — — ∪ — —; ∪ — ∪ — —, — ∪ — — ∪ — ∪  
 16, — — — —, ∪ ∪ — — ∪ — —; ∪ — ∪ — —, — ∪ — — ∪ — ∪;  
       ∪ — — ∪, ∪ ∪ — — ∪ — ∪; ∪ — ∪ — —, — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪

I have remarked in the list of examples given above that some of the older forms of the triṣṭubh are practically confined to the early parts of the epic. The fourth and seventh books are considered to be late, or, what amounts to the same thing, modern expanded forms of older material. The middle foot ∪, ∪ ∪ — occurs not infrequently in the older epic, but in the whole fourth book it occurs but once, and in the seventh only twice in 1280 pādas. Upajāti systems, except, as just observed, as a sort of tag, are not frequent in the older epic, where the systems are of the type — ∪ — — and ∪ ∪ — — with interspersed choriambes. The latter part of the third book, however, and all of the fourth book prefer the upajāti system (the cæsura being after the fourth in only one-third of the cases in the latter), and blocks of upajātis appear in the much-expanded battle-books. As a system, the upajāti marks late passages, such as the song of Ērī in the eleventh section of the thirteenth book, and the praise of gifts in the fifty-seventh section of the same book, where only two pādas are not upajāti. This book is also marked by the large number of its ṣaḍlinī stanzas (not single pādas), which keep up an old measure in a new fixed form. Old as is the choriambic pāda, the stanza form of the choriambic triṣṭubh employed in great groups to the exclusion of other forms of triṣṭubh appears to be an innovation. A form once given persists, and so we have late passages with

— ∪ — as the second foot, just as this and ∪ ∪ — are still met here and there in the *Purāṇas*,<sup>1</sup> but when the choriamb is employed continuously in a long system<sup>2</sup> the passage may be set down as late, or, if one prefers the expression, as more refined, as in the whole *Rāmāyaṇa* and in the later books of the *Mahābhārata*.

Another mark of lateness appears to lie in the absence of an indiscriminate mixture of *triṣṭubh* and *jagatī* forms. Later passages are rather apt to show uniformity in this regard; earlier passages show none, though an harmonious commingling in alternate or chiasitic form (12 + 11 + 12 + 11 or 11 + 12 + 12 + 11) is at all times somewhat affected, and late passages sometimes show no uniformity; but the tendency is in the other direction.

### The Syllaba Anceps.

In respect of the *pāda* syllaba anceps, the epic permits this not only in free *triṣṭubhs*, but also in *upajātis*, and even in isolated pure choriambic stanzas. But even the classical poets share this freedom. That is to say, as Professor Capeller has shown, although the rule is that pure *upendras* and *indravajrās* or the corresponding *jagatīs* shall have final anceps only at the end of the hemistich, yet if these stanzas, though complete

<sup>1</sup> Solitary *çālinī* stanzas also occur in the *Purāṇas*. For example, *Vāyu P.* vi, 71, repeated in ix, 113, where occurs the stanza: *vaktrād yasya brāhmaṇā samprasūtāḥ, yad [tad] vakṣataḥ kṣatriyāḥ pūrvabhāge, vāṅgyāç co 'rvor yasya padbhyām ca cūdrāḥ sarve varṇā gātrataḥ samprasūtāḥ*, a pure *çālinī*.

<sup>2</sup> A choriambic verse or stanza is a different matter. This may be as old, or older, than a corresponding stanza of other form. For example, the prose proverb of *Gāut.* xxiii, 29, appears in the form *pañcā 'nṛtāny āhur apātakāni* first in *Vas.* xvi, 35, as an *upajātī* stanza. The oldest version in the epic is in i, 82, 16, where there is no exception in the case of a teacher, as in *Gāutama* (for an untruth here is a mortal sin, not venial), nor is the priest included, as in *Vas.*; but the five venial lies are in case of wounds, about women, in case of marriage, death, and robbery, couched in *upajātī*. A second form occurs, however, in xii, 105, 30, where the teacher is mentioned in the same way as is the priest. The other difference between the epic versions is that the latter begins *na narmayuktam anṛtaṁ hinasti*; the former, *vacanaṁ hinasti*, as choriamb. Spruch 3,321 has only one of these forms (ascribed to a *Purāṇa*), *Manu*, viii, 112, is in *çloka*.



in themselves, form part of a general system of upajātis, the freer form is permitted. Thus in Raghuvaiṇṇa vii, 9, a pure indravajrā occurs with the third pāda ending in brevis, but it is in an upajāti chapter. Examples from epic poetry are:

ii, 56, 21 a (a triṣṭubh stanza), tato vidvān Viduram man-  
trimukhyām

ii, 63, 10 a (ditto), jānīmahe devitām Sāubalasyā

So in these pure choriambic stanzas, found in a general upajāti system:

iii, 176, 7, tava pratijñām Kururāja satyām  
cikīrṣamāṇās tad anupriyam ca  
tato na gacchāma vanāny apāsyā  
Suyodhanam sānucarām nihantum

and ib. 15,

tavā 'rthasiddhyartham api pravṛttān  
Suparnaketuḥ ca Çineç ca naptā  
tathāi 'va Kṛṣṇaḥ pratimo balenā  
tathāi 'va cā 'ham naradeva varya

iv, 11, 9, c, Bṛhannalām mām naradeva viddhi

ib. 54, 17 a, cacāra saṁkhye vidiço diçaç cā

This is very rare in Virāṭa. In jagatī:

iii, 268, 19 c, yadā çarān arpayitā tavo'rasi

xiii, 70, 9 c-d, tvayā purā dattam iti 'ha çuçrumā  
nrpa dvijebhyaḥ kva nu tad gataṁ tavā

Examples in the Harivaṇṇa may be found at 2, 95, 1 ff. (= 8781 ff.); ib. 6 a; ib. 10 and 11 c; ib. 14 a and c; ib. 24 c; ib. 29 c (na veti); 2, 124, 53 a (= 10,625), etc.

Epic usage, however, keeps the final syllable long in the prior pādas. Exceptions like those just given are not uncommon, but are distinctly exceptions. I have no statistics, but perhaps the general condition may be stated well enough in saying that one has to hunt for final breves in prior pādas of pure upendra and indravajrā stanzas and does not have to hunt for final longs; while in upajātis the final breves are not so uncommon as in the pure stanzas of uniform type.

In this regard I see no special difference between the two epics. Perhaps the Rāmāyaṇa poet is a little more shy of the brevis but it occurs there also, not only in pure upendras standing in an upajāti environment, but even in isolated tag-stanzas where the upendra stands alone. Thus where G. ii, 33, 27 has a varied reading which converts the stanza to an upajāti, the Bombay text of R. ii, 33, 29, presents (in an upajāti environment) a pure upendra stanza, with the first pāda ending in brevis, pratīkṣamāṇo 'bhijanaṁ tadā 'ṛtām. Another example will be found in vi, 69, 92 = G. 49, 77. In upajātis it will be enough to refer to R. ii, 15, 44 a; 21, 52 c; 37, 34 a; 36 a; v, 28, 4 ff., etc. In the case of isolated tag-upendras, examples may be found in R. vi, 61, 39, where c ends in a brevis, although the isolated stanza is pure upendra, and in R. ii, 115, 24 (not in G.), where both a and c end in breves:

tadā hi yat kāryam upāiti kinēd  
upāyanam co 'pahṛtam mahārham  
sa pādukābhyām prathamam nivedyā  
cakāra paçcād Bharato yathāvat

One fact seems certain from the treatment of upajātis versus upendras and indravajrās or vaṇçasthabhilas and indra-vaṇçās, namely, that the native metricists in calling the upajāti a mixture of upendra and indravajrā or of vaṇçastha and indravaṇçā, and treating it as a derived form are historically incorrect. Of course, the upajāti stanza is a stanza in which some pādas are of one type and some are of another; but it is not a mixed development from pure stanzas of either type. On the contrary, the upajāti is the prius, and the pure upendra and pure indravajrā stanza is a refinement on the mixed type. Historically the choriambic triṣṭubh begins with syllaba anceps like the çloka,<sup>1</sup> and upendras and indravajrās are differentia-

<sup>1</sup> For this reason, in the Illustrations, though giving examples of each, I do not separate (as is usually done) the types of opening, e. g., ∪ — ∪ — and — — ∪ —. Only in complete forms of stanzas, like the cālīnī, vāṭormī, and rucīrā, is the first syllable fixed. In the free triṣṭubh and upajāti stanzas the initial syllable is quite indifferent. Then comes the upendra stanza,



tions of the earlier mixed types. They had the same development as had the *çālinī*, which began, as in the epic, with  $\cup - \cup -$ , and settled at last into  $- - - -$  as a first foot.

The *upajāti* stanza in its turn is derived (as a more refined form) from the mixed *triṣṭubh* of the early epic type, which unites into one stanza not only *pādas* of the choriambic type and of the types  $- \cup - -$ ,  $\cup \cup - -$ ,  $\cup \cup \cup -$ , but also of the type of the *rucirā* or *mora-pāda*; of which, together with the special stanzas of fixed form derived from these measures, I shall speak hereafter. It is to be observed that this mixture of *vātormī*, *çālinī*, choriambic, and resolved-syllable *pādas* in one stanza is Vedic and *Bhārataic*, non-classical and non-*Rāmāyanan*,<sup>1</sup> but also, in a very limited degree, Puranic. That is to say, the *Bhārata*, the oldest extant *Purāṇa*, on the one hand preserves the old Vedic type, which is still kept up in a measure in the later Puranic diction, while on the other it has the clear-cut *upajāti* system favored by *Vālmiki*, the former both in early and late parts; the latter only in late parts, according as the different poets preserved the old style, or, like *Vālmiki*, cut loose from it and wrote only in *upajāti* form.

### Emergent Stanzas.

Of peculiar interest is the growth of the completed stanza of other *triṣṭubh* forms. In the great epic, we can, as it were, see the gradual emergence of the complete *çālinī*, *vātormī*, and *vaiçvadevī* stanzas (of four identical *pādas*) from the single, double, and triple *pāda* of this form in *triṣṭubh* stanzas, till at last a few complete *çālinī* stanzas are found and one perfect *vaiçvadevī*.

The occasional *pāda* is indefinitely antique. It is the four-fold-combination that is emerging; just as *upajātis* emerge from mixed *triṣṭubhs*, and *upendras* from *upajātis*. In the completed refined *pāda* the opening is spondaic; in the emer-

$\cup - \cup -$ , as distinguished from the *indravajrā*,  $- - \cup -$ , both secondary, not as *pādas*, but as stanzas, to the *upajāti*.

<sup>1</sup> The Vedic usage is illustrated in Kühnau, *Die Triṣṭubh-Jagatī Familie*, p. 52.

gent type it is indifferently iambic or spondaic like other triṣṭubh forms. This sporadic appearance calls for no special remark here, as examples may be found in the list of examples of triṣṭubh pādas. The first stage beyond this is where two pādas appear of half-çālinī form but with iambic opening. This is either "regular" or hypermetric,<sup>1</sup> as in

iii, 5, 16 c-d: yathā ca parṇe puṣkarasyā 'vasiktaṁ  
jalām na tiṣṭhet pathyam uktaṁ tathā 'smin

The hypermetric çālinī pāda of this sort (vāiçvadevī) is common, as in i, 55, 12 b, trātā loke 'sminś tvaṁ tathe 'ha prajānām (so ii, 77, 10 b, etc.), as shown below.

Again, in mixed triṣṭubhs, where we have half a stanza of almost pure çālinī form, as in vi, 3, 65 c-d; or even an almost complete stanza, as in

i, 58, 19: etac chrutvā prīyamānāḥ sametā  
ye tatrā 'san pannagā vītamohāḥ  
Āstike vāi prītimanto babhūvur  
ūcus cāi 'naṁ varam iṣṭaṁ vṛṇīṣva

Here the çālinī is complete save for the last pāda. So in iii, 4, 4, there is a perfect çālinī save for the first syllable of a. In iii, 5, 13, the stanza is nearly vāṭormī, but three pādas begin with a short syllable and the first has the çālinī trochee. In v, 40, 29, three pādas are pure çālinī and one is vāṭormī. These forms are often symmetrically united. Thus in i, 58, 20, the pādas run çālinī + vāṭormī + çālinī + vāṭormī, save that in b and c the third syllable of the first foot is brevis. Sometimes the arrangement is chiastic, as in i, 197, 30, where the pādas are vāṭormī — çālinī, çālinī — vāṭormī, etc. These forms are again mixed freely with upajāti pādas, as in i, 187, 6, this combination being too common to need further illustration. The vāṭormī or çālinī pāda often closes the stanza in such a combination. Thus in i, 76, 47, a is upajāti, b is jagati, c is çālinī, d is vāṭormī; ib. 64, d is çālinī, the others

<sup>1</sup> This form is sometimes effaced by varied readings. Thus in vii, 54, 43, pāpenā 'tmānam majjayiṣyaty asantam, of C. 2116, appears as pāpe 'tmānam.



are upajāti pādas. Alternation of upajātis, çālinī-pāda tri-ṣṭubhs, and çlokas is found in the dramatic Çārāgopākhyāna, i, 232, 8 ff.

A goodly number of specimens of stanzas showing a close approach to the çālinī is found in vii, 2, where finally, in 26, appears one whole çālinī stanza :

açvān agryān pāṇḍurābhraprakāçān  
puṣṭān snātān mantrapūtābhir adbhīḥ  
taptāir bhāṇḍāiḥ kāñcanāir abhyupetān  
çighrān çighraṁ sūtaputrā 'nayasva

So in vii, 54, 40 ff., there is a number of almost complete and quite complete çālinīs.

A complete çālinī occurs in i, 58, 21; another in v, 33, 115 (toward the end of adhy. 40 there are çālinī pādas). The usual order in the epic, however, is a mixture of single pādas. The pseudo-epic, on the other hand, heaps up complete çālinī stanzas. Thus in a little system of ten stanzas at xii, 24, 25 ff., çālinī, vātermī, and upajāti pādas are all mixed up together but lead up to perfect çālinī stanzas in 29, 30, 32. In Anuçāsana, complete stanzas are common, e. g., xiii, 73, 39; 77, 31 and 33 (with a rucirā between), on giving cows to priests. In Çānti may be compared also xii, 63, 9-10 (two complete çālinī stanzas); 259, 39-42; 319, 86 ff. (five out of seven stanzas). The prior pāda of the hemistich may end in brevis, as in some of the last examples, e. g. in 319, 89, where the stanza from a Brahmanic point of view is as late as the sentiment :

sarve varṇā brāhmaṇā brahmajāḥ ca  
sarve nityaṁ vyāharante cā brahma  
tattvaṁ çāstram brahmabuddhyā bravīmi  
sarvaṁ viçvam brahma cāi 'tat samastam

The vātermī stanza, if I am not mistaken, is not yet complete in the epic; but its pādas come near to making a complete stanza, as in vii, 201, 78:

astāṣaṁ tvāṁ tava sammānam icchan  
 vicinvan vāi sadṛṣaṁ devavarya  
 sudurlabhān dehi varān mame 'ṣṭān  
 abhiṣṭataḥ pravikārṣiḥ ca māyām

still closer in ii, 58, 12 :

ke tatrā 'nye kitavā divyamānā  
 vinā rājño Dhṛtarāṣṭrasya putrāiḥ  
 pṛcchāmi tvāṁ Vidura brūhi nas tāt  
 yāir divyāmaḥ ṣṭaṣaḥ saṁnipatya

The hypermeter is not so common as that of the *çālinī*. A case occurs in iii, 134, 14 b: sapta cchandāṁsi kratum ekaṁ vahanti; and another, ib. 12 b: yajñāḥ pañcāi 'vā 'py atha pañcendriyāṇi. So in ii, 77, 7 a; v, 35, 42 a. The last case reads:

nāi 'naṁ cchandāṁsi vṛjināt tārayanti  
 (in 43, 5, as : na cchandāṁsi vṛjināt tārayanti)

As said above, the isolated *vāiçvadevī* pāda is not unusual. Such pādas are reckoned as *triṣṭubh* pādas, as in i, 1, 205 c; 216 a; and so very often elsewhere. For example, xii, 319, 91 d :

ajñānataḥ karmayonim bhajante  
 tāṁ tāṁ rājaṁs te yathā yānty abhāvam  
 tathā varṇā jñānabhināḥ patante  
 ghorād ajñānāt prākṛtaṁ yonijālam

In i, 1, 212 b, there is a pāda identical with this save that it has initial *brevis*, hatān Pañcālān Drūpadeyāṅḥ ca suptān, followed in 217 d by a pure pāda, tasmin saṁgrāme bhāirave kṣatriyāṇām. In i, 89, 12 b, — — — — —, — — — — —, the *vāiçvadevī* appears as an irregular hypermetric *çālinī*. This stanza is almost a *vāiçvadevī* :

anīyatām sukhaduḥkhasya buddhvā  
 kasmāt saṁtāpam Aṣṭakā 'hām bhajeyam  
 kiṁ kuryām vāi kiṁ ca kṛtvā na tapye  
 tasmāt saṁtāpam varjayāmy apramattaḥ



Half a complete stanza appears in xii, 292, 22 (a tag):

rajñā jetavyāḥ çatravaç co 'nnatāç ca  
samyak kartavyam pālanam ca prajānām  
agnic ceyo bahubhiç cā 'pi yajñair  
antye madhye vā vanam āçritya stheyam

(where the scolus is — — ∪, above, p. 280)

A vāiçvadevī pāda appears also in a benedictive verse in viii, C. 5,045 d, çūdrā ārogyam prāpnuvantī 'ha sarve, but B. 96, 63 has çūdrā 'rogyam. The complete stanza occurs but once in the great epic and twice in the Rāmayaṇa, as will be shown in the next section.

### The Fixed Syllabic Metres.

The title akṣaracchandas or its equivalent, varṇavṛtta, "syllabic verse" covers, properly speaking, all metres fixed by syllabic measurement, but it is used only of such stanzas as have a fixed number of syllables arranged in a fixed order in each pāda, all four pādas being alike. The çloka, therefore, is not included, nor the free triṣṭubh of the Mahābhārata. On the other hand, the triṣṭubh in several of its fixed forms, when these are used throughout the stanza, is an akṣaracchandas. Such are the upajāti forms, the çālinī, vātormī, vāiçvadevī, and rucirā. In the scheme of classical metres, there are from twenty to thirty each of such hendekas and dodekas, called triṣṭubhs and jagatīs because of the number of syllables in them.

Of this large number, about a dozen are found in epic poetry. They include those just named, in regard to which it will be necessary to speak further only of two, the vāiçvadevī and rucirā. Besides these, the additional epic rhythms of this class will now be reviewed, arranged, according to their syllabic value, as triṣṭubh, jagatī, atijagatī, çakvarī, atīçakvarī, and atidhṛti, that is in stanzas of four pādas, each pāda having eleven, twelve, thirteen, fourteen, fifteen, and (in the epic case) nineteen syllables, respectively. They are distributed<sup>1</sup> between the two epics as follows:

<sup>1</sup> On their numerical distribution in the Mahābhārata, see below.

In Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa	{	(upajātis and their components)
		vāiṣṇavadevī
		bhujāṅgaprayāta
		rucirā
		praharṣiṇī
In Mahābhārata alone	{	vasantatilalakā
		mālinī
		(çālinī)
In Rāmāyaṇa alone	{	rathoddhatā
		drutavilambita
		çārdūlavikrīḍita
In Rāmāyaṇa alone	{	mṛgendramukha
		asambādhā

The upajātis, including their four components, as also the çālinī and vātermī, have already been sufficiently discussed. The vātermī does not reach stanza form, but its pāda is frequently found alone, duplicated, or trebly; the last case, which is rare, giving three-fourths of a complete vātermī. The çālinī is found not only often in pāda form but occasionally as a complete stanza, sometimes grouped in small numbers in the later books of the great epic. The jagatī pramitākṣarā pādas, isolated in the Çānti Parvan, will be spoken of below, under the head of mātṛāchandas; where will be discussed also the free praharaṇakalitā found in the same part of the pseudo-epic.

### Rathoddhatā.

Having eleven syllables to the pāda, this metre is called a triṣṭubh. Its scheme is — ∪ —, ∪ ∪ ∪ —, ∪ — ∪ —; for example, tasya taj janayatī 'ha sarvataḥ. It may be regarded, therefore, as a jagatī without the initial syllable, its final diiambus giving the true jagatī cadence. Compare under No. 19: (ku-)lambharān anaḍuḥaḥ çatām çatān. There are three and one half stanzas of this rhythm, though the actual occurrences are more numerous; but the same stanza appears repeated. Thus xii, 250, 13-14 is a repetition of xii, 194, 61-63.



Here there are two and one half stanzas, arranged in B. in groups of four, two, and four pādas; in C., as four, four, and two; as if the hemistich were a whole in itself. In xii, 286, 46, one of these stanzas is repeated again with slight changes. In the first instance, the group forms a tag with an aparavaktra, as it does also in the second instance; while in the third it appears in the same way after a puṣpitāgrā. The third separate stanza of this sort is found as a tag after ṣlokaś in xii, 247, 23. All these cases are regular; only the hemistich ends in brevis. The metre is found only in Čānti Mokṣa and not in the Rāmāyaṇa. The last case may serve as an example:

yac ca te manasi vartate paraṁ  
yatra cā 'sti tava saṁçayaḥ kvacit  
çrūyatām, ayam ahaṁ tavā 'grataḥ  
putra kiṁ hi kathayāmi te punaḥ

The (meaningless) diiambic name may at least be a reminder of the rathoddhatā's presumably original opening, and its diiambic close.

### Bhujamgaprayāta.

This twelve-syllabled rhythm is called a jagatī, but it has the final triṣṭubh cadence. The latter part of the pāda is in fact identical with that common triṣṭubh form which has the middle and end — ∪ — — ∪ — ∪; but before this are five syllables, the fourth being a brevis ∪ — — ∪ —. Such a form as this, however, is actually found in one text as the pāda of a hypermetric triṣṭubh, as already pointed out (p. 289), and is nearly equalled (long initial) in the corresponding pāda,

na trāṇam labhet trāṇam icchan sa kāle,

But the specimens in the epic show that the cæsura is not that of the pāda just cited, but rather that of a series of bacchii:

sa ādih | sa madhyaḥ | sa cā 'ntaḥ | prajānām  
anādyo hy amadhyas tathā cā 'py anantaḥ

This metre appears once as a tag in a Tīrtha story, ix, 41, 40, and twice in the twelfth book in an identical hymn in the

middle of two chapters, xii, 341, 100 and 343, 90, the first and third pādas of each version being those just cited, one being a repetition of the other with variations.

There is only one case in the Rāmāyaṇa, vi, 77, 24. In R. this is part of a tag after a puṣpitāgrā, which appears in both texts, while the bhujaṅgaprayāta itself is lacking in G. Here also the cadence is distinctly bacchiic: cacāle 'va co 'rvī | papāte 'va sā dyāur | balam rākṣasānām | bhayaṁ cā 'viveṣa.<sup>1</sup> In both epics, the hemistich alone has final brevis (anceps), as above, and in ix, 41, 40 d, dhṛtātmā jītātmā samabhyājāgāmā. This metre is expressed by its name bhujaṅga-prayātam, 'the snake-slide,' ∪ — ∪ — ∪, which, in the stanza, is repeated (as a whole) eight times.

### Drutavilambita.

This measure, having twelve syllables to the pāda, is called a jagatī. But although it ends as well in a diiambus, it is yet far from the cadences already examined under the name of jagatī. The rhythm is in fact dactylic, so that the trisyllabic measurement suits it; but the first foot has a tribrach as a substitute for a dactyl, and the final syllable is long: ∪ ∪ ∪, — ∪ ∪, — ∪ ∪, — ∪ —. Only two of these stanzas are found in the great epic, and none in the Rāmāyaṇa. The two are together in vii, 184, 47-48; the latter, for example, as follows:

haravṛṣottama-gātrasamadyutiḥ  
smaraçarāsana-pūrṇasamaprabhaḥ  
navavadhūsmīta-cārumanoharaḥ  
praviṣṭaḥ kumudākarabāndhavaḥ

These are not exactly tags, but they are close to the end of the chapter. The prevailing cæsura<sup>2</sup> may indicate that the metre is a catalectic form of triṣṭubh with resolved opening;

<sup>1</sup> A rough English equivalent would be (of the hymn): "Beginning and midst he, and end of creation;" (of the description): "and terror then entered the huge host of demons." The trisyllabic native measurement is here the most accurate.

<sup>2</sup> The last pāda above may of course be read as anapæstic with anacrusis; the preceding, more naturally, with dactylic cadence.



but this genesis is by no means so certain as in the case of other *triṣṭubh* derivatives. To judge from the epic, it is a later metre, and may be either an experiment in resolution (of No. 2), or a new independent invention. It is not necessary, I conceive, to derive every metre from some other, and I incline to the latter view. All the *pādas* in the two epic specimens end in heavy syllables. The sound *drutavilambitām*, ∪ ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪, may serve to remind of the opening cadence; but the other form of the name (in °tām) really agrees with the meaning, "rapid and dilatory," indicating the beginning and end of the *pāda*.

### Vāiçvadevi.

Rare in both epics, this metre occurs but once in stanza form in the *Mahābhārata*, a tag followed by a supplementary *triṣṭubh*. The first hemistich end in *brevis*. Sporadic *pādas* of the *vāiçvadevī* type, — — — — —, — ∪ — — ∪ — ∪, are not infrequent. The twelve syllables do not make a *jagatī*, though the metre is so called, but a hypermetric *triṣṭubh* of the type described above (see No. 7). The native method of measuring by trisyllables in all cases is well shown in this metre to be absurd. For example, in the *pāda* cited above, *Kṛṣṇām Pāñcālīm abravīt sântvapūrvam*, the *cæsura* and natural division is in groups of five and seven syllables respectively. So in the one stanza of the great epic, xii, 291, 25 = 10,721 (*Mokṣa*):

bhīrū rājanyo, brāhmaṇaḥ sarvabhakṣyaḥ  
vāiçyo 'nīhāvān, hīnavarṇo 'lasaḥ ca  
vidvāṅgā ca 'çīlo, vṛttahīnaḥ kulīnaḥ  
satyād vibhraṣṭo brāhmaṇastṛī ca tuṣṭā<sup>1</sup>

(26, rāgī yuktaḥ pacamāno 'tmahetor  
mūrkho vaktā nṛpaḥīnaḥ ca rāṣṭram  
ete sarve çocyatām yānti rājan  
yaç cā 'yuktaḥ snehahīnaḥ prajāsu)

<sup>1</sup> This is the reading of B. In C., brāhmaṇaḥ stṛī ca duṣṭā.

In the Rāmāyaṇa, a single pāda is found in R. (above), and one whole stanza also (lacking in G.), v, 65, 28 (both hemistichs ending in brevis). There is, further, a half stanza in v, 63, 33, united with a hypermetric triṣṭubh hemistich, not in G. but following a tag-triṣṭubh common to both texts; an interesting example of the equivalence of the vāiṣṇavadevī and free triṣṭubh pādas:

prītiṣphītākṣāu samprahrṣṭāu kumārāu  
 dr̥ṣṭvā siddhārthāu vānarānām ca rājā  
 āṅgāiḥ prāhr̥ṣṭāiḥ kāryasiddhiṁ viditvā  
 bāhvor āsannām ātimātraṁ nananda

For the two pādas of the second hemistich, see Nos. 6 and 13 in the Illustrations of triṣṭubhs. The only difference between them and the vāiṣṇavadevī lies in the syllables marked short. For another form of vāiṣṇavadevī, see the mālīnī below.

### Atijagatis.

#### Rucirā.

Of the fifty-one stanzas of rucirās in the Mahābhārata, almost all are regular. One or two slight irregularities occur in the thirteen cases found in the Rāmāyaṇa. Independent pādas of this type scattered among ordinary triṣṭubh pādas are not uncommon in the former epic. They have been discussed above as mora-jagatis and triṣṭubhs. The type of the pure rucirā, — — — —, — — — — — — — —, has long been held<sup>1</sup> to be merely a jagatī with resolution, and, as was said above, this seems to be the only possible explanation of the pāda, whether it happens to occur four or three times, twice, or only once in a stanza.

Less common than the substitution of a rucirā pāda for a triṣṭubh or jagatī pāda, yet still not infrequent, is the harmonious alternation of pādas. The converse of the former case is found in the occasional substitution of a vaṅcāsthābila pāda in regular rucirā stanzas, as in the group of ten tag-

<sup>1</sup> Gildemeister, in Lassen's *Anthologia Sanscrita*, 2d ed., p. 124; Jacobi, *ZDMG.*, vol. xxxviii, p. 607.



rucirās at i, 19, 22–31 (hemistichs end in brevis; so in xii, 52, 34). Here the stanzas are all regular rucirās, four pādas each of the type given above (final anceps only at the end of the hemistich), with the exception of stanzas 27 and 30, in which the second pādas are vaṇṇasthabila-pādas; thus, 29–30:

tato mahīm lavaṇajalam ca sāgaram  
mahāsurāḥ praviviṇur arditāḥ surāḥ  
viyadgataṁ jvalitahutāṇaprabham  
sudarṇanam parikupitaṁ niṇamyate  
tataḥ surāir vijayam avāpya Mandarāḥ  
svam eva *deṇam gamitāḥ* supūjitaḥ  
vinādyā kham divam api cāi 'va sarvaṇas  
tato gataḥ saliladharā yathāgatam

In i, 23, 21–26, there are six tag rucirās, as stuti, but in stanza 23 only one pāda is of rucirā form, the others being upajātis; while in i, 34, 26, one vaṇṇastha pāda is followed by three rucirā pādas.

It is very unusual to find this stanza except as a tag, as in the examples just given.<sup>1</sup> In i, 56, 1, however, is found a stanza consisting of one rucirā pāda and three triṣṭubh pādas, the first being peculiar in opening with a spondee: bālo 'py ayaṁ sthavira ivā 'vabhāṣate, nā 'yam bālaḥ sthaviro 'yam mato me, etc. Such a pāda in such a stanza confirms the view that the whole rucirā is merely a resolved jagatī.

The alternate arrangement, referred to on the last page, may be seen in the tag at vii, 29, 51:

nihatya taṁ narapatim indravikramam  
sakhāyam indrasya tad āndrir āhave  
tato parāṇs tava jayakāṅkṣiṇo narān  
babhāṇja vāyur balavān drumān iva

<sup>1</sup> At iii, 25, 5, a rucirā stanza appears among the group of triṣṭubhs with which the chapter begins. Its first pāda is an echo of the one cited above, tam āgataṁ jvalitahutāṇaprabham. In vii, 2, 15–16, two rucirās appear in the same way among vaṇṇasthas. At the end of vii, 148, the tag-effect is done away with by the addition in C. 6443 ff. of five ślokas (not found in B.) after the two vaṇṇasthas, which in B. complete the tag begun by the rucirā, 56.

The same arrangement has already (p. 303) been noticed in xii, 244, 29. Another stanza in this book, xii, 52, 34, forms the finale of a short system of pure (tag) *vaṇṇasthabilas*. One fifth of all the *ruçirā* stanzas in the epic are in the *Hari-vaṇṇa*, inserted as tags, and they are all perfectly regular, with the substitution of one *vaṇṇastha* *pāda* each in 2, 123, 35 c and 3, 34, 48 d, respectively. In addition to these, there is half a *ruçirā* at C. 10,274 (after *vaṇṇasthas* and before *çlokas*), the prior *pāda* of which ends in *brevis*: *namo 'stu te mahiṣamahāsurārdinī, namo 'stu te bhayakari vidviṣāṃ sadā*. Here B. 2, 120, 43, inverts the *pādas*, permitting the *brevis* at the end; but it also has a varied reading, *bandhana-mokṣakāriṇi*, which leaves only one *ruçirā* *pāda*.<sup>1</sup> The other cases call for no special remark. The *cæsura* is after the fourth syllable.

In the *Rāmāyaṇa* there are but four *ruçirās* common to the two texts, R. and G., two of which are in the seventh book; but there are four in G. not found in R., and five in R. not found in G. As in the *Mahābhārata*, the *cæsura* is regularly after the *diambus*, the *gaṇa* division  $\cup - \cup, - \cup \cup, \cup \cup -$ ,  $\cup - \cup, -$  not corresponding to any text. Here the position of the *ruçirā* is always that of a tag, usually after *upajātis*. The second hemistich occasionally ends in *brevis*, e. g., G. ii, 68, 56; vii, 68, 25; R. vi, 62, 22; but, as in the *Mahābhārata*, even this liberty is seldom taken. In R. v, 7, 15-17 (not in G.), of the twelve *pādas*, all are regular save the first, which has an extra syllable: *itī 'va tad gṛham abhigamya çobhamānam*.<sup>2</sup> In G. vi, 39, 33, *pāda* b has *yaçaskaram priyakaram bāndhavapriyam*, where R. 62, 22, is regular, *yathā priyam priyaraṇa bāndhavapriya*. R. omits the tag of G. vii, 68, 25 (continuing with *çlokas*). The case is interesting, because it is evidently an instance of breaking a chapter by means of a tag (perhaps as an aid in recitation), and because the *ruçirā*

<sup>1</sup> P.W. s. v. *mahiṣa* 2 c, gives a var. lec. I give the readings of the Calcutta and Bombay, 1895, *Harivaṇṇa*.

<sup>2</sup> It is easy to suggest *çobhitam*; but this half-*ruçirā* half-*paharṣiṇi* *pāda* really needs no emendation. See just below.



tag thus employed is highly irregular (pāda b: haniṣyasi, Raghuvāra, nā 'tra saṁçayaḥ) in making the cæsura answer for a long syllable; thus showing that there is a late (careless) freedom as well as the freedom of early (undeveloped) forms. With one exception, no such substituted pādas as equate upajātis in the other epic occur in the Rāmāyaṇa.<sup>1</sup>

### Praharṣiṇi.

Having thirteen syllables to the pāda this metre is called an atijagatī, though its finale is that of a triṣṭubh, ∪ — ∪. As to the relation of the measure, it is clearly of the puṣpitāgrā class, in closing in ∪ — ∪ — ∪ — —, as will be seen below; and as clearly of rucirā nature, both in its middle and even in its opening; for it begins with a mora-equivalent, — — —, of the rucirā's diiambus, ∪ — ∪ —, and continues with the rucirā's resolved triṣṭubh form. In fact, as we have seen that a rucirā pāda may appear with the extra syllable of the praharṣiṇī, we can supply all the links from triṣṭubh to puṣpitāgrā with actually extant measures (see also below, under mātrāchandas, p. 337):

triṣṭubh-jagatī,	∪ — ∪ —, — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ —
rucirā type,	∪ — ∪ —, ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ —
rucirā freak,	∪ — ∪ —, ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ — —
praharṣiṇī,	— — —, ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ — —
puṣpitāgrā,	∪ ∪ [∪ ∪], ∪ ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ — —

The secondary cæsura sometimes makes the pāda coincide very closely with the rucirā, for example in R. ii, 79, 17 a-b:

ūcūs te | vacanam idaṁ | niçamyā hr̥ṣṭāḥ  
sāmātyāḥ | sapariṣado | viyātaçokāḥ,

but in other cases this cæsura causes a trochaic cadence to be struck with the beginning of a new word after the proceusmaticus, as is clearly shown in R. ii, 107, 17 c-d:

gaccha tvam | puravaram | adya samprahr̥ṣṭāḥ  
samhr̥ṣṭas | tv aham api | Daṇḍakān pravekṣye

<sup>1</sup> For this exception in the Rāmāyaṇa, see above, p. 300.

Do thou now | to the city | fare with heart rējoicing  
while meantime | mērrily I | will to Dandakās go

It is rather striking that in both these examples the name of the metre seems to be implied in it, hr̥ṣṭāḥ and sam̐hr̥ṣṭas like praharṣiṇī (or -aṇī) "rejoicing," but I do not know that this is more than an accident.<sup>1</sup> There is a parallel in the rucirā-like pāda cited above from the Rāmāyaṇa, G. vii, 88, 22:

gato ravir suruciram astaçāilam

The Rāmāyaṇa has one more case of this metre, G. vi, 25, 41, sa krodhād vipulayaçā mahānubhāvo, etc. The only short finals are at the end of the whole stanza.

In the Mahābharata there are twelve cases, all regular (but the first hemistich as well as the second may end in brevis), with the same norm and varying cæsura, — — —, — — — —, — — — — —, or — — —, — — —, — — — — —. They are not all tags. For example, that at vii, 143, 48 and the group of four in xii, 322, 24-27; but that at i, 2, 396, is the tag of a tag, apparently merely a scholiastic addition:

ākhyānam tad idam anuttamam mahārtham, etc.,

as are those in i, 21, 18; 22, 12; 25, 17 (tag to a rucirā tag, b ends in brevis), vedāṅgāny abhigamayanti sarvayatnāiḥ, etc. The first two of these just mentioned are akin: in 21 c, vistīrṇaṁ dadṛçatur ambaraprakāçam; in 22 b, gambhīraṁ vikasitam ambaraprakāçam. In the specimen at xiii, 7, 28, the praharṣiṇī is by one çloka stanza<sup>2</sup> removed from the end of the section, and is a moral excrescence added to the tale:

<sup>1</sup> I may add that in the first example there is not only hr̥ṣṭāḥ in R. ii, 79, 17, but in the vaṅçastha which precedes this tag we find: praharṣajās tam prati bāṣpabindavo, etc. See a case like this from the other epic cited in the next note.

<sup>2</sup> This final çloka says: "I have repeated what the seer proclaimed in regard to the getting of good and evil fruit. Now what do you want to hear?" The çloka before the praharṣiṇī is: Bhīṣmasyāi 'tad vacaḥ çrutvā vīṣmitāḥ Kurupūṅgavāḥ, āsan prahṛṣṭamanasaḥ prītimanto 'bhavans tadā. See the last note.



yan mantre bhavati vṛtho 'payujyamāne  
yat some bhavati vṛthā 'bhiṣayamāne  
yac cā 'gnāu bhavati vṛthā 'bhihūyamāne  
tat sarvam bhavati vṛthā 'bhidhiyamāne

The tendency to restrict the final syllaba anceps to the close of the stanza is observable in several of these cases. For instance, in the group cited from the twelfth book, the only final breves are at the end of whole stanzas, not at the end of the first hemistich. In i, 2, the first hemistich ends in a short vowel, but before two consonants (d ends in ā); in i, 21 and 22, no final is short. The only exception is the one noticed above, i, 25, 17 b. The two cases in H., C., 6248 and B., 3, 7, 25 are tags, and have no final brevis. The former has hiatus in pāda d (avoided in B., 2, 53, 57, manujendra cā 'tmaniṣṭham):

yad yuktam, kuru manujendra, ātmanestam

The latter, instead of C.'s amṛtam, 11,303, has

yat satyam yad anṛtam ādimakṣaram vāi,

where (ādimā and kṣara are kāraṇa and kārya)<sup>1</sup> ādimā is a late adjective.

On the verse goptā samīkṣya sukr̥tinām dadāti lokān, see below under mātṛāchandas.

### Mṛgendramukha.

Another atijagatī, not found in the Mahābhārata, but in one text of the Rāmāyaṇa, is the mṛgendramukha of R. vi, 101, 55, which takes the place of a puspitāgrā tag in G. 85, 13. The posterior pādas of the latter metre have regularly the form illustrated by G. at this place, muditamanāḥ samud-ikṣitum tvarāmi, ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ — ∪. This form is simply quadrupled in order to make the mṛgendramukha; the cadence of which is often made trochaic through the cæsura, as in this epic example, a and d:

<sup>1</sup> In the next pāda, B. has yad bhutam bhavati mithaḥ ca yad bhaviṣyam, where C. has yad bhūtam bhavad amitam ca.

yadi vadham icchasi | Rāvaṇasya saṁkhye  
 yadi ca kṛtām hi tave 'cchasi pratijñām  
 yadi tava rājasutābhilāsa, ārya,  
 kuru ca vaco mama | çighram adya vīra<sup>1</sup>

The native division of the pāda of course is ∪ ∪ ∪, ∪ — ∪, ∪ — ∪, — ∪ —, —, which fits pāda b. The brevis at the end of either pāda, as in this case, is probably due to the fact that the metre is a stereotyped posterior pāda in repeated form.

### Asambādhā.

The remaining akṣara tags are longer metres, the çakvarī, of syllables  $4 \times 14$ ; the atiçakvarī, of  $4 \times 15$ : and the atidhṛti, of  $4 \times 19$ . Of the first, there are two varieties, of which one is the asambādhā, found only in the Bombay R. ii, 116, 25, with the norm (according to the example, — —, — — — ∪ ∪ ∪, ∪ ∪ ∪, — — —) violated as follows (prior hemistich):

Rāmaḥ saṁsādhya ṛṣigaṇam anugamanād  
 deçāt tasmāt kulapatim abhivādya ṛṣim  
 samyak prītāis tair anumata upadiṣṭārthaḥ  
 puṇyam vāsāya svanilayam upasampede

To this is added a supplementary tag, a peculiar stanza (where G. iii, 1, 35, has a vañçastha tag), in which the last pāda differs from the three preceding; a, b, c, being alike in having each the fourteen moræ of the even vāitālīya pāda (explained below), and eleven syllables, but not in a fixed order; against seventeen moræ and twelve syllables in d. Pāda b is aparavaktra, but I do not know what to call the whole (R. ii, 116, 26):

āçramam ṛṣivirahitam prabhuḥ  
 kṣaṇam api na jahāu sa Rāghavaḥ  
 Rāghavam hi satatam anugatās  
 tāpasāç cā 'rṣacarite dhṛtaguṇāḥ

<sup>1</sup> The stress, but not the quantity, is Saturnian: kuru ca vaco mama | vīrum mīhi Cásmena | çighram adya vīra | ínsecé versútum. The name mṛgendramukha comes from the mnemonic verse: kṣudhitamṛgendramukham mṛgā upetya (Brown).



**Vasantatilakā.**

The second *çakvarī* called *vasantatilakā* (or °kam) is found twice in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, but only in the last and latest book, vii, 8, 28, where it is followed by a *jagatī* *upajāti* as a final tag, and vii, 96, 23, also a tag. In the latter case, all *pādas* have heavy final syllables. In the former, *pāda c* has final *brevis*, but this liberty is taken in the case of the *vasantatilakā* even by the classical writers.<sup>1</sup> The metre is clearly hypermetric *triṣṭubh*: — — ∪ —, ∪ ∪ ∪, — ∪ ∪ — — or — — ∪ — ∪, ∪ ∪ —, ∪ ∪ —, ∪ — —. In the first example, three *pādas* have *cæsura* after the fifth, like other hypermetric *triṣṭubhs*:

eṣā mayā tava narādhipa rākṣasānām  
 utpattir adya | kathitā sakalā, yathāvat  
 bhūyo nibodha | Rāghusattama, Rāvaṇasyā  
 janma prabhāvam | atulaṁ sasutasya sarvam

The *Mahābhārata* has twelve occurrences of *vasantatilakās*, but only eight separate stanzas, the others being vain repetitions of old material. The first three are in the tag-group at the end of i, 2, 391 ff., which ends in a *praharṣiṇī*. The second of this group has short finals in *b* and *d*; the third (which follows immediately after two *çlokas*) has final *brevis* in *a*. The stanzas are benedictive and are partially repeated at the end of xviii, 5, 67–68, where *B.* has the third of this group (omitted here in *C.*), and this again is found at the beginning of the *Harivaṇça*. In all these occurrences of the same stanza, *dadātī* is left at the end of *pāda a*; but in *c* the reading varies between *satatam çṛṇotī* in xviii and *çṛṇuyāc ca nityam* or *tadvat* in i, 2, 395 and *Harivaṇça*, i, 1, 4. In xiii, 151, 80, the same stanza has *kathayec ca nityam*. I give it in full on account of its universal interest:

<sup>1</sup> Compare the note to *Vāmana's Stilregeln* by Professor Cappeller, p. 23. The final *brevis* in prior *pādas* is found also in inscriptional poetry. Compare e. g., the third and tenth stanzas in *Vatsabhaṭṭi's* poem, fifth century, given in *Bühler's* essay on Indian inscriptions, p. 91, where *pādas a* and *c* respectively close in *brevis*; or the fifth and twenty-fifth, where, in each, both the prior *pādas* end in *brevis*. In fact, the tendency here is to close the hemistich in heavy syllables and the prior *pādas* in light syllables (25, 27, 31, 32, 40).

yo goçataṁ kanakaçṛṅgamayaṁ dadāti  
viprāya vedaviduṣe subahuçrutāya<sup>1</sup>  
puṇyāṁ ca bhāratakathāṁ satataṁ çṛṇoti  
tulyam phalam bhavati tasya ca tasya cāi 'va

In the thirteenth book (as in the case of the Rāmāyaṇa, this metre is found only in pseudo-epic or late books), there are two new cases of vasantatilakā. The first, 14, 189, is unique in not being a tag (only d has final brevis); the other (with a çārdūlavikrīḍita) being a tag, as usual. The latter is united with the benedictive stanza above, and like it has final brevis in the first pāda, 151, 80-81 (80 being the stanza quoted above).

The Harivaṅṣa has a tag-group (followed by one çloka) of three more vasantatilakā stanzas at 3, 114, 39-41, the last of which also has final brevis in c:

41, c, jyotis trilokajanakaṁ tridaçāikavandyam  
d, akṣor mamā 'stu satataṁ hṛdaye 'cyutākhyam

### Mālinī.

This is an atiçakvari, 4 × 15 syllables, having syllaba anceps regularly only at the close of the hemistich, but in one instance at the end of a prior pāda, a freedom found among classical works only in the Mṛcchakaṭikam, according to Professor Cappeller.<sup>2</sup> The metre is found in both epics; but the Rāmāyaṇa has only one case common to R. and G., and that is in the last book, vii, 59, 23 = G. 61, 21, the stanza only ending in brevis. It is a tag. In R. vi, 40, 29-30, there are two cases, not in G., both regular, a tag couplet (in the former case both hemistichs end in brevis). G. ii, 106, 29-30, has two stanzas, not in R., a tag (final brevis only at the end of the first stanza). The natural division is often ∪ ∪ ∪, ∪ ∪ ∪, — —, — ∪ —, — ∪ — —, with cæsura after the spondee. The Mahābhārata has eleven cases,

<sup>1</sup> v. l. bahuviçrutāya in the Bombay H. Also ca for su, and other variants in Anuçāsana.

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



and (like the one case in both texts of the Rāmāyaṇa) they are all in the later epic: vii, 73, 48; viii, 85, 1-4; 90, 24; xiii, 6, 45-47; H. 2, 105, 84; and 3, 132, 100. The one in Droṇa unites with a *puṣpitāgrā*, but, although both are almost at the end of a chapter, they are rather a tag to a speech than to the chapter itself. Those in Karna are at the beginning and in the middle of their respective chapters. Those in Anuśāsana are a tag, except that two *śloka*s follow. In the group of viii, 85, all the *pāda*s end long except the posterior *pāda*s of the third stanza, both of which have final *brevis*. The two cases in Hariv. are tags (one *śloka* following in the latter) with *brevis* only at the close of the stanza. An irregularity appears in xiii, 6, 46 c-d:

bahutarasusamṛddhyā mānuṣāṇām gṛhṇī  
pitṛvanabhavanābham dṛṣyate cā 'marāṇām

In 47, the hemistichs end in *brevis*; in 45, only the first hemistich. The plural *gṛhṇī* is remarked upon as Vedic by the scholiast, who thus supports it; but *gṛham* (*vāi*?) is probably right.

A very common cadence, whereby the end of the *pāda* assumes the fall — ∪ — —, ∪ — —, rather than — ∪ —, — ∪ — —, is illustrated by H. 3, 132, 100 a-b (cited above):

ajaram amaram ekam dhyeyam ādyantaṣṭṇyam  
saguṇam aguṇam ādyaṁ sthūlam atyantasūkṣmam

Another kind of *mālinī*, not found in the epics, begins with — ∪, ∪ ∪ ∪ — —, showing that the epic form is a further resolution of an original *triṣṭubh*, which may be represented by ∪ ∪ ∪ — —, — ∪ — — ∪ — —. This is, of course, the *vaiṣṇa-devī* form of the hypermetric *triṣṭubh*,<sup>1</sup> the close relation of which with the *puṣpitāgrā* is well shown in vii, 73, 48-49:

48 a-b: asurasuramanuṣyāḥ pakṣiṇo vo 'rago vā  
pitṛrajanicarā vā brahmadevarṣayo vā  
49 a-b: yadi viçati rasātalam tad agryam  
viyad api devapuram Diteḥ puram vā

<sup>1</sup> Compare Professor Jacobi's learned essay, *Entwicklung der indischen Metrik in nachvedischer Zeit*, ZDMG. vol. xxxviii, p. 600.

The content of this *mālinī* appears a little further on, 77, 26, in the form of a *puṣpitaḡrā*:

yadi ca manuḡapannagāḡ piḡcā  
rajanicarāḡ patagāḡ surāsuraḡ ca

and in viii, 37, 36, in *aparavaktra*: *asurasuramahoragān narān*.

### Çārdūlavikrīḡita.

The only remaining *akṣaracchandas* in the epic is the *ati-dhṡti* (4 × 19) *çārdūlavikrīḡita*, which occurs in the eighth and thirteenth books of the *Mahābhārata*. The chapter of the former book graced with a *mālinī* is also enlivened with the "tiger's play," viii, 90, 42 (two lines in C., 4668-9). It is not a tag and is perfectly regular, four times — —, — ∪ ∪ —, ∪ — ∪, ∪ ∪ —; — — ∪, — — ∪ —. There are also one and a half stanzas at xiii, 14, 229, and a whole stanza ib. 234; neither of which is a tag. This position of a fancy-metre in a chapter instead of at its end always shows a late section (affected in the *Harivaṡa*). In xiii, 151, 79, the *çārdūlavikrīḡita* joins with *vasantatilakās* to make a tag. All the specimens are regular. The metre may be a late development from the *triṡṡubh*. The intermediate phases, however, are not very clear, though the genesis may tentatively be assumed as; — —, — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ (as in the *vāitāliya*, below), ∪ ∪ — —, — ∪ — — ∪ —, or two stanzas to the strophe, as in the classical grouping of *çloka*s, with shift of *cæsura*. This metre is not found in the *Rāmāyaṡa*.

### Ardhasamavṡṡta (*Mātrāchandas*).

#### (A) PŪṢPITĀGRĀ AND APARAVAKTRA.

These metres, as is indicated by their name "semi-equal," are uneven in their *pādas*. They are not quite *mora-metres*, since the number and position of their syllables, heavy or light, are regularly fixed; but on the other hand they are not like *akṣara metres*, for their *pādas* are not identical. In the epic, however, the rule of fixed syllables is not strictly preserved. The cadence of the hemistich, with its unequal



pādas, has either wholly trochaic close or alternate trochaic and iambic. The first is illustrated by R. vi, 33, 36 c-b :

tam iha çaraṇam  
abhyupāhi devī  
haya iva maṇḍalam  
āṇu yah karoti

Rapid as a charger is,  
Hasten, hurry quickly.

As already remarked, the second pāda of this puṣpitāgrā, when quadrupled, makes the mṛgendramukha (above, p. 331), which also has trochaic fall. The aparavaktra, which has one syllable (usually two moræ) less than the puṣpitāgrā, shows more clearly the derivation from the triṣṭubh, R. ii, 39, 41 :

murajapaṇava-meghaghōṣavad  
Daçaratha-veçma babhūva yat purā

or, again, in M. viii, 37, 42 :

bhavatu bhavatu, kiṁ vikatthase,  
nanu mama tasya hi yuddham udyatam

There is one form of triṣṭubh which actually corresponds to the second verse of the puṣpitāgrā, when its breves are equated with heavy syllables, thus :

triṣṭubh	{	mānam na kuryān nā 'dadhīta roṣam
		— — — — —
puṣpitāgrā	b {	— — — — —
		svaparamatāir gahanam pratarkayadbhiḥ

Professor Jacobi also sees in the jagatī or triṣṭubh the origin of the puṣpitāgrā, though he is inclined to adopt a more complicated development (from a Vedic verse of 12 + 8 syllables).<sup>1</sup>

The puṣpitāgrā and aparavaktra are used only as tag-metres; sometimes, as in R. v, 16, 30 (not in G.) inserted

<sup>1</sup> ZDMG. vol. xxxviii, p. 591 ff. Professor Jacobi, p. 595, regards the puṣpitāgrā as a development from a pure mātrāchandas, which in turn he refers to the satobṛhatī (4 × 12 + 8). Compare also the same author, IS. vol. xvii, p. 449.

among upajāti tags common to both texts; sometimes, as in G. iii, 54, 28 (not in R.) after a common triṣṭubh-tag; or in other similar situations.<sup>1</sup>

The puṣpitāgrā occurs much more frequently as a tag-metre than does the aparavaktra. For example, in the Rāmāyaṇa, the puṣpitāgrā is found four times as often. There are, however, only thirteen cases common to the two texts, R. and G. Besides these, G. has fourteen, and R. has twenty-one cases not found in the alternate text.

The mark of the posterior pāda, as distinguished from the prior, is the apparent insertion of a heavy syllable (in terms of mātrā metre, two moræ), at a point which is usually fixed as after the initial four breves. This, however, is not always the case. Thus in G. v, 31, 62 b, corresponding to d, which latter, vacanam idam mama Māithili pratīhi, is regular, appears as posterior pāda of a puṣpitāgrā:

lavaṇajalanidhir goṣpadīkṛto me,

where the heavy syllable is put after all the breves, perhaps merely on account of the awkward phrase (in ṣloka, ib. 33, 23, goṣpadīkṛtaḥ). Later rule especially forbids this arrangement for all mātrāchandas: "In the opening of prior pādas, ∪ — — ∪, and of posterior pādas, ∪ — — — ∪ and — ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ and ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ —, are forbidden."<sup>2</sup>

Further, for the prior pāda may be substituted a different cadence, almost that of the vāitāliya, ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ —, ∪ ∪ —, ∪ — —. This occurs in G. vi, 62, 44 a (where R. 83, 44, has the normal ∪ ∪, ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪, — ∪ — ∪ —) thus:

G., ayam adya vibho tava ca priyārtham

R., ayam anagha tavo 'ditaḥ priyārtham

Compare G. vi, 92, 83 b: svabalā 'bhivṛto raṇe vyārājatā,

<sup>1</sup> In G. vi, 39, 32, where R. has only a rucirā, there is a puṣpitāgrā inserted before the rucirā. These two names, by the way, appear together as ordinary adjectives "blooming and shining" (trees), supuṣpitāgrān rucirān (vṛkṣān), R. v, 14, 41.

<sup>2</sup> Weber, IS. vol. viii, p. 309.



where R. 108, 34, has svajanabalā 'bhivṛto raṇe babbhūvā.<sup>1</sup>

The prior pāda may be hypermetric. Thus R. vi, 107, 68 a-b:

Daṣarathasutarākṣasendrayos taylor  
jayam anavekṣya raṇe sa Rāghavasya

A parallel case or two occurs in the other epic (see below).

Occasionally there is a quasi inversion, ◡—◡—◡—, of the ending —◡—◡—◡—. This occurs twice in R., but only in Ādi and Uttara. The first case presents varied readings. In G. i, 22, 20, there is simply the not unusual equivalence of a and c puṣpitāgrā and b and d (aparavaktra) catalectic. But in R. the same stanza, i, 19, 22, has, besides, the irregular pāda a:

◡◡◡ ◡◡◡ ◡—◡ —◡— | ◡◡◡ ◡—◡ ◡—◡ —◡—  
◡◡◡ ◡◡◡ —◡— ◡—◡ | = b

that is, instead of iti hṛdayavidāraṇam tadānīm in G. a, R. has iti saḥṛdayamanovidāraṇam. This can scarcely be a mere lapsus, as the finale occurs again in the Mahābhārata and in R. vii, 29, 38 c-d:

yad ayam atulabalas tvayā 'dya vāi  
tridaṣapatis tridaṣaḥ ca nirjitāḥ

In the latter passage, 37 a has ◡◡—◡— as close:

atha saraṇavigatam uttamāujāḥ<sup>2</sup>

While posterior pādas have syllaba anceps, as in G. vi, 92, 83 b, cited above, a prior pāda has this only in R. vi, 33, 36,

<sup>1</sup> Another case of variation, R. vi, 84, 22 d = G. 63, 22, where G. has asuravaro 'nmathanāya yathā mahendraḥ may be corrupt (for asuravaro 'nmathanane yathā mahendraḥ?). B. has divijaripumathane yathā mahendraḥ (for ripor?).

<sup>2</sup> In b, compare G. v, 36, 77 b, Janakanṛpātmañādhṛtam; but R. 38, 70, has Janakanṛpātmañayādhṛtam prabhāvāt, which is correct. In R. vii, 29, 37 and 38 are puṣpitāgrās; 39 and 40 are aparavaktras. In G. the only irregularity here is in (37) 38 c, avasutasya vacanam atipriyam tat. Here in 40 = R. 39, a is aparavaktra and b is puṣpitāgrā, though the latter may have added the unnecessary tvam that makes the change. The same is true of R. 38 a. I have noticed besides only the following puṣpitāgrā irregularities, which seem to me more grammatical than metrical, or mere errors: G. ii, 29, 29 b, ◡◡—◡— for —◡—◡—, read apratīmarūpa? G. iv, 34, 35 c, read anṛtamadhura? Neither stanza is found in R.

devī (cited above), where, however, G. has Sīte (here, 9, 39, abhayaṁkaram is to be read). In posterior pādas, final syllaba anceps is found about a dozen times in the forty-odd puṣpītāgrās of the Rāmāyaṇa text.

The aparavaktra is a puṣpītāgrā shortened by one long syllable, two moræ, in each pāda; or in other words, its pāda is a catalectic puṣpītāgrā pāda. To native prosodians, as to European scholars, the shorter is the type, and the puṣpītāgrā is an expanded aparavaktra; a view that appears to me erroneous. The aparavaktra occurs in the Rāmāyaṇa, as said above, not quite one-fourth so often as the puṣpītāgrā.<sup>1</sup> Like the latter, it is used alone, or with other metres to make tags. The final syllables are always long. Irregularities are rare; a substitute like that in the puṣpītāgrā occurs in G. ii, 82, 15 a:

∪ ∪ ∪ ∪, ∪ ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ —  
 ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪, — ∪ ∪ ∪ —, ∪ — ∪ —  
 ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪, ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ —, ∪ ∪ — (ca satī omit ca ?)  
 ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪, — ∪ ∪ ∪ —, ∪ — ∪ —

Here R. has a regular aparavaktra, ii, 81, 16. In G. iv, 62, 25, the second pāda is plavagapuṇḡgavāḥ paripūrṇamānasāḥ, for R.'s (63, 15) plavagavarāḥ pratilabdhapāuruṣāḥ; and in G. 63, 29, plavaṅgamāḥ paripūrṇamānasāḥ.

There is only one passage in the Uttara, vii, 29, 37-40, where puṣpītāgrā and aparavaktra are found. Otherwise these metres are distributed pretty evenly over the Rāmāyaṇa, except that the first book has no aparavaktra,<sup>2</sup> and only one puṣpītāgrā common to both texts, but R. here has four not in G. The reason is that the later epic prefers pure mātrāchandas.

Interchange of aparavaktra and puṣpītāgrā pādas occurs occasionally, as in G. ii, 15, 36 (R. has upendra here), where a

<sup>1</sup> There are only six cases common to both texts; besides, two in R. not in G.; three in G. not in R.; twelve in all, as G. at iv, 62, 25 and 63, 29 has the one at R. 63, 15. In the last case, the first pāda is the same in the three stanzas; in R. all the other pādas are normal, but in G. 62, 25 d is a puṣpītāgrā pāda, as is c of 63, 29. The missing stanza in the alternate text is due merely to the latter having a puṣpītāgrā in G. iii, 7, 36; R. vi, 68, 24.

<sup>2</sup> The fifth book has no aparavaktra, but it has half a dozen puṣpītāgrās. The sixth book has the greatest number of puṣpītāgrās.



and c are puṣpitāgrā pādas and b and d are aparavaktra pādas in regular interchange; or as in G. v, 36, 77, where only the last pāda of the stanza is catalectic (of aparavaktra form).

It is clear that the puṣpitāgrā, a form of triṣṭubh, and the aparavaktra, a catalectic puṣpitāgrā, are not regarded as separate but as interchangeable in pāda formation. As complete stanzas, the latter compared with the former, are rare. The pāda type is not absolutely fixed.

Before comparing the usage in the Mahābhārata, I shall complete this description of the phenomena in the Rāmāyaṇa with an account of the

#### (B) ĀUPACCHANDASIKA AND VĀITĀLĪYA.

In the later part of the Rāmāyaṇa — if one may dare suggest that any epic poem in India was not all written at the same moment — the place of the puṣpitāgrā and aparavaktra, as tag-metres, is taken by pure mātrāchandasas, namely, the āupacchandasika and vāitālīya, which bear to each other the same relation as that held by the former pair; that is to say, the vāitālīya pāda is a catalectic āupacchandasika pāda. These two pairs are essentially identical, as may be seen by comparing the posterior pādas, which in each are increased by a long syllable. The posterior pāda of the āupacchandasika is

— — — — —, — — — — —, — — — — —,

which, when catalectic, should have final syllaba anceps; but this never happens at the end of the first hemistich, only at the end of the stanza, an indication that the vāitālīya is the derived form. Again, the āupacchandasika is really the epic stanza metre. The vāitālīya is used but once as a stanza, all the other cases being merely catalectic pādas of an āupacchandasika stanza. The prior pāda in āupacchandasika may also end in brevis, and, as the spondee is usually resolved into an anapæst in both pādas, we get the norm (16 and 18 moræ):

- (a) ∪ ∪, — ∪ ∪ —, ∪ — ∪ — ∪  
 (b) ∪ ∪ —, — ∪ ∪ —, ∪ — ∪ — ∪  
 or (b) — —, — ∪ ∪ —, ∪ — ∪ — ∪

This is evidently a variety of the *puṣpitaḡrā*.<sup>1</sup> That is, it reverts to a *triṣṭubh* origin.

R. vii, 57, 21 = G. 59, 22, may be taken as the typical form:

∪ ∪, — ∪ ∪ —, ∪ — ∪ — (—)  
 ∪ ∪ —, — ∪ ∪ —, ∪ — ∪ — ∪  
 ∪ ∪, — ∪ ∪ —, ∪ — ∪ — —  
 ∪ ∪ —, — ∪ ∪ —, ∪ — ∪ — ∪

G. adds *te* to R.'s *pāda* a, *iti sarvaṃ aṇṇato mayā (te)*. The final syllable of the stanza in vii, 61, 24 = G., 66, 24, *vāitāliya*, is short in R., long in G. Prior *pādas* do not usually end in *brevis*, but they do occasionally, as in G. vii, 87, 18 (not in R.), where in b the spondaic type of opening is illustrated:

*iti karma sudāruṇaṃ sa kṛtvā*  
*Daṇḍo daṇḍam avāptavān ugram*  
*ṇṇu sarvaṃ aṇṇatas tad adya*  
*kathayiṣye tava rājasinhavṛtta*

The close of b, however, shows an unusual phase of the type of the equivalent variant with spondee; but it is not necessary to suppose that a *brevis* is lost before *ugram*. Both posterior *pādas* may begin with a spondee (but end in — ∪ — ∪ — —), as in R. vii, 55, 21 = G. 57, 22 (all *pādas* end long), e. g., *tulyavyādhigatāu mahāprabhāvāu*, apparently an older form than the usual resolved type.

As in the case of the *puṣpitaḡrā* and *aparavaktra*, the catalectic (*vāitāliya*) *pāda* may take the place of the full measure. Thus in R. vii, 95, 17 (not in G.), the spondee type (b) is used as a catalectic *pāda*:

*iti sampravacārya rājasinīhaḥ*  
*ṇvohūte ṇpathasya niṇṇayam*  
*visasarja munīn nṛpāṇṇ ca sarvān*  
*sa mahātmā mahato mahānubhāvah*

<sup>1</sup> Compare the form cited above, ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ — ∪ ∪, as a variant of *puṣpitaḡrā* (b).



In R. vii, 86, 21 (G. 93, 21), a-b show a new form of this combination:

iti Lakṣmaṇavākyaṃ uttamaṃ  
nṛpatir ativamanoharam mahātmā

that is, a vāitāliya prior and puspitāgrā posterior pāda. Compare the only case not in the Uttarakāṇḍa, where in G. ii, 81, 33 (not in R.), a lame aparavaktra hemistich is followed by a lame mātṛā hemistich (fifteen morae):

○○○○, ○○, — ○ — —  
○○○○, — ○ ○ —, — — —  
○○○○, — ○ — —, — — —  
○○ —, — ○ ○ —, — ○ —

The patois metres show that the mātṛā-form was used early, but how much earlier than the third century B. C. it is impossible to say. The vāitāliya itself is a common metre of the Dhammapada.<sup>1</sup>

### Mātṛāchandas in the Mahābhārata.

The many "semi-equals" in the great epic form a fair parallel to the state of things in the little epic. But there are no regular vāitāliya or āupacchandāsika stanzas at all. In a late passage of Vana and in Ānti there is a sporadic approach to vāitāliya form. On the other hand, there are over ninety-one puspitāgrās and aparavaktras. They are found chiefly in the later part of the epic and appear more in groups than they do in the Rāmāyaṇa. The interchange of puspitāgrā and aparavaktra pādas, of which I have spoken above, is met with in the very first example at the end of i, 30:

anupamabalavīryatejaso  
dhṛtamanasaḥ parirakṣaṇe 'mṛtasya  
asurapuravidāraṇāḥ surā  
jvalanasamiddhavapuhprakāṇināḥ

<sup>1</sup> The type here has in the posterior pāda either anapæst, spondee or amphimacer as an opening; but both here and in the choriambus much greater freedom is allowed than in the epic, where, despite the occasional irregularities noticed above, the form is much more systematized than in Pāli.

iti samaravaram surāḥ sthitās te  
 parighasahasraçatāiḥ samākulam  
 vīgalitam iva cā 'mbarāntaram  
 tapanamarīcivikāçitam babhāṣe

In the first stanza the pādas are aparav., puṣpit., aparav., aparav.; in the second, puṣpit., aparav., aparav., puṣpit. Almost the same as the latter is the arrangement in a tag to a dānakathana (followed by three triṣṭubhs), at the end of iii, 200, 126, where a puṣpit. pāda is followed by an aparav. pāda in the first couplet; but the second begins with the *posterior* puṣpitāgrā pāda, and is followed by the posterior pāda of an aparavaktra:

c-d: bhavati sahasraguṇam dinasya rāhor  
 viṣuvati cā 'kṣayam aṇute phalam

as if the posterior pāda were used originally in either position as the norm; which would agree with the identification with the triṣṭubh ventured above.

Of the eight puṣpitāgrās in the seventh book, six (all tags) are perfectly regular ( $2 \times 16 + 18$ ) and require no notice (for C. 2731, rajani°, read rajani°, as in B. 77, 26). Here only hemistichs end in brevis. Two cases deserve notice. In vii, 1622 = 37, 37 b, C. has pitṛsuracāraṇa-siddhasaṅghāiḥ, in B., siddhayakṣasaṅghāiḥ. But B. is often less better than bettered, and here the net result of three corrections is to make a perfect puṣpitāgrā out of C.'s scheme, which is

○○○○○○ — ○ — ○ — —, ○○○○○ — ○ — ○ — —, 16 + 15

○○○○○○○○ — ○ — ○ — —, ○○○○○ — ○ — ○ — —, 17 + 17

but this is attained by adding yakṣa in b; changing avanitalagatāiḥ ca to avanitalagatāiḥ ca in c; and inventing the word ativibabhāu for abhibabhāu in d (B, ativibabhāu hutabhug yathā 'jyasiktaḥ). Mates to pāda c were shown above from the Rāmāyaṇa. Irregular too as is d, it is not lightly to be rejected, since it has its perfect parallel in the eighth book (below), as also in Hariv. C. 11,269 d (3, 6, 4 d)

(iti sa nṛpatir ātmavāṇs tadā 'sāu)  
 tad ann(vi)cintya babhūva vītamanyuḥ



where, for C.'s *anucintya*, *anuvicintya* of B. may be a corrected reading, as above it is easy to propose *abhivibabhāu* and refer to the *Rig Veda* for the form.

The case at vii, 182, 27 = 8273, shows a better reading in B., where *hi* is required (accidentally omitted in C.). The *pādas* here are regular, the stanza's end having *brevis* (in 77, 26, the first hemistich ends in *brevis*). The chief peculiarity here is that the passage stands in the middle of the chapter, the other cases in *Droṇa* being tags.

Once  $\cup \cup \cup - \cup$  takes the place of  $\cup \cup \cup \cup \cup$ , producing in *pāda* a the choriambus equivalent to that in b and d. This happens in one of the two great groups of late *aparavaktras* in the eighth book, viii, 30, 3 (almost at the beginning of the chapter)<sup>1</sup>:

$\cup \cup \cup, - \cup \cup -, \cup - \cup -$   
 $\cup \cup \cup \cup, - \cup \cup -, \cup - \cup -$   
 $\cup \cup \cup \cup \cup -, \cup - \cup -$   
 $\cup \cup \cup \cup, - \cup \cup -, \cup - \cup -$

The rest of the twenty-five "semi-equals" in the eighth book are all grouped together in 37, 31 ff., where, after one *puṣpitāgrā* *pāda*, follow, as in the last group after a stanza, *aparavaktras* only. In this group of twelve stanzas, *breves* occur but rarely at the end of the hemistich, in (31), 40, and 42 at the stanza's end, in 35 alone at the end of b. Only two of these stanzas require a word. In 37 c-d, where the first of the two *pādas* has seventeen *moræ* (for fourteen),

*dinakarasadṛṣṭāḥ ṣarottamāir yudhā*  
*Kuruṣu bahūn vinihatya tām arin,*

it seems simple to drop the hypermetric and unnecessary *yudhā*; but it is in both texts (*Nīlakaṇṭha* says that this particular stanza is *viṣamaṁ chandas*) and has a parallel in *Hariv.* 11,269, where (C. only) a *puṣpitāgrā* begins:

<sup>1</sup> The first stanza of the chapter is a *śloka*; the first stanza of the group is a *puṣpitāgrā*; then follow *aparavaktras* to 9, where the first half is catalectic (*aparavaktra*) and the second half is *puṣpitāgrā* (as in 13, b ends in *brevis*); 10 is a regular *aparavaktra*; 12-14, regular *aparavaktras*; 11 is regular in B. a, but irregular in C. (*ḥinivṛṣabhaṣarapīḍitās* for *ṣarārī nipīḍitam*). Here d ends in *brevis*.

vidhivihitam açakyam anyathā hi kartum<sup>1</sup>

A similar case has been shown above in the Rāmāyaṇa.

The other stanza deserving notice is the first of the group, viii, 37, 31 = 1737. Both texts have a puṣpitāgrā pāda in a; an aparavaktra pāda in b; and in c-d

jugupiṣava ihā 'dya Pāṇḍavam  
kim bahunā | saha tāir jayāmi tam

that is, \_ ∪ ∪ for ∪ ∪ \_ of the resolution in vāitāliya (but the cæsura in d is after the choriambus: "Though the gods may wish to guard the Pandu here to-day, what then? I shall conquer him, gods and all").

In Çānti, the puṣpitāgrās are generally too regular to be interesting. A big bunch of them in Mokṣa makes a tag at the end of adhy. 179, thirteen in all. They have an unusual number of final breves, but only because vratam idam ājagaram çuciḥ carāmi is the final refrain of ten of them (only twice has b brevis). Of the twenty-one stanzas of this class in Çānti (Mokṣa), sixteen are puṣpitāgrās; five, aparavaktras. About the same proportion obtains in Harivaṅṣa, where there are twenty-two stanzas of ardhasamas, of which only three are aparavaktras. All those in Çānti are tags, either following triṣṭubhs or followed by another supplementary tag (as in the case of a rathoddhatā mentioned above). In xii, 250, 12 b = 9035 (yad aviduṣām) mahadbhayam (paratra) in C. appears to be a lapsus; in B. as sumahadbhayam, and in 10,530, yad aviduṣām sumahadbhayam bhavet; but compare the parallel below in H. The following is a parallel to the case above in the Rāmāyaṇa in its late form (∪ \_ ∪ \_ ∪ \_): xii, 319, 112 = 11,836 (the order of moræ is 17 + 18 + 16 or 17 + 16); where B. has:

yad upaniṣadam upākarot tathā 'sāu  
Janakanṛpasya purā hi Yājñavalkyah

<sup>1</sup> This is in the stanza referred to above. In this case, H. 3, 6, 4 a has only vidhivihitam açakyam anyathā, to which C. adds kartum. The fact that the same superfluity of syllables is found in the Rāmāyaṇa must at least make doubtful an instant acceptance of the more usual form given in what is so often a clearly improved text.



yad upagaṇitaçāṇvatāvyayam tac  
chubham amṛtatvam açokam archati

(here C. in c has °gaṇitam). Both texts have thus in a:

○○○ ○○○, ○—○— ○—

and C. has in c:

○○○ ○○○, —○— ○—

The last stanza in the book, 366, 9 = 13,943, has, as an aparavaktra tag, moræ 14 + 18 + 14 + 18, alternate calalectic verses, of which I have spoken above.

The remaining mātṛchandasas in Çānti are discussed below. The thirteenth book has no aparavaktras but nine puṣpitāgrās, all of which are perfectly regular (the hemistich ends in brevis, e. g., 76, 31). All except those in the extraordinary (late) section, 14, 180, and 190, are tags, though 26, 101-2 are followed by four çlokas.<sup>1</sup>

Apart from the pādas already noticed, the Harivaṇṣa has little of interest. Interchange of the two forms (a, catalectic) occurs in 3, 6, 3. In the puṣpitāgrās at 12,705-6, the latter has in b, ○○○ ○—, ○—○—○—○, as in the lapsus above. Here sa has been dropped, (3, 42, 21) dititanayam (sa) mṛgādhipo dadarça. As usual in the later books, several of the stanzas are not tags: 2, 123, 32 is followed by çlokas and rucirās, but is near the end of the section; at the beginning are the three of 3, 6, 2 ff.; in the middle of the section are 3, 49, 31 = 12,960, and 3, 50, 12 = 12,989; as are the four in 3, 51, vss. 18, 29, 42, 49 = 13,024-35-51-58. Many of the final stanzas are benedictive, as in 3, 6, 10, where puṣpitāgrās are interwoven in an upajāti kāvyastuti:

vijayati vasudhām ca rājavṛttir  
dhanam atulaṁ labhate dviṣajjayam ca  
vipulam api dhanam labhec ca vāiçyaḥ  
sugatim iyāc chravaṇāc ca çūdrajātiḥ  
purāṇam etac caritam mahātmanām  
adhitya buddhim labhate ca nāṣṭikīm, etc.

<sup>1</sup> Here C., 1860 b, has the meaningless words: çīlataṛaye tripathagānu-yo-garūpān, for °rataye . . . pathānu-yoga° in B.

It will be convenient here to put together the forms of ardhāsamavṛttas thus far exhibited in the two epics. In the Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa the general types of aparavaktra and puṣpitāgrā are:

(a<sup>1</sup>) ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪, — ∪ — ∪ — (—), 14 (16) moræ

(b<sup>1</sup>) ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪, — ∪ — ∪ — (—), 16 (18) moræ

These may be called *the* types, because the following variations are proportionally insignificant. But, though few in number, they are important as showing that there was no absolute line between the fixed mātrāchandas and the free mātrāchandas, for these variations may just as well be regarded as, e. g., vāitāliya pādas as variants of aparavaktra pādas. But it must be remembered that they do not represent pādas of, e. g., vāitāliya stanzas; only equivalent pādas of, e. g., aparavaktra stanzas, which I call variants on account of their position:

In M. and R. both are found the following variants of (a<sup>1</sup>):

(a<sup>2</sup>) ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ — (—)

In both texts of both epics, two cases in M.; three in R. In M. both cases are in pāda c; in R., only in aparavaktra.

(a<sup>3</sup>) ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ — ∪ — (hypermeter)

In M., in both texts and also in Harivaṇṣa; in R., one case.

In M. alone:

(a<sup>4</sup>) ∪ ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ —

In R. alone:

(a<sup>5</sup>) ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪, ∪ ∪ — ∪ — — (B., vii)

(a<sup>6</sup>) ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — — (G., 17 moræ)

(a<sup>7</sup>) ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ ∪ — (doubtful, pāda c, 15 moræ)

(a<sup>8</sup>) ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ — — (only in G., pāda c, 15 moræ)

In M. and R. both is found the following variant of (b<sup>1</sup>):

(b<sup>2</sup>) ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — — (only in C. and G., 15 moræ)

In M alone:

(b<sup>3</sup>) ∪ ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ — — (only in C. and Harivaṇṣa, pādas b and d, 17 moræ)

(b<sup>4</sup>) ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ —, ∪ — ∪ — ∪ — ∪ — (sic, bis in C.)

(b<sup>5</sup>) — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ —



In R alone :

(b<sup>6</sup>) ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ —, — ∪ — ∪ — (only in G., forbidden by rule)

(b<sup>7</sup>) ∪ ∪ ∪ — ∪ —, ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ — (only in G.)

(b<sup>8</sup>) ∪ — ∪ — ∪ ∪, — ∪ — ∪ — (only in G.)

(b<sup>9</sup>) ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ (only in G., a prior āupacchandasika)

The complete vāitāliya and āupacchandasika stanzas, of perfect mora form, found only in the later Rāmāyaṇa, have the scheme :

(a) ∪ ∪, — ∪ ∪ —, ∪ — ∪ — (∪)

(b<sup>1</sup>) — —, — ∪ ∪ —, ∪ — ∪ — (∪)

(b<sup>2</sup>) ∪ ∪ —, — ∪ ∪ —, ∪ — ∪ — (∪)

(b<sup>3</sup>) — —, — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — —

Before taking up the odd cases remaining, I cannot refrain from departing somewhat from a purely metrical point of view, to express admiration for the art with which these metres are handled. The poets of the later epic play with them skilfully. They are not apprentices but master workmen. I give two illustrations. In one, the metre is employed to give a list of fighters and weapons, the names of which are cleverly moulded together to form half a perfect stanza. In the other the poet is indulging in satire at the expense of the philosophers:

viii, 30, 5,    parighamusalāçaktitomarāir  
                  nakharabhuçunḍigadāçatāir hatāḥ  
dviradanarahayāḥ sahasraço  
                  rudhiranadīpravahās tadā 'bhavan

xii, 179, 35, bahukathitam idam hi buddhimadbhiḥ  
                  kavibhir abhiprathayadbhir ātmakīrtim  
idam idam iti tatra tatra tat tat<sup>1</sup>  
                  svaparamatāir gahanam pratarkayadbhiḥ

I have now given seriatim all the mātrāchandas cases in the great epic, with the exception of one case in Vana, to be

<sup>1</sup> v. l. hanta.

mentioned immediately, and two or three peculiar groups in *Çānti*, also to be discussed below. It will have been noticed that in the later books great heaps of stanzas of this metre are piled together. Thus all the twenty-five in *Karna* (a late book in its present shape) are in two sections, thirteen stanzas in one, twelve in another; while in *Çānti* another group of thirteen is found. This stupid massing of adornments — for these tag-metres were used originally only as fringe-work — the still later thirteenth book exceeds by uniting together in one heap, first, a *puṣpitāgrā*, xiii, 14, 180, then four *āryās*, ib. 181–4, then two *çloka*s, ib. 185–6, then an *āryā*, ib. 187, then an *upajāti*, ib. 188, then a *vasantatilakā*, ib. 189, then a *puṣpitāgrā*, ib. 190, then an *āryā*, ib. 191.

Despite this profusion of *puṣpitāgrās* and *aparavaktras*, the *Mahābhārata* has no such regular *vāitāliyas* and *āupac-chandasikas* as has the later *Rāmāyaṇa*. But the following interesting verses occur in the popular story of *Yudhiṣṭhira* and the *dæmon*, who required him to answer certain questions. They are not tags, iii, 313, 112–113; they are late; and they are an approach to *vāitāliyas*:

priyavacanavādī kiṃ labhate  
vimṛṣitakāryakaraḥ kiṃ labhate  
bahumitrakaraḥ kiṃ labhate  
dharṃe rataḥ kiṃ labhate kathaya

○○,○○○—, —○○—, 15  
○○○○, —○○—, —○○—, 16  
○○, —○○—, —○○—, 14  
—○○—, —○○—, ○○○, 16

priyavacanavādī priyo bhavati  
vimṛṣitakāryakaro 'dhikam jayati  
bahumitrakaraḥ sukham vasate  
yaç ca dharmarataḥ sa gatiṃ labhate

○○,○○○○—, ○—○○○○, 15  
○○○○, —○○—, ○—○○○○, 16  
○○, —○○—, ○—○○—, 15  
—○, —○○—, ○○—○○—, 17



In C., 17,397-98, the same text. This is the kind of story which, because it appears Buddhistic, is often labelled as a matter of course 'certainly old.' But the tale, on general principles, is just as likely to be late as early; perhaps more so, when one considers that kings interviewed by spirits who ask conundrums are merely stalking-horses, and must first be famous as kings before such stories are fastened upon them. This particular tale bears all the marks of a late inset.<sup>1</sup>

Although the great epic lacks the regular vāitālīya of the Rāmāyaṇa's Uttarakāṇḍa, yet Čānti offers a type of metres which shows forms ending in the close of this measure. For besides the usual ending — ∪ — ∪ — of the mātrā form, the close may also be — ∪ ∪ — — (called āpātālīkā). Also the beginning of the verses given below is of mātrā-formation, but the mātrās are not regular. The group xii, 322, 28-32 = 12,071-75, follows a group of praharṣiṇīs (4 × 13 syllables):

28, rāja sadā dharmaparaḥ ṣubhāṣubhasya  
goptā samīkṣya sukr̥tinām dadhāti lokān  
bahuvīdham api carati praviṣṭi  
sukham anupagatām niravadyam

— — ∪ —, — ∪ ∪ —, ∪ — ∪ — ∪  
— — ∪ — ∪, ∪ ∪ ∪, — ∪ — ∪ — —  
∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪, ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪  
∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪, — ∪ ∪ — —

Moraē 20 + 21 + 14 + 14, the first hemistich bridging the preceding praharṣiṇīs, — — —, ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪, — ∪ — ∪ — —, and the āpātālīkā (c-d scheme also in 30, below).

29, ṣvāno bhīṣaṇakāyā ayomukhāni  
vayāṇsi balagṛdhra[kula] pakṣiṇām ca saṅghāḥ  
narakadane rudhirapā guruvaca —  
nanudam uparataṁ viṣṇu asantaḥ

— —, — ∪ ∪ —, — ∪ — ∪ — ∪  
∪ — ∪, ∪ ∪ — ∪ [∪ ∪], — ∪ — ∪ — —  
∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ ∪ —, ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪  
∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪, — ∪ — ∪ — —

19 + 19 + 15 + 16

<sup>1</sup> Compare Holtzmann, who rightly says that the story is a late addition to the third book to connect it with the fourth, Neunzehn Bücher, p. 95.

- 30, maryādāniyatā svayambhuvā ya ihe 'māḥ  
prabhinatti daṣaḡuṇā manonugatvāt  
nivasati bhṛṣam asukham pitṛviṣa —  
ya-vipinam avagāhya sa pāpaḥ

—, — u u —, u — u, — u u —  
u — u u u —, — u — u —  
u u u u u —, u — u u u — (= 28 c)  
u u u u u —, — u u — (= 28 d)

22 + 18 + 14 + 14

- 31, yo lubdhaḥ subhṛṣam priyāṇṭaḥ ca manuṣyaḥ  
satatanikṛtīvañcanā<sup>1</sup>-bhiratiḥ syāt  
upanidhibhir asukhakṛt sa paramanirayago  
bhṛṣam asukham anubhavati duskṛtakarmā

a, —, — u u —, u — u — u u — (= 32 a)  
b, u u u u u — u — u u —  
c, u u u u, u u u u —, u, u u u u u —  
d, u u u u u u u u u u, — u u —

22 + 17 + 19 + 18. Here c has the resolved equivalent of the u u u u — close of a, b, d. The choriamb of a is all resolved in d, u u u, u u u u, — u u —; in c only the first syllable, u u u u u — (as if sa were interpolated).

- 32, uṣṇāḥ Vāitarāṇīm mahānadīm<sup>2</sup> avagādho  
'sipatravanabhinnagātraḥ  
paraḡuvanaḡayo nipatito vasati (ca)  
ca mahāniraye bhṛḡartaḥ

—, — u u —, (u —) u — u u — (= 31 a)  
u — u u u — u —  
u u, u u u u —, u u u — u u u (u)  
u u, — u u —, u —

22 (19) + 13 + 16 + 13

<sup>1</sup> C. vacana, but N. vañcanā cāuryādi.

<sup>2</sup> C. omits mahā<sup>2</sup>.



**Mātrāsamakās.**

In xii, 336, 11-12 = 12706-7 occur two lines, as printed in C., which seem to be rather rhythmical prose than poetry; but in 347, 18-22 = 13444 there are five mātṛā stanzas, of which I give the scheme alone (they are not arranged in the same way in both texts):

18, ○○○○—, ○○○ ○○○—, ○○○ ○○○—, ○○○  
       ○○○— ( $16 \times 2$ )  
       ○○○ —, ○○○○○○○—, ○○○ ○○○—,  
       ○○○ ○○○— ( $16 + 17$ )

B. adds  $\cup\cup\cup\cup\cup\cup$ —, which C. gives to the next stanza.

19,  $\cup\cup\cup \cup\cup\cup\_, \cup\cup\_\cup\_\cup, \cup\cup\_\cup\cup\_, \cup\_\cup\_\_ (16 + 14)$

C. adds  $\cup\cup\_ \cup\cup\_$ , which B. gives to the next hemistich.

$\cup\cup-\cup\cup-, \cup\cup-\cup\cup-, \cup\cup-\cup\cup-, \cup\cup-\cup\cup- (16 \times 2)$   
 20,  $\cup\cup-\cup\cup-, \cup\cup-\cup\cup-, -\cup-\cup\cup, \cup\cup-\cup\cup- (16 \times 2)$   
 $\cup\cup-\cup\cup\cup, \cup\cup-\cup\cup\cup-, \cup\cup-\cup\cup-, \cup\cup-\cup\cup- (16 + 17)$   
 21,  $-\cup-\cup\cup\cup, \cup\cup-\cup\cup\cup-, (\cup-\cup-), \cup\cup-\cup\cup-\cup\cup-, \cup\cup-\cup\cup-$   
 $(16 + 22 \text{ or } 17)$   
 $\cup\cup-\cup\cup-\cup\cup\cup\cup-\cup\cup-, \cup\cup\cup-\cup\cup-\cup\cup, \cup\cup-\cup\cup\cup- (15 + 16)$

Perhaps purāṇam in 21 is to be omitted. The text is:

tām lokasākṣiṇam ajam puruṣam purāṇam ravivar-  
 ṇam īṣvarām gatim bahuṣaḥ  
 prapñamadhivam ekamanaso yataḥ salilodbhavo 'pi  
 tam rsiṃ pranataḥ

22,  $\cup\cup-\cup-\cup, \cup\cup-\cup\cup-, --\cup-\cup\cup, \cup\cup-\cup\cup- (16+17)$   
 $--\cup-\cup, \cup\cup-\cup\cup-, --\cup-\cup\cup, \cup-\cup-\cup- (16+18)$

The āryā form is clear in stanzas 18 and 20. On the other hand, the first stanza is an almost pure praharaṇakalitā pāda, ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ —, while the pramitākṣarā pāda, ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ —, prevails in the following stanzas; not, however, as pure ṣaṅkarī or jagatī stanzas, but with mātṛā resolution. The stanzas, if they are treated as one group, may perhaps be considered as rather rough mātṛasamakās (four pādas of six-





short verse in each hemistich. The full eighth foot, *āryāgīti*, is found only in 183 b (if left uncorrected). There are no irregularities in the use of the amphibrach. Brevis may stand at the end of the first hemistich.<sup>1</sup>

Two cases occur in *Harivaṅṣa*. I give the text:

1, 1, 3, jayati Parāṇarasūnuḥ satyavatīhrdayanandano Vyāsaḥ  
yasyā 'syakamalagalitaṁ vāṇmayam amṛtaṁ jagat  
pibati

1, 1, 7, yo Harivaṅṣaṁ lekhaṇyati yathā vidhinā mahātapaḥ  
sapadi

(in C.) sa yāti Hareḥ padakamala[m] kamalaṁ yathā madh-  
upo lubdhah

(in B.) sa jayati Haripadakamalam madhupo hi yathā rasena  
samlubdhah

The first stanza is regular. The second neglects the usual caesura after the third foot in the first hemistich in both texts; while C.'s text is impossible in the second, though the metre may be set right by omitting the antecedent and reading (without sa):

— ∪ ∪, — ∪ ∪, ∪ ∪ —; ∪ ∪ —, ∪ — ∪, ∪, — —, —

The text of B. is regular, with ∪ — ∪ as sixth foot, where (in the second hemistich) stands ∪ in the cases above.

On page 164, I cited in full a stanza beginning: āhuḥ ṣaṣṭim buddhiguṇān vāi (the sixty Sāṃkhya guṇas); the scheme (unique in the epic) for the whole stanza being (xii, 256, 12):

— — — — — ∪ ∪ — — — — — ∪ ∪ — — — — — ∪ ∪ — — — — —  
— ∪ ∪ — — — — — ∪ ∪ — — — — — ∪ ∪ — — — — — ∪ ∪ — — — — —

Although this lacks the marked characteristics of the *āryā*, both in its early and in its later forms, it is yet a gaṇa metre which may be reckoned either as *āryāgīti*, or as *mātrāsamaka*, but not pure.

As to the origin of the gaṇacchandās, the metre seems to me to be rather a species than a genus. As seen in the speci-

<sup>1</sup> There is here no case of four breves in the sixth foot of the second hemistich, which occurs in classic writers and inscriptional *āryās*, e. g., *Vatsabhaṭṭi*, loc. cit., vs. 39.

mens above under *mātrāsamakās*, they are interchangeable with the latter, of which they are only a more special type, with  $\cup\cup\cup\cup$ ,  $\cup-\cup$ ,  $\cup\cup\cup\cup$ ,  $--$  as the last four feet of the hemistich (compare 183a, only this is not in the *āryāgīti* form, but has the alternative one heavy syllable for two, or two moræ for four). The *mātrāsamakās* in turn are the equivalent in moræ of the *çloka* strophe (that is, a unit composed of two *çlokas*, such as the classical writers affect), the thirty-two syllables of the half strophe answering to the thirty-two moræ of the hemistich in the *mātrāsamaka* and *āryāgīti* (the one mora of the sixth foot and two moræ of the eighth foot being special modifications).<sup>1</sup>

### The Distribution of Fancy-Metres in the Great Epic.

The relation of *çloka* and *triṣṭubh*,<sup>2</sup> which in the whole *Mahābhārata* stand numerically in the rough proportion of 95,000 to 5000 (out of 101,900 stanzas or prose equivalents, the sum of the whole), varies enormously from book to book, one *triṣṭubh* to three hundred and ten *çlokas* in the eighteenth book, almost nine hundred *triṣṭubhs* to four thousand *çlokas* in the eighth book, the extremes in absolute number of *triṣṭubhs* as well as in their proportion to *çlokas*.

From reasons quite apart from metre, I have elsewhere maintained that the first part of book i, and book xiii, with the *Harivaṅṣa* were late, as compared with books vii, viii, xii, but that these in their turn contain very late additions to

<sup>1</sup> One may, indeed, take the *çloka* hemistich in the form  $-- -- -- \cup -- --$ ,  $-- -- -- \cup -- \cup --$  and reckon it in moræ,  $15 + 14$ , as a hemistich of a *mātrāsamaka*, which is as nearly correct, that is as near to a real *samaka*, as are the cases above, where the *pāda* may have 15, 16, or 17 moræ. But I prefer to rest with the fact that the *mātrāsamaka* is a parallel in terms of moræ to the *çloka*-strophe in terms of syllables, without attempting a derivation. For particular studies of the *gaṇacchandās*, see Professor Cappeller's *Die Gaṇacchandās*, and Professor Jacobi, *ZDMG.* vol. xxxviii, p. 595 ff. The latter scholar believes the *āryā* to have been a musical adaptation, and to have come into Sanskrit from *Prākṛt* poetry. The metre can be traced back to the time of *Açoka*.

<sup>2</sup> That is *triṣṭubh* and *jagatī*. There are just about the same number of *triṣṭubh-jagatī* stanzas in the *Mahābhārata* as in the *Rig Veda*.



the original epic, often palpable intrusions.<sup>1</sup> The use of the fancy-metres seems to illustrate the general correctness of my former analysis. Thus the *rucirā* occurs in i, iii, vii, xii, xiii, Hariv.; the *vasantatilakā* only in i, xiii, xviii, Hariv.; the *mālinī* only in vii, viii, xiii, Hariv.; the *āryā* only in xiii, Hariv. The tag-metres of *Ādi* are confined to the first quarter (two thousand) of the eight thousand in the whole book. They cease after *Sarpasattra* (almost after the beginning of *Āstika*), or, in other words, they occur almost entirely in the most modern part of the book. Books ii, v, and vi have no fancy metres at all; book ix has but one, a *bhujaṅgaprayāta*. On the other hand, books iv, x, xi, xiv, xv, xvi, and xvii have none also, which however, need not surprise us much, as most of them are short supplementary books, and the fourteenth is mainly an imitation of the *Gītā*. That the fourth book is not adorned with these metres indicates perhaps that it was written between the time of the early epic and the whole pseudo-epic. The much interpolated eighth book would be comparatively free from these adornments were it not for its massed heaps of *ardhasamavṛttas*, twenty-five in all (otherwise it has only one *ṣārdūlavikrīḍita* and five *mālinīs*). The seventh book, on the other hand, has two *drutavilambitas*, nine *rucirās*, one *praharṣiṇī*, one *mālinī*, and eight *ardhasamavṛttas*, — twenty-one in all. The first book, that is, its first quarter, has thirty-one, of which twenty-two are *rucirās*; four, *praharṣiṇīs*; three, *vasantatilakās*; two, *ardhasamavṛttas*. The pseudo-epic shows the greatest variety, as well as of course the greatest number, the books represented (with the exception of one *vasantatilakā* in the eighteenth) being the twelfth, thirteenth, and *Harivaṅṣa*, with 48½, 28½, and 43, respectively.

<sup>1</sup> Compare the paper on the *Bhārata* and Great *Bhārata*, *AJP.*, vol. xix, p. 10 ff. That there are antique parts in books generally late, no one I believe, has ever denied. Nor has any competent critic ever denied that in books generally old late passages are found. *Ādi*, *Vana*, and *Anuṣāsana*, and in a less degree *Kaṇva*, are a hodge-podge of old and new, and the only question of moment is whether in each instance old or new prevails or is subsidiary.

The number of occurrences of each metre, according to the books in which they are found, is given in the following table:

		Cases occurring in books.									
		i	iii	vii	viii	ix	xii	xiii	xviii	Hariv.	Total.
Akṣara	Rathoddhatā . . .	..	..	..	..	..	6½	..	..	..	6½
	Bhujāṅgaprayāta . . .	..	..	..	..	1	2	..	..	..	3
	Drutavilambita . . .	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
	Vāiṣṇadevī . . .	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
	Rucirā . . . . .	22	3	9	..	..	4	3	..	10	51
	Praharsinī . . . .	4	..	1	..	..	4	1	..	2	12
	Vasantatilakā . .	3	..	..	..	..	..	3	1	5	12
	Mālinī . . . . .	..	..	1	5	..	..	3	..	2	11
Mātrā	Çārdūlavikrīḍita . . .	..	..	..	1	..	..	3½	..	..	4½
	Puṣpītāgrā	}	2	6	8	25	..	31	9	..	22
	Aparavaktra										
Gaṇa	Mātrāsamaka	}	2	6	8	25	..	31	9	..	22
	Āryā . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	..	2	8
Total . . . . .		31	9	21	31	1	48½	28½	1	43	213

How are we to account for these fancy-metres? Let us imagine for a moment—to indulge in rather a harmless fancy—that the whole epic was written by one individual, not of course by Vyāsa the arranger, but by Kṛit the maker, even as the pseudo-epic says; though the latter sets reasonable bounds to the human imagination and very properly adds that the maker of such a poem must have been divine.

This superhuman being, Kṛit (Bhāratakṛt or better, Mahābhāratakṛt) must have had from the beginning a well-developed ear for fancy-metres. When he writes them he writes them very carefully, seldom opposing the rules that later



writers, say of 500 A. D. and later, impose upon themselves, except in the case of the *ardhasamavṛttas*. These at one time he writes correctly and another loosely, as if he occasionally failed to grasp the distinction between this class of metres and that of the strict *mātrāchandas*; which is rather peculiar, when one considers how correctly he writes at other times. But, passing this point, how are we to account for the distribution of these metres? Evidently there is only one way. Having started out with the statement that the poem was to glitter with various fancy-metres, the poet first gave an exhibition of what he could do, reserving, however, the more complicated styles for the end of the poem. Then, settling down into the story, he got so absorbed in it that he forgot all about the fancy-metres, till after several thousand stanzas he suddenly remembered them and turned off three *rucirās* and six *ardhasamavṛttas*, e. g., as tags, lauding *Īva's* gift and *Arjuna's* glorious trip to heaven; but then, becoming interested again, again dropped them, while he wrote to the end of the sixth book. With the seventh book, feeling that an interminable series of similar and repeated battle-scenes was getting a little dull, he sprinkled five different kinds of fancy metres over his last production, and in the eighth emptied a box of them in a heap, which lasted till the first part of the poem was complete. On resuming his labors (we are expressly told that he rested before taking up the latter half of the poem) he decided that, as all interest in the story itself was over, the only way to liven up a philosophic encyclopedia would be to adorn it with a good many more fancy-metres, and toward the end he brought out the *āryās*, which he had had concealed all the time, but kept as a final attraction. In this last part also he emptied whole boxes of metres together, just as he had done so desperately in the eighth book.

This seems to me an entirely satisfactory explanation, granting the premiss. But in case one is dissatisfied with the (native) assumption of a homogeneous Homer, one might consider whether it were not equally probable that the present

poem was a gradual accumulation and that fancy-metres were first used as tags<sup>1</sup> to chapters in the later part of the work, as an artistic improvement on the old-fashioned triṣṭubh tag (to śloka sections); and so find the reason why the masses of fancy-metres are placed in the middle of sections in a later exaggeration, a vicious inclination to adorn the whole body with gewgaws, whereas at an earlier date it was deemed a sufficient beauty to tag them on to the end of a section. The only difficulty in this assumption is that it recognizes as valid the delirament of believing in the historical growth of the epic.

As regards the āryā, it makes no difference whether it was a Prākṛit style known before the epic was begun or not. Just as in the case of the Rīg Veda, the point is not whether such and such a form existed, but only whether (and if so, in how far) the poets admitted the form into hymns;<sup>2</sup> so here, the question is simply as to when Sanskrit writers utilized Prākṛit melodies. It is somewhat as if one should properly try to define the decade in which a piece of X's music was composed by considering that it was in rag-time. One might object that rag-time melodies have been used for unnumbered decades by the negroes. The reply would be: True; but it is only in the last decade of the nineteenth century that rag-time has been utilized by composers; ergo, X must have published his composition in that decade or later.

When then did the vulgar āryā (i. e., melody used as a

<sup>1</sup> The expression tag-metres answers exactly to the function of the fancy-metres in the Rāmāyaṇa, and pretty closely to their function in the Bhārata. I have indicated above the few cases where in the latter poem they have been inserted in other positions. There can be no serious doubt that such medial position simply shows how late is the passage where are found such stanzas thus located. The bhujaṅgaprayāta appears in medial position in Čānti; the drutavilambita, in Droṇa; where also the rucirā (usually only tag); the praharṣiṇī (medial), only in Droṇa and Čānti; the vasantatilakā, generally a tag, medial only in Anuśāsana; the mālīnī, medial in Karṇa; the čārdūlavikṛīḍita, medial in both these last.

<sup>2</sup> The all-sufficient answer to the unsatisfactory contention that, because certain Vedic forms are pre-Vedic, therefore their employment by Vedic poets cannot be used in evidence of the age of certain hymns.



frame for literature) appear in Sanskrit poetry? The author of the Rāmāyaṇa, using freely the akṣaracchandas and ardha-samavṛttas as tag-poetry, either knew it not or ignored it. The later poets of the Mahābhārata, doing the same, ignored it also. Only the poets of the latest tracts, the fourteenth section of Anuāśana and benedictions in Harivaṅṣa, used it, whether inventing or utilizing is a subsidiary question. The employment of this metre, if borrowed from the vulgar, stands parallel, therefore, to the adoption of Prākṛit licence in prosody.<sup>1</sup>

Further, the sometime intrusion into the middle of a chapter of metres used originally only as tags, shows that parts of the Mahābhārata reflect a later phase than that of the Rāmāyaṇa, which still confines them to their earlier function. In fact, the Mahābhārata is here on a level with the poems of inscriptions where all metres are flung together,<sup>2</sup> and, like these poems, its later parts show a predilection for long compounds and for long sentences extending over many verses.

The total result of a comparison of the various metres in the two epics shows in outline:

In the Mahābhārata	In the Rāmāyaṇa
(a) early (Vedic) ṣloka early (Vedic) triṣṭubh (b) almost classical ṣloka classical triṣṭubh (c) late ṣloka stanzas (pure iamb) late triṣṭubh stanzas (ṣā- linī) late use of fancy metres	(b) almost classical ṣloka classical triṣṭubh (c) early use of fancy metres

A review of the results obtained in regard to the chief metre of the epic makes it clear that the presence in the

<sup>1</sup> Only xiii, 14 is really affected. The benedictive Harivaṅṣa verses are an addition too late to affect dates. Even the native (Bombay) edition omits them from the text proper.

<sup>2</sup> See on this point, Bühler's essay, *Das Alter der Indischen Kunstpoesie*, with examples at the end.

Mahābhārata of *çloka*s of an older and also later type than are found in the Rāmāyaṇa indicates not only that the style of the Mahābhārata is more antique in one part than in another, but also that this difference is not due to conscious metrical variations on the part of one poet; or, in other words, that the epic was not made all at once. For the general shape of *çloka*s might voluntarily be shifted, though even here it is not probable that a poet who wrote in the refined style common to the Rāmāyaṇa and to parts of the pseudo-epic Mahābhārata would shift back to diiambic close of the prior *pāda* or a free use of the fourth *vipulā*. But even granting this, there remain the subtle differences which are perceptible only with careful and patient study, elements of style not patent to the rough-and-ready critique which scorns analysis. The poet who had trained himself to eschew first *vipulās* after diiambes and renounce a *syllaba anceps* would not write first in this particular style and then in the careless old-fashioned manner. The very presence of the more refined art precludes the presumption that the same poet in the same poem on the same subject would have lapsed back into barbarism. For the distinction is not one that separates moral discourses from the epic story. Except in the case of a few obvious imitations or parodies of *Çruti* texts, topics of the same sort are treated with a difference of style attributable only to different authors and in all reasonable probability to different ages.



## CHAPTER FIVE.

### THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE EPIC.

WE have now reached a point where an intelligent opinion may be formed in regard to the general make-up of the *Mahābhārata*. It is based, as was shown in the second chapter, on a more or less stereotyped diction, and contains adventitious matter common to both epics. It contains allusions to the latest pre-classical works, as was shown in the first chapter; while its didactic parts recapitulate the later Upanishads; and it shows acquaintance with a much larger number of Vedic schools than were recognized even at a late date. Its philosophical sections, as was shown in the third chapter, reflect varied schools and contradictory systems, some of which are as late as our era. Its metres, as have just been explained, preclude the probability of its having been written by one poet, or even by several poets of the same era. It appears to be a heterogeneous collection of strings wound about a nucleus almost lost sight of. The nucleus, however, is a story.

This story is in its details so abhorrent to the writers of the epic that they make every effort to whitewash the heroes, at one time explaining that what they did would have been wicked if it had not been done by divinely inspired heroes; at another frankly stating that the heroes did wrong. It is not then probable that had the writers intended to write a moral tale they would have built on such material. Hence the tale existed as such before it became the nucleus of a sermon. There are then two elements in the epic, narrative and didactic.

In its present didactic form the epic is recited. At its own close we learn that it was not given as a dramatic recitation, still less as a rhapsodic production. A priestly reciter, *vācaka*,

pāṭhaka, "speaks" or "reads" the epic as "he sits comfortably and recites, carefully pronouncing the sixty-three letters (sounds)<sup>1</sup> according to their respective eight places of utterance" (as gutturals, etc.). He reads from manuscripts, *saṁhitāpustakas*, which, after the performance is over and the gentleman has been dismissed with a *brahmasūtra* and a handsome fee, are wrapped in cloth and piously revered. The recitation takes four months, and should be performed by Brahmins during vasso, the rainy season, xviii, 6, 21 ff. (i, 62, 32).

Such recited stories are recognized elsewhere. A knight leaves town to go into the woods accompanied with "priests who know the Vedas and Vedāṅgas," and "priests who recite divine tales," *divyākhyānāni ye cā 'pi pāṭhanti*, but also, and distinguished from these, with *sūtaḥ pāurāṇikāḥ* and *kathakāḥ* (besides hermits, *ṣramaṇāḥ ca vanāukasaḥ*), i. 214, 2-3. The story-tellers here named may be represented again by knights who tell each other, as they sit and talk, "the glorious deeds of old and many other tales," or, as it is expressed elsewhere, "tales of war and moil and genealogies of seers and gods."<sup>2</sup>

But buried with the story-nucleus are elements also more or less concealed. The first of these is the genealogical verses, *anuvāṇṣaḥśloka*, or *anuvāṇṣyā gāthā*, which in the extract

<sup>1</sup> *saṁskṛtaḥ sarvaśāstraḥjñāḥ . . asaṁsaktākṣarapadaṁ svarabhāvasamanvītam triṣaṣṭivarṇasahyuktam aṣṭasthānaśamīritam vācayed vācakaḥ svasthaḥ svāśinaḥ susamāhitah*, xviii, 6, 21, and H. loc. cit. in PW. s. *varṇa*. In the enumeration of parvans following, the *Anuṣāsana* is omitted, as it is in one of the lists in *Ādi*, whereas the other list makes it a separate work: "After this (i.e., after *Çānti* as *rājadharmānuṣāsana*, *āpaddharma*, and *mokṣa*) with 329 or v. l. 339 sections and 14,732 ślokas [our text has 13,943 stanzas of all kinds] must be reckoned the *Anuṣāsana* with 146 sections and 8000 ślokas" [our text 7796]; where *ataḥ ūrdhvaṁ* shows, with the figures, that the *Anuṣāsana* is not included with *Çānti* (the former is also called *ānuṣāsaniyam parva*), i, 2, 76-78, 328-331. On the list i, 1, 88 ff. which omits the thirteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth books, see *AJP.* xix, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> *tatra pūrvavyatītāni vikrāntāni 'tarāṇi ca bahūni kathayitvā tāu remāte*, i, 222, 29; *praviṣya tām sabhām ramyaṁ vijahrāte ca*, *Bhārata*; *tatra yudhakathāḥ citrāḥ parikleṣāṇḥ ca*, *Pārthiva*, *kathāyoge kathāyoge kathayām* *īsatuḥ sadā*, *ṛṣiṇāṁ devatānām ca vaṇṣāns tāv āhatuḥ sadā*, xiv, 15, 5-7.



just referred to are recited; as, again, in iii, 88, 5, is found: *Mārkāṇḍeyo jagāu gāthām (anuvāṇḍyām)*. Such memorial stanzas in honor of the family either are strictly genealogical, "Devayānī bore Yadu and Turvasu," or characterize a man, as in i, 95, 46 (the other, ib. 9), where *Çāntanu's* name is derived, on the strength of such a stanza, from his having the healing touch (the careless compilers a little later, i, 97, 19, give another derivation). Such stanzas are sometimes inserted in prose narration<sup>1</sup> in honor of the family, though occasionally of very general content. On the other hand, really genealogical stanzas may be introduced without any statement as to their character, though the poets usually quote them from rhapsodes, "men who know the tales of old here sing (or recite) this gāthā," *apy atra gāthām gāyanti ye purāṇavido janāḥ*, i, 121, 13; vii, 67, 14.

Though, as was shown in a previous chapter, the word for sing is scarcely more than recite, yet it reflects conditions where bards actually sang songs in honor of kings. The ancient age knew, in fact, just such a distinction as underlies the double character of the epic. On the one hand, it had its slowly repeated circle of tales (sometimes mistranslated by cycle of tales),<sup>2</sup> and on the other, impromptu bardic lays, not in inherited form but improvisations, where the rhapsode, as is especially provided for in the ritual, on a certain occasion was "to sing an original song, the subject of which should be, This king fought, this king conquered in such a battle." The song is here accompanied with the lute or lyre, which in the epic is called seven-stringed, *saptatantrī vīṇā* (*ἑπτάντρος φόρμιγξ*, see above, p. 172). Such song as "hero-praising verse," *nārūṇāṁsī gāthā*, are recognized in the *Gṛhya Sūtras*

<sup>1</sup> Compare the illustrations by Lassen and Weber and Holtzmann himself, summed up in the last writer's work, loc. cit., p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> The tales of a (year's) circle, *pāriplavam ākhyānam*, have no cyclic element. For literature on the early rhapsodes and reciters, see *Çat. Br.* xiii, 4, 3, 5; Weber, *IS.* i, p. 186. Compare *Pār. G. S.* i, 15, 17. The traditional legend in the epic is called (*pāram*) *paryāgatam ākhyānam kathitam*, xii, 340, 125, 138. The early improvised lays are called *svayamsambhṛtā gāthāḥ* (loc. cit., *Çat. Br.*).

as traditional texts, differentiated from "legends," and were probably genealogical stanzas preserved in the family. Besides the single singer, there were also bands of singers who "sang the (reigning) king with the old kings."<sup>1</sup>

In these Brāhmaṇa stories, the rhapsode-lay took place at the very time of the priestly recited tale, which circled round a year. There is no difference of date between them. The rhapsode and the reciter were contemporary. So in the epic, although the recitation of tales is noticed, yet rhapsodes are constantly mentioned. In xiv, 70, 7, praise is rendered by dancers and luck-wishers and also by rhapsodes, *granthikas*, "in congratulations that uttered the praise of the Kuru-race," *Kuruvaṇṇastavākhyābhīr āçīrbhiḥ*. In parallel scenes we find "story-tellers," who could praise only by performing their business, as in iv, 70, 20: "Eight hundred bejewelled *Sūtas* along with *māgadhas* (singers) praised him, as the seers did *Çakra* of old;" ib. 72, 29: "Singers, *gāyanas*, those skilled in tales, *ākhyānaçīlas*, dancers, and reciters of genealogical verses, *naṭavāitālikas*,<sup>2</sup> stood praising him, as did *Sūtas* with *māgadhas*." Again in vii, 82, 2-3: *jagur gītāni gāyakāḥ Kuruvaṇṇastavārthāni*: "Singers sang songs which lauded the Kuru-race," where the rhapsode, *granthika*, above, appears as singer, *gāyana*. For the history of the poem it is worth noticing that, though the Pandus are the present heroes, the stereotyped phrase is always of "praise of the Kuru race," even where a Pandu is praised.

We have in the epic the names of what are to-day the epic reciters, *kuçilava* and *kathaka*, and the repeaters of genealogical verses (in distinction from the *Sūtas*),<sup>3</sup> called *vāitālikas*.

<sup>1</sup> Weber, loc. cit., and *Episches im Vedischen Ritual*, p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> So in ii, 4, 7, *naṭas*, *Sūtas*, and *vāitālikas* wait on the king along with boxers and wrestlers. Such epic professionals are called (besides *pāṇisvanikas*) *māgadhas*, *nāṇḍivādya*s, *bandins*, *gāyanas*, *sāukhyaçyikas*, *vāitālikas*, *kathakas*, *granthikas*, *gāthins*, *kuçilavas* and *pāurāṇikas* (*Sūtas*).

<sup>3</sup> So xii, 37, 43, where a king is praised by *Sūtas*, *vāitālikas*, and (*subhāṣita*) *māgadhas*. Compare the distinction in R. vi, 127, 3, with Comm.: the *Sūtas* "know praise and *Purāṇas*" the *vāitālikas* recite genealogical verses. Both epics have the group (phrase) *sūtamāgadhabandinaḥ*.



When the lyre is mentioned, it is to wake up sleepers by means of "sweet songs and the sound of the lyre," *gīta*, *vīṇācabda*, i, 218, 14. Only Nārada, a superhuman archetypically bard, comes skilled in dance and song with his melodious mind-soothing tortoise-lyre, ix, 54, 19.<sup>1</sup>

There is then in the epic, though a musical accompaniment is unknown, a distinct recollection of the practice of reciting lays, *gītāni*, the sole object of which was to "praise the Kuru race," as opposed to reading or reciting conversationally stories of ancient times. To neither of these elements can a judicious historian ascribe priority. The story and the lay are equally old. Their union was rendered possible as soon as the lay, formerly sung, was dissociated from music and repeated as a heroic tale of antiquity. This union was the foundation of the present epic.

Traces of the epic quality of the early poem cannot be disregarded. The central tale and many another tale woven into the present narrative are thoroughly heroic. To this day, warped and twisted from its original purpose, it is the story, not the sermon, that holds enthralled the throng that listens to the recitation of the great epic. Be it either epic, its tale is still popular in India. But the people cannot understand it. Hence the poem is read by a priest, while a translator and interpreter, of no mean histrionic talent, takes up his words and renders them in forcible patois, accompanying the dramatic recital by still more dramatic gestures and contortions. Such a recitation, without the intermediate interpreter (the modern *dhāraka*) was undoubtedly the performance given (not by the later *paṭhaka*, but) by the earlier epic *gāthīn*, *gāyaka*, and *granthika*, just as they are depicted about the second century B. C. on the Sānci Tope.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The *pāṇisvanikas* mentioned above may be pantomimists or simple "hand-clappers." The latter is the meaning in the cognate *pāṇivādaka* at R. ii, 65, 4 (compare *Brahmajāla Sutta*, Rhys Davids' note, p. 8). In the passage above, ix, 54, 19, the *prakartā kalahānām ca nityam ca kalahapriyaḥ* is represented as *kacchapīṇ sukhaḥabdāntām gṛhya vīṇām*, a late passage, apparently.

<sup>2</sup> Lévi, *Le théâtre indien*, p. 309.

But though it is a gross exaggeration of the facts, as well as a misapprehension of poetic values, to make the epic a poem that was from the start a moral and religious narrative, yet, inasmuch as in the hands of the priest the latter element was made predominant, there is no objection to the statement that from the point of view of the epic as a whole the Mahābhārata is to-day less tale than teaching. That this double character was recognized by those who contributed the introduction to the poem itself is indisputable (above, p. 53). The "tales" are counted as separate. The original Bhārata was only a quarter of its present size. Then, as later, the different elements were still distinguished, and the poem was not regarded as wholly a Smṛti or instruction-book, but as an artistic poem, Kāvya, per se. So the pseudo-epic vaunts its own literary finish: *ṣabde cā 'rthe ca hetāu ca eṣā prathamā-sargajā* (sarasvatī), xii, 336, 36.

The particular school of priests in whose hands the epic was transformed was probably that of the Yajurvedins. The Yajur Veda is "the birth-place of the warrior caste," according to a well-known verse, and it has been shown by Weber that the Ṣatapatha, a Yajur Veda text, stands in peculiarly close relation to the didactic epic.<sup>1</sup> As has been shown in the first chapter, the Ṣatapatha is the only Brāhmaṇa praised, perhaps even mentioned, in the epic; while the Yajur Veda Ṣatarudriya is exalted above all texts (except perhaps where Indra sings this, Vishnu sings the jyēṣṭha sāman, and Brahmā, the ratharātara, xiii, 14, 282, but even here the Ṣatarudriya is not slighted). In dividing the Itihāsa from the Purāṇa, moreover, the epic groups the former with the Yajur Veda, as against the Purāṇa with the other Vedas, viii, 34, 45. Here the Itihāsa represents the epic, as it does in the similar antithesis of xii, 302, 109: *yac cā 'pi dṛṣṭam vividham purāṇe yac ce 'tihāseṣu mahatsu dṛṣṭam*,

<sup>1</sup> Vālmīki too belonged to this school. Compare Weber, IS., xiii, p. 440, and as cited by Holtzmann, loc. cit., p. 18; Muir, OST., i, p. 17, citing TB. iii, 12, 9, 2, where the Vāiṣyas are derived from the Rīg Veda, the Kṣatriyas from the Yajur Veda, and the Brāhmins from the Sāma Veda.



where, as already observed, the Great Itihāsas point to several epic poems. Lastly, the Upanishads especially copied in the epic are those belonging to the Yajur Veda.

But while this is true of the completed epic, there is nothing to show that the Bhāratī Kathā was the especial property of any school, and no preference is given to the Yajur Veda in the later epic, for in the Gītā the Sāma Veda stands as the best, "I am the Sāma Veda among Vedas," 10, 22, and this is cited with approval and enlarged upon in xiii, 14, 323: "Thou art the Sāma Veda among Vedas, the Çatarudria among Yajus hymns, the Eternal Youth among Yogas, Kapila among Sāmkhyas."

In the epic itself the Sūtas called pāurāṇikas are recognized as the re-writers and reciters of the epic. They probably took the epic legends and arranged them in order for the popular recitation, which is also recognized when "priests recite the Mahābhārata at the assemblies of warriors," v, 141, 56, a passage recently cited by Professor Jacobi, as evidence of a difference between the manner of handing down the heroic tales and the recitals of legends.<sup>1</sup>

The method of narrating the epic stories is that of the old priestly legend, where the verse-tale is knit together, as in the epic, by prose statements as to the speaker. So in the epic, a narrative, not a rhapsodic or dramatic, delivery is indicated by such phrases. In the Rāmāyaṇa, on the other hand, the verse is knit more closely together, and the speakers are indicated almost always in the verse. The one exception is a late addition (G. ii, 110, 4-5).

The Mahābhārata is not only a Veda, it is so important a Veda that to read it is to dispense with the need of reading other Vedas.<sup>2</sup> In the dynamic alteration consequent on the attaining of such an ideal, we may expect to find that the tale, as a tale, is full of the grossest incongruities; for to fulfil its

<sup>1</sup> Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeige, 1899, p. 877 ff. I fully agree with the author's view in regard to the "Puranic" Sūtas being the compilers of the epic mass.

<sup>2</sup> vijñeayaḥ sa ca vedānām pārāgo bhāratam paṭhan, i, 62, 32.

encyclopedic character all is fish that comes to the net, and scarcely an attempt is made to smooth away any save the most glaring inconsistencies. Tale is added to tale, doctrine to doctrine, without much regard to the effect produced by the juxtaposition. If we take these facts as they stand, which is the more probable interpretation, that they were originally composed in this incongruous combination or that they are the result of such a genesis as has just been explained? As for the facts, I will illustrate them, though to any Bhāratavid they are already patent.

In i, 214, Arjuna protests that he is a brahmacārin for twelve years, in accordance with the agreement (chapter 212) that he has made with his brother, which is to the effect that he will be "a brahmacārin in the woods for twelve years." This can have only one meaning. A brahmacārin is not a man wandering about on love-adventures, but a chaste student. Above all, chastity is implied. Now the first thing the hero Arjuna does is to violate his agreement by having a connection with Ulūpi, a beautiful water-witch, who easily persuades him to break his vow; after which he resides in a city, taking to himself a wife with whom he lives for three years. After this he has a new adventure with some enchanted nymphs and then stays with Krishna; when, in a new vikrānta or derringdo (the hero's rape of Subhadra, chapter 220), all the talk of brahmacārin wandering in the woods stops inconsequently. When he marries (in town) not a word is said of his vow; but when he approaches Krishna on the subject of Subhadra the poet makes the former say "how can a wood-wanderer fall in love?" This is the only allusion, and one entirely ignored, to the matter of the vow; which in the earlier Mañipur scene is absolutely unnoticed. Each of these feats is a separate heroic tale and they are all contradictory to the setting in which they have been placed by the diadochoi and later epic manipulators. As heroic tales they are perfectly intelligible. Certain feats in separate stories were attributed to the hero. They had to be combined and they were combined by letting him go off by himself under a vow



of wandering in the woods. The wood-wanderer was usually a chaste ascetic, so he was given this character, but this rôle is kept for only one of the noble deeds. For after he has protested once at the outset, all pretence of his being a brahmacārin vanishes and the next we know he is comfortably mated and living in town, while still supposed by the poets to be a brahmacārin in the woods. The independent origin of these stories is seen at the beginning in the formula "Hear now a wonder-tale of him," *tatra tasyā 'dbhutaṁ karma çṛṇu tvam*, 214, 7. Such formulae of special tales are found frequently, *idaṁ yaḥ çṛṇuyād vṛttam* is another, used for the Urvaçī episode, iii, 46, 62. Another is like our "once upon a time," *purā kṛtayuge rājan*, e. g., ix, 40, 3.

The fact that Arjuna is here banished for twelve years is not without significance. The epic has been completed on rather formal lines. Agni is satiated for twelve years at Khāṇḍava. Arjuna's banishment is for the same length of time as that of the brothers as a family. So the epic is divided into eighteen books, as there are eighteen Purāṇas (p. 49); and there are eighteen armies battling for just eighteen days, and eighteen branches of younger Yādavas;<sup>1</sup> while finally there are eighteen islands of earth. The number of islands deserves particular notice, as it is one of the innumerable small indications that the poem has been retouched. Earth has four, seven, or at most thirteen islands in all literature of respectable antiquity. Seven is the usual number in the epic as it is in the older Purāṇas, but in the hymn to the sun at iii, 3, 52, "earth with its thirteen islands" is mentioned.<sup>2</sup> The mention of eighteen is found, of course, in one of the books where one who distinguished between the early and late elements would be apt to look for it, in the much inflated and rewritten seventh book, where (above, p. 229), with customary inconsistency, it stands beside another reference to the usual seven islands, *sarvān aṣṭādaṣa dvīpān*, vii, 70, 15; *sapta dvīpān*, 21.

<sup>1</sup> ii, 14, 40, 55; also 18,000 brothers and cousins, 56.

<sup>2</sup> The same passage calls the sun, çl. 61, *vivasvān mihiraḥ pūṣā mitraḥ*.

Another tale which bears evidence of having been rewritten and still shows its inconsistencies is found in iii, 12, 91 ff. Here Bhīma and his brothers and mother are surrounded by fire, and he rescues them by taking them on his back and leaping clear over the fire. No suggestion is given of any other means of escape. On the contrary it is emphasized that he can fly like the wind or Garuḍa, and the escape is due entirely to his divine power and strength. But in i, 2, 104; 61, 22; and 148, 12, 20 ff., the same story is told with an added element which quite does away with the old solution. Here (in the later first book) the party escape through an underground tunnel, *surāṅgā* (çl. 12) or *suruṅgā*, and after they are well off in the woods far from the fire, Bhīma is made to pick them up and carry them. The old feat was too attractive to lose, so it was kept postponed, but the later version with the Greek word to mark its lateness takes the place of the older jump. No one can read the account in Vana and fail to see that it is not a mere hasty résumé omitting the *suruṅgā*, but that the original escape is a feat of the wind-god's son. But the first part of this same section in Vana contains a laudation to Krishna-Vishnu which is as palpable a late addition as one could find in any work.

The *suruṅgā*, "syrinx," is not the only Greek word added in the later epic. As such must certainly be reckoned *trikoṇa* = *τρίγωνος*. There are in fact two *koṇa*. One is Sanskrit or dialectic for *kvāṇa*, the "sunder," or drumstick of the *Rāmāyāṇa*, vi, 32, 43; 42, 34, and elsewhere (not in the *Mahābhārata*). The other is found in the pseudo-epic xiv, 88, 32: *catuṣcityaḥ . . . aṣṭādaçakarātmakaḥ sarukmapakṣo nicitas trikoṇo garuḍākṛtiḥ*, of an altar (the corresponding passage in R. i, 14, 29, has *triguṇaḥ*), where the word must mean angle and be the equivalent of *τρίγωνος*.

The question of the character of the epic is so intertwined with its date that I will not apologize for pausing here a moment to speak of another geographical and ethnographical feature. The apologia published under the title *Genesis des Mahābhārata* omits to reply to the rather startling conclusion



drawn by Weber in a recent monograph on the name Bāhlika, or Bālhika, as it appears in the epic. In the *Sitzungsbericht* of the Berlin Academy, 1892, pp. 987 ff., Weber claims that any work containing this name or that of Pahlava must be as late as the first to the fourth century A. D. I cannot but think that the escape from this conclusion, in part suggested by Weber himself, is correct. In the rewriting of foreign names it is perfectly possible that later copyists should have incorporated a form current in their own day rather than conserved a form no longer current, which it was easy to do when not forbidden by the metre. Again, that there was actual confusion between the forms Vāhika and Bālhika, the former being a Puñjāb clan, the latter the Bactrians, it is not difficult to show. According to tradition, a drink especially beloved by the Bālhikas is sāuvira, or sāuviraka. This can scarcely be anything else than the drink suviraka, said to be lauded in the epic by degraded foreigners. But here the foreigners are not Bāhlikas but Vāhikas, whose Madrikā (woman) sings, viii, 40, 39-40, "I will give up my family rather than my beloved suviraka,"

mā mām suvirakam kaṇṇid yācatām dayitam mama  
putram dadyām patim dadyām na tu dadyām suvirakam

It is possible that the epic arose further to the north-west, and in its south-eastern journey, for it ends in being revised in the south-east,<sup>1</sup> has transferred the attributes of one people to another, as it has transferred geographical statements, and made seven Sarasvatīs out of the Seven Rivers of antiquity, ix, 38, 3. As an indication of the earlier habitat may be mentioned the very puzzling remark made in iii, 34, 11. Here there is an apparent allusion to the agreement in ii, 76, which agreement is that on being recognized before the expiration of the thirteenth year, either party shall give up his kingdom (svarājyam, cf. 14); and it is assumed throughout that the two kingdoms are those of Hastināpur on the Ganges and

<sup>1</sup> See on this point the evidence presented in my paper on the Bhārata and the Great Bhārata, *Am. Journ. Phil.* vol. xix, p. 21 ff.

Indraprastha on the Jumna. But in the passage of Vana just referred to there is an (old) *triṣṭubh* résumé of the situation, which makes the Kuru say:

bravīmi satyaṁ Kurusaṁsādī 'ha  
tavāi 'va tā, Bhārata, pañca nadyaḥ

Here we get an account where the Pandus are lost in the older Bhāratas, and to them the Kuru king says, "If we break this agreement, yours shall be all this Puñjāb." But what has the Puñjāb to do with the epic in its present form? It is a land of Vāhīkas and generally despised peoples (who morally are not much better than barbarians), and also a holy land (another little inconsistency disregarded in the synthetic method); but, whatever it is morally, it has nothing to do politically with the present epic heroes, except to provide them with some of their best allies, a fact, however, that in itself may be significant of earlier Western relations.<sup>1</sup>

To return to the evidence of remaking in the epic. Passing over the passage ix, 33 to 55, a long interpolation thrust midway into a dramatic scene, we find that chapter 61 begins with the repetition of the precedent beginning of chapter 59, which latter, after 15 *śloka*s, together with chapter 60, is taken up with a moral discourse of Yudhiṣṭhira, who reproaches Bhīma for insulting the fallen foe. Then Rāma joins in and is about to slay Bhīma, when Krishna defends the latter, saying that his ignoble insult was entirely proper. This argument of Krishna is characterized by Sañjaya as *dharmacchalam*, or, in other words, Krishna is said to be a pious hypocrite (60, 26); Rāma departs in disgust, and the virtuous heroes "became very joyless" (31). Then Krishna, who has all along been approving the act, turns to Yudhiṣṭhira who reproved it, and says,

<sup>1</sup> Jacobi touches on the significance of these Western allies in the review mentioned above. The "land of the Bhāratas" extends northwest of the Puñjāb even to the foot of the Himālayas, for in coming from Hemakūṭa to Mithilā one traverses first the Hāimavata Varṣa, then "passing beyond this arrives at the Bhārata Varṣa, and (so) reaches Āryāvarta" (seeing on the journey "different districts inhabited by Chinese and Huns," *cīnahūṇaṇiṣe-vitān*), xii, 326, 14-15. But this is the Varṣa or country in general.



"Why do you approve of this sin?" Yudhiṣṭhira answers, "I am not pleased with it, but (because we were so badly treated by this man therefore) I overlook it. Let Pandu's son take his pleasure whether he does right or wrong" (38). And when Yudhiṣṭhira had said this, Krishna answered "as you will," and Yudhiṣṭhira then "expressed gratification at what Bhīma had done in the fight." In the next chapter, Krishna is openly charged with violating all rules of honor and noble conduct (61, 38); to which the god at first replies by specious reasoning (tit for tat), and then, throwing off all disguise, says: "This man could not be killed by righteous means, nor could your other enemies have been slain, if I had not acted thus sinfully," *yadi nāi 'vaṁvidham jātu kuryān jihmam aham raṇe* (64).

Here there is something more than dramatic incongruities to notice. For is it conceivable that any priests, setting out to write a moral tale which should inculcate virtue, would first make one of the heroes do an ignoble thing, and then have both their great god and their chief human exponent of morality combine in applauding what was openly acknowledged even by the gods to be dishonorable conduct? Even if the act was dramatically permitted for the purpose of setting its condemnation in a stronger light and thus purging in the end, can we imagine that the only vindicator of virtue should be Rāma, and that Krishna and Yudhiṣṭhira of all others should cut so contemptible a figure? On the other hand, is not the whole scene explicable without any far-fetched hypothesis, if we assume that we have here the mingling of older incident, inseparable from the heroic narrative, and the later teaching administered by a moral *deus ex machinâ*? As the scene stands it is grotesque. Krishna's sudden attack on Yudhiṣṭhira is entirely uncalled-for; and the latter, who has first denounced the deed, then joins with the former in approving the very thing of which Krishna himself half way through the scene disapproves.

But to those who think that the epic was built on a moral didactic plan this is only one of many cases where a satisfactory

explanation in accordance with the theory will prove difficult. They must explain why polyandry, in which the heroes indulge, while it is condemned, is permitted.<sup>1</sup> Ludwig explains this "sharing of the jewel" (i, 195, 25) as a "Mythisches Element;" others hark back to the old-fashioned allegorical treatment. But why is allegory with a bad moral seriously defended if the heroes are merely to be represented as models? On the other hand, it is known that polyandry was no uncommon thing on the borders of Brahmanic civilization, and Bühler recognized the custom within its pale; while the Pandus have no Brahmanic standing, and are evidently a new people from without the pale.<sup>2</sup> As a simple historic element it is perfectly natural, explained otherwise it remains an inexplicable mystery. So too with all the violations of the ethical code which are enumerated in the chapter referred to above. As characters in an historical epic, the heroes' acts are easily understood; as priestly models, dummies for sermons, their doings are beyond explanation.

Apart from the ignoble conduct of heroes, there are other items. Getting drunk at a picnic, for instance, is not proper conduct for an exemplary Hindu lady. But in the later epic the most virtuous ladies get so drunk that they cannot walk straight, madaskhalitagāminyaḥ, i, 222, 21, madoṭkate, 23. Such shocking behavior belongs to the revelry of the Harivaṅṣa and the probably contemporaneous tale here jovially recorded. It is not a moral episode of the fifth century B. C. Elsewhere ladies are supposed to be "unseen by the sun and wind," not only before they are married, but afterwards.<sup>3</sup> Drinking surā

<sup>1</sup> i, 158, 36; 195, 27, 28.

<sup>2</sup> This follows from the sharp contrast presented by the Kurus and Pandus in Brahmanic literature. While the Kurus are a famous folk in ancient records, the Pandus are there utterly unknown.

<sup>3</sup> ii, 69, 4 ff.; iii, 62, 21. The formal phrase here is noticeable. Drāupadī says: yām na vāyur na cā 'dityo dṛṣṭavāntāu purā gr̥he, sā 'ham adya sabhāmadhye dṛṣyāmi janasaṁsadi (she was one of the ladies who got drunk at the outdoor picnic). So Damayantī, of whom Nala says: yām na vāyur na cā 'dityaḥ purā paçyati me priyām, se 'yam adya sabhāmadhye çete bhuvāv anāthavat.



is especially forbidden by the codes, but it is drunk without compunction by the heroes.<sup>1</sup>

The subject of meat-eating is not a trivial one to the Hindu. I need not cite the numerous passages describing the slaughter and eating of animals by the epic heroes, more especially as I have elsewhere illustrated the fact very fully.<sup>2</sup> What I wish to point out particularly at the present time is the impossibility of supposing that the same plan of moral teaching is carried out not only in the tales of meat-eating, but in the orthodox teaching that meat may be eaten at a sacrifice, and in the strict vegetarian diet even at sacrifices, which is insisted upon in the *ahiṃsā* doctrine of the later epic.<sup>3</sup> Here, not only is the substitution of a deer for a horse a new feature in the *Açvamedha* sacrifice, xii, 343, 52; but a king is held up as a model because there was no killing of animals at an *açvamedha*. For this model king was *ahiṃsraḥ çucir akṣudraḥ*, that is "he did no harm to any living thing, he was pure and not cruel" (*akṣudra* = *akrūra*), xii, 337, 10. The parts of the sacrifice were all wood-growth, for there is a *vaidikī çrutiḥ* which says *bījair yajñeṣu yaṣṭavyam; ajasam-*

<sup>1</sup> The codes are early *Sūtras* as well as *Çāstras*, e.g., *Gāut.* xxi, 1-7. In iv, 72, 28, at a wedding, *surāmāireyapānāni* and meat of all kinds, *mrgas* and *medhyāḥ paçavaḥ*. *Karpa's asuravratam* (*surārahitam*, N.) indicates his habitual use of *surā*, iii, 257, 17. Both Krishna and Arjuna are drunk when they receive an ambassador, v, 59, 5.

<sup>2</sup> *Ruling Caste*, p. 119. Further illustrations also are here given of the other vices mentioned. My position in regard to these points I find it necessary to restate, owing to the misrepresentation of them in the so-called *Genesis des Mahābhārata*. The author simply parodies when, on p. 55, he says, "these passages cannot belong to a time" (etc.). In the presentation thus caricatured I separated no parts of the epic; but simply pointed out that the statements of the moral code are not in harmony with the action of the heroes.

<sup>3</sup> To this, perhaps, is due the intrusion into epic sacrifices (among *açvamedha*, *rājasūya*, and other ancient rites) of the so-called *puṇḍarika* sacrifice, or sacrifice of lotus-(roots), which is frequently mentioned, but appears to be unknown before the epic. The graciousness of the Vishnu cult is illustrated by its insistence on vegetal and not animal offerings. The orthodox Brahman (also the *Çākta*) demands blood-sacrifices; Krishna prohibits them. The difference, still marked, appears in the epic and no "synthesis" can explain it otherwise.

jñāni bijāni cehāgān no hantum arhatha (you must not kill goats at a sacrifice; sacrifice with vegetables and call them goats) nāi 'sa dharmah satām devā yatra vadhyeta vāi paṇuḥ (it is not the rule among good men to kill animals), xii, 338, 4. Now this whole teaching is opposed not only to the formal codes and to the practice of the epic heroes, but also to the formal teaching of the epic itself, which says expressly: "No man does wrong in eating food prepared with the sacrificial verses," yajusā saṁskṛtam māṁsam upabhuñjan na duṣyati, xiii, 163, 43.<sup>1</sup> Animal sacrifices are inveighed against in one part of the epic and praised in another (iii, 30, etc.). Even human sacrifices are not only mentioned but also enjoined on the model heroes: "Sacrifices are the chief means of success. Do thou therefore institute a Rājasūya, a horse-sacrifice, an all-sacrifice and a human sacrifice," xiv, 3, 6-8.<sup>2</sup>

As to hunting, all epic heroes hunt and eat the meat of their victims; but since this practice is opposed to the ahimsā doctrine the casuist has a good deal of difficulty in reconciling the practice of the model heroes with that doctrine. It is said to be permissible, because sacrificial animals may be eaten, and deer are brought under this head by a reference to Agastya who "sanctified them." But while Rāma is quite content to say that hunting even with traps is permissible, because the saints of royal blood practised it of old; the teacher in the Mahābhārata is still uneasy, even after contending that the quarry is "sacrificial;" so he says that really the hunter is contending for his life and it is a matter of fighting, which takes it out of the category of "injury," since the hunter himself is as likely to be killed as to kill.<sup>3</sup> All

<sup>1</sup> The chine is excepted, prṣṭhamāṁsam, 43. This and vṛthamāṁsam is the same as putramāṁsam, that is, it is as bad to eat meat not used for sacrificial purposes as it is to be a cannibal, for amṛtam brāhmaṇā gāva ity etat trayam ekataḥ, cows are as holy as Brahmans, 42. Compare also xiii, 115 and 116 (below).

<sup>2</sup> Compare xiii, 103, 32 ff., "ārkaṇyaṇas, turāyaṇas, human sacrifices" (and others).

<sup>3</sup> The passages of the two epics are related. Compare: ato rājarāyaḥ sarve mṛgayām yānti, Bhārata, with yānti rājarāyaḥ cā 'tra mṛgayām dharma-  
makovidāḥ, xiii, 116, 18, and R. iv, 18, 40, respectively. The law is laid down



of this is good sense, but it does not save the teacher from the weakness of advancing two excuses, and thus betraying the fact that the whole *ahiṃsā* received from Buddhism and half accepted, is a late modification of the practice of the model heroes, who disregard the real *ahiṃsā*. Yudhiṣṭhira says frankly that he likes meat, and Bhīṣma agrees that it is a most pleasant and strengthening food; but he says that those who indulge in it go to hell, and then explains that warriors may practise hunting for the reasons given above. It is no wonder that the model meat-eating hero says "my mind is befuddled on this point." Formal Brahmanic law accounts hunting one of the four worst vices a king may have.

Such contradictions are not those of a "great-hearted poet" who scorns the narrowness of accuracy. Of this latter class of contradictions the poem is full. The Hindu Homer nods continually. He forgets that his puppet is addressing Bhīṣma and makes him use the customary vocative, Yudhiṣṭhira, because the latter is his ordinary dummy, iii, 82, 64; 85, 111. He says that even a wise man who sells soma goes to hell, and that the sale of soma by one who is wise is no fault, xiii, 101, 12 ff., xii, 34, 31. His gods have no shadows in a well-known passage of Nala, but elsewhere "the gods' vast shad-

in Manu, vii, 50. The whole of xiii, 115 and 116 is an awkward attempt to unite hunting-morality with non-injury, *na ca doṣo 'tra vidyate (Rāma), bhuñjan na duṣyati (M)*. Rāma goes so far as to say that to kill a monkey is no crime, for the reasons given above, a peculiarly unbrahmanic argument. Due to the influence of Buddhism sporadically represented is also the passage so similar to the Dhammapada (Dh. P. 385, *tam aham brūmi brāhmaṇam*, and 393, *yamhi saccañ ca dhammo ca, so sukhi so ca brāhmaṇo*) in iii, 216, 14-15, *yas tu cūdro dame satye dharme ca satatottthitaḥ tam brāhmaṇam aham manye vṛttena hi bhaved dvijaḥ*, and the parallel passage in xiii, 143, 46 ff., which declares that a Cūdra not only may become a *saṃskṛto dvijaḥ* hereafter, but that he should be revered, *sevyah*, like a regenerate person, if he is "pure of heart and of subdued senses," since "not birth, nor sacrament, nor learning, nor stock" (*santatiḥ*) make one regenerate, but only conduct" is the cause of regeneracy (*dvijatvasya vṛttam eva tu kāraṇam*). We have from Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras a pretty clear idea of what Brahmanism taught in regard to the Cūdra. But it never taught this even in the Upanishads. It is pure Buddhism, taught as Brahmanism.

ows" are seen, ix, 37, 9. His saints are stars, but again only "like stars," and finally "not stars," iii, 25, 14; 261, 13; xii, 245, 22; 271, 25, etc. I lay as little weight on such contradictions as would any one familiar with the history of literature, and it is a mere travesty to say that to this class belong such fundamental differences as those which are characteristic of the precept and practice of the epic. No poem composed to teach certain doctrines would admit as its most virtuous characters those who disregarded these doctrines systematically.

Whether the fact that only the pseudo-epic puts the Atharva-Veda first in the list of Vedas be worthy of consideration or not, it has an interesting parallel in the fact that only the pseudo-epic places the Atharvan priest before the others. In early works the Ācārya, who taught gratis all the Vedas, is declared to be worth ten Upādhyāyas, Vas. xiii, 48; iii, 21-22; Manu, ii, 140-145. This Upādhyāya is the direct etymological ancestor of the modern ojha, wizard. In ancient times he was a sub-teacher, who taught for a livelihood one part of the Veda and Vedāṅga, and he is identified in the epic with the Purohita, who, as Professor Weber has shown, is essentially an Atharva-Veda priest,<sup>1</sup> or magic-monger, whom seers regard as contemptible.<sup>2</sup> The pseudo-epic inverts the ancient ratio and makes the Upādhyāya worth ten Ācāryas, xiii, 105, 14-45.

<sup>1</sup> One example of magic recorded in the epic is particularly interesting, as it is referred to the Kāulika-çāstra, or left-hand cult, and is a parallel to the practice recorded in Theocritus' second idyll. It is called chāyopasevana or shadow-cult, and consists in making an image of an enemy and sticking pins into it to cause his death, iii, 32, 4.

<sup>2</sup> The Jātakas, too, regard the Purohita as a mere magic-monger, though they call him also ācariya, Fick, *Soziale Gliederung*, p. 110. On the Purohita Upādhyāya, see the story of Marutta, xiv, 6, 7 ff. Here (and in xiii, 10, 36) the office is hereditary. The king in the former passage insists that his family Purohita shall serve him with an incantation, but the priest tells him he is engaged elsewhere, and says "Go and choose some one else as your Upādhyāya." So in i, 3, 11 ff., where a proper Purohita is sought "to kill bad magic" and is installed as Upādhyāya. On his practical importance and honors, compare i, 183, 1, 9; 6-7; v, 126, 2; 127, 25; ix, 41, 12. On the contempt with which he is regarded, xiii, 10, 36; 94, 33; 135, 11.



The epic in its present form is swollen with many additions, but they are all cast into the shade by the enormous mass added bodily to the epic as didactic books, containing more than twenty thousand stanzas. I have elsewhere fully explained<sup>1</sup> the machinery by which this great appendix was added to the original work through suspending the death of the narrator, and shown that there are many indications left in the epic pointing to the fact that the narrator in the original version was actually killed before he uttered a word of the appendix. As this one fact disposes of the chief feature of that theory of the epic which holds that the work was originally what it is to-day, and as no sufficient answer has been given to the facts adduced, there can be no further question in regard to the correctness of the term pseudo-epic as applied to these parts of the present poem.<sup>2</sup> There has been, so far as I know, no voice heard in favor of the so-called synthetic theory in regard to the nature of these late books, except certain utterances based apparently on a misconception. Thus it has been said, I think, by Professor Oldenburg, that the discovery of the lotus-stalk tale among the early Buddhistic legends tends to show that the epic book where it occurs is antique.<sup>3</sup> On this point this is to be said: No one has ever denied that there are early legends found in the late parts of the epic; but the fact that this or that legend repeated in the pseudo-epic is found in other literature, no matter how old, does nothing toward proving either the antiquity of the book as a whole, which is just what the "synthetic" method contends for, or the antiquity of the epic form of the legend. The story of the Deluge, for example, is older than any Buddhistic monument; but this does not prove that the epic version in the third book is old. The same is true of the

<sup>1</sup> Am. Journ. Phil., xix, p. 7 ff.

<sup>2</sup> In this view I am glad to see that Professor Jacobi, in the review cited above, fully agrees. So also M. Barth, *Journal des Savants*, 1897, p. 448.

<sup>3</sup> I am not sure that I have here cited the well-known Russian savant correctly, as I have seen only a notice of his paper; but I believe the essential point is as given above. The Lotus-Theft, however, perhaps the same story, is alluded to as early as *Āit. Br.* v. 30.

first book, where the *pāurāṇī kathā* of *Khāṇḍava*, for example, is a justifiable and instructive title, set as it is in a late book. A special "ancient tale" is just what it is; intruded awkwardly into the continuous later narration, 223, 14-16, but still bearing traces of its heterogeneous character, as I have shown elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> Knowing, as we do, the loose and careless way in which epic texts have been handed down (compare the way in which appear the same passages given in different editions of the same epic or in both epics), and the freedom with which additions were made to the text, we are in such cases historically justified in saying only that certain matter of the epic stands parallel to certain *Bhāṣya* matter or Buddhistic matter. A tale is found in the epic. Its content is pictured on a stone or found in different form in a *Jātaka*. What possible guarantee have we that the epic form of the tale is as old as the *Jātaka*, still less that it is as old as the stone, least of all that the book in which the epic tale appears must as a whole be antique? Only paucity of solid data could make eminent scholars build structures on such a morass.

Having already given an example or two of late features in the pseudo-epic, I would now point to some of the characteristic marks of the later poem in other regards. Midway in the development of the epic stands the intrusion of the fourth book, where to fill out an extra year, not recognized in the early epic, the heroes live at court in various disguises. Here the worship of *Durgā* is prominent, who is known by her Purāṇic title, *mahiṣāsuraṇāṣiṇī*, iv, 6, 15, whose "grace gives victory," ib. 30 (though after the intrusion of the hymn nothing further is heard of her). The *Durgā* here depicted bears a *kheṭaka* (as she does when the same hymn is repeated in vi, 23, 7), iv, 6, 4. This word for shield amid innumerable passages describing arms, is unknown in the epic except in connection with *Durgā*, but it is found in post-epical literature. It stands in the same historical position as does the epithet just mentioned. In these cases we have

<sup>1</sup> *Bhārata* and *Great Bhārata*, p. 15.



general evidence of the lateness of the book as well as of the hymn to Durgā. Matter and metre go hand in hand.

A very striking example is given further in the show of arms which are described in this book. Although Arjuna is still a young man, yet, when the exhibitor comes to show his bow, Gāṇḍīva, he says "And this is the world-renowned bow of the son of Pṛthā, which he carried for five-and-sixty years" iv, 43, 1-6. Nothing could be plainer than this passage. The exhibition of arms was composed when the later poet had in mind the actual number of years the hero carried the bow according to the epic story. He forgot that he was composing a scene which was to fit into the hero's young manhood and not into the end of his life. In iv, 71, 15 Arjuna is recognized as still a "dark-featured youth,"<sup>1</sup> and some time after this scene it is expressly stated that it was even then only thirty-three years since the time when Arjuna got the bow, v, 52, 10 (referring to the Khāṇḍava episode, i, 225).<sup>2</sup>

While it is obvious to one who is willing to examine the

<sup>1</sup> Here there is another inconsistency. In iv, 44, 20, instead of being a *gyāmo yuvā* as in 71, 15, he is called Arjuna because of his white steeds and complexion, "which is rare on earth," where the "white" complexion matches steeds and deeds, "pure (white)." In v, 59, 10, Arjuna is also dark.

<sup>2</sup> According to v, 82, 40, and 90, 47 and 70, respectively, the time from the exile to the battle is thirteen years past ("this is the fourteenth"). Ignoring the discrepancy between twelve and thirteen years of exile, we must allow at least twenty-nine years for Arjuna to live before the Khāṇḍava incident, which, added to thirty-three, makes sixty-four, which would be Arjuna's age when "a youth," before the war begins! If, however, we overlook the statement of v, 52, 10, and add the years of exile to twenty-nine, we still get forty-odd years as his life-limit when he has carried the bow sixty-five years. It must be remembered that Arjuna was twenty-four years in exile, twelve years before the dicing and twelve or thirteen after it, and that Abhimanyu was sixteen when the war broke out (forty-four years for Arjuna if he won Drūpadi when he was sixteen, and he could not have been twenty years older at that time). The synthesist may say "How narrow! Poets do not regard such discrepancies," but even poets are generally aware that a hero less than fifty cannot have carried a bow for more than sixty years, especially when he got it at the age of forty or thereabouts! Krishna dies in the thirty-sixth year after the war (xi, 25, 44), which should make Arjuna about thirty at the beginning of the war. This throws a sidelight on the intrusion of the twelve-years exile as a brahmachārin, spoken of above.

epic with careful analysis that the *Gītā* and the thirteenth book, for example, are purely priestly products, and that one of them is on the whole as early as the other on the whole is late,<sup>1</sup> it is not easy to decide what is the relation between these great groups of verses and the heroic epic, with which neither has any inner connection. Nevertheless, although there can be as a result of the inquiry only the historical probability usual in answering the problems of ancient literature, and not such a mathematical *quod erat demonstrandum* as the synthesist demands, we are not wholly at a loss to reply to this question. In the first place we have a very instructive analogy in the intrusion into both epic texts of an incongruous didactic chapter found both in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, which bears on its face evidence of its gradual expansion. But even without this evidence it will, I think, be clear even to the synthesist that the same chapter cannot have arisen independently in both epics; so that in this instance we have a plain case of the dynamic intrusion into an epic text of foreign didactic material.<sup>2</sup>

Again, the presence of a huge volume of extraneous additions, containing both legends and didactic stuff, now tagged on to the epic as its nineteenth book and recognized in the last part of the epic itself, is an object-lesson in dynamic expansion which in itself shows how the pseudo-epic may with perfect regard to historic probability be supposed to have been added to the epic proper. The *Rāmāyaṇa* too is instructive, as it shows that whole chapters have been interpolated, as admitted by its commentator. The great epic itself admits that there is a difference between the main epic and the episodes, in saying that the former is only one-fourth of the whole, and relegating seventy-six of its hundred thousand stanzas to the domain of the episodic epic.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Compare the chapter on metres.

<sup>2</sup> This chapter is the *Kaccit* section ii, 5 and R. ii, 100, previously referred to, discussed in detail in *AJP.* xix, 147 ff.

<sup>3</sup> As an interesting example of the growth of Sanskrit popular poems, Mr. Grierson informs me that there is extant a *vṛddha* or *bṛhad* *Vishnu Purāṇa*, which contains large additions to the received text.



That the priests developed the epic for their own interests, goes without saying; hence the long chapters of priestly origin on the duty of charity — to priests. That they added legends has already been shown, and the metre still attests the approximate age of a Nala or a Sulabhā episode. But besides didactic and legendary masses, it was necessary, in order to popularize the poem, to keep some sort of proportion between the tale and its tumors. Hence the fighting episodes were increased, enlarged, rewritten, and inserted doubly, the same scene and description occurring in two different places. For this reason, while there is an appreciable difference in the metre of the different episodes which were inserted whole, the fighting scenes are chiefly of one *çloka*-type, — a type later than that of some of the episodes, but on a par with that of the later didactic and narrative insertions.

Whether the original tale was occupied with the Pandus or not, the oldest heroes are not of this family, and the old Vedic tradition, while it recognizes Bhāratas and Kurus, knows nothing about Pandus. The Kuru form of epic may perhaps be preserved in the verse (restored) of one of the oldest Upanishads, Chānd. Up. iv, 17, 9:

yato yata āvartate tad tad gacchati mānavah  
Kurūn aṇvā 'bhirakṣati,

a *gāthā* restored by omitting an evident interpolation.<sup>1</sup> The style is like the usual epic turn, e. g., R. vi, 106, 22,

yena yena ratho yāti tena tena pradhāvati.

Nevertheless, a Pandu epic of some sort existed as early as the third century B. C., as is shown by the testimony of Pāṇini and the Jātakas (which may indeed give testimony for an era even later than the third century), though in the latter literature the epic story is not presented as it is in our epic. This takes us from the form to the date of the Mahābhārata.

<sup>1</sup> Compare Müller, SBE. i, p. 71. See also the Sūtra verse on the Kurus' defeat, cited by Professor Ludwig, Abh. Böhm. Ges. 1884, p. 5.

## CHAPTER SIX.

### DATE OF THE EPIC.

FIRST, to define the epic. If we mean by this word the beginnings of epic story, as they may be imagined in the "circling narration," in the original Bhārati Kathā, or in the early mention of tales of heroes who are also epic characters, the time of this epic poetry may lie as far back as 700 B. C. or 1700 B. C., for aught we know. There are no further data to go upon than the facts that a Bhārata is mentioned in the later Sūtra, that the later part of the Ṣatapatha Brāhmaṇa mentions the "circling narration," and that ākhyāna, stories, some in regard to epic personages, told in prose and verse, go back to the early Vedic period.<sup>1</sup> We must be content with Weber's conservative summary: "The Mahābhārata-saga (not the epic) in its fundamental parts extends to the Brāhmaṇa period."<sup>2</sup>

If, on the other hand, we mean the epic as we now have it, a truly synthetical view must determine the date, and we shall fix the time of the present Mahābhārata as one when the sixty-four kalās were known, when continuous iambic pādas were written, when the latest systems of philosophy were recognized, when the trimūrti was acknowledged, when there were one hundred and one Yajur Veda schools, when the sun was called Mihira, when Greek words had become familiar,

<sup>1</sup> On the early prose-poetic ākhyāna of the Vedic and Brahmanic age, compare the essays by von Bradke, *Journal of the German Oriental Society*, xxxvi, p. 474 ff.; and Oldenberg, *ib.* xxxvii, p. 54 ff., and xxxix, p. 52 ff. Ballad recitations, akkhāna, are mentioned in early Buddhistic works, which we may doubtfully assign, as Professor Rhys Davids does undoubtedly, to the fifth century B. C.

<sup>2</sup> *Episches im Vedischen Ritual*, p. 8: Die Mbhārata-Sage reicht somit ihrer Grundlage nach in die Brāhmaṇa Periode hinein.



and the Greeks were known as wise men, when the eighteen islands and eighteen Purāṇas were known, when was known the whole literature down to grammars, commentaries, Dharma-śāstrās, grānṭhas, pustakas, *written* Vedas, and complete MSS. of the Mahābhārata including the Harivaṅṣa. But this is a little too much, and even the inconsistent synthesist, who draws on a large vituperative thesaurus whenever another hints at intrusions into the epic, may well be pardoned for momentarily ceasing to be synthetic and exclaiming with reason *Da liegt doch die Interpolation vor Augen!*<sup>1</sup>

That the complete Mahābhārata, for the most part as we have it to-day, cannot be later than the fourth or fifth century of our era, follows from the fact, brought out first by Professor Bhandārkār and then by Professor Bühler, that it is referred to as a Smṛti in inscriptions dated not much later than this, while by the fifth century at least it was about as long as it is now.<sup>2</sup> But we may go further back and say with comparative certainty that, with the exception of the parts latest added, the introduction to the first book and the last book, even the pseudo-epic was completed as early as 200 A. D. For the Roman denarius is known to the Harivaṅṣa and the Harivaṅṣa is known to the first part of the first book and to the last book (implied also in the twelfth book); hence such parts of these books as recognize the Harivaṅṣa must be later than the introduction of Roman coins into the country (100-200 A. D.); but though coins are mentioned over and over,<sup>3</sup> nowhere, even in the twelfth and thirteenth books, is the denarius alluded to.

<sup>1</sup> Genesis des Mahābhārata, p. 129.

<sup>2</sup> Quite important, on the other hand, is the fact recently emphasized by Dr. Cartellieri, WZ. xiii, p. 69, 1899: "Für Subandhu und Bāṇa war das Mahābhārata . . . kein dharmaśāstra, sondern ein Kāvya," which the poem itself proclaims itself to be, i, 1, 61.

<sup>3</sup> The money recognized is gold and silver "made and unmade" and niṣkas, though chests of precious metal are mentioned and a great deal of money is found when excavating for treasure (perhaps near Taxila). When the realm is prosperous the soldier's pay is "not copper." For references to money, coins, etc., see ii, 61, 2, 8, 20-30; iii, 15, 22; 255, 17; iv, 18, 18; 22, 10; 38, 43; xii, 328, 46 (threefold test of gold); xiv, 65, 20 (amount of treasure). On the

Another interesting item is contributed by the further negative evidence afforded in the matter of copper-plate grants. Gifts to priests are especially urged in the *Anuṣāsana*, and the gift of land above all is praised in the most extravagant terms. We know that by the second century of our era, and perhaps earlier, such gifts to priests were safeguarded by copper-plate grants, bearing the technical name of *paṭṭa* (*paṭa*) or *tāmrapaṭṭa*, and elaborate instructions for their making are given in the law-book of Nārada and Vishnu, while they are mentioned in the code of Yājñavalkya, but not before; for Manu, though he mentions the boundary-line being "recorded," *nibaddha*, has no suggestion of plate-grants. The epic, however, at least the pseudo-epic, speaks of writing down even the Vedas, and recognizes rock-inscriptions, but in the matter of recorded grants to priests says nothing at all; much less does it recognize such a thing as a *tāmrapaṭṭa*. The only terms used are *parigraha* and *agrahāra*, but the latter, which is very rare, is never used in the sense of a land-grant, though *grāmāgrahāra* occurs once in the later epic, xv, 14, 14. Even the general *ṣāsana* is never so employed.<sup>1</sup> It is true that this negative evidence does not prove the epic to have been completed before the *tāmrapaṭṭa* was known; but on the other hand, it is unlikely, were the *tāmrapaṭṭa* the usual means of clinching a *bhūmidāna* when the *Anuṣāsana* was composed, that this mode would have passed unnoticed,

conquest of *Takṣaṣilā*, see i, 3, 20. According to ii, 61, 20, the soldier's pay is "a thousand a month," here presumably copper.

<sup>1</sup> Legal documents appear first in Vas. Dh. S., xvi, 10, 15, under the name *lekhitā*. Probably the first deeds were written on cloth or boards, *phalaka*, as a board-copy precedes the rock-inscription, ASWL, iv, p. 102. The epic has *picture-paṭa*, as in xv, 32, 20, *dadṛce citram paṭagataṁ yathā* (*ācārya-bhūtam*) and often. Rock-inscriptions are mentioned *only* in xiii, 139, 43, *ciraṁ tiṣṭhātī medinyāṁ ṣāile lekhyam ivā 'rpitam*. Written Vedas are alluded to *only* ib. 23, 72. Seals are used as passports, iii, 15, 19. Compare also ii, 55, 10, *na lekhyam na ca mātṛkā*; v, 148, 23, *citrakāra ivā 'lekhyam kṛtvā*; ib. 189, 1, "lekhyā and other arts;" vii, 99, 7, *nāmāṅkitāḥ* (compare above, p. 205), of arrows. The conjunct *gaṇakā lekhaṇā* occurs only in xv, 14, 8, and in the verse of the Kaccit section, ii, 5, 72, which is a subsequent addition even to this late chapter; AJP., xix, p. 149.



and we may conclude that the gift-sections of this book were at least as old as the oldest copper-plate grants to priests.<sup>1</sup>

The time of the whole Mahābhārata generally speaking may then be from 200–400 A. D. This, however, takes into account neither subsequent additions, such as we know to have been made in later times, nor the various recastings in verbal form, which may safely be assumed to have occurred at the hands of successive copyists.

For the terminus a quo, the external<sup>2</sup> evidence in regard to the Pandu epic, Mahābhārata, though scanty, is valuable. It shows us first that the Mahābhārata is not recognized in any Sanskrit literary work till after the end of the Brāhmaṇa period, and only in the latest Sūtras, where it is an evident intrusion into the text. For the Gṛhya Sūtras belong to the close of the Sūtra period, and here the words Bhārata and Mahābhārata occur in a list of authors and works as substitutes for the earlier mention of Itihāsa and Purāṇa in the same

<sup>1</sup> The verse xii, 56, 52, which the author of *Das Mahābhārata als Epos und Rechtsbuch*, p. 187, adduces to prove that written deeds were known, is given by him without the context. When this is examined it is found that the verse refers not to land but to a king's realm. Neither does the text nor the commentator necessarily (as asserted, loc. cit.) make it refer to land-grants. The word used is *viṣaya*, a king's realm or country (as in xiv, 32, 8) and the poet says that ministers who are given too much liberty "rend the king's realm by counterfeits" (or falsifications). The situation and the analogy of 59, 49, and 69, 22, and 100, 6, where general deceit and dissension are the means employed to destroy a realm, make it most probable that the word *pratirūpaka* is used here to distinguish the forged laws and edicts of the usurping ministers from the true laws which the helpless king would enact. Such suppression of the king and substitution of false edicts are thoroughly Oriental, and may easily be illustrated by the use of this very word, *pratirūpaka*, in the Lotus of True Law, where *pratirūpaka* means just such "false laws" substituted for the real king's true laws (iii, 22; SBE., xxi, p. 68, note, with Iranian parallel). The commentator says "corrupt the country by false edict-documents," that is, he gives a general application to the words, which may be interpreted as referring to land-grants, but this is not necessary. Possible would be the later law-meaning of frauds of any kind, perhaps counterfeit money. Certain it is that the passage is not "a direct proof for forged documents," still less for "false documents by means of which any one gets land."

<sup>2</sup> Cis-indic evidence is negative and without weight. Megasthenes, c. 300 B. C., has left no fragment on Hindu epics, and the source of Dio Chrysostomos (100 A. D.), who mentions a Hindu Homer, is unknown.

place, so recent a substitution in fact that some even of the latest of these Sūtras still retain Itihāsa and Purāṇa. But when the words do actually occur they are plainly additions to the earlier list. Thus in Ānkhāyana iv, 10, 13, the list is Sumantu, Jāimini, Vāiṇampāyana, Pāila, the Sūtras, the Bhāṣya, Gārgya, etc., with no mention of the epic. But the Aṅvalāyana text, iii, 4, 4, inserts the epic thus: Sumantu, Jāimini, Vāiṇampāyana, Pāila, the Sūtras, the Bhāṣya, *the Bhārata, the Mahābhārata, dharmācāryas, Jānanti, Bāhavi, Gārgya, etc.* The next step is taken by the Āmbavya text, which does not notice the Bhārata and recognizes only the Mahābhārata (whereas some texts make even the Aṅvalāyana Sūtra omit Mahābhārata altogether, reading Bhārata-dharmācāryāḥ). When it is remembered that these and other lists of literature are not uncommon in the Sūtras, and that nowhere do we find any other reference to the Mahābhārata, it becomes evident that we have important negative testimony for the lateness of the epic in such omission, which is strengthened by the evidently interpolated mention of the poem, withal in one of the latest Sūtras.<sup>1</sup>

Patañjali, it may be admitted, recognizes a Pandu epic in the verse, asidvitīyo 'nusasāra Pāṇḍavam, and in his account of the dramatic representation of the sacred legend, indissolubly connected with the tale.<sup>2</sup> This takes us at farthest back to the second century; but this date (p. 56) is doubtful.

Pāṇini knows the names of the epic heroes, and recognizes the Arjuna-Krishna cult in giving a derivative meaning "worshipper of Arjuna" (Krishna). He also, which is more important, recognizes the name Mahābhārata. It cannot reasonably be claimed, I think, that this name does not refer to the epic. It stands, indeed, beside mahā-Jābāla, and might (as masculine) be supposed from this circumstance to mean "the

<sup>1</sup> That these lists, anyway, are not of cogent historical value, has lately been emphasized by Dr. Winternitz in his last review of Dahlmann. They certainly cannot help in dating the epic before the fourth century. The intrusion of the genus itihāsa-purāṇa into such lists is illustrated even in the Upanishads. Compare Muṇḍ. Up. i, 5, with the note at SBE., xv, p. 27.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Weber, IS., i, pp. 147-149; xiii, pp. 356-357.



great descendant of Bharata," yet not only do other words in the list show that this is not necessary, but further, there is no instance, either in the epic itself or in outside literature, where Mahābhārata means a man, or where it does not mean the epic. In this particular, therefore, as it gives me pleasure to state, I believe that the Rev. Mr. Dahlmann is right, and that Pāṇini knew an epic called the Mahābhārata. That he knew it as a Pandu epic may reasonably be inferred from his mentioning, e. g., Yudhiṣṭhira, the chief hero of the epic.<sup>1</sup>

But no evidence has yet been brought forward to show conclusively that Pāṇini lived before the third century B. C.

Again, it is one thing to say that Pāṇini knew a Pandu Mahābhārata, but quite another to say that his epic was our present epic. The Pandu epic as we have it represents a period subsequent not only to Buddhism 500 B. C., but to the Greek invasion 300 B. C. Buddhistic supremacy already decadent is implied by the passages (no synthesist may logically disregard them) which allude contemptuously to the eḍukas or Buddhistic monuments as having ousted the temples of the gods. Thus in iii, 190, 65, "They will revere eḍukas, they will neglect the gods;" ib. 67, "the earth shall be piled with eḍukas,<sup>2</sup> not adorned with god-houses." With such expressions may be compared the thoroughly Buddhistic epithet, cāturmahārājika, in xii, 339, 40, and Buddhistic philosophy as expounded in the same book. More important than this evidence, however, which from the places where it is found may all belong to the recasting of the epic, is the architecture,<sup>3</sup> which is of stone and metal and

<sup>1</sup> He mentions him not as a Pandu but only as a name, like Gaviṣṭhira; to distinguish the name from the expression (e. g. R. vi, 41, 65) yudhi sthiraḥ, I presume.

<sup>2</sup> Lassen, loc. cit., p. 490. So, iii, 188, 56, vihāra; 49, pāṣaṇḍa; 67, seven suns; all found in one place (p. 88). See final notes.

<sup>3</sup> Buddhistic buildings with wooden fences and walls of brick and stone are alluded to in Cull. vi, 3, 8. In connection with this subject it must be remembered that even the late Gṛhya Sūtras in giving directions for house-building know only wooden thatched houses. The Greek account states that the Hindus used only mud, wood, and brick. This makes it improbable that wood architecture had almost disappeared in the third century.

is attributed in all the more important building operations to the demon Asura or Dānava Maya, who, by his magic power,<sup>1</sup> builds such huge buildings as are described, immense moated palaces with arches and a roof supported by a thousand pillars. There is in India no real architecture that goes back of the Buddhistic period, and of both Buddhistic and Jain architecture the remains are distinctly influenced by Greek models.<sup>2</sup>

The Greeks are described as a western people (northwestern, with Kāmbojas), famous as fighters, wearing especially fine metal armor, and their overthrow is alluded to. The allies engaged in the epic battles are not only native princes but also Greek kings and Persians, who come out of the West to the war. In one passage the Greeks are described as "all-knowing," though I think this to be a late interpolated chapter.<sup>3</sup> But *rāṣi*, iii, 190, 90, surely implies the zodiac.

But even if the passage mentioning all-knowing Greeks be an interpolation, the fact that the "Greeks," who must here be the real Greeks, bear the name Yavanas, shows that the

<sup>1</sup> So the great walls and palaces of Patna, which are especially mentioned in the *Mahābhāṣya*, are attributed by tradition to demoniac power (Fa-Hien), and the great architecture of Mathurā is also ascribed to superhuman power. On Maya's *māyā*, to which is attributed the most extensive building, compare ii, 1; v, 100, 1-2; viii, 33, 17 (Asura cities); R. iv, 51, 10. It is possible that the Benares ghāts are referred to in vii, 60, 1 (*Gaṅgā*) *cayanāḥ kāṁcanāḥ citā*. "Golden" buildings may be only gilded wood (as they are to-day). Plated stone is mentioned in ii, 3, 32. Old Patna's noble "walls and palaces" are now unfortunately under the Ganges, in all probability.

<sup>2</sup> The *cāitya* and *stūpa mounds* (only R. has a *cāityaprasāda*, v, 43, 3), like the caves, are not to be compared with roofed palaces of stone and marble. A statue of iron is mentioned, *āyaso Bhīmaḥ*, xi, 12, 15; iron bells in temples, xii, 141, 32. In ii, 4, 21-22, the Greeks are compared to *Kālakeya Asuras*. Here, along with the king of Kāmboja, is mentioned one king, (the) *Kampāna*, "who was the only man that ever frightened, *kamp*, the Yavanas, (men) strong, heroic, and skilled in weapons. Like as Indra frightened the *Kālakeya Asuras*, so" (K. frightened the Greeks). Compare also *Kālayavana* who had the Garga-glory (p. 15) in xii, 340, 95, Weber, loc. cit.

<sup>3</sup> Compare ii, 14, 14; iii, 254, 18; xii, 101, 1 ff.; *Ruling Caste*, p. 305; viii, 45, 36, *sarvajñā Yavanāḥ*, in the expansion of the preceding vituperative section, where from *hanta bhūyo bravīmi te*, in 45, 1, *Karṇa* bursts out again in new virulence, which looks almost too much like a later adornment.



Yavanas elsewhere mentioned<sup>1</sup> are also Greeks and not some other people exclusively. It is a desperate resort to imagine that, in all these cases, well-known names refer to other peoples, as the synthesist must assume in the case of the Greeks, Bactrians, Persians, Huns, and other foreigners mentioned frequently throughout the poem. A further well-known indication of Greek influence is given by the fact that the Kṣudrakas and Mālavas were united into one nation for the first time by the invasion of Alexander,<sup>2</sup> and that they appear thus united under the combined name kṣudrakamālavās in the epic, ii, 52, 15. The Romans, Romakas, are mentioned but once, in a formal list of all possible peoples, ii, 51, 17 (cannibals, Chinese, Greeks, Persians, Scythians, and other barbarians), and stand thus in marked contrast to the Greeks and Persians, Pahlavas, who are mentioned very often; though in the account of Krishna killing the Yavana whose name was Kaserumat, iii, 12, 32, it has been suggested by Weber that the name was really of Latin origin. It is clear from this that, while the Greeks were familiar, the Romans were as yet but a name. Further, the distinct prophecy that "Scythians, Greeks, and Bactrians will rule unrighteously in the evil age to come" (kali-age), which occurs in iii, 188, 35, is too clear a statement to be ignored or explained away. When this was written the peoples mentioned had already ruled Hindustan. If this were the only place where the names occurred, the Mārkaṇḍeya episode, it might be regarded as part of an interpolation in mass. But the people here described as foreign oppressors are all mentioned repeatedly as barbarians and warriors, associated generally, as in the passage just mentioned, with other peoples of the West, such as Abhīras and Kāmbojas. Thus in iii, 51, 23, "Singhalese, Barbaras and barbarians,"<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Yavanas or Yāunas (xii, 207, 42-3), i. e., Ionians. So Jacobi, loc. cit.

<sup>2</sup> Lassen, Ind. Alt. ii, pp. 169-171; Weber, Ind. Stud. xiii, p. 375.

<sup>3</sup> That is both the Hindu and native name for Ceylon, and the Greek and Hindu name for barbarian! Siñhalān Barbarān Mlecchān ye ca Lañkānivāsinaḥ. The word barbarās (= *oi βάρβαροι*) occurs in both epics but not in literature of an earlier date. Weber, Ind. Lit., p. 237, note, calls attention

and the inhabitants of *Laṅkā*" are grouped together, in contrast to the "Western realms, those of the Persians, Greeks, and Scythians" (with the folk of Kashmeer, Daradas, *Kirātas*, Huns, Chinese, *Tuṣāras*, Indus-dwellers, etc.). So in xii, 207, 43, opposed to sinners of the South, are the Northern sinners, Greeks (*Yāunas*), *Kāmbojans*, Kandahar-people (*Gāndhāras*), *Kirātas* and Barbaras, who are here said to be wandering over this earth from the time of the *Tretā* age, having customs like those of wild animals or of the lowest castes.

Such allusions as these can mean only this: the *Pandu-Epic*, in its present form, was composed after the Greek invasion.<sup>1</sup> I have suggested above that the form of the name *Bactrian* does not compel us to accept Professor Weber's conclusions in regard to the date of passages now containing this form. If this seems inconclusive, there is nothing for it but to refer the epic in its present form to a post-Christian era. But even otherwise, the presence of the Greeks and *Bactrians* as warriors and rulers in India cannot be explained out of the poem by a loose reference to the fact that India had heard of *Yavanas* before Alexander.

This brings us to another point of view. A stanza following the one last cited proclaims that "even *Nārada* recognizes *Krishna's* supremacy," an utterance<sup>2</sup> which points clearly to a comparatively recent belief in *Krishna* as All-god, a point long recognized. On the basis of the *Arjuna* cult implied by *Pāṇini*, the synthesist urges that the whole epic, in its present *Smṛti* form and with its belief in the all-godhead of the *Krishna-Arjuna* pair, is as old as the fifth century B. C. But even if an *Arjuna* cult were traced back to this date, to this constant union of Greek with other Western peoples in other literature as well. The name was extended to Indo-Scythians and later even to Persians and Arabians. Weber, loc. cit.

<sup>1</sup> As has long ago been suggested, of the Greeks mentioned in the epic among the allied forces, *Bhagadatta* may be *Apollodotus* the founder of the Græco-Indian kingdom (160 B. C.). Weber, *Ind. Lit.*, p. 204 ff. This Greek is especially mentioned not only as "ruler of the *Yavanas*," but as the friend of the epic hero's father, that is, as known to an older generation, ii, 14, 15; von Schroeder, *Lit. und Cultur*, p. 463 (with other references).

<sup>2</sup> *Narado 'py atha Kṛṣṇasya param mene . . . çāçvatattvam*, xii, 207, 48.



there would still be no evidence in regard to the cult of the twain as All-god. And this is the claim of the present epic, except where, as in the case just cited, incredulity is involuntarily manifested or plainly stated (as in the reviling scene in Sabhā). The Gītā itself admits that those who worship Krishna as the All-god, or recognize him, are few in number: *vāsudevaḥ*<sup>1</sup> *sarvam iti sa mahātmā sudurlabhaḥ*, 7, 19; "Me (as All-god) in human form, not recognizing my godhead, fools despise," 9, 11. The Mahābhāṣya does not recognize Krishna as All-god, but as hero and demigod. The cult is growing even in the epic itself. So, too, no Smṛti<sup>2</sup> can be implied by Pāṇini's words.<sup>3</sup>

I come now to the testimony of Buddhistic literature. As said above, the oldest literature knows only ballad tales. It may be assumed that the Jātakas are older than Aṅgavagosa, who knows epic tales, but not always in epic form, and does not refer to the epic either by name or by implication, his general āgama being, as I have shown, a term used of any traditional literature, sacred or profane.<sup>4</sup> The Jātakas may

<sup>1</sup> Mathurā in the whole epic is the birthplace of Vāsudeva, who seems to herd his cattle there; while in the Mahābhāṣya it is bahu-Kurucarā Mathurā and the chief city of the Pañcālas, clearly the older view. See ii, 14, 34, 45 ff.; xii, 340, 90; i, 221, 46 (cows, māturaladeṣyāḥ); IS. xiii, p. 379 ff.; on Krishna as not Vishnu in the Bhāṣya, ib., pp. 349, 353. In ii, 14, Krishna (as All-god?) "could not injure his foe even in three hundred years," 36 and 67.

<sup>2</sup> The state of mind that in the face of the "evidence" of Pāṇini can lead one to say *Pāṇini was acquainted with a Pandu-Mahābhārata peculiarly didactic* (Das Mbh. als Rechtsbuch, p. 155) is inconceivable. The whole "evidence" at its most evincing is that Pāṇini knew a Mahābhārata in which the heroes were objects of such worship as is accorded to most Hindu heroes after death.

<sup>3</sup> So the later Rāmāyaṇa is turning into just such a moral and didactic work as the other epic. I have already instanced the intrusion of the Kaccit section. So Rāma, in vii, 55, 3, sets himself to telling homilies, with a familiar sound, *kathāṁ paramadharmīṣṭhāṁ vyāhartum upacakrame* (just as in xv, 29, 14, *kathā divyā dharmīṣṭhāḥ cā bhavan, nṛpa*); and R. ib. 37, 24, *kathāḥ kathyante dharmaśāmyuktāḥ purāṇajñāir mahātmabhiḥ*. In the same way, the late (gradual) identification of Rāma with Vishnu stands parallel to the change of the demigod Krishna to the All-god Vishnu, for Krishna is never mortal — there is no such antithesis — but he nevertheless is often not supreme god but only demigod in the epic.

<sup>4</sup> So of law-rules in epic language, e. g., *ṣiṣṭāḥ ṣāstreṣv anāgatam vyavasyanty anu rājānam dharmam*, R. iii, 50, 9 (G. has *nayaṣṭreṣu*).

go back to the third or fourth century, or they may not, so far as their present form is concerned. At any rate, they show no knowledge of the epic as such. What they show (the material has been sufficiently collected by the Rev. Mr. Dahlmann) is that the epic characters were familiar and the story of the Pandus was known, although the characters do not occupy the position they do in the epic.<sup>1</sup> But no date of an epic, still less of our epic, can be established on casual references to the heroes of the epic found in literature the date of which is entirely uncertain. Perhaps it is negatively quite as significant that the Jātakas do not refer to the epic at all, but only to people mentioned in it.

The present epic, if it records anything historical, records the growth of a great power in Hindustan, a power that could not have arisen before Buddhistic supremacy without leaving a trace of the mighty name of Pandu in the early literature. There is no such trace. Moreover, even the idea of such a power as our epic depicts was unknown before the great empire that arose under Buddhism. For this reason it is impossible to explain the Pandu realm described in the epic as an allegory of the fifth century, for we cannot have an allegory in unknown terms. The Pandus, be it remembered, rule all India, and the limits of their empire, as geographically defined in the epic, far surpass the pre-Açokan imagination, as it is reflected in the literature. Even Manu has no idea of an empire. His king is a petty rāj.<sup>2</sup>

Before the Mahābhārata there were tales of Kurus and Bharats known to antiquity. Incongruous as the name appears to be, Bhārata yet designates the Pandu epic. How

<sup>1</sup> The latter point proves nothing, for even in Sanskrit literature, as I pointed out long ago, the heroes of the two epics are mixed up confusedly, and we cannot suppose a Buddhist would be more careful than a Brahman in verifying references to Brahmanic literature.

<sup>2</sup> "Great kings" and "emperors" are indeed known even in pre-Buddhistic times, but what was the "empire" of any king before Açoka? Certainly not that of the Pandus. It is significant, in view of the great importance laid by some scholars on the cakravartin idea, that this word does not occur before the later Upanishads, although "great kings" are mentioned; nor is it an early epic phrase.



the Pandus succeeded in attaching themselves to the tales which told of the old national heroes is unknown. All theories and hypotheses of development are pure guesswork. What we know is that the tales which told of Kurus and Bhāratas became the depository of the Pandus, who appear to have substituted themselves for Bhāratas<sup>1</sup> and may in fact have been a branch of the tribe, which from a second-rate position raised itself to leadership. There is a theory that the epic story has been inverted, in favor of the Pandus; there is another that it is what it pretends to be, the strife of Pandus, calling themselves Bhāratas, with the scions of the old Kurus. With the former, that so persuasively advanced by Professor Holtzmann, I have never been able to agree; but my own theory I have from the beginning put forward merely as one of probable epic growth.<sup>2</sup>

While, however, it is necessary to recognize the doubtful character of speculation in regard to the exact course of epic development, it is not desirable to blink the truths that are made clear in view of the facts we actually possess, the evidence of remaking, the base of the poem resting on old Kurus and Bhāratas, the present structure of Pandu material; the age of the Pandu poem as a whole (synthetically considered), evinced *inter alia* by its recognition of late philosophical writers such as Pāñcaçikha (c. 100 A.D.), by a growing modernness of metre, by acquaintance with Greeks and Greek art, etc.

Putting these facts together with those gleaned from other works than the epic itself, we may tentatively assume as approximate dates of the whole work in its different stages: Bhārata (Kuru) lays, perhaps combined into one, but with no evidence of an epic before 400 B. C. A Mahābhārata tale

<sup>1</sup> The Bhārati Kathā (never "Pandus-tale"), as the received name of the epic, certainly favors this view.

<sup>2</sup> This I was careful to point out at its first presentation in my *Ruling Caste* (now nearly fifteen years ago) with *mays* and *mights* and *seems*, and other useful words. As a theory I still consider this the best yet offered, but I have never held it to be demonstrable, only more or less probable, in outline and detail respectively.

with Pandu heroes, lays and legends combined by the Puranic diaskeuasts, Krishna as a demigod (no evidence of didactic form or of Krishna's divine supremacy), 400-200 B. C. Re-making of the epic with Krishna as all-god, intrusion of masses of didactic matter, addition of Puranic material old and new; multiplication of exploits, 200 B. C. to 100-200 A. D. The last books added with the introduction to the first book, the swollen *Anuṣāsana* separated from *Ġānti* and recognized as a separate book, 200 to 400 A. D.; and finally 400 A. D. + : occasional amplifications, the existence of which no one acquainted with Hindu literature would be disposed antecedently to doubt, such as the well known addition mentioned by Professor Weber, *Lectures on Literature*, p. 205; and perhaps the episode omitted by Kṣemendra,<sup>1</sup> *Indian Studies*, No. ii, p. 52.

In the case of these more precise dates there is only reasonable probability. They are and must be provisional till we know more than we know now. But certain are these four facts:

1; That the Pandu epic as we have it, or even without the masses of didactic material, was composed or compiled after the Greek invasion; 2, That this epic only secondarily developed its present masses of didactic material; 3, That it did not become a specially religious propaganda of Krishnaism (in the accepted sense of that sect of Vaiṣṇavas) till the first century B. C.; 4, That the epic was practically completed by 200 A. D.; 5, That there is no "date of the epic" which will cover all its parts (though handbook makers may safely assign it in general to the second century B. C.).

The question whether the epic is in any degree historical

<sup>1</sup> We cannot, however, be too cautious in accepting the negative evidence of one mañjari, or précis, as proof that the original work lacked a certain passage. I dissent altogether from the sweeping statement, made loc. cit., p. 27: "The importance of the condensations lies in the fact that by means of them we are enabled to determine the state of these works (epics, etc.) in his (Kṣemendra's) time." Two or three compendia agreeing on one point of omission might "determine," but one résumé alone can only create a possibility, as in this case (p. 53 note).



seems to me answerable, though not without doubt, and I cannot refrain from expressing an opinion on a point so important. As I have remarked above, there is no reflex of Pandu glory in Brahmanic literature before the third or fourth century. It is, further, impossible to suppose that during the triumph of Buddhism such a poem could have been composed for the general public for which it was intended. The metre of the poem shows that its present form is later than the epic form of Patañjali's epic verses, but this indicates simply re-casting; so that a Pandu Mahābhārata may have existed previously, as implied by Pāṇini. But while a Buddhist emperor was alive no such Brahmanic emperor as that of the epic could have existed, no such attacks on Buddhism as are in the epic could have been made, and the epic of to-day could not have existed before the Greeks were personally familiar. In other words, granted a history, that history must have been composed at least as late as the history was possible. Pāṇini's allusions and those of Buddhist writers show that the Pandus were known as heroes. It is, further, most improbable that the compilers, who made the poem represent Pandu virtues and victories, would have chosen them for this position had they been mythical. In their reassertion of Brahmanism they would have chosen rather the well-known ancient Brahmanic heroes of the older tale, Bhārati Kathā; yet to appeal to the people something real and near was necessary. But while before the second century the conditions were lacking which could have produced the poem, with the second century they became possible;<sup>1</sup> and there was already the Pandu tribe

<sup>1</sup> As this book goes to press I receive Kirste's essay *Zur Mahābhārata-fragē*, who says, p. 224, "It is incredible that the work could have been undertaken so long as a royal family favoring that sect (of Buddhists) reigned. This (state of affairs) suddenly changed when the Maurya dynasty (of Bhadratha) was overthrown by Puṣyamitra in 178 B.C., for the new ruler opposed the Buddhists." Professor Kirste thinks, indeed, that the polyandry of the heroes is not an historical trait, and gives a very ingenious explanation of it as a myth of divided divinity, which, however, scarcely seems to me probable. But I am glad to find my own suggestion, of the improbability of the anti-Buddhist epic being cast in its present shape before the second century B.C., supported by this independent reference to actual historical data.

with its perhaps justified claim to be considered a branch of the Bhāratas, its own later heroes, its cult of anti-Buddhistic type. In so far, then, as we may discern a historical germ in the midst of poetic extravagance, it would seem that the poem represents an actual legend of a real tribe, and in so far as that legend persists in its adherence to polyandry as an essential part of the legend, a tribe which, like so many others in India, had been brahmanized and perhaps become allied by marriage to the old Bhārata tribe, whose legends were thus united with its own.

Finally, I would speak shortly of the poem as a literary product of India. In what shape has epic poetry come down to us? A text that is no text, enlarged and altered in every recension, chapter after chapter recognized even by native commentaries as *prākṣipta*, in a land without historical sense or care for the preservation of popular monuments, where no check was put on any reciter or copyist who might add what beauties or polish what parts he would, where it was a merit to add a glory to the pet god, where every popular poem was handled freely and is so to this day. Let us think ourselves back into the time when the reciter recited publicly and dramatically; let us look at the battle scenes, where the same thing is repeated over and over, the same event recorded in different parts of the poem in slightly varying language. The Oriental, in his half-contemptuous admission of epic poetry into the realm of literature, knows no such thing as a definitive epic text. The Vedas and the classics are his only real care. A Bhārata-vid in India is even now more scorned than honored.

If the epic as a whole belongs to no one era, and this remains an incontrovertible fact, it is then in the highest degree probable also that no one part of the whole can be assigned to a certain period. I mean, not only must we admit that old books contain more recent insets, as for example chapters five and eleven of book ii, and that late books contain old passages, as for example the rape of Subhadrā and the burning of Khāṇḍava in book i, or the lotus-theft in book



xiii, but we must admit further that the smaller divisions, these special scenes themselves, have in all probability not remained untouched, but that the tale, the language, and the verse of the epic have been subjected to an evening process irregularly applied since first the poem was put together as a *Mahābhārata*; great liberty being taken with the poem both by reciters and copyists, the establishment of the text by commentaries (noticed as early as the introductory chapter of the poem itself) proving no bar to occasional alterations and additions. Such changes were not introduced of set purpose (or the metre would have been made more uniform), but incidentally and illogically. The same tale was told not in identical language but with slight variations; intrusions were not shunned; grammatical and metrical forms were handled freely, but with no thorough revision of form or sustained attempt at harmonizing incongruities of statement. It is for this reason that there is not a still sharper metrical line between old and new in the epic itself, and it is for this reason that the epic verses of the *Mahābhāṣya* are freer than those of the *Mahābhārata*. The former were fixed by their function as examples in a grammar; the latter were exposed to constant though sporadic modification, and appear to-day as they survive after having endured the fret and friction of innumerable reciters and pedantic purists. One by one, and here and there, the transmitters, working neither in concert nor continuously, but at haphazard and at pleasure, have trimmed this mighty pile into a shape more uniform, though they have not altogether hid its growth, except from eyes that, seeing the whole as a thing of power and beauty, are perhaps less apt to mark the signs of varying age.

But if this be so, it may be asked, and I think it will be asked, perhaps triumphantly, by those lacking in sobriety of judgment, what becomes of the results of the analysis of metres, of the discovery of late elements in this or that section? What do they signify?

They signify and proclaim that the Great Epic was completed in just the way the synthesist proclaims it was not

completed. Pitched together and patched together, by the diaskeuasts and priests respectively, the older parts, though not free from rehandling, bear a general stamp of antiquity lacking in later parts. For this reason, the *Gītā* and Gambling scene are, as wholes, metrically and stylistically more antique than are the *Anugītā* and the extravaganzas in the battle-books; and for this reason, the pseudo-epic comes nearest in syntax and forms to the hybrid language that is preserved in literary monuments immediately preceding and following the Christian era. But it is true that no one can prove the relative antiquity of the *Gītā* and Gambling scene so absolutely as to prevent one devoid of historical sense from clinging to the notion that these parts of the epic are in origin synchronous with the pseudo-epic. Fortunately, however, the judgment of scholars is in general sane, and the determination of values may safely be left in their care.



## APPENDIX A.

### PARALLEL PHRASES IN THE TWO EPICS.

[M. is prefixed to Mbh. references only where confusion with R. is possible.]

- 1, acireṇai 'va kālena, ix, 2, 58; R. v, 26, 23; vi, 61, 20; acireṇa tu, R. ii, 80, 11.  
atitāyām, No. 94.
- 2, atha dīrghasya kālasya, iii, 70, 1; v, 160, 20; R. iv, 9, 17; vii, 99, 14; atha dīrghena kālena, G. vi, 24, 3; R. vii, 24, 5, 72; tato dīrghena kālena, M. ix, 1, 50; sa tu dīrghena k., ib. 48; 36, 10; atha kālena mahatā, G. i, 40, 16 = R. 38, 19, v. l., atha dīrghena kālena; atha k. m., also G. i, 40, 22 = R., 38, 23, tataḥ kālena mahatā. See above, p. 271.  
atha rātryām, No. 94.  
athā 'nyad dhanur, No. 56, and No. 80.
- 3, anayad Yamasādanam, vi, 54, 81; vii, 19, 15; G. iii, 34, 31; 75, 28. See No. 225.
- 4, anastaṅgata āditye, vii, 145, 19; acc., G. v, 3, 41 (in R. iv, 67, 15, anastamitam).  
anyat karmukam, No. 80.  
anyonyavadha°, No. 157.
- 5, abhidudrāva vegena, vi, 100, 49; 104, 34-35, etc.; R. vi. 69, 99; 76, 46. See No. 97.
- 6, abhivādaye tvā(m) bhagavan, iii, 207, 13; R. iii, 11, 72.
- 7, amṛṣyamāṇas taṁ ghoṣam (tat karma), etc., H. iii, 60, 3; R. vi, 67, 142; 69, 141, etc.
- 8, alātacakrapratimā(m), iv, 61, 9; R. iv, 46, 13; vi, 93, 28.  
The first and last refer to weapons, R. iv, 46, 13 to earth, pṛthivī, alātacakrapratimā dr̥ṣṭā goṣṭhavadat kṛtā.
- 9, alātacakravat sāṅgāṁ tadā 'bhramata, viii, 81, 40; alātacakravac cakram bhramato 'rinirvāhaṇam (sic!) G. iv, 5, 25.  
Compare, of persons, vi, 59, 22; vii, 7, 53; xiv, 77, 30.

- 10, avaplutya rathāt tūṇam, vi, 94, 22; 96, 39; G. vi, 18, 47; avatīrya, G. vi, 36, 87; rathād avaplutya tataḥ, M. vi, 59, 99, etc. For other forms, see AJP. xix., p. 143.
- 11, avasīdanti, me prāṇāḥ, iv, 61, 12; pariśīdanti me prāṇāḥ, G. vi, 82, 6 = R. 101, 6, avasīdanti gātrāṇi.
- 11 b, açokaḥ çokanāçanaḥ, iii, 64, 107; açokaḥ çokavardhanaḥ, R., iv, 1, 59.  
açvānām khura° No. 247.
- 12, astrāṇi vividhāni ca, vii, 7, 1; çastrāṇi, R. vi, 103, 29. The terminal is fixed, vasūni, vastrāṇi, bhāṇḍāni, etc., preceding, e. g., ix, 47, 24;  
asmin hate, No. 328.  
ākarma, No. 170.
- 13, ākrīḍa(m) iva Rudrasya ghnataḥ kālātyaye paçūn, vii, 19, 35; ākrīḍa iva Rudrasya kruddhasya nighnataḥ paçūn, G. vi, 73, 38; ākrīḍabhūmiḥ kruddhasya Rudrasye 'va mahātmanah, R. vi, 93, 35. Compare ix, 14, 18, Rudrasyā 'krīḍanam yathā.
- 14, ākhyātum upacakrame, xviii, 5, 7; R. iii, 11, 10; iv, 8, 46; 52, 3; G. v, 66, 2, where R. 65, 2 has pravaktum upacakrame. Compare vaktum samupacakrame, xiii, 87, 2. The phrase is common in R.; rarer in M., owing to the use in the latter of the dramatic uvāca, extra metrum. Both epics have also the similar phrase vyāhartum upacakrame, e. g., xii, 350, 15; R. vi, 115, 1; vii, 51, 1. See No. 57.
- 15, ājaghāno 'rasi kruddhaḥ, vi, 61, 36; R. vi, 69, 152; 76, 29; passim in M. See l. c., No. 10, p. 142, and note to No. 35.
- 16, āditya iva tejasā, iii, 53, 2; R. vi, 55, 9; āditya iva tejasvī, R. v, 34, 28, metrical. See No. 176.
- 17, alikhantam ivā 'kāçam, iv, 38, 3; R. vi, 99, 12.
- 18, āvarta iva samajajñe balasya mahato mahān, H. iii, 60, 4; G. vi, 32, 21; āvarta iva gāṅgasya toyasya, G. v, 50, 16; āsīd gāṅga ivā 'vartaḥ, M. vii, 36, 13.
- 19, āviṣṭā iva yudhyante, vi, 46, 3; āviṣṭā iva kruddhās te (cakrus tumulam uttamam), G. vi, 54, 64.
- 20, āçīviṣa iva kruddhaḥ, vii, 10, 31; R. v, 67, 7.  
āsīt kila°, āsic caçacaṭā, etc., No. 334.
- 21, āsīd rājā Nalo nāma, iii, 53, 1; āsīd rājā Nimir nāma, R. vii, 55, 4. With Vīrasena-suto bali at the end of the first



verse, compare Dyumatsenasuto bali, M. iii, 294, 18; suto bali, R. iii, 12, 2; Ayodhyāyām purā rājā Yuvanāśvasuto bali, R. vii, 67, 5; Prajāpatisuto bali, R. vii, 90, 23 (in G., 'bhavat).

22, iti me niçeitā matiḥ, iii, 78, 6; G. v, 8, 25 (R. v. l.); 68, 36 (R. v. l.).

23, ity āsit tumulaḥ ṣabdah, vi, 119, 19; ity evam t. ṣ., G. vi, 19, 4 (R., evam sutumulaḥ ṣabdah). Compare babhūva t. ṣ., M. vi, 56, 22, etc.; R. vi, 58, 17, etc.; samjajñe t. ṣ., M. vi, 46, 17, and l. c. No. 10, p. 144, ff. Compare Nos. 82-84.

24, idam vacanam abravīt, iii, 69, 17, etc.; R. i, 26, 33; iv, 8, 1, etc. Sometimes tato for idam, ix, 3, 51 (= C. 176, idam). About forty times in Rām., unnumbered in Mbh. See

No. 237.

25, Indradhvaja ivo 'echritah (tato nipatito bhūmāu), ix, 17, 53 and often; Indraketur ivo 'echritam, ix, 4, 16; Çakra-dhvaja ivo 'echritah, R. v, i, 59. Compare utthāpyamānaḥ Çakrasya yantradhvaja ivo 'echritah, R. ii, 77, 9; mahāmerum ivo 'echritam, ix, 37, 20; ubhāv Indradhvajāv iva (petatuh), ix, 12, 24; dhvajāv iva mahendrasya (nipetatuh), R. vi, 45, 17-18; jagāma vasudhām kṣipram Çakrasye 'va mahādhvajah, G. iii, 34, 25; apatad devarājasya muktara-qmir iva dhvajah, R. iv, 17, 2; Indradhvaja ivo 'tsrṣṭo yantranirmuktabandhavaḥ (papāta), M. vii, 93, 70; yantramukta iva dhvajah (papāta), M. vii, 92, 72; yantracyuta iva dhvajah (papāta), G. ii, 84, 8.

Indrāçani, No. 275.

25b, ihai 'va prāyam āsiṣye, x, 11, 15; R. iv, 53, 19.

26, uttiṣṭha rājan kim ṣeṣe, xi, 2, 2; G. vi, 95, 37; rājann uttiṣṭha kim ṣeṣe, G. ii, 81, 10; uttiṣṭho 'ttiṣṭha, Gāndhāri, xi, 26, 1; uttiṣṭho 'ttiṣṭha, kim ṣeṣe, R. vi, 111, 81 (preceded by No. 45); uttiṣṭho 'ttiṣṭha, bhadraṁ te, M. i, 172, 4; R. i, 35, 2; preceded in Mbh. by uvāca madhuraṁ vākyam, with which compare ix, 36, 50, uvāca paruṣaṁ vākyam; ūcuḥ sumadhuraṁ vāñīm, R. vii, 70, 1; bhadraṁ te being current ad nauseam in both epics.

uvāca . . . vākyam, No. 26.

27, ekāntabhāvopagatāḥ, xii, 337, 28; ekāntabhāvānugatāḥ, R. vii, 38, 5. In both, of the men in Çvetadvīpa, preceded

- in M. by tatra Nārāyaṇaparā mānavāḥ candravarcasaḥ; in R., by ananyamanaso nityam Nārāyaṇaparāyaṇāḥ tadā rā-dhanasaktāḥ ca taccittās tatparāyaṇāḥ (ananyamanasaḥ is a Gītā phrase, 9, 13, bhajanty ananyamanasaḥ; 8, 14, ananyacetāḥ satatam).
- 28, etac chrutvā tu vacanam, vi, 48, 98; G. iv, 56, 19, and passim.
- 29, etat te kathitām sarvam and (in prior pāda) etat te sarvam ākhyātām; ix, 46, 108; G. vi, 82, 167. In M. preceded by yan mām tvam pariprechasi, as in xii, 334, 40; xiii, 14, 139, etc.
- 30, etasminn antare vīraḥ, vi, 48, 96, and often; R. iii, 30, 37; vi, 50, 7; vii, 28, 19; G. vi, 36, 99. The phrase here is etasminn antare, which is filled out with various words, as Rāmaḥ, R. vi, 111, 91; tatra or tasya (v. l.), R. vi, 92, 58; kruddhaḥ, R. vi, 100, 13; krodhāt, 102, 47. Compare also etasminn antare ḥṇye, M. vii, 17, 7; xii, 330, 1; cāi 'va, vii, 19, 38; gūraḥ, ix, 28, 17; G. vi, 32, 15, etc. A combination of this and the next (No. 31) is found in etasminn antare kāle, "in the meantime," R. vi, 20, 33.
- 31, etasminn eva kāle tu, like the last, a standing phrase, e. g., i, 149, 1; iii, 54, 13; 168, 13; 298, 1; v, 121, 9; vi, 74, 36; ix, 51, 25; xii, 328, 3, etc.; R. i, 9, 7; 33, 11; G. 21, 1, etc.
- 32, evam uktaḥ pratyuvāca, or tathe 'ty uktvā, vi, 59, 47; vii, 202, 70; ix, 35, 68; G. vi, 36, 102. Compare evam astv iti (with pratyuvāca), ix, 48, 52; G. vi, 109, 18 (co 'vāca); (kṛtvā sa), ib. 82, 56.
- 33, kakṣam agnir iva jvalan, ix, 24, 62; kakṣeṣv agnir iva jvalan 4, 36 (C., kakṣe 'gnir iva saṁjvalan); vanāny agnis ivo 'tthitaḥ, R. vi, 66, 12; kakṣam agnir ivo 'tthitaḥ, G. v, 85, 24; kakṣeṣv iva hutācanam, G. ii, 106, 25. Compare also (dahantam) kruddham agniṁ yathā vanam, M. vii, 21, 30; vanam agniri vāi 'dhitāḥ, R. ii, 63, 44, where G. 65, 39, has ḥṣkam kṣṥṥam ivā 'nalaḥ, like R. v, 41, 11, ḥṣkam vanam ivā 'nalaḥ. The ivā 'nalaḥ ending is common to both epics, e. g., dahan kakṣam ivā 'nalaḥ, M. vii, 14, 1 (followed in 2 by sāksād agniṁ ivo 'tthitam, C. vṛkṣam); tan me dahati gātrāṇi ḥṣkavṛkṣam ivā 'nalaḥ, M. vi, 95, 7, etc. See also Nos. 75, 99, 117, 196, 226, 256, 291.
- 34, kaṅkapatrāir ajihmagāḥ, vi, 103, 11 and often; R. vi, 52, 4.



Frequently close together with *svarna*, *rukma*, or *hema* *pūṅkhāir ajiḥmagāiḥ*, vi, 114, 11; vii, 18, 18, *hema*; G. vi, 19, 68. In G. vi, 20, 26, *rukma° ajiḥmāgrāiḥ*, metrical (v. l. in R.). The common terminal *ṣarāir ajiḥmagāiḥ* is sometimes inverted in *jagatīś*, as in G. iv, 30, 22, though the regular *ṣloka* order is also found in this *jagatī* metre, ib. 34, 34. See No. 234.

- 35, *Kandarpa iva rūpeṇa, mūrtimān*, iii, 53, 15; *rūpavān . . . kandarpa iva mūrtimān*, R. v, 34, 30. This with *āditya iva tejasvi*, is a description of *Rāma*, 28, as the two phrases, and also *satyavādī* (R. 29), here describe *Nala*.

- 36, *kampayann iva medinīm*, ii, 29, 7; viii, 34, 58; ix, 18, 26, etc.; *kampayanṣ cā 'pi*, ix, 30, 60; *sa kampayann iva mahīm*, iii, 78, 3; *kampayann iva medinīm*, G. vi, 37, 101; R. vi, 56, 13; 67, 115; *kampayanti 'va*, G. iii, 62, 31; *kampayanti 'va parvatān*, M. vii, 181, 11; *cālayann iva medinīm*, R. iii, 67, 13; *dārayann iva*, R. iv, 15, 5 (G. *kampayann*); *dārayann iva parvatān*, M. iv, 46, 21; *nādayann iva medinīm*, G. vi, 46, 91. *pūrayann iva medinīm*, M. iii, 73, 8 (*pūrayanto diṣo daṣa*, ix, 46, 77), etc., etc. For *diṣo daṣa*, see No. 114.

*karam kareṇa*, No. 163.

*karnāyata*, No. 170.

- 37, *karmanā manasā vācā*, iii, 65, 32, 41; ix, 50, 2; xii, 327, 34; *manasā karmanā vācā cakṣusā ca*, R. vii, 59, 1, 24. Compare *Sprüche*, 1,559 ff., 2,222; *Dhammap.* 391.

*kalām nā 'rhati*, No. 196.

*kalpyatām me rathah*, No. 230.

- 38, *kaṣāyīkṛtalocanāḥ*, °am, i, 102, 23; 131, 3; G. vi, 33, 17; 37, 68. In M., *sakrodhāmarṣajihmahhrūḥ* precedes in each instance. Compare Nos. 50, 51.

*kasyā 'si*. See above, p. 268.

- 39, *kāñcanakoṣṇiṣiṇas tatra vetrajharjharapāṇayaḥ*, vi, 97, 33; *kāñcukoṣṇiṣiṇas tatra vetrajharjharapāṇayaḥ*, R. vi, 114, 21. Compare G. vi, 33, 10 and 13, *vetrajharjharapāṇibhiḥ*.  
40, *kāmabānaprapīḍitaḥ*, i, 220, 7; G. iii, 61, 2 (R. 55, 2, *bāṇāiḥ*); *kāmabāṇābhisaṃtaptah*, iii, 280, 3; *kāmabāṇavaṣaṃgataḥ*, R. vii, 88, 12.

- 41, *Kālacakram ivo 'dyatam*, vii, 7, 31; *ivā 'param*, [G. vi, 73, 33 (R., 93, 30, *iva prajāḥ*); *kāladandam ivā 'param* (R., *ivā*

'ntakah); G. vi, 51, 89 = R. 71, 85. For the var. lec., compare s. daṇḍahasta, No. 104, and kalarātrim ivā 'ntakah, R. vi, 69, 134. Compare kalarātrim ivo 'dyatām, ix, 11, 50; °sūryam, xiii, 14, 270.

Kaladandopama and Kalapāṇopama, No. 220.

Kālānanam, No. 272.

Kalarātrim, No. 41.

- 42, Kalāntakayamopamaḥ, iii, 22, 31; 27, 25; iv, 33, 25; vi, 54, 47; G. iii, 32, 5; vi, 49, 36; R. vi, 57, 32; 60, 94; 82, 7; 95, 41. See No. 220; and for Kalāntakopama, see Nos. 104, 105.
- 43, Kālo hi duratikramaḥ. While not generally including in this list the proverbs common to the two epics, I enter this particular proverb because of the similar environment in imām avasthām prāpto 'smi, Kālo hi duratikramaḥ, ix, 64, 9 (C. vāi); so 'yam adya hataḥ ṇete, Kālo hi duratikramaḥ, R. iii, 68, 21. For the rest, compare Am. Journ. Phil., vol. xx, p. 26, and add (besides the above) Kālo hi duratikramaḥ in M. ii, 46, 16; also H. iii, 2, 30, and 5, 36; dāivam hi duratikramam, R. vii, 50, 18; dāivam tu, ix, 65, 31; and the later version, lekhā hi kālalikhitāḥ sarvathā duratikramā, H. iii, 2, 27.
- 44, kiṅkiṇījālasainvṛta, ix, 23, 13, °āiḥ rathāiḥ; R. vii, 23, 1, 2, °am nagaram. Ordinarily in M., kiṅkiṇījālamālinam, etc., i, 221, 45; ii, 24, 18; viii, 86, 4; in R., kiṅkiṇīṇatabhūṣita, vi, 102, 9; but I cannot say whether or not mālin appears in R. in this combination. See No. 113.
- 45, kim mām na pratibhāṣase, part of a lament (see uttiṣṭha, above, No. 26), iii, 63, 9; 64, 19 ff.; xi, 20, 13-14; R. iii, 60, 26; vi, 111, 80 (doubled in G. 95, 36, and v.l. 37). In R. vi, 115, 15 (= G. 98, 12) kim ca mām nā 'bhībhāṣase, v.l. as in G. 95, 37.
- 46, kuṣalam paryapṛcchata, ix, 34, 17; R. i, 52, 4.
- 47, kṛtakāutukamaṅgalāḥ, i, 129, 24; viii, 1, 11; R. i, 73, 9. kṛtapūrvāhnikakriyā, No. 49.
- 48, kṛtvā karma suduṣkaram, vi, 14, 14; vii, 8, 32; R. ii, 101, 5; vi, 76, 70; G. vi, 21, 11; 30, 37; 55, 36. Variations are naturally many, e.g., karma kurvāṇam duṣkaram, vi, 105, 6; kṛtām karma suduṣkaram, R. vi, 67, 55; 127, 47; G. vi, 88, 17; karma kurvanti duṣkaram, R. vi, 65, 4; tat



- kṛtvā duṣkaraṁ karma, R. vi, 126, 14; kariṣyan karma duṣkaram, G. iv, 15, 20. Similar in R. are mahat karma kṛtaṁ tvayā and kṛtaṁ tvayā karma mahat suduṣkaram, G. vi, 112, 100 and G. vi, 36, 118, respectively; aho mahat karma kṛtaṁ nirartham, R. v, 48, 50; sādhu, Lakṣmaṇa, tuṣṭo 'smi, karma te sukṛtaṁ kṛtam, G. vi, 70, 80; suduṣkaraṁ tu tat karma, G. iv, 11, 7. Somewhere in M. ix (verse lost) occur together the two phrases, kṛtvā na su-skaraṁ karma, gato Vāivasvataḥsayam (No. 55).
- 49, kṛtvā pāurvāhnikīḥ kriyāḥ, iii, 168, 2; 296, 10; °kam karma, R. iii, 17, 2; °kīm kriyām, R. vii, 59, 1, 1; kṛtapūrvāh-nikakriyāḥ, viii, 1, 13; R. i, 35, 3 (with the phrase, tac chrutvā vacanaṁ tasya).
- 50, krodhasamraktanayanāḥ, i, 78, 35; vii, 1, 19; R. i, 62, 15; G. v, 89, 1; vi, 76, 11. In M. v, 9, 45, united with idaṁ vacanam abravīt. See note to No. 51.
- 51, krodhasamraktalocanāḥ, v, 178, 40; vi, 100, 52; ix, 42, 13; R. v, 44, 19; vi, 95, 3; krodhāt sam°, R. iv, 9, 22; vi, 98, 1. Both forms, No. 50, No. 51, are common in both epics. They are the same phrase differentiated according to metrical requirements, and interchange with the similar kopa- and roṣa-forms, which it is unnecessary to give in detail. Variants are common, e. g., krodhaparyākuleṣ-anaḥ, v, 178, 94; G. iv, 15, 17; often united with another iterate, e. g., roṣasamraktanayana idaṁ vacanam abravīt, G. iii, 57, 15; samraktanayanāḥ krodhād (G. kopād) idaṁ vacanam abravīt, R. vi, 59, 56 = G. 36, 33. Compare taṁ krodharaktanayanāṁ kurvantaṁ bhrūkuṭīmukham, G. iv, 33, 40; sa kṛtvā bhrūkuṭīm vaktre roṣasamraktalocanaḥ, G. vi, 86, 46, where R. 102, 38, has sa kṛtvā bhrūkuṭīm kruddhaḥ kiṁcit samraktalocanaḥ. See Nos. 106, 123, 190, 198, and s. v. PW., where they are illustrated sufficiently.
- 52, kroṇantīm kurarīm iva, i, 6, 12; G. ii, 68, 43; R. iv, 19, 29; yathā, vi, 32, 3; plural, xi, 12, 10; 16, 18; variants, G. ii, 67, 16; iv, 19, 4; v, 18, 12; R. vi, 49, 9, etc; kurarīm iva vāṇatīm, M. iii, 63, 20. That in G. ii, 67, 16, the unusual form kuraryas trāsītā iva follows the exclamation hā nātha hā mṛto 'sī 'ti in 12, just as hā nātha in N. 11, 23 follows kurarīm iva vāṇatīm in 20 (above), is perhaps worth

- noticing, especially as this chapter of R. G. is not in the Bombay text and may be supposed to be late. The correspondence is not remarkable enough to prove copying, though it may be due to the influence of the Nala passage, as this episode is well known to the later Rāmāyaṇa.
- 53, kṣitikampe yathā çāilah, vii, 174, 23; yathā 'calah, vii, 36, 29; kṣitikampe yathā nagāḥ, G. vi, 30, 30, where R. has kṣitikampa iva drumāḥ, 56, 31. See No. 248.
- khuranemisvanena ca, No. 247.
- 54, gatapratyāgatāni ca, term. tech., vii, 19, 6; R. vi, 107, 32. See maṇḍalāni, No. 201.
- 55, gato Vāivasvataksayam, or ninye, vii, 26, 53, and s. kṛtvā karma, No. 48, above; R. vi, 82, 183.
- 56, gadām ādāya vīryavān, ix, 11, 49; 32, 37; 55, 24; 56, 27, etc.; R. vi, 69, 33. In G. vi, 49, 18, vipulām. See l. c. No. 10, p. 142, and No. 80, for parallel variants.
- 57, gamanāyo 'pacakrame, i, 151, 14; R. vii, 25, 51; gamanāyā 'bhicakrāma, R. i, 77, 18 (G. 79, 4, upa°). See No. 14.
- 58, Garuḍaḥ pannagaṁ yathā, viii, 87, 96; R. vi, 69, 6, °gān iva, where G. 48, 6, has °gaṁ yathā; G. vi, 46, 3 has °gān iva. Many var. lec., e. g., Garutmān iva.
- 59, garjantāu iva toyadāu, ix, 55, 38; °tam, G. vi, 3, 19; garjanti na vṛthā çūrā nirjalā iva toyadāḥ, R. vi, 65, 3. See Nos. 77, 217.
- 60, giriḥ prasravaṇāir iva, iii, 279, 5, with cakāra rudhiram bhuvi preceding; R. vi, 67, 89, with rarāja çoṇitotsiktaḥ preceding. G. vi, 46, 75 has giripra, an error. Compare G. ib. 109, giriḥ prasravaṇaṁ yathā; R. vi, 67, 121, giriḥ prasravaṇāir iva. In R. vi, 58, 55, gireḥ prasravaṇo yathā, where G. 32, 43 has jalām prasravaṇād iva, as in R. vi, 45, 21, jalām prasravaṇāv iva, and R. vi, 88, 61.
- gāirikam, No. 318.
- 61, cakāra kadamam mahat, vii, 21, 37; R. vi, 86, 24; 95, 50; G. vi, 46, 108; karomi, M. iv, 21, 2; kurvāṇaḥ, ix, 61, 30; akāri, G. vi, 49, 43; kṛtvā ca, G. vi, 110, 50; akarot, M. vii, 32, 41; ix, 44, 3; cakāra kadanam ghoram (metre), R. vi, 58, 24; H. iii, 60, 3; kadanam sumahat cakruḥ, R. vi, 55, 32.
- 62, cakṣurviṣayam āgataḥ: In vii, 17, 14, sa no diṣṭyā 'strasam-pannaç cakṣurviṣayam āgataḥ; R. vi, 103, 19, diṣṭyā 'si



mama mandātmaṇḥ cakṣurviṣayam āgataḥ (G. 88, 24, mama durbuddhe).

- 63, candraśūryāv ivo 'ditāu, ix, 55, 22; G. v, 53, 25 = 69, 23; śūryacandramasāv iva, M. iii, 288, 26. See Nos. 33, 189. cayāṭṭāḷaka, No. 186.

caled dhi Himavān sthānāt, ii, 77, 35; çāilāḥ, v, 82, 48; caled api ca Mandaraḥ, G. v. 58, 9 (R. 59, 14, Mandaraḥ pracaled api). See No. 153.

- 65, cāmikaravibhūṣitām, gadām, x, 9, 11; cāpam, R. iii, 20, 6.

- 66, cittapramāthini (bālā devānām api) *sundarī*, iii, 53, 14; trāi-lokya-*sundarī* (kāntā, sarva-) cittapramāthini, R. vii, 37, 1, 29 (compare R. ii, 10, 30, mama cittapramāthini). As said above, the Uttara recognizes the Nala, and this (prakṣipta) may be imitation. At any rate it may support pramāthini against the Mbh. Bomb. and Calc. reading here, cittaprasādani, which, however, is found in xii, 133, 13, janacittaprasādinī; compare naracittapramāthibhiḥ, R. i, 10, 4.

- 67, citraṁ laghu ca suṣṭhu ca, vii, 145, 77; laghu citraṁ ca suṣṭhu ca, R. vi, 88, 65.

- 68, cintā me vardhate 'tīva mumūrṣā cā 'pi jāyate, Karmasya nidhanam 'çrutvā, viii, 9, 6; cintā me vartate tivrā mumūrṣā 'pi ca jāyate, bhrātaram nihataṁ dṛṣṭvā, R. vi, 101, 7. See No. 213.

- 69, cintāçokaparāyaṇaḥ, vii, 1, 6; xv, 16, 18; G. iii, 52, 17; variants, viii, 96, 58; xv, 21, 7. See Nos. 27, 116, 161, 293.

- 70, chāye 'vā 'nugatā pathi, iii, 65, 57; chāye 'vā 'nugatā Rāmam, R. vii, 37, 3, 24, after rupeṇā 'pratimā loke (No. 236), also a Nala phrase. Compare No. 66.

chinnamūla iva drumāḥ, No. 248.

- 71, chinne 'va kadali vane, xi, 17, 1, nyapatad bhūmāu; G. vi, 8, 6, papāta bhūmāu (both of grief-stunned woman) = R. vi, 32, 6, but here jagāma jagatīm bālā chinna tu kadali yathā. See Nos. 135, 136, 180, 248.

jarjarikṛta, Nos. 184, 235.

- 72, jalām sūrya ivā 'ṇubhiḥ, vi, 109, 33; megham sūrya, G. vi, 18, 40 (R. 43, 29, karāir megham ivā 'ṇumān); tamaḥ sūrya ivā 'ṇubhiḥ, M. vii, 18, 24.

jalām prasravaṇād iva, No. 60.

jājvalyamāna, No. 176.

jātarūpapaṛiṣkṛta, No. 335.

- 73, jīmūta iva bhāskaram, vi, 64, 44; °tam iva °aḥ, G. vi, 21, 43; nīhāram, R. i, 55, 25; toyadād iva bhāskarāḥ, G. iv, 12, 24 (papāta). See No. 326.
- 74, jīrṇām tvacam ivo 'ragah, xiii, 62, 69; R. iii, 5, 37; sarpo jīrṇām iva tvacam, xii, 265, 15; G. vi, 21, 40; tvacam sarpa ivā 'mucya, M. v, 40, 2. See Nos. 106, 139; Praç. v, 5. jvalantam iva tejasā, No. 176.
- 75, jvalantam iva pāvakam, jvalantā iva pāvakāḥ (and jvalitā iva), vi, 16, 12; 18, 6; xi, 25, 16, etc.; R. iii, 32, 5; vi, 50, 36; 70, 19; 95, 33; G. 68, 36. Compare prajvalitām ivo 'lkām, M. v, 181, 5; prajvalantam ivā 'nalam, G. iii, 18, 23; jvalantam iva pannagam, M. vi, 82, 36; ix, 13, 21; G. iii, 18, 39, pannagāḥ (but R. 12, 34, pāvakāḥ): also parvatam, M. vii, 80, 37, apaçyata (on fire as it were). See Nos. 111, 176, 226, 255. For ivā 'nalah, see Nos. 33, 99, 196, 291.
- 76, jhillikāgaṇanāditam, iii, 64, i; R. iii, 2, 3. The two descriptions (of a fearful forest) are similar also in the adjacent verses, e. g., nānāpakṣigaṇākirṇam, in M.; nānāmṛgagaṇākirṇam, in R. I have not entered others.
- 77, ta enaṁ çaradhārābhir, dhārābhir iva toyadāḥ, vii, 26, 54; athāi 'naṁ çaradhārābhir, dhārābhir iva toyadaḥ, R. vi, 71, 92 (in M., siṣicuḥ; in R. abhyavarṣata); abhyavarṣat tadā Rāmaṁ dhārābhir iva toyadaḥ, R. vi, 100, 59; vavarṣa çaravarṣeṇa dh. i. t., M. vi, 58, 26. Compare mahendra iva dhārābhiḥ çarāir abhivavarṣa ha, R. vi, 56, 11. See Nos. 59, 158, 217, 244. tataḥ kilakilā, No. 334.
- 78, tataḥ prajavitāçvena rathena rathinām varaḥ. This hemistich H. 3, 59, 5 and also G. vi, 30, 6 (= R. 56, 6, but here pracalitāçvena). The prior pāda in M. vii, 116, 30; G. iii, 33, 27; R. vi, 95, 42 (with rathena). See No. 287.
- 79, tataḥ prabhāte vimale, viii, 1, 9; xiv, 64, 16; R. vii, 59, 1, 1, with kṛtvā pāurvāhnikā kriyām (No. 49); 68, 2. Compare prabhāte vimale sūrye, R. ii, 86, 24. The first phrase is in triṣṭubh as well as in çloka, loc. cit.
- 80, tato 'nyad dhanur ādāya, vi, 48, 67; G. iii, 34, 16, and 22. In the former of G., followed by pradīpta iva manyunā (as in M. iii, 63, 13, pradīpta 'va ca manyunā). The usual phrase in M. begins with athā 'nyad, e. g., vi, 45, 33; 77, 68; 114, 28; vii, 21, 17; ix, 10, 34; 15, 21. Compare anyat karmu-



kam ādāya, and so 'nyat kāmukam ādāya, vi, 45, 29; 110, 40; ix, 10, 45, etc.; R. as cited loc. cit., No. 56.

tato muhūrtam, No. 214.

- 81, tato halahalaçabdaḥ prītidāḥ samajāyata, i, 58, 9; tato hala-halaçabdas tumulaḥ samajāyata, R. ii, 16, 33; the prior pāda, M. vii, 21, 2; xiv, 74, 26; R. ii, 81, 14; vii, 21, 24; 32, 33; 96, 12; G. iii, 31, 41 followed by the late trait, punaḥ kolā-halo mahān (not thus in M. or R.); G. ii, 82, 13, followed by sumahān samajāyata. Compare No. 334.
- 82, tatrā 'sīt sumahad yuddhaṁ tumulaṁ lomaharṣaṇam, vi, 58, 13; R. vi, 43, 16. For other forms, see l. c. No. 10, p. 144 ff. In R., roma for loma, but according to Winternitz, loc. cit., these forms interchange also in MSS. of M. See Nos. 23, 83, 84.
- 83, tad adbhutam ivā 'bhavat, iii, 167, 17 and 31; v, 131, 25; vi, 47, 28; 54, 82; vii, 7, 53 (with alātacakravadaḥ rājan); 14, 27 and 38; 21, 14; ix, 12, 13; xii, 334, 2 and 4 and 11, etc., etc. G. i, 75, 28. Compare G. iii, 33, 22, tad abhūd adbhutaṁ yuddhaṁ tumulaṁ lomaharṣaṇam; R. iii, 51, 3, tad babhūvā 'dbhutaṁ yuddham; R. vi, 102, 18, tad babhāu cā 'dbhutaṁ yuddham . . . romaharṣaṇam; M. xi, 16, 4, rapājirāṁ nrvīrāṇāṁ adbhutaṁ lomaharṣaṇam; ix, 15, 28, tatrā 'dbhutam apaçyāma, and 15, 41, tatrā 'dbhutam paraṁ cakre. In M. iii, 76, 41, tad adbhutatamaṁ dṛṣtvā; R. vii, 79, 1, tad adbhutatamaṁ vākyam çrutvā. See also Nos. 82, 84, 110.
- 84, tad yuddham abhavad ghoram, vii, 16, 12 (sumahal lomaharṣaṇam); G. vi, 58, 34 (in R., 79, 23, tatra for ghoram). M. adds devānām iva dānavāiḥ, wherewith compare R. vi, 79, 2, tataḥ pravṛttam sumahat tad yuddhaṁ lomaharṣaṇam . . . devānām dānavāir iva. See Nos. 82 and 83.
- tapantam, No. 175.
- 85, taptakāñcanabhūṣaṇāḥ, xii, 326, 34; R. iv, 17, 2; G. v, 24, 24 (hāṭaka, R. iv, 3, 18); preceded in M. by sūkṣmaraktāmbaṛadharāḥ, in G., by raktāmbaṛadharāḥ çṛimāṁs. See No. 280.
- 86, tam antakam iva kruddham, vii, 8, 11 (āpatantam); R. vi, 56, 24 (sadrutam). See Nos. 104-105.
- tamaḥ sūrya ivā 'ñubhiḥ, No. 72.
- 87, tam āpatantam sahasā, vi, 116, 49 and 50; R. vi, 59, 36; 106,

4. Further examples, l. c. No. 10, p. 141. vegena in prior pāda, R. vi, 76, 36, etc.
- 88, tam dīptam iva kālāgnim, vii, 15, 5; sa dīpta, R. v, 67, 12. Compare kālāgnir iva mūrtimān, R. vi, 95, 3.
- 89, tam mumocayiṣur vajri, i, 227, 9; tam mumocayiṣuṁ vīraḥ, G. vi, 80, 26.
- 90, taruṇādityasadr̥cāḥ caṇagāurāḥ ca vānarāḥ, iii, 284, 28; taruṇādityavarṇāḥ ca caṇigāurāḥ ca vānarāḥ, R. iv, 39, 13. talam talena, No. 163.
- 91, tasthāu girir ivā 'calah, vi, 94, 22; vii, 15, 7; sthitam ḡālam ivā 'calam, G. vi, 79, 49; sthitam ḡālam ivā 'suram and v. l. sthitam ḡālam ivā 'param, R. iv, 48, 17 = G. 48, 18. In M. another standing phrase is tasthāu Merur ivā 'calah, vi, 48, 34; 63, 8. Another ivā 'calah phrase is cīghro vāyur ivā 'calam (nā 'kampayata), M. vii, 14, 36; vāyuvēgāir ivā 'calāḥ (na prakampante), R. iii, 67, 8. See Nos. 218, 240.
- tasthāu mṛtyur iva, Nos. 104-105.
- tasmin jite and hate, No. 328.
- 92, tasmin vimarde tumule, i, 101, 9; vimarde tumule tasmin, R. vi, 43, 46; tasmin pravṛtte tumule vimarde, R. vi, 69, 66.
- 93, tasya tad vacanam ḡrutvā, ix, 33, 56; 56, 42; 65, 21, etc.; R. iii, 69, 46, etc.; G. vi, 37, 21, etc.; rarer is tasya tad bhāṣitam ḡrutvā, M. vii, 19, 22; G. iv, 38, 17. The first and tac chrutvā vacanam tasya are found passim in both epics (tasya, tasyāḥ, teṣām, tayos, etc.; l. c. No. 10, p. 144).
- 94 and 95, (a) tasyām rātryām vyatītāyām, iii, 150, 1; 175, 1; 299, 1, etc.; R. iv, 64, 11; G. ii, 82, 1; atha rātryām, G. ii, 67, 3; v, 1, 12; atha rātryām pravṛttāyām, R. vii, 67, 1; atītāyām ca ḡarvaryām udite sūryamaṇḍale, M. v, 35, 12; vyatītāyām tu ḡarvaryām ādityasyo 'daye tataḥ, R. ii, 67, 2; vyatītāyām rajanyām tu, M. ix, 8, 1; rajanyām tu prabhātāyām, R. vii, 99, 1 (G. 106, 1, sa rajanyām prabhātāyām); (b) prabhātāyām tu ḡarvaryām, M. iii, 2, 1; R. ii, 52, 1; 54, 36; vyuṣṭāyām cāi 'va ḡarvaryām, xv, 10, 53; tato raj. vyuṣṭ, 11, 1; similar is G. i, 30, 1.
- 96, tārājālam ivā 'mbare, viii, 27, 35; G. vi, 68, 19; in M. of decapitation; in R. of breastplates!
- 97, tiṣṭha tiṣṭhe 'ti cā 'bravīt, vi, 111, 41 and 45 and often (l. c. No. 10, p. 142); R. vi, 79, 37; cā 'vadat, M. iv, 33, 24; cā



- 'bruvan, G. i, 43, 25; cukroça, ib. ii, 39, 46. United with the phrase (No. 5) abhidudrāva vegena, in M. vi, 101, 9.
- 98, tuṣārāvṛtamandalam, ix, 65, 7 (pūrṇacandram iva vyomni); tuṣāreṇāvṛtām sābhrām pūrṇacandraprabhām iva, G. i, 50, 16 (R. 49, 15, satsuṣārāvṛtām. Compare pūrṇacandram ivo 'ditam, R. iv, 10, 3. Compare No. 169.
- 99, tūlārāḥim ivā 'nalāḥ, vi, 75, 32 (vyadhamat); vii, 21, 24 (vyadhamat); R. vi, 88, 7 (vidhamiṣyanti); tṛnarāḥim ivā 'nalāḥ, G. vi, 64, 26 (vidhamiṣyanti); tṛṇa-, ib., 67, 8 (vidhamiṣyanti) = R. 88, 7, tūlā° (above). In the former passage, R. has the verb but not the simile. See Nos. 33, 75, 196, 291.
- 100, tṛṇam antarataḥ kṛtvā, iii, 281, 17; R. iii, 56, 1; v, 21, 3. Compare tṛṇikṛtya ca tad rakṣaḥ, R. vi, 40, 9; saṃgatān, M. i, 189, 2; matvā tṛṇena tāns tulyān, M. vi, 113, 36; tṛṇavat tān apagyata, G. iv, 48, 19.
- tṛnarāḥim, No. 99.
- 101, tṛṇāḥ kūpā ivā 'vṛtāḥ, iii, 207, 59; kūpa iva, R. iii, 46, 10; G. iv, 16, 17. In M., adharmā dharma-rūpeṇa; in R. (abhavyo bhavyarūpeṇa) sa pāpas tena rūpeṇa, and dharmavāitaṇsikaḥ (the same, R. iv, 17, 22, with the bracketed words also in 28), also Mbh. phrase (PW.).
- 101b, te vāi nirayagāmināḥ, xiii, 23, 60 ff.; R. sarve n., iv, 17, 36 (similar list).
- 102, totṛā 'rdita iva dvipaḥ, vi, 54, 69; vii, 146, 55; ix, 21, 16; 25, 21; G. ii, 39, 43 (v. l. in R., totṛāir nunnāḥ). See Nos. 149, 215.
- 103, totṛāir iva mahādvipam, vi, 101, 13; ix, 13, 29; R. iii, 28, 10; totṛāir iva mahāgajam, M. vi, 111, 7.
- triṣu lokeṣu, No. 252.
- 104-105, (a): daṇḍahasta ivā 'ntakaḥ (and acc.), vi, 102, 36; vii, 15, 5; viii, 29, 30; ix, 3, 26, etc.; G. vi, 65, 25; iii, 32, 17; 34, 11 (where R. 28, 11, has pāḥastam); daṇḍapāṇir ivā 'ntakaḥ, M. iv, 22, 66; vi, 48, 90; 62, 55; dhanurdandam ivā 'ntakaḥ, G., iv, 31, 11 (R., dhanuḥ kālāntakopamāḥ). Similar and in part interchangeable are the phrases (b): pāḥahasta ivā 'ntakaḥ, vi, 109, 11; vii, 36, 32; ix, 12, 2; R. iii, 39, 15; vi, 53, 25; G. vi, 39, 30; vii, 28, 21. In G. vi, 46, 36, pāḥahasto yathā Yamāḥ, where R. 67, 38, has pāḥahasta ivā 'ntakaḥ.

- The epithet is used of Varuṇa, R. iii, 12, 19; iv, 42, 45, = G., 43, 58 (nilayaḥ pāṇahastasya Varuṇasya). Compare M. vi, 112, 41, dahati vā mahācamūm yuddheṣu sadṛṣas tāta Yamasya Varuṇasya ca. Compare also sāksāt kālāntakopamaḥ, M. iii, 157, 50; sthitaḥ kālāntakopamaḥ, R. vi, 88, 2; çarāṇiḥ kālāntako°, G. vi, 45, 19; sāksāt kāla ivā 'ntakaḥ, G. iv, 14, 25; tasthāu mṛtyur ivā 'ntakaḥ, M. vii, 16, 38. For kāladaṇḍam ivā 'ntakaḥ, see No. 41. See also Nos. 42, 86, 220, 250, 272.
- 106, daṇḍāhata ivo 'ragaḥ, ix, 14, 40; R. vi, 54, 33. The ḥloka in M. is worth noticing in its entirety: cukopa samare Drāṇiṇi | daṇḍāhata ivo 'ragaḥ | triḥikḥām bhrukutīm kṛtvā | sṛkṇiṇi parisamlihan, where c = ix, 32, 46 a; and sṛkṇiṇi, etc., is a frequent phrase, No. 320; that is, the whole ḥloka consists of iterata except for the first words. See No. 150, ad finem.
- 107, dadarça Dvārakām viro mṛtanāthām iva striyam, xvi, 5, 4; dadṛṣus te tadā Laṅkāṁ . . . narīm iva mumūrṣatīm, G. vi, 15, 27.
- 108, darçayan pāṇilāghavam, vi, 48, 66; 54, 73; 59, 22; 62, 28 (C. 2, 743, hastalāghavam); vii, 145, 70; ix, 26, 30; R. vi, 99, 20; G. 36, 55. Compare darçayan vīryam ātmanah, M. vii, 14, 57; d, svaparākramam, vi, 100, 34, etc.
- 109, darçayā 'tmānam ātmanā, iii, 64, 57; smara cā 'tmānam ātmanā, R. vii, 37, 5, 47. Better parallels might, I think, be shown, but I have at hand only Gītā, 6, 5.
- 110, Daçagrīvasya paçyataḥ, iii, 290, 4; R. vi, 41, 89. This type, especially in M., is common. Compare vii, 17, 7, Dṛṣṭadyumnasya; ix, 11, 13, Dharmarājasya; ix, 16, 40, Bhīmasenasya; xi, 14, 19, Vāsudevasya; R. vi, 38, 12, tasya Rāmasya paçyataḥ. But the M. type sarvalokasya paçyataḥ, which occurs repeatedly, e. g., vi, 48, 69; 58, 44; ix, 5, 7, and sarvasāinyasya paçyataḥ, e. g., vii, 18, 28; sarvakṣatrasya paçyataḥ, ix, 7, 24; 14, 37, is found in R., if at all, only as a rarity. I have noted G. vi, 93, 5, (Rāmam) lokasya paçyataḥ; G. vi, 25, 35, paçyatām sarvarakṣasām; vi, 121, 16, sarveṣām eva çṛvatām. In M. these correspond rather to paçyatām sarvasāinyānām, vii, 144, 20; 195, 9; paçyatām sarvayodhānām, vii, 145, 70 (with darç. pāṇiv., No. 108); sarvalokasya çṛvatāḥ.



- ix, 31, 27; paçyatām sarvasāinyānām (tad adbhutam ivā 'bhavat, No. 83), ix, 10, 50.
- 111, didhākṣann iva pāvakaḥ vi, 94, 7 (krodhenā 'bhīprajajvāla, also phrase of M.); didhākṣur iva pāvakaḥ, xi, 12, 13; acc., G. iv, 38, 15 (with jājvalyamānaḥ kopena, phrase, No. 176). See also Nos. 75, 226, 255.
- 112, divi 'vā 'bhrāṇi mārutaḥ (vyadhamat), vii, 30, 35; mahā-bhrāṇi 'va mārutaḥ (vidhaman), R. vi, 96, 4; the same with karṣan, G. vi, 49, 58.
- 113, divyābharāṇa (and sarvābharāṇa) bhūṣitā(h); lajjamāne 'va lalanā divyābharāṇabhūṣitā, i, 152, 22; divyaratnām-baradharo divyābharāṇabhūṣitāḥ, ii, 9, 6; divyamālyām-baradharo divyābharāṇabhūṣitāḥ, v, 122, 2; the prior also vi, 35, 11, and here also divyagandhānulepanaḥ, with which compare divyasraganulepana, in the same stanza with the titular pāda, R. vi, 50, 44 (also G. vi, 112, 8); divyamālyavibhūṣitām divyāmbara-dharām devīm, iv, 6, 4; kṛṣṇaraktāambaradharā . . . divyakunḍalasampannā divyābharāṇabhūṣitā, xii, 258, 16; divyarūpasamāyuktā divyābharāṇabhūṣitāḥ divyamālyāmbaradharāḥ, xv, 33, 23; sarvābharāṇabhūṣitā, iii, 53, 12; 277, 19; in G. iii, 15, 14-15, divyābharāṇabhūṣitāḥ . . . lalanāḥ (as in M. above); divyā°, G. iii, 23, 42; R. i, 16, 13; v. 24, 25; vi, 50, 44; divy-āṅgarāgām Vaidehīm divyābharāṇabhūṣitām, 114, 7; sarva° R. i, 73, 9, where G. 75, 9 has mahārḥāmbara-bhūṣanāḥ; R. iii, 47, 31; G. iii, 25, 15; R. vi, 47, 9; 50, 44, without similar neighboring pādas. Compare also nānābharāṇabhūṣite, M. vi, 23, 6; sarvābharāṇanaddhāṅgaḥ, v. l. sarvābharāṇasarvāṅgaḥ, R. vi, 65, 31, where G. 44, 24 has °citrāṅgaḥ; sarva° sam-yukta and °samppanna, M. i. 153, 14; G. iv, 44, 108, respectively. The form with divyā°, Raghuv. x, 11. R. is generally content with the pāda, M. often adds, as above, similar pādas. See No. 44.
- divyamālyāmbara, No. 113.
- 114, diçāç ca (pra and) vidīçāç cāi 'va: ii, 38, 26; H. 2, 127, 127; G. vi, 90, 28 (where R. 106, 30 has pradīçāḥ sarvāḥ); vidīças tathā, G. iii, 28, 41 (where R. 22, 23 has diçāḥ sapradīças tathā); G. vi, 58, 38 (where R.

- 79, 28 has *diçaç* ca *pradiçaç* *tathā*). The shorter terminal *diço* *daça*, vii, 20, 52 (etc., often); R. vi, 75, 38; G. v, 55, 13; G. vi, 77, 30 (G. 93, 1; R. 115, 18 = G. 100, 18, not terminal; the last, *daça* *diço*). In C. to ix, 15, 17, the same v. l. as above in R., namely, *vidiçaç* *cāi* 'va in BM.; *pradiçaç* *cāi* 'va in C. 769. See also under No. 36.
- 115, *diṣṭyā* *diṣṭye* 'ti *cā* 'bruvan, i, 129, 31; *abravit*, G. iv, 10, 23.
- 116, *dīnāç* *cintāparāç* *cāi* 'va, ii, 49, 4; *tataç* *cintāparā* *dīnā*, iii, 54, 2; *dīnāç* *cintāparāyanāḥ*, G. vi, 74, 6 (= R. 94, 4, °*pariplutāḥ*); *iti* *cintāparo* 'bhavat, R. vii, 79, 12. See Nos. 69, 161, 293.
- 117, *diptām* *agniçikhām* *iva*, iii, 63, 36; vii, 14, 78; R. i, 49, 14; vi, 118, 17; vii, 30, 29; G. vi, 80, 20, where R. 100, 19 has *pradiptām* *açanīm* *iva*; *dīptāv* *iva* *hutāçanāu*, R. vi, 97, 25. See No. 33.
- 118, *diptāsyān* *uragān* *iva*, v, 151, 25; 180, 7; G. iii, 69, 24 (instr.). See Nos. 74, 106, 141, 150.
- 119, *dirgham* *uṣṇām* *ca* *niḥçvasya*, ix, 4, 51; 32, 8; x, 1, 4; G. vi, 34, 1; 99, 5, where R. 114, 6 has *sa* *dirgham* *abhinihçvasya*. This phrase appears in a variety of forms, very likely in more than I have noted. The prevailing type is the titular one above. Compare the variant in C. 238 to ix, 4, 51 (above), *dirgham* *uṣṇām* *ca* *niçvāsaṁ* *mumoca* *ca* *mumoha* *ca* (B. *çuçoca* *ca* *mumoha* *ca*); a form not unknown in R., *dirgham* *uṣṇām* *ca* *niçvāsaṁ* *vimuñcantam* *muhur* *muhuh*, G. iv, 33, 41. This is followed (the next verse!) in M. by ix, 5, 1, *niḥçvasya* *dirgham* *uṣṇām* *ca* *tāṣṇīm* *āsīt*; *sa* *for* *ca* in ix, 2, 55 (but C. 109, *ca*); like the form above in R., M. iii, 313, 3, *sa* *dirgham* *uṣṇām* *niḥçvasya*, *çokabāspapariplutāḥ* (phrase, see Nos. 120, 190); R. v, 34, 13, *abravid* *dirgham* *ucehvasya*, where G. 31, 33 has *dirgh.* *uṣ.* *ca* *niḥçvasya*; R. vi, 95, 2, *sa* *tu* *dirgham* *vinihçvasya*, where G. 75, 3, as before, followed by *muhūrtam* *dhyānam* *āsthitaḥ* (phrase, compare No. 214). The likeness, when given, is to snake or elephant. Thus G. iv, 33, 41 (cited above) continues: *kupitām* *saptaçirasam* *jvālāruddham* *ivo* 'ragam; ib. 33, 31-32, *niḥçvasya* *dirgham* *uṣṇām* *ca* *koṣād* *raktāntalocanaḥ* *babhūva* *naraçārdūlo* *vidhūma* *iva* *pāvakaḥ* (phrase, see



No. 255) tam dīptam iva kālāgniṁ nāgendram iva kopi-  
tam; 35, mahendram iva durjayam (a fine mixture!).  
The turn dīrgham uṣṇāṁ ca niḥṣvasan is so common that  
in G. ii, 15, 7 it stands for the accusative! niḥṣvasantāṁ  
yathā nāgaṁ, dīrgham uṣṇāṁ ca niḥṣvasan (rectified with  
v. l. in R.). For other corresponding phrases, see below,  
Nos. 133, 141-143, 205.

- 120, duḥkhamohapariplutaḥ (v. l. ṣokamoha, duḥkhaṣoka, ṣoka-  
bāṣpa, bāṣpaṣoka), R. ii, 99, 29; G. 108, 26; 16, 33; C.  
vii, 96, etc.; tasthāu ṣokapariplutaḥ, M. iii, 76, 46; duḥ-  
khaṣokasamanvitaḥ, M. iii, 70, 22; xiv, 77, 17; xv, 21, 1;  
xviii, 2, 31; R. vii, 74, 1; °parāyaṇaḥ, xv, 10, 18. The  
ending occurs in all sorts of phrases, e. g., ṣoṇitāugha-  
pariplutaḥ, vi, 103, 10. B.'s v. l. for C. (above) is, vii,  
3, 8, bāṣpavyākulitākṣaram. See Nos. 137, 190.
- 121, duṣṭahastī 'va hastipān, viii, 53, 17; R. vi, 67, 131.
- 122, devā iva ṣatakratum, iii, 78, 33; devāir iva ṣatakratuḥ, G.  
vi, 92, 80. The situation is the same, king restored to  
people; omitted in R. (Bombay).  
devānām (iva) dānavāih (iva), No. 84.  
dāivam . . . duratikramam, No. 43.
- 123, dviguṇīkṛtavikramah, vii, 19, 9; G. vi, 82, 179. There  
follows baddhvā ca bhrukutīm vaktre (M. 10); sa  
baddhvā bhrukutīm vaktre (G. 180). On these phrases  
see Nos. 51, 198. Compare R. vi, 100, 26, vimukhīkṛ-  
tavikramah.
- 124, dvitīya iva (sāgarah, etc.), ix, 30, 55, etc.; R. vi, 4, 104; 26,  
41; pāvakaḥ, ix, 46, 54; xiii, 14, 278.  
dhanurdaṇḍam, Nos. 104-105.
- 125, dhanurvede ca vede ca, i, 109, 19, etc.; G. v, 32, 9, etc.  
dhārābhir iva toyadaḥ, No. 77.
- 126, na kālasya priyaḥ kaṣcin na dveṣyaḥ, Kurusattama, xi, 2,  
23; na kālasya priyaḥ kaṣcin na dveṣyo 'sti, Kapīṣvara,  
G. iv, 18, 28. Compare Gitā, 9, 29, na me dveṣyo 'sti, na  
priyaḥ, Nos. 43 and 131.
- 127, na ca tāu yuddhavāimukhyaṁ ṣramaṁ vāpy upajagmatuḥ;  
copied H. 1, 54, 49 from R. vi, 88, 77 = G. 68, 37; almost  
the same in H. 2, 36, 25.
- 128, na tvaṁ ṣocitum arhasi, vi, 26, 27, etc.; R. iv, 7, 14; G. iii,  
71, 10 (v. l. in R., vyathitum), etc.; many occurrences

- and many v. l., e. g., G. iii, 71, 11, *çocitum nārhasa deva* (= Rāma), where RB. has *vīra*. See No. 147.
- 129, *nanu nāma mahārāja*, iii, 63, 4; *mahābāho*, R. vi, 111, 3. Compare M. iii, 64, 19, *nanu nāmā 'ham iṣṭā tava*, and G. iv, 24, 37, *tave 'ṣṭā nanu nāmāi 'tāḥ* (R. has *nanu cāi 'va*). Namuci, No. 250.
- 130, *na hi çakṣyāmi jīvitum*, iii, 249, 20; *nāi 'va çakyāmi jīvitum*, G. ii, 17, 32; *na hi çaknōmi*, G. v, 26, 23. See No. 134.
- 131, *nā 'kāle vihito mṛtyuḥ*, *nā 'prāptakālo mriyate*, iii, 63, 7; 65, 39; *akāle durlabho mṛtyuḥ*, R. v, 25, 12; *nā 'kāla-mṛtyur bhavati*, G. v, 28, 3. Compare ix, 64, 10 and xi, 2, 5, *kālam prāpya mahābāho* (*mahārāja*) *na kaçcid ativartate*. See Nos. 43 and 126. The (new) references here given to M. are to be added to those in *Journ. Phil.*, vol. xx, pp. 25-26, where will be found other parallels.
- 132, *nāgāḥ . . . siddhāç cakracarās tathā*, iii, 85, 72; *nāgāḥ . . . cakracarāç ca siddhāḥ*, R. v, 48, 23 ("the sun and other heavenly bodies" are the blessed cyclists).
- 133, *nāgendra iva niḥçvasan*, ix, 32, 38; *bhujāṅga iva*, R. v, 22, 30. See Nos. 119, 141-143, 205.
- 134, *nā 'ham jīvitum utsahe*. This is a commoner form than that above in No. 130. It occurs repeatedly, e. g. iv, 19, 13; vii, 24, 11; x, 4, 26; xvi, 8, 23; R. v, 26, 4 (= G. v, 26, 33, v. l.); vi, 116, 18; G. ii, 80, 9; vi, 24, 18; with many variations, e. g., *katham jīvitum utsahe*, G. vi, 34, 8, and above in No. 130.
- 135, *nikṛttā iva kiṁçukāḥ*, xiii, 30, 43; R. vi, 67, 29; *pādapāḥ*, R. iv, 17, 1; G. ii, 45, 5; G. iii, 31, 48; etc. See Nos. 71, 136, 168.
- 136, *nikṛttā kadālī yathā*, iii, 291, 14; G. ii, 17, 22 (= R. 20, 23, *patitām kadālīm iva*). See Nos. 71, 135, 180.  
*nityaṁ dharmaparākramāḥ*, No. 293.  
*nipapāta*, No. 148.
- 137, *nimagnāḥ çokasāgare*, vii, 1, 11; 193, 34; R. iv, 20, 9 (compare 10, 34); G. ii, 37, 22 (*R. prapannā*). Compare *duḥkhasāgarasampluta*, G. vi, 9, 7; *patitā çokasāgare*, R. vi, 111, 31; G. vi, 95, 20, and 34. See Nos. 120, 190.
- 138, *nimeṣāntaramātreṇa*, iv, 64, 28; v, 15, 31; xii, 334, 21, etc.; R. iv, 39, 11; v, 62, 36; vi, 44, 19; 45, 16; G. vi, 13, 9.



- 139, *nirmuktāv* *iva* *pannagāu*, vii, 136, 29; inst. pl., ix, 15, 40; fem. sg., G. vi, 34, 23; *nirmuktāu* *bhujagāv* *iva*, G. (ref. lost). See Nos. 74, 140, 150, 243.
- 140, *nirmokam* *iva* *pannagāḥ*, vii, 168, 5; R. vi, 33, 33; G. v, 3, 45; *pannago* *yathā*, G. ii, 91, 12. See Nos. 74, 139.
- 141, *niḥṇvasann* *urago* *yathā*, vi, 121, 10; ix, 64, 5; R. vi, 51, 18; *jīhmaga* *iva*, ix, 1, 49 (C. *pannaga*); *iva* *pannagaḥ* M. ii, 65, 42; *yadvat* *for* *yathā* (metre), vii, 193, 70; *papāta* *bhuvi* *saṃkruddho* *niḥṇ.* *iva* *pannagaḥ*, R. ii, 74, 35. See Nos. 118, 119, 133, 139, 142, 143, 150.
- niṣpiṣya*, No. 163.
- 142, *niḥṇvasantam* *punaḥ* *punaḥ*, vii, 15, 30; G. vi, 55, 77 (dual, *gajāv* *iva*); R. vi, 76, 81 (v. l. of last, *gajāv* *iva*) *niḥṇvasantāu* *muhur* *muhuh*; as in G. ii, 110, 14 (sg.), while here R. ii, 101, 15 has *punaḥ* *punaḥ*. See Nos. 141, 143.
- 143, *niḥṇvasantam* *yathā* *nāgam*, vi, 106, 71; xii, 224, 1; R. vi, 49, 1, dual; G. ii, 15, 7 (R. 18, 5, *mahārājan*); G. vi, 21, 5. The usual R. form is *ṇvasantam* *iva* *pannagam*, vi, 108, 10; with v. l., *niḥṇvasantam* *ivo* *'ragam*, G. ii, 19, 1; *°tāu* *ivo* *'ragāu*, M. vii, 77, 1. C. vi, 3478, *ṇvas.*; B., *jval*. See Nos. 119, 133, 141, 142, 205.
- 144, *nīlakuñcitamūrdhajaḥ*, iii, 277, 9; 280, 50; G. vi, 37, 61, with another phrase, *mattamātaṅgaḡāminam* (No. 203); *nīlakuñcitakeṇi*, M. ii, 65, 33.
- 145, *nīlāñjanacayaprakhyāḥ*, vii, 20, 18; *°prabhuḥ*, G. vi, 24, 43 = R. 49, 32, but here *°cayopamaḥ*, as in G. vi, 94, 7 = R. 110, 6.
- 146, *nīlotpalamayīm* *mālām*, vii, 139, 8 (*dhārayan*); *mālām* *nīlotpalamayīm* *iva*, G. vi, 79, 62 (*dhārayan*), v. l. in R.; in both cases of a wreath of arrows.
- 147, *no* *'tkaṇṭhām* *kartum* *arhasi*, iii, 216, 10; xii, 170, 11, etc.; G. v, 36, 76 (not in R.), but in R. ii, 46, 2, *na* *co* *'tkaṇṭhitum* *arhasi* (*tvaṃ* *no* *'t°* in G. 44, 2); and R. ii, 53, 2, *tām* *no* *'tkaṇṭhitum* *arhasi* (*nāi* *'vo* *'t°* in G. 53, 3). R. here has the classical turn. See No. 128.
- 148, *nyapatanta* *mahītale*, ix, 56, 11; *sa* *papāta*, R. vi, 59, 88 = *nīpapāta*, G. 36, 67; G. vii, 111, 47 (not in R.); *petatus* *tāu*, R. vi, 97, 24, 26. The usual variant is *papāta* *dharaṇītale*, ix, 27, 46; R. iii, 52, 26; 66, 18; G. iv, 19, 3; *passim* in both epics. See also No. 167, 240, 309.

- 149, pañke magnā iva dvipāḥ, vi, 100, 9; pañkamagna iva dvipāḥ, G. iv, 15, 30; v, 87, 26. R. iii, 61, 13 extends the phrase, pañkam āsādyā vipulāṁ sīdantam iva kuñjaram (= G. 68, 2, sīdann iva mahādvipāḥ); a new turn in ix, 58, 33 gives anyonyam jaghnatur vīrāu pañkasthāu mahiṣāv iva. See Nos. 102, 215.
- 150, pañcaçīrṣā ivo 'ragāḥ, iii, 57, 6; iv, 22, 56; R. v, 10, 18; vi, 99, 40 (of arrows, çvasantah). Compare pañcāsyāḥ pannagāḥ chinnair Garuḍene 'va, vii, 36, 27; pañcāsyāv iva pannagāu, G. iii, 74, 22. This variety of snakes is recognized together with those having four and seven heads in Hariv. 3, 46, 38. The seven-headed variety, together with those having three and ten heads respectively, is recognized in i, 27, 51, while the saptaçīrṣa (çīrṣan) sort, pannago mahān, is taken as the form of the divine weapon, xiii, 14, 257. G. iv, 33, 41, saptaçīras, has been cited above under No. 119. For the ending ivo 'ragāḥ. See also Nos. 74, 106, 118, 141.
- 151, pataṁgā iva pāvakam, v, 130, 21; vi, 117, 35; pataṁgān iva pāvakaḥ, ib. 37; R. iii, 28, 14; vi, 44, 23; 97, 6; 102, 62; G. v, 38, 36; G. vi, 54, 53; pataṁgā jvalanam yathā, C. ix, 152 (where M. ix. 3, 27 has pataṁgā iva pāvakam); R. vi, 66, 26; 96, 2; interchanges with çalabhān iva pāvakam (q. v. No. 283), R. vi, 65, 43 = G. 44, 38; pataṁga iva cā 'gnāu te, xvi, 3, 42 (prior pāda); triṣṭubh, yathā pradīptam jvalanam pataṁgā viçanti, M. vi, 35, 29. See also Nos. 181, 258, 283.
- 152, patākadvajamālīnī (°nam), iii, 77, 6 (açobhayac ca nagram); G. ii, 42, 12; G. iv, 25, 38; G. vi, 14, 20. The corresponding verses in R. are sūcchritadvajamālīnī, ii, 43, 10; patākadvajaçobhitā, iv, 26, 41; and a complete v. l., vi, 38, 11 (G. v, 9, 17 also has patākadvajaçobhitā). But R. has the titular phrase at vi, 47, 14 = G. 22, 21 (both °mālīnī); and at vi, 57, 3, where G. 31, 4 has bahudhvajapatākinīm.
- patidarçanalālāsā, No. 165.
- 153, pated dyāur himavān çīryet, iii, 12, 130; idem but prthivī, G. ii, 15, 29. In M. follows prthivī çakalī bhavet çuṣyet toyanidhiḥ; in G., çoṣam jalanidhir vrajet. In v, 82, 48, dyāuḥ patec ca sauakṣatrā; in iii, 278, 38, and vii, 13, 10,



- prapated dyāṇḥ sanakṣatrā pṛthivī cakalī bhavet; in iii, 249, 31-32, vidīryet sakalā bhūmir dyāuḥ cā 'pi cakalī bhavet . . himavāṇḥ ca parivrajat kuṣyeta toyāṁ samudreṣu (with other like expressions). See Nos. 64, 327.
- 153 b, papāta ca mamāra ca, passim. See Nos. 148, 167.  
param (-am) vismayam, No. 264.
- 154, param kautūhalaṁ hi me, iii, 296, 26; ix, 35, 39; 40, 2; xiii, 75, 7; R. i, 1, 5, etc., etc.; bhūyaḥ k. h. m., ix, 47, 3.
- 155, parasparajayāiṣiṇāu, vii, 14, 46; R. iv, 11, 42; vi, 89, 1; G. 76, 32; G. 79, 33. Interchanges with °jighāṁsavaḥ and °vadhāiṣiṇaḥ, q. v. below.
- 156, parasparajighāṁsavaḥ, vi, 46, 5, 15; G. vi, 29, 16, where R. 55, 17 has jighāṁsayā, which is found also in G. vi, 49, 42, but here R. 69, 54 has jayāiṣiṇaḥ (No. 155). So G. i, 77, 19 has jighāṁsayā, where R. has jayāiṣiṇāu; G. vi, 77, 27, jighāṁsinam, where R. 97, 27 has jaghnatuḥ ca parasparam. See Nos. 155, 157.
- 157, parasparavadhāiṣiṇāu, vii, 7, 32; ix, 12, 38; 55, 23 (with the phrase kruddhāv iva mahādvipāu); and passim; G. vi, 69, 1, where R. 89, 1 has jayāiṣiṇāu (No. 155); G. vi, 67, 31; 79, 33. Compare anyonyavadhakāṅkṣiṇāu, R. vi, 99, 31. I have noticed vadhāiṣiṇ only in G., but cannot say that it is lacking in the Bombay edition. Nos. 155-157 might perhaps all be put under one head as simple variants of one phrase. See l. c. No. 10, p. 143.
- 158, Parjanya iva vṛṣṭimān, vi, 63, 25; vii, 89, 4; ix, 12, 59; 17, 2; xii, 67, 32; 69, 32, etc.; vṛṣṭibhiḥ, R. iii, 28, 7; G. vi, 54, 34; iva jīmūtāiḥ (metre), R. vi, 27, 8; Parjanyam iva karṣakāḥ (yeṣāṁ dārāḥ pratikṣante), xiii, 60, 15; tvām eva hi pratikṣante Parj. i. k., R. ii, 112, 12, where G. 122, 12 has tvām eva pratikāṅkṣante Parj. i. k. See No. 217.
- 159, parvaṇī 'va mahodadhiḥ, ix, 26, 28; jalācayāḥ, G. ii, 87, 5, where R. 80, 4, has sāgarasye 'va parvaṇī.
- 160, parvatān iva nīradāḥ, vii, 89, 4; G. vi, 66, 28, where R. 87, 25 has toyadāḥ.
- 161, palāyanaparāyaṇaḥ, vii, 22, 15; 103, 32; 192, 83, etc.; G. v, 33, 31. See l. c. No. 10, p. 143, and Nos. 69, 116, 293.  
palācāir iva, No. 168.
- 162, paçum raçanayā yathā, iv, 22, 74, etc.; R. vii, 23, 1, 40.  
paçyatām sarvasāinyānām, No. 110.

- 163, pāṇim pāṇau viniṣpiṣya, vii, 73, 19 (with dantān kataka-  
tāyya ca); R. ii, 35, 1; vii, 69, 2 (pāṇau pāṇim sa niṣpi-  
ṣya). Compare niṣpiṣya pāṇinā pāṇim, iv, 22, 81; pāṇau  
pāṇim nipīḍya ca (v. l. ha), ix, 65, 33; karaṁ kareṇa  
niṣpiṣya, i, 151, 42; karaṁ kareṇā 'bhinipīḍya vīraḥ, iii,  
236, 19; talam talena niṣpiṣya, vii, 193, 70.
- 164, pāṇḍureṇā 'tapatreṇa dhriyamāṇena mūrdhani, v, 178, 77;  
xiii, 14, 175; xiv, 64, 3; 75, 7; xv, 23, 8; R. iv, 38, 13  
(G. pāṇḍareṇa); chatreṇa dhriyamāṇena pāṇḍureṇa virā-  
jātā, ix, 9, 2. Four references are here added to those  
cited, l. c. No. 10, p. 138.
- pāḥasta ivā 'ntakaḥ, Nos. 41, 104-105.
- 165, putradarṣanalālasā, i, 122, 29; G. i, 9, 56; bhartṛdarṣana-  
lālasā, iii, 64, 124; 282, 60; G. ii, 26, 5; Rāmadarṣana-  
lālasā, iii, 289, 27; R. v, 14, 42; lālasā as terminal, ṣoka°,  
i, 2, 229; G. iv, 18, 19; pati°, M. iii, 65, 1; patidarṣana-  
lālasā, G. v, 29, 6, where R. 30, 6 has 'kāṅkṣiṇī; yuddha-  
lālasāḥ, G. vi, 27, 25, where R. 51, 25 has nardanto jaladā  
yathā. See also PW. s. v.
- 166, punarjātam ivā 'tmānam (mene), viii, 96, 47; R. vi, 39,  
15; R. vi, 65, 15, and G. 44, 12. In R. vi, 69, 8, ma-  
nyate kālacoditaḥ, where G. 48, 8 keeps mene; in R. vi,  
74, 25, manyate plavagottamaḥ, where G. 53, 30 keeps  
mene.
- 167, puṣpavr̥ṣṭiḥ papāta ha, iii, 76, 40; papāta puṣpavr̥ṣṭiḥ ca,  
R. vii, 110, 6. See also No. 148.
- 168, puṣpitāv iva kiṁṣukāu, iii, 280, 32; vi, 45, 14; ix, 12, 15;  
57, 4; dadṛṣṭe Himavati p. i. k., ix, 58, 34; plural, vii,  
19, 14; ix, 9, 24; R. vi, 45, 9; 80, 34; 90, 37; G. vi, 32,  
33, where R. 58, 46 has prabhinnāv iva kuṇḍjarāu, a phrase,  
No. 178; extended in M. vi, 101, 17, saṁstirṇa iva parva-  
taḥ; kiṁṣukaḥ puṣpavān iva, ib. 110, 36; puṣpitāv iva  
niṣpatrāu, yathā cālmalikiṁṣukāu, G. vi, 68, 31; kiṁṣu-  
kāḥ iva puṣpitāu, viii, 29, 18; palāṇair iva puṣpitāiḥ, R. vi,  
58, 28, where G. 32, 25 has puṣpitāir iva kiṁṣukāiḥ as in  
R. vi, 75, 27, and G. 54, 24. See Nos. 177, 178.
- pūrayann iva, No. 36.
- 169, pūrṇacandranibhānaḥ, iii, 68, 26; R. vii, 33, 14. See also  
No. 98, for a similar phrase.
- 170, pūrṇāyataviṣṣṭeṇa ṣareṇā 'nataparvanā, vi, 95, 72; R. vi,



- 71, 72 (G. 51, 75, *karṇāyata*). The hemistich consists of two iterata, the last pāda being often used independently, vi, 64, 52; 88, 29; ix, 16, 39; G. iv, 17, 23; v, 31, 30. Compare *ṇarāḥ saimnataparvabhiḥ*, M. vii, 14, 30; *ākarnāpūrṇam āyamyā*, R. iv, 11, 91.
- 171, *prthivī sasyamālinī*, vi, 3, 19; R. iii, 16, 5 (*sasyaṇālinī*, in the other texts, C. vi, 86; G. iii, 22, 5); *triṣṭubh, mahīm iva prāvṛṣi sasyaṇālinīm*, G. v, 80, 31 (not in R.).
- 172, *prthivyām caturantāyām*, iv, 44, 20; R. v, 31, 4. *prakīrṇa*, No. 251.
- 173, *pragrhya saṇaram dhanuḥ*, iii, 282, 34; 288, 10; G. v, 93, 14.
- 174, *prajākāmāḥ sa cā 'prajāḥ*, iii, 53, 5; R. i, 38, 2; G. i, 14, 28. *prajvalam*, No. 176.
- 175, *pratapantam ivā 'dityam*, vi, 59, 66; vii, 40, 24; G. ii, 117, 16; *pratapantam ivā 'dityam madhyāhne dīptatejasam*, R. vi, 128, 9; *madhyamgatam ivā 'dityam pratapantam svatejasā*, M. vi, 106, 80. Compare *tapantam iva bhāskaram*, R. iv, 11, 86.
- pradipta iva manyunā*, No. 80.
- 176, *pradiptam iva tejasā*, R. iv, 35, 1; G. iv, 33, 3; G. v, 80, 5 (*ṇtā*); vi, 46, 87. Compare *prajvalann iva tejasā*, xii, 325, 11; *jvalantam iva tejasā*, R. vi, 71, 70; G. v, 89, 44; G. vi, 46, 130; *pradiptam iva pāvakam*, xiv, 73, 4 and 6; G. iv, 44, 53; *pradiptam iva sarvaṇaḥ*, G. iii, 78, 30; *vapuṣā . . . jvalantam iva tejasā*, R. vii, 37, 2, 8; *jājvalyamānam vapuṣā*, M. i, 97, 27; iii, 100, 19; R. vi, 108, 7; G. vi, 19, 49; *jājvalyamānam tejobhiḥ (pāvakārkaṣamaprabham)*, M. iii, 188, 108; *jājvalyamānam kopena*, M. iv, 22, 42; G. iv, 38, 15. See Nos. 16, 75, 80, 111, 177.
- 177, *praphulla iva kiṇṇukaḥ*, v, 179, 31; G. vi, 68, 20; *pradiptān iva kiṇṇukān*, G. ii, 56, 7; iii, 79, 33. See Nos. 168, 176. *prabhātāyām*, No. 94; *prabhāte*, No. 79.
- 178, *prabhinna iva kuṇjarāḥ*, vi, 92, 4; vii, 21, 52; 22, 4; 39, 29; ix, 57, 62, etc.; R. vi, 28, 8; G. ii, 116, 42; dual as v. l. in R. vi, 58, 46 for *puspitāv iva kiṇṇukān*, No. 168; *prabhinnāv iva mātāṅgāu*, M. vii, 10, 8; R. vi, 89, 1; *prabhinnam iva mātāṅgam parikīrṇam kareṇubhiḥ*, M. iv, 19, 29; *kareṇubhir mahāranye parikīrṇo yathā dvipaḥ*, G. v, 14, 28.
- 179, *prabhūtakamalotpālā*, iii, 280, 1; R. iv, 26, 16.

- 180, pravāte kadali yathā, v, 13, 3, prāvepata; R. ii, 117, 18, pravepitā; R. iii, 2, 15; G. v, 26, 1. See Nos. 71, 136.
- 181, praviveṇa mahāsenām makaraḥ sāgaraṁ yathā, i, 138, 30; viii, 77, 10; ix, 18, 10, etc.; G. vi, 77, 6 (v. l. ripoh sāinyam); (sāinyam) mahārṇavam mīna ivā 'viveṇa, R. vi, 69, 67. In R. vi, 97, 6, pataṅga iva pāvakaṁ (No. 151) takes the place of makaraḥ sāgaraṁ yathā in G. 77, 6.
- 182, prasannasalilāṁ ṣubhām (nadīm), iii, 64, 112; prasannasalilāṁ saraḥ, R. vii, 38, 21.
- 182 b, prasādaṁ kartum arhasi, ix, 35, 72; R. iv, 8, 19; G. ii, 110, 7.
- 183, prahasann iva, Bhārata, vi, 45, 23; (uvāca) prahasann iva, (pratyuvāca) hasann iva, M. passim; R. iv, 5, 25, etc.; G. i, 41, 3; 53, 12; 74, 19; 33, 36; G. v, 1, 52, 62, etc.
- 184, prahārāir jarjarikṛtaḥ, vii, 94, 60; viii, 56, 28; R. iv, 12, 22. See No. 235.
- 185, prahr̥ṣṭenāntarātmanā, iii, 57, 30; 72, 42; G. vi, 112, 21 (R. 128, 18, prahr̥ṣṭā putravatsalā); R. vii, 11, 19.
- 186, prākāratoraṇā, terminal, dṛḍha°, iii, 284, 2; xv, 5, 16; xvi, 6, 23; sāṭṭha°, G. v, 35, 35. Compare cayāṭṭalakaparyantam, G. i, 72, 3; cayāṭṭalakaṣobhinā, M. iii, 160, 39. On these terms, see my Ruling Caste, p. 174, note.
- 187, prāṇāḥ saṁtvarayanti mām, G. ii, 66, 57 = G. iv, 21, 24 (neither in R.); in xii, 52, 8 ca for mām, but the latter is implied, as balam me prajāhātī 'va precedes. In M. i, 172, 8, prāṇā hi prajāhanti (sic!) mām:  
prāvṛṣī 'va, No. 217.  
phullāṇaka, No. 228.
- 188, baddhagodhāṅgulitrāṇāu, and plural, iii, 283, 17; iv, 5, 1; R. i, 22, 9; ii, 23, 36; baddhagodhāṅgulitravān, x, 7, 52; khaḍgagodhāṅgulitravān, iii, 278, 19.  
baddhvā ca bhrukṣiṁ, Nos. 51, 123.  
babbhūva tumulaḥ ṣabdaḥ, No. 23.
- 189, babbhū sūrya ivo 'tthitaḥ, vii, 18, 18; bhāti candra ivo 'ditaḥ, R. vi, 127, 29; kālasūrya ivo 'ditaḥ, M. vii, 16, 15; divākara ivo 'ditaḥ, R. vi, 60, 58; jvalan sūrya ivo 'ditaḥ, G. iii, 69, 1; bālasūrya ivo 'ditaḥ, G. v. 41, 36; bālacandra ivo 'ditaḥ, G. iii, 38, 15. See ivo 'tthitaḥ, ivo 'ditaḥ, as terminals also under No. 63; babbhū, No. 228.



189b, bahutālasamutsedhāḥ, iii, 158, 91 (waterfalls); R. vi, 26, 5 (a palace).

bāṣpa, all under Nos. 51, 119, 120, 190; bāṣpagadgada, No. 331.

190-193, bāṣpavyākulalocanaḥ, vii, 1, 3 (also C. 97); ix, 65, 31; xv, 16, 9; R. vi, 46, 6; G. ii, 68, 51; vi, 46, 27, where R. 46, 30 has krodhavyākulalocanaḥ; G. vi, 83, 57, etc.; R. vi, 117, 1 = G. 102, 1; G. vi, 103, 1. This (a) is the usual parallel among these lachrymose pādas. Another (b) is çokavyākulalocanāḥ, M. vii, 78, 14; G. ii, 83, 31; and çokabāṣpapariplutaḥ, M. iii, 313, 3; G. v, 66, 20. In R. the commonest form is bāṣpaparyākulekṣaṇa, G. iii, 7, 32; R. vi, 114, 3 (G. 99, 3, with 4, Īṣadbāṣpapariplutaḥ); R. vi, 101, 46 (v. l. to G. 83, 57, above); G. vi, 26, 27, where R. 50, 45 has harṣa° (No. 331). Varieties are bāṣpaçokapariplutaḥ, G. iv, 26, 9; R. iii, 2, 22; çokavegapariplutaḥ, G. v, 75, 18; çokabāṣpasamākulaḥ, M. vii, 52, 7; bāṣpaçokasamanvitaḥ, ix, 65, 32; bāṣpasamdigdhayā vācā (see No. 331), xv, 8, 23. A third (c) case of identity is found in tataḥ sā bāṣpakalayā vācā and sā bāṣpakalayā vācā, M. iii, 61, 25; iv, 20, 28; R. ii, 82, 10. Perhaps others will be found, of which I have given one side above, and finally in these: çokaviplutalocanāḥ, G. v, 39, 5; bāṣpopahatacetana, R. iv, 27, 32; çokenāviṣṭacetanā, G. vi, 9, 3; bāṣpaviplutalocanaḥ, G. ii, 96, 2; bāṣpadūṣitalocanaḥ, R. iv, 8, 29; bāṣpavyākulitekṣaṇaḥ, R. vii, 98, 2; bāṣpapūṛṇamukhāḥ sarve, R. ii, 40, 21. See Nos. 51, 119, 120, 290, and especially the same compounds with harṣa, No. 331, where too are put the bāṣpagadgada compounds.

bijam uptam, No. 219.

194-195, Brahmā lokapitāmahaḥ, ix, 2524 (= 45, 22, sarva°, as in 47, 15 and in R. i, 63, 17; vi, 61, 21); R. i, 57, 4, etc.; sarvabhūta°, M. i, 64, 39.

bhayagadgada, No. 331.

bhartṛdarçanalālasā, No. 165.

196, bhasmacchanna ivā 'nalaḥ, iii, 278, 32; R. iv, 11, 81; 27, 40; G. iv, 16, 17; bhasmacchanno va pāvako, Dh. Pada, 71. For the terminal ivā 'nalaḥ, see Nos. 33, 75, 99, 291. A pāda in the çloka preceding this in Dh. P., as Prof.

- Hardy has reminded me, is also an epic phrase, *kalām nā 'gghati soḷasim*, Dh. P. 70, *kalām nā 'rhanti soḍaḡm*, M. i, 100, 68; ii, 41, 27; iii, 257, 4 (*kalām arhati*); vii, 197, 17, *yaḥ kalām soḍaḡm pūrṇām Dhanamjaya na te 'rhati*; xii, 174, 46, and 277, 6, (ete) *nā 'rhataḥ soḍaḡm kalām*; so Manu ii, 86.
- 197, *bhīmo bhīmaparākramaḥ*, ii, 30, 30; iii, 53, 5; 73, 19; iv, 22, 85; ix, 57, 47, and 61; R. vi, 58, 5; G. v, 35, 30; 38, 44; G. vi, 64, 23; 82, 181; *bhīmam bhīmapratisvanam*, R. vi, 107, 19. *Bhīṣmam bhīmaparākramam*, M. vi, 14, 17. See No. 206.
- bhujāṅga iva*, No. 133.
- bhūyaḥ kātūhalam*, No. 154.
- 198, *bhrūkutikūṭilānanaḥ*, iii, 150, 5; G. vi, 65, 33. See Nos. 51, 106, 123.
- makaraḥ sāgaraḥ yathā*, No. 181.
- 199, *Maghavān iva Čambaram (jahi raṇe Čalyam)*, ix, 7, 35; *Čambaram Maghavān iva (Bālināḥ jahi)*, G. iv, 12, 8. Compare *Mahendreṇe 'va Čambaraḥ (tena vikramya)*, G. v, 18, 29.
- 200, *maṅgālyam maṅgalam Viṣṇum*, i, 1, 24; *maṅgalyam maṅgalaḥ sarvam*, R. vi, 112, 21 (G. 97, 20, *maṅgalyam*).
- 201, *maṇḍalāni vicitrāṇi*, iii, 19, 7; ix, 57, 17, etc.; R. vi, 40, 23. Here also *gatapratyāgatāni ca*, as in both cases in M. and elsewhere and in R. vi, 107, 32 (above, No. 54). The whole passage ix, 57, 17 ff. is the same with R. vi, 40, 23 ff. (not in G.), with slight changes. See JAOS., vol. xx, p. 222, and my Ruling Caste, p. 253, note (the *gomutraka* there mentioned is found R. loc. cit.).
- 202, *maṇḍalikṛtakārmukaḥ*, i, 133, 3; R. iii, 25, 16.
- 203, *mattamātaṅgaḡāminam*, iii, 80, 14; 277, 9; R. ii, 3, 28; G. vi, 37, 61. Compare *matttanāḡendravigramaḥ*, M. i, 188, 10, and *mattamātaṅgavigramaḥ*, R. vi, 3, 43. See No. 314.
- 204, *mano vihvalatī 'va me*, i, 1, 218; iv, 61, 4; xi, 14, 14; G. ii, 71, 21.
- martukāma*, No. 213.
- 205, *mahānāga iva čvasan*, ix, 32, 35; 57, 59; G. ii, 92, 26; *mahāsarpa*, R. iv, 16, 13; *krudhaḥ sarpa*, R. vi, 88, 38; *ruddho nāga*, R. iii, 2, 22. See Nos. 119, 133, 141-143.



mahāpāpaprāṇāṇi, No. 301.

- 206, mahābalaparākramah, vii, 10, 72; ix, 45, 49, etc.; G. v, 1, 49; G. vi, 70, 6; 75, 49; 110, 40. Terminal, Nos. 273, 293.
- 207, maholkā patati yathā, vii, 15, 20; maholke iva petatuḥ, G. vi, 70, 18; maholke 'va nabhastalāt (apatat), M. vi, 48, 85; divyolke 'va nabhaṣyutā, G. iv, 19, 31; nyapatad dharanīprsthē maholke 'va mahāprabhā, M. vi, 104, 32; sā jvalantī maholke 'va . . . nipapāta, M. vii, 92, 67.
- 208, māṇsaṇitakardamā(m), vi, 54, 103; vii, 20, 53; 21, 43; ix, 14, 18; xi, 16, 56; xviii, 2, 17; R. vi, 42, 47; 69, 70; 125, 4; G. vi, 19, 16; °phenilām, R. vi, 69, 148 (compare uṣṇīṣavaraphenilā, M. vii, 14, 11; māṇsaṇitakardamām . . . patākavastraphenilām, vii, 187, 16-17).
- 209, mā dharmyān nīṇaṇaḥ pathaḥ, iii, 52, 15; G. i, 24, 9.
- 210, mānuṣaṁ vigrahaṁ kṛtvā, i, 98, 8; R. iv, 66, 10.  
muktaraṇmir iva, No. 25.
- 211, mudā paramayā yuktaḥ, ii, 53, 23, etc.; R. i, 52, 11. This is a phrase of various forms, yuktaḥ or yutaḥ, according to position; mudā, ṇriyā, prityā, according to sense. Other examples are given above, pp. 267, 269.
- 212, munayaḥ saṁcitavratāḥ, xiii, 6, 41; R. iv, 13, 18. In G. iv, 13, 24, rṣinām saṁcitātmanām = maharṣin saṁcitavratān, M. i, 1, 3.
- 213, mumūrṣur (-ṣor) iva bheṣajam, vi, 121, 57; ix, 5, 5 (na mām prīṇāti tat sarvam); G. iii, 45, 19; āuśadham iva, M. ii, 62, 2; martukāma ivāu 'śadham, R. iii, 40, 1; G. v, 89, 57, where R. vi, 17, 15 has viparīta ivāu 'śadham. Compare mumūrṣur naṣṭacetanaḥ, M. v, 53, 12; and na prīṇayati mām bhuktam apathyam iva bhojanam, G. v, 76, 6 (paretakalpā hi gatāyuso narā hitaṁ na grhṇanti, R. iii, 41, 20). See No. 68.
- 214, muhūrtam iva ca dhyātvā, iii, 282, 66; sa muhūrtam iva dhyātvā, R. vi, 101, 38; sa muhūrtam iva dhyātvā bāṣpa-paryākulekṣaṇaḥ, two pāda phrases (Nos. 190-193, compare also s. No. 119), G. v, 19, 2; tato muhūrtaṁ sa dhyātvā, ix, 5, 2.  
mūle hate, No. 328.
- 215, mṛgā vyādhair iva 'rditaḥ, xii, 332, 31; mṛgāḥ kokair iva 'rditaḥ, G. vi, 28, 19. In M. usually mṛgāḥ sinhārdita

- iva, vii, 37, 36; ix, 3, 7; 19, 3, etc.; *siṅhārdita iva dvipaḥ*, G. v, 37, 19. See Nos. 271, 316.
- 216, *mekalaprabhavaḥ cāi 'va Ṣoṇo maṇinibhodhakāḥ*, H. 3, 46, 44, perhaps from G. iv, 40, 20 (°am Ṣoṇam nadam maṇi°), the passage entire.  
*megham sūrya*, No. 72.  
*yathā devāsūre yuddhe*, No. 227.
- 217, *yathā prāvṛṣi toyadāḥ*, vi, 81, 39; R. iii, 18, 23; *prāvṛṣi 'va balāhakāḥ*, R. v, 1, 180; *prāvṛṣi 'va mahāmeghaḥ*, R. iv, 11, 25 (compare 8, 43); *prāvṛṣi 'va ca Parjanyaḥ*, xiii, 68, 71. See Nos. 59, 77, 158.
- 218, *yathā bhūmicala 'calāu*, C. ix, 614 (vicious); *'calah*, R. vi, 59, 61; 77, 13. In M. corresponding to 614, *raṇabhūmitale calāu*. Both R. passages have *samuddhūto* preceding. See Nos. 91, 240.
- 219, *yatho 'ṣare bījam uptam (na rohet)*, xiii, 90, 44; *sunīṣphalam bījam ivo 'ptam āṣare*, R. ii, 20, 52; *bījam uptam ivo 'ṣare*, R. iii, 40, 3. Compare *Manu*, ii, 112, *ṣubham bījam ivo 'ṣare*.  
*yantramukta (cyuta) iva dhvajah*, No. 25.
- 220, *Yamadaṇḍopamāṁ raṇe*, vi, 116, 49; *Yamadaṇḍopamāṁ gurvīm Indrāṇīm ivo 'dyatām*, ix, 57, 12; *Yamadaṇḍapratikāṇām Kālārātrim ivo 'dyatām . . . dehāntakaraṇīm ati*, ix, 11, 50 (*gadām*); *Kāladāṇḍopamāṁ gadām*, R. vii, 14, 14; 27, 48; G. iii, 35, 43; *Yamadaṇḍopamāṁ bhīmam*, R. vi, 77, 3; *Kālapāṇḍopamāṁ raṇe*, G. iii, 31, 16; *Kāladāṇḍopamāṁ raṇe*, M. vi, 45, 8; *vajrasparṣopamā raṇe*, ix, 63, 21. See Nos. 42, 104-105.
- 221, *yasya nā 'sti samo loke*, xi, 23, 14 (*gāurye vīrye ca*); *yasya nā 'sti samo yudhi*, G. vi, 33, 24; *yeṣām nā 'sti samo vīrye*, ib. 49.
- 222, *yasya prasādam kurute sa vāi tam draṣṭum arhati*, M. xii, 337, 20; R. vii, 37, 3, 14 (copied). This is in the *Ṣvetadvīpa* interpolation of R.
- 223, *yāvat sthāsyanti girayo*, v, 141, 55; R. i, 2, 36; adding *yāvat sthāsyanti sāgarāḥ*, xii, 334, 37; G. vi, 108, 15-16 (*sāgarāḥ*); in *Ṣānti*, correlated with *tāvat tava 'kṣayā kīrtiḥ . . . bhaviṣyati*; in G. with *kīrtir eṣā bhaviṣyati*. Compare No. 224.
- 224, *yāvad bhūmir dharīṣyati*, iii, 291, 50; viii, 86, 20; ix, 53.



- 21; R. vi, 100, 57; G. vi, 92, 76; 112, 102; yāval lokā dharīṣyanti, R. i, 60, 29; vii, 84, 13; yāvad bhūmir girayaḥ ca tiṣṭheyuḥ, xii, 343, 51; yāvat prāṇā dharīṣyanti, ix, 24, 40; yāvac ca me dharīṣyanti (prāṇā dehe), M. iii, 57 (N. 5), 32. See No. 223.
- 225, yiyāsūr Yamasādanam, i, 163, 10; G. vi, 57, 23. See No. 3, and l. c. No. 10, p. 143 ff.
- 226, yugāntāgnir ivā 'jvalan, i, 138, 37; R. iii, 24, 34; v, 21, 25; G. vi, 80, 40, where R. 101, 38 has yugānta iva pāvakaḥ (bhāskaraḥ in R. iv, 11, 2). Compare yugāntāgnir iva prajāḥ, R. v. 58, 158; G. vi, 50, 50, where R. 69, 150 has iva jvalan. See Nos. 33, 75, 111, 176.
- 227, yuddham devāsuropamam, vii, 15, 2; yuddhe devāsuropamāḥ, G. vi, 4, 3; yathā devāsūre yuddhe, M. vi, 116, 36; vii, 14, 48; purā devāsūre yathā, iii, 285, 11. yuddhe yuddhaviçāradāḥ, No. 307.
- 228, raktāçoka ivā 'babbāu, vi, 103, 10; phullāçoka ivā 'babbāu, R. vi, 102, 69. Compare babbāu Rāmo 'çoka iva rakta-stabakamaṇḍitaḥ, M. v, 179, 31. See No. 189.
- rajanyām, Nos. 94-95.
- rathanemisvanena ca, No. 247.
- 229, rathenā 'dityavarcasā, iii, 290, 12; 291, 51; R. vi, 71, 16.
- 229 b, rathopastha upāviçat, vi, 94, 19, etc.; R. vi, 59, 114.
- 230, ratho me kalpyatām iti, iii, 289, 33; kalpyatām me rathaḥ çighram and ratho me yujyatām iti, R. vi, 95, 21; ii, 115, 7. Rāmadarçanalālasā, No. 165.
- 231, Rāma-Rāvaṇayor iva, R. vi, 107, 53; Rāma-Rāvaṇayoç cāi 'va, Vāli-Sugrīvayos tathā, ix, 55, 31; Rāma-Rāvaṇayor mṛdhe (yādṛçam hi purā vṛttam), M. vii, 96, 28. Compare Nos. 267, 274.
- 232, Rāmo rājīvalocanaḥ, R. iii, 61, 29, etc., and passim; M. iii, 148, 10; xiii, 84, 31 (Jāmadagnyaḥ!).
- 233, Rāvaṇaḥ krodhamūrechitaḥ, iii, 277, 47; 284, 17; R. vi, 26, 6; 90, 57; G. i, 1, 51; vi, 75, 10; 88, 1; rākṣasā duḥkhamūrechitā, M. iii, 277, 46. The terminal is found often in both epics, e. g. in M. iii, 46, 48, Urvāçī krodhamūrechitā.
- 234, rukmapuṅkhāis tāladhātūāḥ, ix, 24, 60 (karmāraparimār-jitāḥ); G. vi, 34, 24; svarnapuṅkhāḥ çilādhātūāḥ, ix, 15, 14. See Nos. 34, 337.

- 235, rudhireṇa samukṣitāḥ, iii, 287, 14; iv, 22, 92; ix, 65, 4, etc.; G. vi, 75, 54; ṣṇitena samukṣitāḥ, M. iii, 12, 62; jarjarikṛtasarvāṅgāu rudhireṇā 'bhisamplutāu, ix, 58, 34; compare R. iv, 12, 22, klānto rudhirasiktāṅgaḥ prahārāir jarjarikṛtāḥ (phrase of No. 184).
- 236, rūpeṇā 'pratimā bhuvi, i, 152, 17; iii, 62, 25; ix, 35, 47; 48, 2; xiii, 82, 4; G. i, 40, 4; R. i, 32, 14; iii, 34, 20, Sītā; 35, 13; 72, 5, vii, 58, 7 (last three, neuter with kanyā- or bhāryā- dvayam); vii, 80, 4; 87, 26; with loka for metre, xvii, 2, 14; R. v, 12, 20; Sītā cā 'pratimā bhuvi, R. vi, 110, 22; rūpeṇā 'sadṛṣī bhuvi, Hariv. 1, 12, 7; with bala, balenā 'pratimam bhuvi, iii, 275, 7. The prevailing form in both epics is rūpeṇā 'pratimā bhuvi, as above and in R. iv, 66, 9, here after the pāda, vikhyātā triṣu lokeṣu, with which compare M. iii, 53, 15, where Nala is lokeṣv apratimo bhuvi, but with rūpeṇa following, which in turn takes the place of mūrtimān (No. 35) in another R. phrase. In R. vii, 37, 3, 24, the phrase is united with chāye 'vā 'nugatā, No. 70, and sarvalakṣaṇalakṣita, No. 303. It is slightly modified on occasion, jānanty apratimām bhuvi, ix, 42, 20; rūpeṇā 'pratimā rājan, M. v, 35, 6.
- laghu citraṁ ca, No. 67.
- 237, vacanaṁ ce 'dam abravīt, v, 178, 27; G. v, 23, 24; interchanges with vākyaṁ ce 'dam uvāca ha, R. i, 35, 3 = G. 37, 3. Loc. cit., No. 10, p. 144. See No. 24.
- 238, vajranīṣpeṣagāuravam, iii, 11, 40; G. vi, 76, 27; °niḥsvanam, G. vi, 36, 105 (°niṣṭhuram, R. 59, 126). vajrasparṣopamā raṇe, No. 220.
- 239, vajrahasta ivā 'surān, viii, 9, 5 (mohayitvā raṇe); °tam i. °āḥ, vi, 108, 35; vajrapāṇer ivā 'surāḥ (saṁtrasiṣyanti), vii, 3, 15; asurān iva vāsavaḥ, G. vi, 14, 8; vajreṇa 'ndra ivā 'surān, G. v, 50, 19; vajrahasto yathā Čakraḥ, R. vi, 67, 38; vajravān vajraṁ dānaveṣv iva vāsavaḥ (krodham mokṣye), R. vi, 25, 25; surāpām iva vāsavaḥ, ib. 26, 37; nibudhān iva vāsavaḥ (pātu), M. vii, 6, 4; tridaṇḍā iva vāsavam, M. vi, 97, 24; vasavo vāsavān yathā (v. l. iva), R. iv, 26, 36, etc.; marutām (marudbhir) iva vāsavaḥ, G. v, 31, 57; R. ii, 106, 27; sahasrākṣam ivā 'marāḥ, R. iv, 26, 23. See No. 250.



vajrāṇi, No. 275.

240, vajrāhata ivā 'calah, vii, 26, 16; R. vi, 69, 162 (ib. 95, yathā 'calo vajranipātabhagnaḥ); papāta sahasā bhūmāu, v. i. acalah, R. vii, 69, 36 (No. 148); G. iv, 48, 22 (R. 48, 21, v. l., paryasta iva parvataḥ); vajrakṛttā ivā 'calah, R. vi, 69, 73. See Nos. 91, 218.

241, vajrāir iva girir hataḥ, vii, 15, 26; vajreṇ 'va mähāgiriḥ, R. iv, 16, 23 (nihataḥ.)

vanam agnir, No. 33.

242, vane vanyena jīvataḥ, xii, 13, 10; xv, 11, 23; R. ii, 37, 2; 63, 27, and G. 80, 11; G. iv, 20, 7. Compare vane vanyena vartayan, Raghuv. xii, 20.

243, valmika(m) iva pannagāḥ, vi, 117, 43; vii, 139, 7; R. iii, 20, 21; 29, 11. See Nos. 74, 139 ff., 150.

244, vavarṣa ṇavarṣāṇi (°ena), vi, 47, 20 and 67; ix, 16, 33-34; etc.; R. vi, 58, 40, etc. Compare ṇavarṣāṇi vavarṣa saḥ (or ca), common in M.; R. vi, 93, 18; ṇavarṣāir avākīrat, M. vii, 18, 19; G. vi, 30, 11; R. vi, 100, 25; 103, 23. See No. 77.

vasavo, No. 239.

245, vākyajño vākyakovidāḥ, iii, 278, 2; G. v, 7, 40; R. vi, 111, 97.

246, vākyam vākyaviçāradāḥ, ii, 15, 10; v, 13, 10; R. v, 52, 4; 63, 15; vii, 87, 1; G. i, 60, 17; G. vi, 82, 46. Compare vākyam vākyavidam çreṣṭhaḥ, R. i, 70, 16; vi, 3, 6; vākyajño and vākyavid vākyakuçalāḥ, R. iv, 3, 24; vi, 17, 30; G. v, 81, 2 (G. 81, 46, çāstravid vākyakuçalāḥ); sarve vākyaviçāradāḥ, G. vi, 27, 11 (v. l. vākyakovidāḥ). Compare No. 307.

247, vājinām khuraçabdena rathanemisvanena ca, ix, 9, 14; G. vi, 111, 17, but with aṇvānām for vājinām, where R. 127, 20 has khuraçabdaç ca. In G. ii, 111, 46 (the second pāda only) khuranemisvanena ca, where R. 103, 40 has rathanemisamāhatā; rathanemisvanena ca is common in M., vii, 38, 12, etc.

248-249, (a) vātarugna iva drumāḥ, iii, 286, 4; C. xi, 611 = 21, 9, where is found °bhagna, as in vi, 13, 13; 14, 16; vii, 16, 4, but °rugna occurs again in vii, 79, 25 (C. bhugna). Other forms in M. are vātahata, vāyurugna, viii, 9, 5; agnidagdha (all with iva drumāḥ), iii, 63, 39; vāteritah

- çāla ivā 'drigṛṅgāt, viii, 85, 38; iii, 16, 20, vātarugṇa ivā kṣuṇṇo jīrṇamūlo vanaspatih (vegavān nyapatad bhuvī). (b) Besides these, chinnamūla, iv, 16, 12; viii, 96, 54 (like chinne 'va kadali, No. 71). In R. the last (b) is the favorite form, though in iii, 20, 21, bhinnamūla ivā drumāḥ stands for G. 26, 24 chinnamūlā; papāta sahaṣā bhūmāu chinnamūla i. d., G. ii, 74, 19; R. vi, 58, 54 = G. 32, 42; in R. iii, 29, 7, çīrṇamūla (= G. 35, 8, chinna), etc. Compare also vātanunna, M. vii, 190, 27 (vātanunnā ivā 'mbudāḥ, viii, 24, 27); chinna tarur ivā 'raṇye, G. vi, 82, 115; drumā bhagnaçikhā ivā, M. vi, 62, 44; vajrarugṇa ivā 'calaḥ, xiv, 76, 18. Other forms in R. are mūlabhraṣṭa, bhūmikampa, vātoddhūta, vajrāhata (all with ivā drumāḥ); bhagnā ivā mahādrumāḥ. I enter only two as identical, but there may be more. Compare Nos. 53, 71, 136, 240. I add here another like interchange of pte.: bhagnadāṣṭra ivo 'ragaḥ, R. i, 55, 9; çīrṇa°, ix, 3, 7 (cf. 19, 3).
- 250, vāṣavo Namucir yathā, ix, 7, 38 (jahi cai 'nam); G. vi, 51, 102 (jahi 'mam); Çakreṇa Namucir yathā, G. vi, 18, 16 (compare 30, 17); Namucir vāṣavaṃ yathā, G. iii, 31, 36 (= R. 25, 31, kruddhaṃ kruddha ivā 'ntakaḥ, Nos. 104-105); Namucir yathā Hariṃ! (samabhyadhāvat), G. iii, 32, 36; sa vṛtra ivā vajreṇa phenena Namucir yathā Balo ve 'ndrāçanihataḥ, R. iii, 30, 28 (vā for ivā, as often); dvandvayuddhaṃ sa dātum te [samarthaḥ] Namucir ivā vāṣavaḥ, R. iv, 11, 22. See No. 239.
- 251, vikīrṇā ivā parvatāḥ (and instr. pl.), vi, 116, 39; iii, 172, 18; vii, 20, 50; G. iii, 56, 39; G. vi, 37, 30; 52, 37; interchanges with viçīrṇa, viii, 27, 38; G. iv, 7, 23, viçīrṇa = R. iv, 8, 24, vikīrṇa; so viçīrṇa in G. v, 87, 4; also prakīrṇa, R. iv, 5, 29; G. vi, 76, 13. Compare nirdhūta ivā, G. v, 8, 4; patita, G. vi, 32, 24. See Nos. 75, 111.
- 252, vikhyātā triṣu lokeṣu (above, No. 236); triṣu lokeṣu viçruta, iii, 84, 83; 85, 74; ix, 38, 38, etc.
- 253, vidyut sāudāmanī yathā, iii, 53, 12; 96, 22; R. iii, 52, 14, where G. 38, 19 has vyomni, as in G. vi, 80, 24, where the v. l. is dīptāçanisamaprabhā; also R. iii, 74, 34 (not in G.); R. vii, 32, 56 = G. 21, 57.



- 254, vidhidṛṣṭena karmanā, iii, 166, 8; ix, 47, 10; R. i, 49, 19;  
Compare ṛsidṛṣṭena vidhinā, ix, 50, 12.
- 255, vidhūma iva pāvakaḥ, vi, 109, 35; 117, 48; xii, 251, 7; 325,  
12; R. iv, 67, 7; vi, 77, 7; 88, 20. See Nos. 75, 111, 226,  
283.
- 256, vidhūmo 'gnir iva jvalan, i, 102, 38; ix, 14, 20; xii, 334, 3;  
R. iii, 28, 19. See Nos. 33, 226.
- 257, vinadya jalado yathā, vi, 49, 35; nādayan jalado yathā, R.  
iii, 70, 10; vineduḥ . . . jaladā iva, G. vi, 21, 22 (v. l.  
jaladopamāḥ); G. vi, 50, 36; jaladā iva cā 'neduḥ, R. vi,  
60, 35.
- 258, vinirdagdham patāṅgam iva vahninā, ii, 42, 19; vinirdag-  
dhaḥ ṇalabho vahninā yathā, G. vii, 23, 48. For another  
case of interchange between patāṅga and ṇalabha in the  
same phrase, see No. 151.
- vimarde tumule, No. 92.
- vimukhikṛtavikrama, No. 123.
- 259, vivatsām iva dhenavaḥ (dhenukām), vii, 78, 18; R. ii, 41, 7.  
Compare gāur vivatse 'va vatsalā, G. ii, 66, 28.
- 259 b, vivarṇavadanā kṛṣṇā, iii, 54, 2; R. ii, 75, 7.
- 260, vivyādha niṣitāḥ ṇarāḥ, vi, 45, 77; and passim; R. v, 44,  
6; G. vi, 19, 55; and passim. See l. c. No. 10, p. 141, for  
variants.
- 261, viṇalyakaraṇīm ṇubhām, vi, 81, 10: G. vi, 82, 39; 83,  
9, etc. The passage in M. should be compared as a  
whole with G. vi, 71, 23. In M.: evam uktvā dadāv  
asmāi viṇalyakaraṇīm ṇubhām oṣadhim vīryasampannām  
viṇalyaḥ cā 'bhavat tadā; in G.: evam uktas tu . . .  
viṇalyakaraṇīm nāma . . . ṇubhām dadāu nasyam sa tasya  
gandham āghrāya viṇalyaḥ samapadyata (all explained  
again in G. 82, 39).
- 262, viṣapīta iva skhalan, Hariv. C. 4,840 = ṇvasan in 2, 32, 1; G.  
ii, 84, 1. Compare madakṣība iva skhalan, G. ii, 84, 5.
- 262 b, viṣam agniṁ jalām rajjum āsthāsyē tava kāraṇāt, iii, 56, 4  
(Nala, 4, 4), where the situation is the same as in R. ii,  
29, 21 (not in G.); viṣam agniṁ jalām vā 'ham āsthāsyē  
mrtyukāraṇāt.
- visphārya ca, No. 308.
- 263, visphūrjitam ivā 'ṇaneḥ, iii, 51, 13, and often; G. iv, 5, 24;  
G. v, 23, 19 (R. 21, 24, nirghoṣam aṇaner iva).

- 264, vismayam paramam gataḥ, ix, 54, 11; R. iv, 12, 5; R. v, 32, 3; gatvā, xiii, 14, 368; yayāu, M. iii, 71, 24, etc.; prāpa, G. vi, 16, 95; jagmuḥ, M. v, 131, 22; ix, 38, 10, 57, 9, etc.; R. vi, 107, 3; G. 99, 45; param vismayam āgatāḥ, M. iv, 22, 93 (sarve); R. i, 69, 16; R. vi, 107, 3 (sarve); G. vi, 4, 44; paramam vismayam gataḥ, G. iii, 30, 38; sarve vismayam āgatāḥ, G. vi, 86, 11; ṣrutvā tu vismayam jagmuḥ, R. vi, 130, 40.
- 265, vismayotphullanayanāḥ, i, 134, 28; R. iii, 42, 34; G. v, 9, 60; °locanāḥ, M. i, 136, 1; xiii, 14, 386; Hariv. 3, 10, 45; R. vii, 37, 3, 29; G. iv, 63, 10; G. vi, 105, 21, where R. has kiṁ tv etad iti vismitāḥ; vismayākulacetasaḥ, G. iv, 50, 14. See No. 332.
- 266, vīro raṇaviṣāradāḥ, vi, 57, 16; G. vi, 60, 4.
- 267, vṛtravāsavayor iva, vi, 100, 51 (tayoh samabhavad yuddham); R. vi, 99, 31 (tayor abhūn mahāyuddham). Compare Nos. 231, 274.
- 268, vedavedāṅgapāragāḥ, iii, 64, 81; xiii, 14, 62; G. ii, 70, 16; °tattvajñāḥ, metrical, M. vi, 14, 44, etc.
- 269, velām iva mahodadhiḥ, vii, 197, 6; R. vi, 76, 63; 118, 16; G. ii, 30, 30; velām iva samāsādyā, M. i, 227, 28; velām ivā 'sādyā yathā samudraḥ, R. vi, 109, 21; velām iva mahārṇavaḥ, M. iv, 19, 22; ix, 3, 18; vele 'va makarālayam, iv, 52, 19; vi, 108, 60, etc.
- vyatitāyām, No. 94.
- 270, vyāghrakesariṇāv iva, vii, 14, 68; G. vi, 67, 32.
- 271, vyāghraḥ kṣudramṛgaṁ yathā, iii, 10, 25 (jaghāna); vyāghrāt kṣudramṛgā iva (trastāḥ), G. iii, 33, 21. Compare (trāsayan) siṁhaḥ kṣudramṛgān yathā, M. iii, 288, 10; (drṣtvā no 'dviḥjate), R. iii, 28, 13; siṁhaṁ kṣudramṛgā yathā (samtrastāḥ), M. vi, 19, 10; vyādhībhiḥ ca vimathyante vyādhāḥ kṣudramṛgā iva, xii, 332, 29. See also Nos. 215, 316.
- 272, vyāttānanam ivā 'ntakam, vi, 63, 26; 107, 99; R. iii, 32, 6; and G. iii, 7, 8, where R. iii, 2, 6 has vyāditāsyam; which phrase occurs also in M. vi, 114, 39. Compare viii, 91, 42, Kālānanam vyāttam ivā 'tighoram. For ivā 'ntaka see No. 104.
- vyāhartum upacakrame, No. 14.
- vyuṣṭāyām, Nos. 94-95.



vyomni sādāmanī, No. 253.

- 273, *Çakratulyaparākramah*. The common terminal is *parākramah*, to which is prefixed *Yama*, *Vāyu*, *Çakra*, etc., as in ix, 15, 10, *Yama*; G. vi, 83, 39, *Vāyu*; G. vi, 75, 2, *Çakra*. The last is naturally the most frequent, *Çakratulyaparākramah*, viii, 27, 27, etc.; G. iii, 42, 19; R. iv, 11, 43; 32, 11; vi, 69, 10 and 82; 71, 1; *Çakratulyabalo* 'pi san, G. iii, 47, 2. See Nos. 206, 293.
- Çakradhvaja*, No. 25.
- 274, *Çakragambharayor iva*, R. vi, 76, 77; (*yathā yuddhe*) *Çakragambharayoh purā*, M. vi, 100, 54. See Nos. 231, 267.
- 275, *Çakrāṇisamasparçān* (*çarān*), vi, 108, 35; G. vi, 68, 6, where R. 88, 42 has *sarpān iva viṣolbanān*; *Indrāṇi°*, ix, 24, 57, etc.; R. vi, 98, 21; *vajrāṇi°*, R. vi, 43, 32. So *Çakra*, *Indra*, and *vajra*, in *Çakrāṇisamasvanam*, *Indrā°*, *vajrā°*, M. vi, 44, 11; 62, 61; G. i, 42, 5 (*mahā°*, 33, 12); *vajrā°* also R. vi, 100, 32; G. iii, 26, 20; *Çakrāṇisamaprabhā*, R. vi, 54, 2. Compare *çarāir aṇisam-sparçāih*, M. vi, 117, 22 with *Çakrā° vajrāṇisamāih çarāih*, R. vi, 88, 46 = G. 68, 10; also *vajrasam-sparçasamān çarān*, G. vi, 70, 15 (= 90, 44, *vajrasparçasamān*); *Çakrāṇisvanam*, ib. 61, 1, etc.
- 276, *çāṅkhadundubhiniḥsvanāh*, i, 69, 6; *°nirghoṣah*, R. vi, 42, 39.
- 277, *çataço 'tha sahasraçaḥ*, M. iii, 288, 24; vi, 35, 5; 57, 23; 59, 10; vii, 16, 5, etc.; R. ii, 57, 9; G. i, 56, 6; G. iii, 34, 14; G. iv, 50, 18; G. v, 73, 23; 95, 24; G. vi, 99, 14. Common is the terminal *çatasahasraçaḥ*, M. i, 134, 28; G. ii, 57, 9, etc.
- çaravarṣam vavarṣa ca*, etc., No. 244.
- 278, *çaravarṣāṇi sṛjantam* (two *pādas*), vi, 59, 66; 106, 53; *sṛjantam çaravarṣāṇi*, G. vi, 18, 36.
- 279, *çaraç cāpād iva cyutaḥ*, R. iv, 11, 14; *çaraç cāpaguṇacyutāḥ*, G. iii, 33, 16, where R. 27, 13 has *guṇāc cyutān*. M. has *cāpacyutāḥ çarāḥ*, vi, 48, 79; 116, 51, etc., but not I think *cāpaguṇacyutāḥ*, *guṇa* for *jyā* being rare in M., though it occurs a few times, e. g., viii, 25, 39; 26, 30; iii, 282, 12.
- çarenā 'nataparvanā*, No. 170.
- 280, *çarāih kanakabhūṣaṇāih* (or *°āh*), vi, 64, 15; ix, 13, 43; R. vi, 71, 40; G. vi, 18, 45, where R. *kāñcana* (as in G. vi, 86, 30); G. vi, 55, 28; *çarā hemavibhūṣitāḥ*, R. iv, 8, 22;

- united with phrase No. 87 in ix, 28, 41. See Nos. 85, 336.
- 281, *çarāir āçivīṣopamāih* (or °āḥ), vii, 37, 12; ix, 16, 11; R. vi, 88, 42; G. vi, 76, 25; *jvalitāçivīṣopamān*, M. vi, 100, 5. For other references, see l. c. No. 10, p. 146.
- 282, *çarāih sarpaviṣopamāih* (or °āḥ), vi, 117, 22; R. vi, 88, 18.
- 283, *çalabhā iva pāvakam*, vii, 36, 21; viii, 24, 61; 27, 7; xi, 25, 14; G. vi, 44, 38, where R. 65, 43 has *patamgān*; *çalabhān iva mārutaḥ* (*vyadhamat*), M. vii, 145, 70. Compare also the close resemblance in *çalabhānām iva vrajāḥ* or *vrajā iva*, M. ix, 11, 25; 13, 42, where C. 697 has *çakunānām* (in the former, one of a group of similes of arrows, *bhramarānām iva vrātāḥ çalabhānām iva vrajāḥ hrādinya iva meghebhyah*, scil. *nyapatan çarāḥ*), and in R. vi, 41, 49, *çalabhānām ivo 'dgamaḥ*; ix, 13, 41, *ivā 'yatim* (with *vrajā iva* above), perhaps for 'valim? Compare *haṁsāvali*, R. vi, 69, 37. Another favorite simile is the lamp, on which, however, I have at hand, besides the *iva pāvakam* phrases above, only *çalabhā iva te dīptam agnim prāpya yayuḥ kṣayam*, M. vii, 146, 14; *te pāvakam ivā 'sadya çalabhā jivitakṣaye jagmur vināçam sarve vāi*, G. v, 39, 12; *çalabhā yathā dīpam (pīdayeyuḥ) mumūrṣavaḥ (sūryam abhagaṇā iva)*, M. vii, 22, 26. See Nos. 151, 181, 258.
- 284, *çārdūla iva kuñjaram*, vii, 14, 67; also in G., but ref. lost. Terminal, No. 297.
- 285, *çiro bhrājiṣṇukunḍalam*, iii, 289, 23; *çiro jvalitakunḍalam*, R. vi, 100, 15; 103, 20. See No. 317.
- 286, *çighragām ūrmimālinīm*, R. ii, 55, 22, of *Yamunā* (cf. 113, 21); *Vitastām* (for *çighragām*), xiii, 25, 7; *ūrmimālinam akṣobhyaṁ kṣubhyantam iva sāgaram*, R. ii, 18, 6; which adds *upaplutam ivā 'dityam*, a phrase found also in xiv, 11, 2, in the same situation.
- 287, *çighram prajavitāir hayāih*, M. vii, 98, 10; G. ii, 70, 3, and 6, where R. 68, 6 has *çighram çighrajavāir hayāih*. See No. 78.
- 288, *çubhaṁ vā yadi vā pāpam*, v, 34, 4; R. iv, 30, 72. This phrase introduces in these passages two different proverbs. The same occurs xvii, 3, 31, etc.; R. ii, 18, 25, in a general relation. The first *vā* is often omitted in such turns, as in G. v, 64, 6 = *Manu xi, 233, ajñānād yadi vā*



- jñānāt (followed in G. by na kaçcin nā 'parādhyati = R. vi, 113, 43, where G. 98, 34 has na kaçcid apa°).
- çuṣkām vanam, No. 33.
- 289, çṛṅgābhyām vṛṣabhāv iva, ix, 14, 25 (tataksatus tadā 'nyon-yam); govṛṣo yathā, G. iii, 32, 4. In the latter case the warrior thus receives arrows! The reading is nimlita iva 'rṣabhah, R. iii, 26, 4. Compare çṛṅgiṇāu govṛṣāv iva, v. 1. vṛṣabhāv, ix, 57, 2.
- çokabāspaparipluta and some other çoka-forms, Nos. 137, 190.
- 290, çokopahatacetanāḥ, iii, 59, 14; R. iv, 1, 124; °cetasam, M. vii, 191, 1; ix, 41, 25. These to add to No. 190.
- çvasantam iva, No. 143.
- 291, samvartako ivā 'nalāḥ, vi, 95, 54; G. iii, 70, 1; G. v, 8, 7; G. vi, 83, 16. See Nos. 33, 75, 196.
- 292, sakhe satyena te çape, i, 131, 46; G. iv, 13, 34. Compare, among other variants, vīra satyena te çape, G. ii, 48, 4, where R. 51, 4 has satyenāi 'va ca te çape; satyenāi 'va çapāmy aham, R. iv, 7, 22; satyena vāi çape devi, G. v, 34, 7. See No. 294.
- 293, satyadharmaparāyaṇaḥ, iii, 64, 83; vii, 12, 26; xii, 278, 39; 337, 63; R. vii, 74, 19 (where G. has puraskṛtya); G. i, 59, 7; G. ii, 74, 26; G. ii, 19, 6, where R. 22, 9 has nityam satyaparākramaḥ; wherewith compare nityam dharmaparāyaṇaḥ, G. iv, 38, 43. Compare satyavrataparāyaṇaḥ, M. i, 109, 6; xiii, 107, 122; G. ii, 21, 3. Compare also satyaparākramaḥ, terminal after dhīmān, M. iii, 73, 23; after Rāmaḥ, G. iii, 33, 10; G. v. 66, 21; after satyam, R. vi, 119, 12. For the terminals parāyaṇa, parākrama, see Nos. 69, 116, 163, 206, 273.
- 294, satyam etad bravīmi te, i, 73, 17; iii, 56, 14; 57, 32; xiii, 14, 178, etc.; G. ii, 15, 19; G. v, 6, 13; 36, 70; G. vi, 98, 15; etad satyam, G. vi, 23, 32; tattvam etad, often in R.; satyenā 'ham, R. v, 38, 65; satyam pratiçṛṇomi te, R. v, 1, 148; vi, 100, 48; satyam etan nibodha me, G. iv, 61, 4; satyam etan nibodhadhvam, M. iii, 298, 13; satyam etad vaco mama, ix, 35, 75. See No. 292.
- 295, samdaçya daçanāir oṣṭham, vi, 91, 31; R. vi, 95, 3 (in M. with the phrase sṛkkinī parisamlīhan; in R., with krodhasamraktalocanaḥ); R. vi, 69, 88, where G. 49, 76 has





sarvābharanabhūṣita, No. 113.

- 307, sarve yuddhaviçāradāḥ, iii, 276, 13; vii, 23, 18; G. vi, 29, 2. Compare yuddham (or yuddhe) yuddhaviçāradāḥ, R. vi, 65, 10; G. vi, 31, 7; 42, 11; 76, 31; yudhi y°, ib. 77, 26. Compare No. 246.
- 308, sa visphārya mahac cāpam, vi, 49, 26; G. vi, 51, 5; 79, 9 (ib. 43, visphārya ca). In R. vi, 71, 5 (= G. 51, 5) tadā cāpam, where as often, the fact may be remarked that G., mahac cāpam, is more stereotyped than R.
- 309, savisphuliṅgā nirbhidyā nipapāta mahītale, vii, 92, 67; savisphuliṅgam sajvalam nipapāta mahītale, R. vi, 67, 23. In M., sā jvalantī maholke 'va precedes. See No. 148.
- 310, sahasraraṣmir ādityaḥ, iii, 3, 62; G. iii, 62, 13; old Up. adj. sāksāt kālāntakopama, Nos. 104-105. sāṭṭa°, No. 186.
- 311, sāgarā makarālayāḥ, vii, 77, 5; sg., ix, 47, 7; G. iv, 9, 38.
- 312, sādhu vādo mahān abhūt, vii, 100, 3; R. vii, 96, 11; jajñe, ix, 13, 3; sādhu sādhu iti cukruṇuḥ, M. vii, 14, 84; cā 'bravit, R. iv. 8, 25; vi, 19, 27; G. v, 56, 35; sādhu sādhu iti Rāmasya tat karma samapūjayan, R. vi, 93, 36; sādhu sādhu iti te neduḥ, ib. 44, 31; iti samhṛstāḥ, G. ii, 88, 22 (with vicukruṇuḥ); sādhu sādhu ite te sarve pūjayām cakrire tadā, M. v, 160, 36; sādhu iti vādināḥ, R. vii, 32, 65.
- 313, sāyakāir marmabhedibhiḥ, vii, 21, 10; G. iv, 15, 9; iṣu-bhir, G. vi, 75, 65; nārācāir, M. vii, 16, 7.
- 314, sinhakhelagatiḥ (çrīmān), i, 188, 10; sinhakhelagatiḥ (vākyam), G. i, 79, 10. Compare in triṣṭubh, gajakhelagāmin, xv, 25, 7, with mattagajendragāmin in 6. See No. 203.
- 315, sinhanādāṇe ca kurvantāḥ, vi, 64, 84; kurvatām, R. vi, 75, 41; G. vi, 32, 13, where R. 58, 17 has nardatām; sinhanādām nanāda ca, ix, 13, 27; athā 'karot, ix, 3, 3; pracakrire, ix, 8, 19, etc.
- sinhaḥ kṣudramṛgān yathā and sinhārdita, Nos. 215, 271.
- 316, sinhene 've 'tare mṛgāḥ, vii, 7, 53; sinhasye 've 'taro mṛgāḥ, R. vi, 79, 13; sinhasye 'va mṛgā rājan, M. vi, 109, 14. Compare also the pair; sinhene 'va mahāgajāḥ, xi, 18, 27; R. vi, 101, 53; sinhāir iva mahādvipāḥ, R. vi, 31, 33. See Nos. 215, 271.

- 317, *sumṛṣṭamanikuṇḍalaḥ*, i, 78, 17; iv, 18, 19; G. vi, 37, 56; pra°, M. iii, 57, 4; *sumṛṣṭamanitoraṇam*, G. v, 16, 39. See No. 285.
- 318, *susrāva rudhiraṃ gātrāir gāirikaṃ parvato yathā*, ix, 13, 14; *susruvū rudhiraṃ bhūri nagā gāirikadhātuvat*, G. vi, 59, 13. With the first *pāḍā* of G. here, compare *cakāra rudhiraṃ bhūri* M. iii, 279, 5; and compare also G. v, 83, 12, *rudhirasravaṇaiḥ santu gāirikānām ivā 'kārah*.
- 319, *sūtamāgadhabandinām*, vii, 7, 8; G. ii, 26, 14, nom., where R. 26, 12 has *bandinaḥ* . . . *sūtamāgadhaḥ*.
- 320, *sr̥kkinī parisamlīhan*, iii, 157, 50; iv, 21, 51; vi, 91, 31; 111, 11; vii, 146, 120; ix, 14, 40, etc., v. l., *parilīhan*, C. vi, 4,094 = 91, 31; *samlīhan rājan*, ix, 55, 24; in iii, 124, 24, *lelihan jihvayā vaktram* (*vyāttānāno ghoradṛṣṭir grasann iva jagad balāt sa bhakṣayiṣyan*) *saṃkrudhaḥ*, as in R. vi, 8, 22 = G. v, 79, 12, *kruddhaḥ parilīhan sr̥kkām* (G. *vaktram*) *jihvayā*. In R. vi, 67, 140, *jihvayā parilīhyantam sr̥kkinī* *ṇitekṣite*, where G. 46, 86 has *lelihanam asṛg vaktrāj jihvayā* *ṇitokṣitam*. Compare, also in R., *oṣṭhāu parilīhan* *ṇuṣkāu* (*netrāir animiṣāir iva mṛtabhūta ivā 'rtas tu*). In M. vi, 64, 31, *sr̥kkinī*, where C. 2,840 has *sr̥kkinīm*; in other cases, *sr̥kkinī* is the Bombay reading, as observed PW. s. v. where *sr̥kv°* is preferred. The type is not yet stereotyped in R., as it is in M.'s titular phrase. See Nos. 106, 295.
- 321, *se 'ndrāir api surāsurāiḥ*, vii, 12, 28, etc.; R. vi, 48, 30. In M. preceded by *na hi* *ṇakyo Yudhiṣṭhiraḥ grahitum samare rājan*; in R. by *ne 'māu* *ṇakyāu raṇe jetum*. The phrase is not infrequent.
- sthitaṃ* *ṇāilam*, No. 91.
- 322, *sphurate nayanam savyam bāhuḥ ca hṛdayam ca me*, R. iii, 59, 4; *sphurate nayanam cā 'sya savyam bhayanivedanam bāhuḥ prakampate savyaḥ*, H. 2, 110, 25.
- 323, *smitapūrvābhībhāṣiṇī*, iii, 55, 19; xii, 326, 35; H. 2, 88, 35; R. vi, 34, 2; G. iii, 49, 5; °*bhāṣitā*, M. i, 140, 55; *nityam susmitabhāṣiṇī*, R. v, 16, 21 (G. *sa°*); *smitapūrvam abhāṣata*, G. v, 92, 12; *smitapūrvābhībhāṣiṇam*, Raghuv. xvii, 31.



- 324, svabāhubalam ācṛitaḥ, iii, 285, 10; G. iii, 63, 13; G. vi, 84, 20; ācṛitya, M. i, 140, 38; v, 133, 45. Compare Manu ix, 255, rāṣṭraṁ bāhubalācṛitam.
- 325, svabāhubalavīryeṇa, vii, 4, 5; G. vi, 25, 35. svarṇapūṅkhāiḥ, Nos. 34, 234.
- 326, svarbhānur iva bhāskaram, iii, 11, 52, paryadhāvata; G. iii, 30, 44, abhyadhāvata. See No. 73.
- 327, svāireṣv api kutaḥ çapan (nā 'ham mṛṣā bravīmy evam), i, 42, 2; svāireṣv api na tu brūyām anṛtaṁ kaccid apy aham (after pated dyāuḥ No. 153), G. ii, 15, 29; nā 'ham mithyā vaco brūyām svāireṣv api kuto 'nyathā, xiii, 51, 17.
- 328, hate tasmin hataṁ sarvam, R. vi, 65, 45; tasmin hate hataṁ sarvam, ix, 7, 37; mūle hate, etc., G. vi, 79, 6; tasmin jite jitaṁ sarvam, R. vii, 20, 17; in triṣṭubh, R. vi, 67, 71, asmin hate sarvam idam hataṁ syāt (G. 46, 57, vipannam).
- 329, hanta te kathayiṣyāmi, i, 94, 4; iii, 201, 9; vii, 12, 1; ix, 44, 5; xii, 341, 18; H. 1, 4, 31, etc.; R. i, 48, 14, etc. Compare hanta te 'ham pravakṣyāmi, M. vi, 101, 5; hanta te kīrtayiṣyāmi; hanta te sampravakṣyāmi, G. vi, 3, 1. In Kāth. Up. v, 6, hanta ta idam (te 'dam) pravakṣyāmi guhyam brahma sanātanam; kath., Gītā, 10, 19.
- 330, harīṇāṁ vātarāṇhasām, iii, 42, 7 (daça vājisahasrāṇi); 284, 23; sahasram api cā 'çvānāṁ deçyānāṁ vātarāṇhasām, G. ii, 72, 23.
- 331, harṣagadgadayā vācā, iii, 167, 2; xiii, 14, 342; R. vii, 33, 9; G. vi, 98, 13, 109. There are many harṣa° compounds like those in bāṣpa above, Nos. 190-193; harṣavyākulalocaṇaḥ, R. iv, 5, 21; harṣabāṣpākulekṣaṇa, G. vi, 112, 100; harṣaparyākulekṣaṇa, R. vi, 50, 45; harṣagadgadam uvāca or vacanam, M. iii, 138, 12; G. iii, 3, 13. The common phrase of G. bāṣpagadgadayā vācā or girā is frequently unrepresented in the other text: G. i, 79, 24; ii, 35, 30; bāṣpagadgadabhāṣiṇī, G. iv, 19, 29 (but this occurs R. vi, 116, 17); G. v, 33, 2; G. vi, 101, 19; also R. v, 67, 33, where G. has saṁdigdhayā girā (noticed above in Nos. 190-193); but R. has bāṣpagadgadayā girā in v, 25, 2; 39, 7; 40, 21; vi, 113, 16; with a new turn (compare iv, 8, 16, harṣavyākulitākṣaram) in v, 38, 11,

- bāṣpapragrathitāksaram, where G. 36, 10 has bāṣpagadgadabhāṣiṇī; both have roṣagadgadayā vācā, R. vi, 29, 6, = G. 5, 4. M. has haṁsagadgadabhāṣiṇī, iv, 9, 10; xi, 18, 14, etc., as also abravīd bāṣpagadgadā, iii, 259, 12; bāṣpasaindigdhayā girā and vācā, iii, 64, 101; 74, 24, etc. G.'s bāṣpagadgadayā tataḥ, after vācā, ii, 58, 13, is in R. sabāṣpaparibaddhayā. Compare R. iv, 7, 1 (vākyam) sabāṣpaṁ bāṣpagadgadāḥ. In R. vii, 6, 3, bhayagadgadabhāṣiṇaḥ. In R. iv, 8, 29, etāvad uktvā vacanam bāṣpadūṣitalocanaḥ bāṣpadūṣitayā vācā no 'ccāiḥ ṇaknoti bhāṣitum. See Nos. 190-193.
- 332, harsenotphullanayanaḥ, vii, 39, 9; G. ii, 74, 3; harṣād ut°, ix, 60, 42. See No. 265.
- 333, hāhākāram pramuñcantāḥ, iii, 65, 11; vimuñcatām, G. vi, 54, 11. A common form is hāhākāro mahān āsīt, vi, 48, 84; 49, 38; ix, 44, 42, etc.; tadā 'bhavat, ix, 16, 44; hāhākāro mahān abhūt, R. vii, 69, 13. Compare also hāhābhūtā ca tat sarvam (āsīt nagaram), xiii, 53, 41; hāhābhūtā tadā sarvā Laṅkā, G. vi, 93, 4. The Hāhāhūhū pair of G. vi, 82, 50 are found xii, 325, 16, hāhāhūhū ca gandharvān tuṣṭuvuḥ.
- 334, hāhā-kilakilaḥabdāḥ, vi, 112, 35; ataḥ k°, G. v, 65, 12; tataḥ, viii, 28, 11; hrṣṭāḥ, ix, 18, 30, etc.; āsīt, M. i, 69, 8; āsīc caṭacaṭaḥabdāḥ, C. ix, 1,249 = B. 23, 70, kaṭakatā. Compare No. 81.
- 335, hemajālāpariṣkṛtā, iii, 312, 44; R. vi, 102, 11; jātarūpa°, ix, 32, 39.
- 336, hemapaṭṭavibhūṣitam, ix, 14, 30; G. vi, 106, 23 (padma in R. for paṭṭa); hemapaṭṭanibaddhayā, ix, 32, 68; °pariṣkṛtā, viii, 29, 35; usually of club or car. The ending hemapariṣkṛtā is found passim, ix, 16, 39; 21, 22; 57, 46; G. iv, 11, 4, when R. 12, 4 has svarṇa°; G. vii, 14, 7; 18, 8. See No. 280.
- 337, hemapuṅkhāiḥ ḡlāḡitāiḥ, vii, 29, 4; rukmapuṅkhāiḥ ḡlāḡitāiḥ, G. iii, 8, 7; cf. ix, 25, 7; 28, 5, etc. For svarṇapuṅkhāiḥ, see No. 234.

In presenting this list, I must again call attention to what has been said on p. 72. The phrases have been collected at haphazard and cannot be used to determine the relation of one



text of one epic, but only to show the general base of epic phraseology. A more complete list would be needed for special critical purposes. Under No. 196, I have acknowledged a contribution from Professor Hardy. Eighteen parallels were also kindly sent me by Professor Jacobi, two of which, Nos. 153 b and 229 b, I had not previously enrolled. The parallels were slowly collected by memory, chance, and often, as I wish particularly to acknowledge, from the ample store of citations in the Petersburg Lexicon, which has given me many a trail to follow. But even in correcting the proofs I find more cases. Thus the simile of No. 149 is the same as that of Dhammapada 327, and the stanza on repentance, *na tat kuryām punar iti*, iii, 207, 51, is comparable in wording with Dh. P. 306. But on this field specialists can doubtless find many more cases. A long (omitted) parallel is that of M. xvi, 2, 6, *cīcikūci 'ti vāçanti sārīkā Vṛṣṇi-veçmasu*, and R. vi, 35, 32, *cīcikūci 'ti vāçantaḥ çārikā* (sic) *veçmasu sthitāḥ*, with the circumjacent stanzas. For one beginning *upaplutam* (not in place), see under No. 286.

## APPENDIX B.

### ILLUSTRATIONS OF EPIC ÇLOKA FORMS.

#### Prior Pāda of Epic Çloka.<sup>1</sup>

The pathyā, ∪ — — ∪. Cæsura may be anywhere, but is usually after the fourth or fifth syllable. With the exception of Nos. 7 and 8 all these pathyā forms are found often in both epics, though Nos. 1 and 6 are less frequent than the other regular forms, of which Nos. 2 and 3 are most common, though No. 5 is often preferred to No. 3. See pp. 219, 248.

- 1, ∪ — ∪ — ∪ — — ∪, sāha tvayā gamiṣyāmi; āvighnam astu Sāvitrīyaḥ; dyūte sa nirjitaḥ cāi 'vā; puṇyāhavācane rājāḥ. For cæsura, further: çarāḥ kadambakīkṛtya, vii, 146, 124; ādād bubhukṣito māṇsām, R. vi, 60, 63. This measure is found passim but is less frequent than No. 6, q. v.
- 2, ∪ — — — ∪ — — ∪, kārīṣyāmy etad evaṁ cā; kāthāyoge kathāyoge; āsīd rājā Nimir nāmā; ūcus tām vāi munīn sarvān. To avoid third vipulā after spondee, yugeṣv iṣāsu chatreṣu (sic, vii, 159, 36 = 7,077). For cæsura: madhūni droṇa-mātrāṇi; nā 'taḥ pāpīyaśi kācid.
- 3, ∪ ∪ — — ∪ — — ∪, ābhigamyo 'pasamgrhyā; bāhudeyāç ca rājānaḥ; nā 'rjunaḥ khedam āyātī; tatra gacchanti rājānaḥ. For cæsura: rākṣasāḥ stūyamānaḥ san; tam ajam kāraṇātmānam.
- 4, ∪ — — ∪ ∪ — — ∪, nā çastreṇa na çastreṇā; tātas trpta iti jñātvā; bhūtāç cāi 'va bhaviṣyāç cā; vedasyo 'paniṣat satyam. For cæsura: saṁgrāme samupoḍhe ca (R. ii, 75, 39, cf. Āçv. G. S. iii, 12, 1); rudantau rudatī duḥkhāt;

<sup>1</sup> Some of the examples, especially in the case of rare forms, have already been given by Jacobi in his Rāmāyaṇa, and in the Gurupūjākāumudī. For the following lists I have sometimes drawn also on examples furnished by Gildermeister, Böhtlingk, and Benfey. References for usual cases are not necessary, and have not been given. Sporadic and rare forms, or those of special interest, are referred to their place.



udāsinavad āsino; teṣām āpatatām çabdaḥ; mantrabrāhma-  
nakartāraḥ. This foot is sometimes duplicated, as it is both  
metrically and verbally in viniḥçvasya viniḥçvasya, and  
may be repeated a third time, not only with initial syllaba  
anceps, as in viii, 45, 19, dharmam Pāñcanadam dṛṣtvā dhig  
ity āha pitāmahaḥ, but even syllable for syllable, as in vii,  
201, 62, āṇyānsām ānubhyaç cā bṛhadbhyaç cā. Not in-  
frequently, however, this measure seems to be avoided in  
favor of No. 6, as in vasāma (sic) susukham putra, i, 157, 12.

- 5,  $\simeq \cup - \cup \cup - - \simeq$ , tvāyi tiṣṭhati deveçā; vīditam bhavatām  
sarvaṃ; sākr̥d āha dadānī 'ti (iii, 294, 26 = Manu ix, 47);  
kā 'si devi kuto vā tvam. For çæsura: kuru me vaca-  
nam tāta; jagatī 'ndrajid ity eva; dhruvam ātmajayam  
matvā; kṣatajokṣitasarvāṅgāḥ; mṛṣṭakāñcanakoṇānām;  
lāṅgalaglapitagrivāḥ. This arrangement is popular, often  
appearing in groups, as in dakṣiṇena ca mārgeṇa . . . gaja-  
vājisamākīrṇām . . . vāhayasva mahābhāga, R. ii, 92, 13-14,  
etc. Contrasted trochaic and iambic opening is somewhat  
affected (Nos. 5 and 3), as in: yo balād anuçāsti 'ha . . .  
mitratām anuvṛttam tū . . . pradīpya yaḥ pradīptāgnim,  
ii, 64, 9-10. The pyrrhic opening is generally preferred;  
the amphimacer, although not shunned (mā çuco, nara-  
çārdulā, ix, 63, 53, etc.) is often avoided when in one word,  
as in Nala, 5, 8, muṣṇantī (sic) prabhayā rājñām; so  
kurvantīm, ib. 16, 11, etc. This may be due, however, to  
grammatical unifying (p. 250). Many examples give an  
anapæstic fall according to the natural division of the  
words, as in vii, 54, 57, asinā gadayā çaktyā dhanuṣā ca  
mahārathaḥ. On na bibheti yadā cā 'yam, see below the  
note to No. 35.

- 6,  $\simeq - \cup \cup \cup - - \simeq$ , ānekaçatabhāumānī; vānam kusumitam  
draṣṭum; brūyāsta janasaṃsatsū; yat tac çhṛṇu mahā-  
bāho. For çæsura: dole 'va muhur āyāti; kim ābharāṇa-  
kr̥tyena; antahpuracarān sarvān; mā bhāir iti tam āhe  
'ndraḥ. This also is a favorite combination, though less  
frequent than Nos. 4 and 5. It appears in groups, as in  
ix, 12, 14, where three successive pādas begin  $- - \cup \cup$   
( $\cup - \simeq -$ ); or R. ii, 94, 4-5, 7, where three neighboring  
hemistichs begin thus (the last, nānāmṛgagaṇair dvīpitara-  
kṣvr̥kṣagaṇair vṛtaḥ). See No. 4, ad finem.





otphullanayanā; chāyāsamsaktasalilo; kiṁ kāryam brūhi bhagavan. To avoid second vipulā after spondee, vayan paçyāma (sic) tapasā. See p. 248.

- 11,  $\cup \cup \cup \cup \cup \cup$ , ūṣitāḥ smo ha vasatīm; Dāmayantī sāha Nalāḥ; yatra tad brahma paramām; yena doṣo na bhavitā. For cæsura: candralekhām iva navām; annasamskāram api cā; kuñjaradvīpamahīṣā-; brāhmaṇakṣatriyaviçām; āgrato vāyuçapalāḥ; Sarayūṁ puṇyasalilām. When ending in brevis often followed by another or two: salilasthas tava suta, idam, ix, 31, 37; sa tatho 'ktvā munījanam, arāj-; ūṣitāḥ smo ha vasatīm anujānātu, R. ii, 54, 37. Nos. 10 and 11 prevail over No. 9 in the later style. There is no general preference for either of the former two in the Mbh., but in R. No. 11 is more common than No. 10, as it often is in parts of Mbh.<sup>1</sup>
- 12,  $\cup \cup \cup \cup \cup \cup$ , pradīptā ca çikhimukhaḥ, vii, 146, 7; viddhi tvam tu naram ṛṣīm, xv, 31, 11; tan no jyotir abhi-hatām, ii, 72, 7; tadā vartmasu calitāḥ, R. vii, 16, 30 (v. l. in G.). The last example is peculiar in not having the cæsura after the fourth syllable, where, as Professor Jacobi has shown, irregular forms are usually (but, it may be added, not by any means invariably) cut.
- 13,  $\cup \cup \cup \cup \cup \cup$ , jalacarāḥ sthalacarāḥ, G. i, 13, 29. Second vipulā,  $\cup \cup \cup \cup$ . Cæsura usually after fourth or fifth syllable; final prevailingly long (brevis quite rare in R.). No. 14 is the only form usually found in R. but Nos. 15 and 16 are common enough in Mbh.; all the other forms except a sporadic No. 18 being absent in R. and sporadic only in Mbh. See p. 221. I give here several examples of final brevis and therewith variant cæsuras. The cases I take chiefly from R., because they are anomalous there and not so easily found as in M.
- 14,  $\cup \cup \cup \cup \cup \cup$ , sūrām surāpāḥ pibatā, R. ii, 91, 52; ānāhitāgnir çatagūr; yāto yato niçcaratī; ānor apīyān su-manāḥ, v, 46, 31 (also a triṣṭubh opening); āvidhyad ācaryasuto; jāgarti cāi 'va svapitī; rājādhirājo bhavatī; dīno yayāu nāgapurām; tvām eva sarvaṁ viçati; vīro

<sup>1</sup> So far as I have noticed, this form of vipulā least often has final brevis in R., as in iii, 16, 22, nā 'vagāhanti salilām, out of twenty-nine with long final (in a thousand verses).

jananyā mama cā, R. v, 39, 2; hā Karṇa hā Karṇa iti; somena sārddham ca tavā; vāsānsi yāvanti labhe; Rāmāyanaṁ vedasamaṁ, R. vii, 111, 4; dāvāgnidīptāni yathā; sā cintayāmāsa tadā; udvejite me hṛdayaṁ.

- 15, ∽ — — — ∽ ∽ ∽, bhāvān dharmo dharma iti; Ghṛtāciṁ nāmā 'psarasām; dūrāvāraṁ durviṣamaṁ, R. vi, 90, 66; tāto vāyuḥ prādur abhūt;<sup>1</sup> tātaḥ kruddho vāyusutaḥ, R. vi, 59, 112; pāriṣrāntam pathy abhavat, R. ii, 72, 9;<sup>2</sup> pāṇavaḥ kiṁ vyāharase; sāhasavyāmā nṛpate; yāvad bhūmer āyur ihā; ko mām nāmnā kīrtayati; jñātvā rakṣo bhīmabalām R. vi, 60, 15; praty ādityam praty analaṁ; dṛṣṭve 'maṁ Vṛṣṇipravaraṁ; vedādhyāi dharmaparaḥ; Viçvāmītro Dirghatamāḥ, R. vii, 96, 2.
- 16, ∽ ∽ — — — ∽ ∽ ∽, āpaviddhāiç cā 'pi rathāih, R. vi, 43, 43; Iti loka nirvacanaṁ; ātmayājī so 'tmaratīr; sāi 'va pāpam plāvayati; çrāntayugyaḥ çrāntahayo; vāyuvego vāyubalo; ūrdhva dṛṣṭīr dhyānaparā; hemaçrṅgā rūpyakhurāḥ; nitya-mūlā nityaphalāḥ, R. vi, 128, 102; ekasāle sthāṇumatim, R. ii, 71, 16; tāryamāṇān Vāitarapīm, G., vii, 25, 11; krūraçastrāḥ krūrakṛtaḥ. This combination is found in Manu, v, 152. Compare Oldenberg, ZDMG., xxxv, 183; and Jacobi, Rāmāyaṇa, p. 25; Gurupūj., p. 50. It occurs oftenest in the older texts, e. g., four times in Dyūta, with caesura always after the fourth, as far as I have observed. But it is not necessarily old (e. g., R. ii, 71, 16, is "interpolated"). I happen to have on hand no example of two breves (initial and final).
- 17, ∽ — — ∽ — ∽ ∽ ∽, gṛhasthas tvam āçramiṇām, xiii, 14, 319; yāthā vartayan puruṣaḥ, xiii, 104, 5; brahmā 'dityam unnayati, iii, 313, 46; agrāhyo 'mrto bhavati, xiv, 51, 34.<sup>3</sup>
- 18, ∽ ∽ — — — ∽ ∽ ∽, nā hinastī nā 'rabhate, xii, 269, 31; āpa-kṛtya buddhimataḥ, v, 38, 8; sātato nivāritavān, vi, 96, 3; Kūrupāṇḍavapravarāḥ, vii, 137, 16; viṣamacchadāi racitāih, iii, 146, 22; dvīpinā sa sinha ivā, R. vii, 23, 5, 14 (unique in R.). This irregular combination also is found in

<sup>1</sup> So, tato varṣam prādur abhūt; tato vyomni prādur abhūt, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Professor Jacobi regards this as "irregular" and proposes to scan it as pāriçrāntam, but in view of the other examples this seems unnecessary, though çr do not always make position. Compare Nos. 26 and 39. R. has the same measure in iii, 30, 23; v, 4, 10.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps originally agrāhyo amṛto bhavati.





so 'yam matto 'kṣadyūtenā, ii, 62, 6; dāivam hi prajñām muṣṇāti, ii, 58, 18; jñānam vāi nāma pratyakṣam, v, 43, 48; nityodyogāṇi ca kṛīḍadbhiḥ; pṛṣṭhacchinnān pārṇvacchinnān, x, 8, 116; tasyā 'ṣu kṣiptān bhallān hi, vii, 92, 9 (short before kṣ?);<sup>1</sup> brahman kiṁ kurmaḥ kiṁ kāryam, R. vii, 33, 12 (kurmahe in G.).<sup>2</sup> In vi, 16, 22 = 629, B. has cvetosñiṣam cvetahayam, where C. has cvetosñiṣam cvetacchatram. As regards the licence, in ix, 4, 31, appears (after — — ∪ —) ca te bhrāta instead of the ca bhrāta te of C. Compare v, 121, 7, where bhr may fail to make position, mānena bhraṣṭaḥ svargas te. In Nala 16, 37, both B. and C. have katham ca naṣṭā jñātibhyaḥ (for bhraṣṭā). The type is antique, withal with caesura after the fourth syllable, as in some of the examples above, and in Manu ii, 120 = Mbh. v, 38, 1 = xiii, 104, 64, ūrdhvaṁ prāṇā hy utkrāmanti (v. l. vyutkrāmanti in Mahābhāṣya, IS. xiii, p. 405).

23, ∪ — — — — ∪. The same question arises here in regard to the length of the first syllable of the second foot. Other examples are extremely rare: preṣayāmāsū rājānam, i, 141, 14; bhagavān devarṣinām tvaṁ, iii, 273, 4; sarvaḥśeṣeṣu brāhṁeṇa, xiii, 104, 112; kiṁ tu Rāmasya prṭhyartham, R. v, 53, 13; yam prāvarteyam saṁgrāmam, G. vii, 38, 12.<sup>3</sup> This combination also is found in Manu, iv, 98, ata ūrdhvaṁ tu cchandānsi. In vii, 6, 245, C. has prapalāyāntaḥ saṁtrastāḥ, where B. 146, 92, has prāpalāyanta. This form occurs also R. ii, 36, 28 (with v. l.).

24, ∪ — — ∪ — — ∪, na ced vāñchasi tvaṁ dyūtāṁ, Nala, 26, 8; Rudrasye 'va hi kruddhasyā, vii, 192, 7. The form given by Oldenberg, loc. cit., from Manu is due to an oversight. Once in R. v, 23, 17, with v. l. To avoid this form and wrong caesura, Nala 16, 18 has dehaṁ dhāraya(n)thūn dīnām. In hi (kruddhasya), *hi* is probably to be read as a light syllable.

<sup>1</sup> This licence is Puranic and may be assumed here.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps kurma should be read here for kurmaḥ, as in ix, 32, 62, kiṁ kurma te priyam. In Mbh. vii, 52, 45 = 2,048, B. has kiṁ kurma and C. has kiṁ kurmaḥ kāmam kāmārba.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps for pravarteya, the middle, as in R. vii, 36, 30, evaṁvidhāni karmāṇi prāvartata mahābalaḥ.



- 25,  $\cup \cup - \cup - - - \cup$ , *dāṣa pañca ca prāptānī*, xii, 319, 21; *āpa-kāriṇaṁ mām viddhī*, xiii, 96, 7; *yājuṣāṁ ṛcām sāmnam cā*, iii, 26, 3; *narakapratisthās te syuh*, v, 45, 8.<sup>1</sup>
- 26,  $- - \cup \cup - - - -$ , *adyaprabhṛti ṣrivatsaḥ*, xii, 343, 132 (perhaps *pathyā*).<sup>2</sup> The only case cited by Jacobi from R. is i, 65, 13, also of the same form, *vināṣayati trāilokyam*. Both are in late additions.
- 27,  $\cup \cup \cup - - - - \cup$ , *tvam iva yantā nā 'nyo 'sti*, Nala 20, 18; *saptadaṣe 'mān rājendrā*, v, 37, 1. The texts have *eva* for *iva* in Nala, which is impossible. Odd as are these forms they are not without Manavīc authority and it is far more likely that *iva* was changed to *eva* than that *eva* was written for *iva*. Oldenberg, loc. cit., xxxv, p. 184, gives examples from Manu (iii, 214; iv, 154). Not in R.
- Fourth *vipulā*,  $- \cup - \cup$ . No. 28 is the usual form, though Nos. 29-32 are not uncommon in Mbh. and are found occasionally in R. On the *cæsura*, usually after the fourth syllable, see Jacobi, *Gurupūj*, p. 51.<sup>3</sup>
- 28,  $\cup - \cup - - \cup - \cup$ , *Bṛhaspatiḥ co 'ṣanā cā*; *mūhur muhur muhyamānaḥ*; *ānantaraṁ rājadārāḥ*, R. ii, 89, 14; *vāyasyatām pūjayan me*, R. iv, 7, 14; so *'vastratām ātmanaḥ cā*; *akṣapriyaḥ satyavādī*; *Viṣṇoḥ padam prekṣamānāḥ*, R. ii, 68, 19. *Vāikhānasā vālakhilyāḥ*, R. iii, 6, 2. *Cæsura*: *tadāi 'va gantā 'smi tīrthāny*, iii, 92, 17; *Yudhiṣṭhiraṇāi 'vam ukto*, iii, 201, 8; *Yudhiṣṭhirasyā 'nuyātrām*, iii, 233, 50; *Dhanañjayasyai 'ṣa kāmāḥ*, v, 77, 19; *rajas tamaḥ cā 'bhibhūya*, vi, 38, 10.
- 29,  $\cup - - - - \cup - \cup$ , *pāriṣvaktāḥ cā 'rjunenā*; *ānāditvān nirgunatvāt*; *āpṛcche tvām svasti te 'stū*; *ekāḥ panthā*

<sup>1</sup> The first example may be *pathyā* and the three last are so good hyper-meters that the change may be at least suspected, *yājuṣāṁ ṛcām (ca)*; *āpa-kāriṇaṁ (tu)*; *narakapratisthās te tu syuh*.

<sup>2</sup> Compare the second note to No. 15, and p. 242 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Jacobi, *Rāmāyaṇa*, p. 25, states that in R. ii-vi there are only thirty-eight cases of fourth *vipulā*, and of these all but seven follow  $\cup - \cup -$ . In the *Mahābhārata* the same *vipulā* occurs on an average as many times as this in a compass equivalent to only half the sixth book of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. This statement therefore must restrict the somewhat *Rāmāyaneque* utterance of Oldenberg, who in ZDMG. vol. xxxv, p. 184, *Bemerkungen zur Theorie des Çloka*, says that this metre in general is common in Manu, but "much more restricted in epic poetry," a statement which is true of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and of parts of the *Mahābhārata*. Compare above, pp. 224 ff.

brāhmaṇānām; ete nāgāḥ kādraveyāḥ, R. vi, 50, 49; Vidyutkeçād garbham āpa, R. vii, 4, 18, and 23. The measure is grouped in v, 35, 60-62, pāpaṁ kurvan pāpakīrtiḥ . . . puṇyaṁ kurvan puṇyakīrtiḥ . . . naṣṭaprajñāḥ pāpaṁ evā, etc.

- 30,  $\cup \cup \cup \cup \cup \cup$ , nā samāno brāhmaṇasyā; jātarūpaṁ drona-meyām; atra gāthā kīrtayanti; atra gāthā bhūmigītāḥ; rājaputra pratyavekṣa; kāma eṣa krodha eṣa; Dhr̥ṣṭake-tuç Cekitānaḥ Kāqirājaḥ, vi, 25, 5; evam ukte Nāisadhena; evam uktā Rāvaṇena, R. vii, 23, 5, 34; ekavarṇān eka-veśān ekarūpān, ib. 40; prapnuyāmo brahmalokaṁ, R. vi, 66, 24. The measure occurs oftenest in such repetitions as ūrdhvaretā ūrdhvaliṅgaḥ, lokavṛttād rājavṛttam, etc.; proper names (as above); and in some set phrases, of which the commonest is an instrumental after evam uktaḥ or uktvā (which also is a common triṣṭubh opening, evam ukte Vāmadevena, etc.) or the stereotyped evam uktaḥ pratyuvāca, e. g., i, 145, 27; viii, 24, 5; 34, 144, etc.
- 31,  $\cup \cup \cup \cup \cup \cup$ , kaṁcit kālam uṣyātāṁ vāi, iii, 216, 12; mumocāi 'va pārthive 'ndraḥ, R. vii, 33, 17 (v. l. in G.).
- 32,  $\cup \cup \cup \cup \cup \cup$ , çalabhāstram açmavarṣaṁ, iii, 167, 33; avicālyam etad uktam, iii, 294, 31; kiṁ nimittam icchayā me, R. vii, 16, 5; pakṣiṇaç catuspado vā, R. vii, 30, 10 (v. l. in G.), cited by Jacobi for abhorrent caesura.<sup>1</sup>
- 33,  $\cup \cup \cup \cup \cup \cup$ , yajurmaya r̥mayaç ca, C. xii, 10,400, corrected in B. 285, 126, to yajurmaya<sup>2</sup>; tathā 'çramavāsike tu, C. xv, 1,105. This latter is in a benedictive stanza at the end of Āçrama Parvan. It is not in B.

Minor Ionic,  $\cup \cup \cup \cup$ . These forms are all separately sporadic. They are found both in the earlier, Upanishad, and the later, Purāṇa, çloka.<sup>3</sup> I have called the measure the fifth vipulā merely to indicate that, while each special

<sup>1</sup> A Puranic measure; compare jitadevayajñabhāgaḥ, Ag. P. iv, 4, etc.

<sup>2</sup> A clear case of sacrifice of grammar, sandhi, to metre, as above in No. 7.

<sup>3</sup> For example, Agni P. x, 23, where the pāda ends daça devāḥ. Here too is found the major Ionic, e. g., ib. xiv, 1, a pāda ending in Dāuryodhani (so Vāyu P. vii, 27); also the diiambus, e. g., Ag. P. iv. 11. The older of these Purāṇas has three cases of minor Ionic in the compass of two short sections, Vāyu, v, 34, paraç ca tu prakṛtatvāt; vi, 16, sa vedavādy upadañṣṭraḥ; and again, ib., 17. In Vāyu lxi, 108, ṛgyajuṣāmātharva (-rūpiṇe brahmaṇe namaḥ), we must read sāma-atharva, as minor Ionic.



combination is sporadic, the ending itself is not a great rarity in Mbh., though not found in R. (except as shown in No. 36).

- 34,  $\cup - \cup - \cup \cup - \cup$ , Bhāgīratham yajamānām, vii, 60, 8; tato 'rjuno çaravarṣam, iii, 39, 36; 46, 52; hayān dvipāṣ tvarayanto, ix, 9, 47; satyavrataḥ purumitraḥ, vi, 18, 11 repeated from v, 58, 7; yan māmakāiḥ pratipannām, C. vii, 8, 133 (emended in B. 179, 20); tapasvino dhṛtimantaḥ, xii, 269, 10.

Jacobi, Gurupāj., p. 51, gives other examples of this and of No. 35, from the Mahābhārata.

- 35,  $\cup - - - \cup \cup - \cup$ , yādā cā 'yam na bibheti, i, 75, 53; xii, 26, 14; 252, 5; 263, 15<sup>1</sup>; gātaçrikān hr̥tarājyān, iii, 267, 17; kāmam devā ṛṣayaç cā, xii, 349, 78; svayam yajñāir yajamānāḥ, xii, 341, 60; etaṁ dharmaṁ kṛtavantaḥ, xii, 245, 18; māurvighoṣastanayitnuḥ, vi, 14, 27; çakṛnmūtre nivasatvam, xiii, 82, 24; Viçvāmitro Jamadagniḥ, vii, 190, 33; xiii, 93, 21; Jārāsandhir Bhagadattaḥ, xv, 32, 10. Here belongs the mutilated pāda of Nala 24, 13, sāksād devān apahāya, which now appears in both texts as apāhāya (but apahāya tu ko gacchet, in çl. 11). A similar case will be found under No. 36. The measure has suffered the same fate in Manu ix, 101, where abhicāro has been changed to abhīcāro (though  $\cup \cup - -$  occurs in Manu ii, 85). The same change may be suspected in xii, 300, 44, asād hutvaṁ parivādaḥ; 297, 25, atrā teṣām adhikārah. See No. 36.

- 36,  $\cup - - - \cup \cup - \cup$ , parivittih parivettā (Manu iii, 172), xii, 34, 4; 165, 68; uṣṭravāmīs triçataṁ ca, ii, 51, 4; pāñçurā-ṣṭrād vasudāno, 52, 27; Kurukartā Kuruvāsi, xiii, 17, 107. Perhaps also amaratvam apahāya, texts apāhāya as above in No. 35, iii, 167, 48;<sup>2</sup> and the pāda cited above, in No. 35, atra teṣām adhikārah. It is to be observed, however,

<sup>1</sup> This is an old formula incorporated into the epic, which has it also in the pathyā form, na bibheti yādā cā 'yam, xii, 21, 4 (No. 5). Another form of this pathyā is found in xii, 327, 33, na bibheti paro yasmān (na bibheti parāc ca yaḥ). Compare vi, 36, 15, yasmān no 'dvijate loko lokān no 'dvijate ca yaḥ, with v. l. in xii, 263, 24.

<sup>2</sup> So H. i, 9, 26 = 570, se 'yam asmān apāhāya. The Dhammap. has kaṇham dhannam vippahāya. Jacobi gives another example, v. 60, 44, putralokāt patilokam.

that the analogous pratikāraḥ and parivāraḥ occur both in Mbh., R., and Raghuv. (xv, 16; xvii, 55) as pathyā forms, and all these cases may be such (but in abhicāraḥ the older MSS. have this form). In vii, 81, 13, B. has aprameyam prapamato, where C. 2,898 has prapamantāu. G. ii, 5, 24 has yatprasādād abhiṣiktam for yatprasādenā (Jacobi, Rām., p. 25); and G. vi, 70, 15, vajrasaṁsparṣasamāns trīn (v. l. in R.).

- 37, — — — — —, drāṣṭā 'sy adya vadato 'smān, iii, 133, 14; adhastāc caturāṅgīr, vi, 6, 11; yāvān artha udapāne, vi, 26, 46 (compare v, 46, 26, yatho 'dapāne mahati).

- 38, — — — — —, bhūcarāya bhuvanāya, xiii, 14, 305.

Major Ionic, — — — — —. Cæsura after fourth or fifth. Sporadic and only in Mbh.

- 39, — — — — —, Ūmāsahāyo vyāladhṛk, iii, 167, 44; āhaçcaro naktamēcarāḥ, xiii, 17, 47; atrāi 'va tiṣṭhan kṣatriyā, v, 45, 21; tām prekṣyamāno 'pi vyathām, x, 7, 51; etān ajitvā ṣaḍ rathān, vii, 75, 29. In R. vi, 111, 93, vimṛṣya buddhyā praçritam, prā is light; v. l. with third vipulā, dharmajñāḥ.<sup>1</sup> In C. ii, 2,107, tadarthakāmaḥ Pāṇḍavān mā druhāḥ Kurusattama, where B. 62, 14 has tadarthakāmas tadvat tvam mā druhāḥ Pāṇḍavān nrpa, apparently changed for the metre. Similarly, in vii, 2,513, C. has açṛvatas tasya svanam, changed in B. 72, 37, to svanam tasya.

- 40, — — — — —, gāyanti tvā(m) gāyatrīṇaḥ, xii, 285, 78 (Rig Veda, i, 10, 1).

[— — — — —, evam ukto 'thā 'çvāçya tām (?), see No. 21 (ad finem)]

- 41, — — — — —, abhijānāmi brāhmaṇam, v, 43, 56, but perhaps to be read with diiambic close (No. 46).

- 42, — — — — —, adṛçyanta saptarṣayaḥ, iii, 187, 46.

Diiambus, — — — — —. A few sporadic cases (identical with posterior pādas). One case, No. 45, in R.

- 43, — — — — —, sa cen mamāra Sṛṇjayā, vii, 55, 49; 67, 20; āvisthalam, vṛkasthalam v, 72, 15; 82, 7; tasmāt Samantapañcakām, ix, 55, 9: anvālabhe hiraṇmayam, v, 35, 14. Compare also the long extract, described above on p. 238, from xii, 322.

<sup>1</sup> Probably (Jacobi, loc. cit., pp. 25-26) çr fail to make position here. So perhaps tr and vy in M. ? Compare note to No. 15 and No. 26.



- 44,  $\cup - - - \cup - \cup \cup$ , Nalam nāma 'rimardanam (B. and C. have damanam), Nala, 12, 105; tad vāi devā upāsate, v, 46, 1 (but in viii, 84, 12, Duryodhanam upāsante, as elsewhere); brahmāṇam tvā çatakratum, xii, 285, 78 (as in No. 40).
- 45,  $\cup \cup - - \cup - \cup \cup$ , yatra gatvā na çocatī, iii, 180, 22; (sam or) ākṣipantīm iva prabhām, Nala, 3, 13. With the first (antique) example compare in the triṣṭubh specimens below: yatra gatvā nā 'nuçocanti dhīrāḥ. The case in Nala has been unnecessarily emended. It may belong here, or pr may fail to make position. No. 41 may belong here.
- 46,  $- \cup - \cup \cup - \cup -$ , yā ca vāi bahuyājinām, vii, 73, 43 (but in a passage wanting in C.).

Professor Jacobi's list of "metrically false" pādas in Gurupūj., p. 53, includes praha (sic) vaco bṛhattaram, which would give another form; but it has been taken up through an oversight, as the words form part not of a çloka but of a jagatī, Yudhiṣṭhirah prāha vaco bṛhattaram, viii, 71, 39. So from vi, 23, 8 is cited a "metrically false" pāda, but it is a perfectly regular *posterior* pāda.

### Posterior Pāda of Epic Çloka.

- 1,  $\cup - \cup - \cup - \cup \cup$ , manuṣyadehagocarāḥ, etc. (above, p. 238). Also in Manu, ix, 48, as posterior pāda,  $\cup - \cup - \cup - \cup \cup$ .
- 2,  $\cup - - - \cup - \cup \cup$ , krātūnām dakṣiṇāvatām; ekāham jāgarīṣyatī; samyak cāi 'va praçāsītā; sarve çṛṇvantu dāivataḥ (sic!), R. ii, 11, 16 (devatāḥ in G.); mähāprasthānikam (sic) vidhim, R. vii, 109, 3.
- 3,  $\cup \cup - - \cup - \cup \cup$ , nṛpate dharmavatsalā; çvāçuro me narotamah; toṣayiṣyāmi bhrātarām, viii, 74, 30; kārayāmāsatur nṛpāu. Between this and No. 5 there is sometimes only a difference of editing, as in yad akurvanta tac chṛṇu, xviii, 3, where B. has the grammatically correct form.
- 4,  $\cup - - \cup \cup - \cup \cup$ , tvāyā çṛṅgaçatāir nṛpaḥ; bhavadbhir pratibodhitāḥ; Puṇyaçloka iti çrutāḥ; bhidyante bahavaḥ (sic) çilāḥ, R. vi, 66, 11.

- 5,  $\underline{\cup} - \cup - \cup - \cup - \cup$ , yūgapat samahanyatā; kālusiṣṭkṛtalocanaḥ; Virasena iti sma hā;<sup>1</sup> na svapāmi niṣās tadā (Nala, 13, 61, grammar sacrificed); mṛgayām upacakrame (common terminal). Cæsura: surasārathir uttamaḥ; Viṣṇunā prabha-viṣṇunā, R. vii, 11, 17. Apparently avoided in mṛdnanti (sic) kuṣakaṇṭakān, R. ii, 27, 7; bruvantīm mantharām tataḥ, R. ii, 8, 13; 12, 57; tapasā sma for smaḥ, R. i, 65, 19, etc.
- 6,  $\underline{\cup} - \cup - \cup - \cup - \cup$ , nikṛntata nikṛntatā; ākampayata medinīm; yaḥ paçyati sa paçyati; samjīva çaradaḥ çatam; Viṣṇutvam upajagmivān. Cæsura: tam vāi naravarotta-mam; samāçvasiḥ mā çucaḥ; jagāma diçam uttarām; kṛdāpayati yoṣitaḥ, R. vii, 32, 18. In R. vii, 22, 2, ratho me (sic) upanīyatām, the metre seems as unnecessarily avoided as sought in the preceding example.
- 7,  $\underline{\cup} - \cup - \cup - \cup - \cup$ , madhumatīm trivartmagām, xiii, 26, 84; caturaçitir ucchritaḥ, vi, 6, 11 (v. l. in C.); Kāuçiki pīta-vāsinI, vi, 23, 8. In R. the pāda pāitṛpitāmahāiḥ dhruvāiḥ has a v. l. that destroys its value.<sup>2</sup>

For  $- - \cup -$  (and  $\cup - - -$ ) as last foot of the hemistich, see above, p. 242 ff.

<sup>1</sup> N. 1, 1, suto balli, is a stereotyped ending.

<sup>2</sup> These cases (except the first) are cited by Jacobi, Rāmāyaṇa, p. 25, etc.



## APPENDIX C.

### ILLUSTRATIONS OF EPIC TRIṢṬUBH FORMS.

— — — — —

- 1, — — — — —, passim, cæsura after the fourth or fifth syllable, inclining to the latter place, often irregular or neglected:<sup>1</sup> himātyaye kaksagato yathā 'gniḥ, tathā dahe-  
yam saganān prasahya, viii, 74, 56-57; na Pāṇḍavān cre-  
ṣṭhatarān nihanti, i, 1, 188 c; çamena dharmena nayena  
yuktā, ii, 75, 10 a; prabrūhi me kiṁ karaṇīyam adya, i, 3,  
176 c; Bhīṣmāya gacchāmi hato dviṣadbhiḥ, vii, 2, 30 d;  
yo veda vedān na sa veda vedyam, v, 43, 52 c; Madrādhi-  
pāya pravaraḥ Kurūpām, ix, 17, 41 d; sa çāntim āpnoti  
na kāmakāmī, vi, 26, 70 d. Cæsura after second, in na  
cen, nigrhṇīṣva sutam sukhāya, iii, 4, 13 d; after fourth, in  
refrain of vii, 118, 11 d; 140, 15 d; or elsewhere in: yaç  
cittam anveti parasya rājan, vīraḥ kavīḥ svām avamānya  
drṣṭim, ii, 63, 4 a-b; artho 'py anīçasya tathāi 'va rājan,  
i, 92, 5 c; vāsānsi divyāni ca bhānumanti, ii, 77, 7 b; evam  
karīṣyāmi yathā bravīṣi, iii, 5, 22 a; gadāsibāhudravinaṁ  
ca te 'sti, viii, 76, 17 d; ye cā 'çvamedhāvabhṛthe plutān-  
gāḥ, xiii, 102, 41 c. In jagatī: Kaṇādanāmānam ajam  
maheçvāram; H. 3, 85, 16 b; tam dharmarājo vimanā ivā  
'bravīt, iii, 25, 7 a. The only triṣṭubh in Nala has this  
form, iii, 76, 53. Also hypermetric.

In the Rāmāyaṇa this is the typical pāda.

— — — — —

- 2, — — — — —, passim, cæsura after fourth or fifth: yadā  
çrāuṣaṁ Vaiçravaṇena sārḍham, i, 1, 166 a; vimucyā 'raṇye  
svaçaṭradhātūn, i, 91, 7 d; bhittvā 'nikam lakṣyavaram,  
dharāyām, i, 187, 22 b; kāuçyām brsyām āsava yatho 'pa-  
joṣam, iii, 111, 10 a; mamāi 'tāu vāmyāu pariçr̥hya rājan,  
iii, 192, 54 a; na mitradhruṇ nāikṛtikaḥ kṛtaghnaḥ, xiii,

<sup>1</sup> On the cæsura here, see above on the upajāti stanza.





187, 3 a; tato 'bravīd Vāsudevo 'bhigamya, i, 191, 20 a; devaṛṣayo guhyakāc cāraṇāc ca, i, 187, 7 b; prajñā ca te Bhārgavasye 'va cūddhā, iii, 4, 2 a; cāturuḥ ṣaḍeḥ cāsatē vā cātē vā, viii, 42, 32 c; Karnas tvaṛaṇa māṇ upāyāt pramāthī, viii, 67, 12 d; yat tat Pṛthāṇ vāg uvācā 'ntarīkṣe, viii, 68, 10 a, etc. In jagatī, xiii, 102, 44 c, etc. Also in hypermetric form, atithivratāḥ suvratā ye janā vāi, ib. 19 a; sadā kumāro, yatra sa plakṣarājā, ix, 43, 49 d,<sup>1</sup> etc. If pr make position, divyena rūpeṇa ca prajñāyā ca, iii, 186, 25 c (but caesura indicates that cā is to be read, No. 1).

7, — — — — —, passim, especially in upajātis, caesura after the fourth or fifth when the initial is short (light); after the fourth when the initial is long (heavy) as a gālinī verse (pāda), which is even more common than the vātorṃī pāda, both in its full form and in its party shape — — — — —. In hypermetric form this pāda with a heavy initial is a vāiṇvadevī pāda (common as such and found also as a complete vāiṇvadevī stanza): raṇe ṇuram dharṃarājena sūta, i, 1, 207 b; niḥanmī 'maṃ vipram adya pramathya, iii, 192, 65 b; Nalo hy akṣair nirjitaḥ Puṣkareṇa, viii, 91, 13 b; satām vṛttaṃ cā 'daditā 'rya-vṛttaḥ, i, 87, 10 d; hatam pārthenā 'haveṣy apradhṛṣyam, i, 1, 205 b; no 'tsrakṣye 'haṃ Vāmadevasya vāmyāu, iii, 192, 58 c; mitram minder nandateḥ prīyater vā, viii, 42, 31 c; with an unusual word-division, muniṇreṣṭhā ṛgbhir ānarcuṛ iṇam, xvi, 4, 28 b. As vāiṇvadevī also, pratyāmn-āyantu tvam hi enam mā hiṃsiḥ, iii, 197, 17 d, where hiatus must be read (C. has prāpayantu); rājā Gāndhār-yāḥ skandhadeṇe 'vasajjya, xv, 15, 9 c, etc. In C. xiii, 4, 863 c, ye 'dhīyante se 'tiḥāsam purāṇam, the grammar is corrected in B. 102, 21 (No. 6). See also the note following No. 11, where — — — — — appears as the second foot of the hypermetric pāda. With initial hypermeter, kṛtinam vīram (v. l. dhīram) dānavānām ca badham, H. 2, 72, 33 b.

<sup>1</sup> One pada, c, of the half-vāṅvadavī in R. v, 63, 33, is of this form, aṅgār prahrstāh kāryasiddhim viditvā. See above, p. 326.

In the Rāmāyaṇa, saṃsiddhārthāḥ sarva evo 'gravīryāḥ, B. vi, 11, 30 b (with a case of No. 13), not in G.; also in a proverb, R. (B.) vii, 59, 3, 33 d (prakṣipta): na tat satyaṃ yac chalenā 'nuviddham, where G. vii, 64, 33, has satyaṃ na tad yac chalam abhyupāiti. Mbh. v, 35, 58 d, has na tat satyaṃ yac chalenā 'bhyupetam.

≈ ∪ — — ∪ — — ∪ — ∪

- 8, ∪ ∪ — — ∪ — —, rather common, cæsura after the fourth, used chiefly in phrases and proper names, but often without constraint: pratikūlaṃ karmaṇāṃ pāpam āluḥ, i, 89, 4 a; bahuvittān Pāṇḍavāṅ cej jayas tvam, ii, 63, 9 c; paribhūte pāuruṣe Dhārtarāṣṭre, C. vii, 72 b (B. 2, 21, parābhūte);<sup>1</sup> avasāṃ vāi brāhmaṇacchadmanā 'ham, viii, 42, 4 a, etc.; but the long (heavy) initial is more common: yatra gatvā nā 'nuṣocanti dhīrāḥ, i, 93, 8 d; tatra yūyaṃ karma kṛtvā 'viśahyam, i, 197, 25 c; evam ete Pāṇḍavāḥ sambabhūvuh, ib. 35 a; durvibhāṣam bhāṣitaṃ tvādṛṣena, ii, 66, 2 a; ko hi divyēd bhāryayā rājaputra, ib. 67, 5 b; tasya duḥkhe 'py aṅgabhājah saḥāyāḥ, iii, 5, 20 b; nā 'nuyogā brāhmaṇānāṃ bhavanti, iii, 192, 56 a; evam ukte Vāmadevena rājan, ib. 57, a; so ib. 62, c; 64, a; v, 48, 96 b; 71, 2 a; vi, 20, 1 c; vii, 2, 31 c; viii, 37, 22 c, etc.; irayantam bhāratīm bhāratīnāṃ, v, 71, 2 a; brāhmaṇānāṃ hastibhir nā 'sti kṛtyam, xiii, 102, 13 a; duṣkṛtaṃ vā kasya hetor na kuryāt, xii, 73, 22 d. In jagatī, sa mahendraḥ stūyate vāi mahādhvare, xiii, 159, 28 c. Also in hypermetric form.

This measure is often divided by the words (as in some of the examples above, or in iii, 134, 36 a, mahad āukthyam giyate, sāma cā 'gryam) in such a way as to make a second cæsura after the seventh syllable, with the last three (5-7) syllables included in one word. It is an antique measure of the Upanishads and Buddhistic writings<sup>2</sup> and is clearly decadent in the epic, being far less common than the two preceding combinations, Nos. 6 and 7.

<sup>1</sup> The case in vii, 9, 468 a, daṣa cā 'nye ye puraṇā dhārayanti, is also uncertain, as B. 201, 76 c, has daṣā 'py anye.

<sup>2</sup> It is the only form found with trochaic opening in the Dhammapada; vs. 354, sabbadānaṃ dhammadānaṃ jināti.



— — — — —

- 9, — — — — —, sporadic, but also found in hypermetric form; cæsura after the fourth: *yadā 'ḡrāṣam Arjunam devadevam*, i, 1, 162 a (165 a); *na hi jñānam alpakālena çakyam*, iii, 133, 10 c; *vānaspatyam āyasam pārthivam vā*, iii, 186, 25 b; in vii, 179, 24 c, B. has *apaçyāma lo. hitābhraprakāçam*, where C. 8, 138, has *tām paçyāmaḥ*. The corresponding measure with the *vātormī* cadence, No. 15, is more frequent.

- (9 b), Note: Between Nos. 9 and 10 should stand examples of — — — — —, but I have only *Hariv. 2, 72, 44 a, vyañjano jano 'tha vidvān samagraḥ*, and in this case it is clear that we may have a resolved semi-vowel and hypermeter: *vi-añjano ja-no 'tha vidvān samagraḥ*. Similar hypermeters are given in the discussion above, p. 288. Compare the resolution *ib. 45 a, tri-ambakam puṣṭidam vo bruvānam* (texts, also 7, 434, *tryambakam*).

— — — — —

- 10, — — — — —, sporadic, cæsura after the fourth: *yene 'echasi tena kāmam vrajasva*, iii, 133, 2 b; *nā 'nīçvara idṛçam jātu kuryāt*, iii, 197, 24 c. Not rare in Vedic rhythms. Sporadic also as hypermeter, p. 289.

— — — — — (?)

- 11, — — — — —, questionable. The text of v, 44, 25 b has *kṛṣṇam athā 'ñjanam kādravam vā*, which can be read only with hiatus. I suspect that originally *atho* or *athā* stood in the verse. Compare p. 300, and the choriambic opening which precedes this passage, cited above as No. 5. Possibly the prose in xii, 343, 20 may have once been verse. It begins with *vedapurāṇetihāsapramānyāt*.

Note: To these cases of party-formed *çalini* pādas must be added the hypermetric analogue of the *çloka*'s fourth *vipulā* with final *brevis*, which from its first foot belongs more particularly under No. 7, to wit, *yas tvaṁ devānām mantravitsu purodhāḥ*, xiv, 9, 5 b.

— — — — —

- 12, — — — — —, *passim*, cæsura after fourth, common in *upajātis*: *sa cā 'pī tad vyadadhāt sarvam eva*, i, 197, 32 a;

na hi tvayā sadṛṣī kācid asti, iii, 186, 23 a; vāci kṣuro  
niçitas tīkṣṇadhāraḥ, i, 3, 123 b; paçcād ayaṁ Sahadevas  
tarasvī, i, 191, 9 b; yasmāt striyaṁ vivadadhvaṁ sabhā-  
yām, ii, 71, 17 b; satye rato guruçruṣayā ca, xiii, 73,  
26 b. In jagatī, kaccit sukhaṁ svapiṣi tvam Bṛhaspate,  
xiv, 9, 1 a. To this category belongs perhaps iii, 192,  
58 a; but see No. 24. Not rare (e.g. iii, 197, 11 c; 16 d;  
v, 42, 6 c; 44, 14 d, etc.) are the hypermetric forms  
— — — — —, — — — — —, as shown above (initial and  
inserted), pp. 286, 289.<sup>1</sup>

— — — — — — — — — — —

- 13, — — — — — — — — — —, passim, cæsura after fourth, common in  
upajātis: idaṁ çreyaḥ paramaṁ manyamānāḥ, also sām-  
khyā yogāḥ paramaṁ yaṁ vadanti, iii, 186, 26 a and e;  
svarge loke çvavatām nā 'sti dhiṣṇyam, xvii, 3, 10 a. Other  
examples under the vātormī stanza (also hypermetric).

In the Rāmāyaṇa, vi, 11, 30 (with a case of No. 7):  
bhartuḥ sarve dadṛçuḥ cā 'nanam te, not in G.; hyper-  
metric, ib. v, 63, 33 d.

— — — — — — — — — — —

- 14, — — — — — — — — — —, common, cæsura after the fourth: nava-  
nītaṁ hṛdayam brāhmaṇasya, i, 3, 123 a; tata eṣāṁ bha-  
vitāi 'vā 'ntakālaḥ, i, 197, 7 d; yadi cāi 'vaṁ vihitāḥ  
Çamkareṇa, i, 198, 4 a; upasargād bahudhā sūdateç ca, viii,  
42, 33 a; yadi daṇḍaḥ sprçate 'punyapāpam, xii, 73, 22 a;  
so in xiii, 159, 27, and 42 (initial — and —); santi lokā  
bahavas te narendra, i, 92, 15 a; eṣa dharmāḥ paramo yat  
svakena, iii, 4, 7 c; agnihotrād aham abhyāgatā 'smi, iii,  
186, 22 a; tasya mūlāt saritaḥ prasaravanti, ib. 28 c; nāi  
'va çakyam vihitasyā 'payānam, C. i, 7, 329 c (but B. 198,  
1, na vāi); kasya hetoḥ sukrtaṁ nāma kuryāt, xii, 73,  
22 c; samprahārsiç Cyavanasyā 'tighoram, xiv, 9, 32 b;  
10, 22 a and 30 b. Also hypermetric.

<sup>1</sup> I think that this is the way such early stanzas must be read as appear,  
e. g., in Praçna iv (10), 11, c, where b-c read: (b) prāṇā bhūtāni | sampra-  
tiṣṭhanti yatra; (c) tad akṣaram ve- | dayate yas tu somya. The alternative  
is a choriambus with the scolus — — — — —; but on this see the remarks  
above, p. 281.





○○○—○○—○○—

- 18, ○○○—○○—, antique and unique, *virajaso vitamaskā viçokāḥ*, xiii, 102, 32 b. The same repeated below has, in 35, *supuṇyagandhā virajā viçokāḥ* (hypermetric in 42, *supuṇyagandhā virajā viṭaṇokāḥ*). Compare *ib.* 38. Imitation of *Chānd.* viii, 1, 5; *Māitri*, vi, 25, etc. With choriambic opening in a sporadic hypermeter, p. 294.

—○○—○○○—○○—

- 19, —○○—○○○—, common, *cæsura* after fourth or fifth: *yuvam diço janayatho daçāgre*, i, 3, 64 a; *ajo hi çastram agilat kilāi 'kaḥ*, ii, 66, 8 a; (after *iyam Gaṅge 'ti niyatam pratiṣṭhā*, xiii, 26, 88 a, No. 20), *ib.* c, in hypermetric form, *prātas trivargā gṛtavahā vipāpmā* (the same without *cæsura*, *ib.* 94, 13 d, below); *te bhānavo 'py anusṛtāç caranti*, i, 3, 65 c; *te mām yathā vyabhicaranti nityam*, i, 76, 52 b; *rāja 'ham āsam iha sarvabhāumāḥ*, i, 89, 15 a; *jānmahe Vidura yatprias tvam*, ii, 64, 1 c; *iço 'bhaviṣyad aparā-jitātmā*, ii, 71, 18 d; *brahmadviṣaghnām amṛtasya yonim*, vii, 201, 67 d; *Vāivasvatasya sadane mahātman*, xiii, 102, 14 c; also i, 90, 6 c; ii, 63, 6 c; iii, 4, 12, a; 186, 8 d; 186, 25 d; xiii, 90, 48 a, etc. In *jagatī*: *evam bruvāṇam ajināir vivāsitam*, ii, 77, 19 a; *parājiteṣu bharateṣu durmanāḥ*, vii, 2, 8 c; *kulambharān anaḍuḥaḥ çatām çatān*, xiii, 93, 32 a. In i, 90, 24 c-d = v, 35, 45 this measure is combined with that of the next number: *mānāgnihotram uta mānamāunam* (etc., see No. 20). The tendency is to give up this measure for the choriamb, and so grammar suffers, as in ix, 59, 10 b: *ye cā 'py akurvanta sadasya-vastrām*. This old metre, which is Vedic and is found in the Upanishads, is already passing away in the epic, though it can scarcely be called rare. In some parts it is rarer than in others, and it still survives in the Purāṇas. In the seventh book's three hundred odd *triṣṭubhs*, for example, it occurs only in the two places cited above; the fourth book in its two hundred has only one case (in *jagatī* form), iv, 14, 51 d; the thirteenth, with three hundred odd *triṣṭubhs*, has eight cases; the second, in one hundred and fifty-odd, has five. Other *jagatī* cases are in i, 197, 20 a; iii, 134, 10 c; xiv, 9, 30 c (all with *cæsura*



after the fourth); and v, 71, 5 a, ṛṣīm sanātanatanam vipaṇitam.

In the Rāmāyaṇa, this metre is found in G. ii, 25, 42, and 79, 40, where occur respectively the pādas:

athāi 'vam aṇruparipūrṇalocanā  
tam ārtam aṇruparipūrṇanetram

In the former case, B. has aṇrupratipūrṇa. This is the usual phrase, as in R. vii, 40, 31, viyogajāṇrupratipūrṇalocanāḥ (in ṣloka, aṇrupūritālocanāḥ, R. vi, 45, 27). The latter of the two pādas above is not in B. at all. There is also a varied reading in R. vii, 77, 21, sarvaṁ tadā cā 'kathayan mame 'ti, for here G. 84, 19 has sarvaṁ tadā 'kathitavān mame 'ti. The measure, however, is not entirely confined to G., though it appears in B. only in two prakṣipta passages, iii, 56, pr. 25, Indrāt pravṛttim upalabhya Jānakī or Sītā (where G. has pratilabhya); vii, 37, 3, 9; vidyotati jvalati bhāti lokān. In G. v, 80, 24, na ced iyaṁ naṇṇati vānarārditā (not in B.), naṇṇati is probably to be read (as usual). This measure is found in hypermetric form also in G. vi, 43, 37, ṇriyaṁ ca kīrtim ca samavāpnuhi tvam, where B. has ṇriyaṁ ca kīrtim ca ciraṁ samaṇṇute, but perhaps samāpnuhi ought to be read in G. (or avāpnuhi, as in R. vi, 59, 57, sthiraṁ kīrtim avāpnuhi). Such an hypermeter is found sporadically in Mbh. xiii, 26, 88 c (above); also with neglected cæsura.

- 20, ∪ — — — ∪ ∪ ∪ —, rather rare, cæsura after fourth or fifth: avācyā vāi paṭiṣu kāmavṛttih, ii, 71, 3 c; Viṣṇo retas tvam amṛtasya nābhīḥ, iii, 114, 27 b; mānenādhītam uta mānaya-jñāḥ, i, 90, 24 d = v, 35, 45; sabhāyām yatra labhate 'nuvādam, xii, 73, 16 b; caturdhā cāi 'nam upayāti vācā, xii, 270, 23; nāi 'śām (!) ukṣā vahati no 'ta vāhāḥ, xii, 343, 19; iyaṁ Gāṅge 'ti, etc. (No. 19, line 3). Also in hypermetric form.

Like the last number, this is a decadent metre in the epic.<sup>1</sup> The late fourth and seventh books have no certain

<sup>1</sup> In the Dhammapada, triṣṭubhs with ∪ ∪ ∪ — as second foot are numerically equal to those with — ∪ — — (eight each, as contrasted with ninety-six with choriambic middle).

examples. In the former there is none at all; in the latter, vii, 200, 83 a, āsannasya svaratham tivratajāḥ stands for C.'s reading, 9,340, svaratham ugratejāḥ, but it may be one of B.'s frequent improvements.

I have not noticed any epic pāda with the form — ∪ — ∪, ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪, such as is found in the earlier versification, e. g. çukram ādāya punar eti sthānam, BAU. iv, 3, 11; nor with fourth brevis, except as hypermeters, p. 290, when three breves follow (çloka, Nos. 11, 12).

Sporadic, or at most rare, are all the remaining forms.

∪ — ∪ — ∪ — ∪ — ∪ — ∪

- 21, ∪ — ∪ — ∪ — ∪ —, sporadic, cæsura after fourth or fifth: purā jagāu maharṣisaṅgha eṣaḥ,<sup>1</sup> v, 43, 50 b; Sanatsujāta yām imām parām tvam (brāhmīn vācam vadase viçvarūpām), v, 44, 1. In iii, 197, 13 a, and 13,285 (this has a *vai* which is omitted in B., apparently because *sadā* in B. is regarded as belonging to b) there is a parallel jagatī, which I read:

(a) jātā hrasvā prajā pramiyate sadā

(b) na vai vāsam pitaro (a)sya kurvata

The version of B. abandons a as too unmetrical, and omits vai, to make of b the pāda: sadā na vāsam pitaro 'sya kurvata; while C. abandons b, and also refuses to recognize the hiatus, but keeps vai, which, however, with hiatus makes of the hemistich two pādas, as given above. Compare the corresponding form in çloka measure. There is a parallel in the Mahābhāṣya:

no Khaṇḍikān jagāma no Kaliṅgān,

but Weber, IS. vol. xiii, p. 368, reads jagāma, perhaps a warranted emendation (compare jagrāha, ib. c).

— — — — ∪ — ∪ — ∪ — ∪

- 22, — — — — ∪ — ∪ —, sporadic or unique: svasti 'ty uktvā maharṣisiddhasaṅghāḥ. I have lost the reference.

These diiambic middles appear to be almost as rare in other popular verse. Only one case is found in the

<sup>1</sup> The whole stanza runs: chandāṁsi nāma kṣatriya tāny Atharvā purā jagāu maharṣisaṅgha eṣaḥ, chandovidas te ya uta nā 'dhītavedā na vedavedyasya vidur hi tattvam. Pāda c is explained under hypermeters. Both of the passages from which the two first extracts are taken are antique.





∪ — ∪ — — — — — ∪ — ∪

26, ∪ — ∪ — — — — —, sporadic:

samāhvayat samrambhāc cāi 'va kāvyah, i, 76, 51 b; mahac  
ca rūpañ tad vāi parvatebhyah, v, 44, 29 d. Also  
hypermetric, p. 291.

∪ — — — — — ∪ — ∪

27, ∪ — — — — —, sporadic and questionable: maheṣvā-  
sāḥ Kāikeyāc cā 'pi sarve, C., iii, 15,654 b, but B. 268,  
16, has Kekāyāc; rajo dhvastam Gāṇḍivena pravṛttam,  
C. v, 1,869, but B. 48, 61, has Gāṇḍivena. At the cost  
of grammatical nicety, xii, 24, 27, avoids the cadence by  
having caturah for catvārah: cāturhotram caturo vāji-  
mukhyah. For the hypermeter, see p. 291.

[Note: etat sarvam anirdeṣenāi 'vam uktam, xii, 108, 33 a, would  
be hypermeter of — — — ∪ (∪) — — — — — ∪ — ∪, but see  
the note on p. 296.]



## FINAL NOTES.

To pp. 44-45: On the Maitri Upanishad. Compare also *mātrā*, "matter," in Maitri vi, 6; the later *Gītā*, 2, 14; and possibly xii, 271, 12. The image of spirit as a "smokeless flame" is found in *Kaṭha Up.*, iv, 13, *vyotir ivā 'dhūmakah*; Maitri (i, 2 and) vi, 17; and the epic, xii, 251, 7 (307, 20; 325, 12): *sarvātmānam mahātmānam vidhūmam iva pāvakam*; as is also the phrase *tām āhuḥ paramām gatim*, *Kaṭha*, vi, 10; Maitri, vi, 30; *Gītā*, 8, 21. On a closer resemblance to Maitri vi, 15, see the note on p. 167. The tree of desire is in this passage called the *hr̥di kāmadrumaḥ citro mohasamcayasambhavaḥ*, the image, like that of the following "town of the senses," being very fully expanded, xii, 255, 1 ff. The "wheel of transmigration" is found in other passages also: *yathā kṣāṭham ca kṣāṭham ca* (R. ii, 105, 26) *sameyātām mahodadhāu . . . saṁsāre cakravatgatāu*; *sukhaduḥkhe manusyānām cakravat parivartataḥ*, xii, 28, 36-41 (= 174, 15 ff.); 174, 19.

To p. 117: On Kapila's *ādyā*. Compare *ādyā prakṛtiḥ*, xii, 299, 34.

To p. 118: The reference to the negative definition (omitted from the first paragraph) is xii, 201, 27.

To p. 159: Cf. xii, 28, 46: *na mṛtyum ativartante velām iva mahodadhiḥ*.

To p. 183: On God as the Divine Word. Compare xii, 47, 46: *yam āhur akṣaram divyam tasmāi vāgātmane namaḥ*. See p. 14.

To p. 186: On Yama's abode. The first note is restated, more carefully, on p. 288.

To p. 191: On the help derived from Professor Cappeller's MS. By "in the epic" is of course to be understood in the *Mahābhārata*. It should perhaps have been stated that all cases have been re-examined, and that the MS. contained nothing in regard to *glokas* and no discussion of the various other metres. Without qualifying my indebtedness, I should not wish to make Professor Cappeller responsible for the further analysis.

To p. 213: On the scapegoats. According to xii, 343, 53, Indra's sin was distributed over women, fire, trees, and cows.

The distribution of this sin is parallel to that of Nahuṣa (here said to be cow-killing), which was divided into one hundred and one parts (generally, but not always, an inauspicious number), as diseases among men, xii, 263, 49.

To p. 217: On the conversion of *çlokas* and *triṣṭubhs*. I ought here to have referred to the attempt at wholesale excision of *triṣṭubhs* in the work published in 1883 by Sørensen, *Om Mahābhārata's Stilling i den indiske Literatur*, pp. 211 ff. The theory, despite the ingenuity of the author, never seemed to me convincing. The early forms of *triṣṭubh* found in the epic, and the fact that Patañjali cites epic *triṣṭubhs*, seem to me decisive evidence that the latter measure was a primitive form of epic expression.

To p. 238: On Patañjali's epic verses. M. Barth, in his review of Dahlmann's first book, *Journal des Savants*, 1897, very properly questions whether Professor Ludwig is correct in claiming that "all citations in Bhāṣya verses referring to the epic are in other metre than that of the epic" (p. 8 of the study entitled *Ueber das Verhältniss des mythischen Elementes zu d. hist. Grundlage d. Mbh., Abh. d. Böhm. Ak., 1884*). Neither scholar gives illustrations in support of his statement. The examples given above, on p. 239, sufficiently illustrate the partial correctness of Professor Ludwig's observation. At the same time, the half-*çloka* cited above, on p. 6, is found in both Bhāṣya and Bhārata, and Patañjali's *triṣṭubh pāda*, *asidvitiyo 'nusasāra Pāṇḍavam*, is in regular Bhārata metre. The truth seems to be that Patañjali's epic verse is not wholly different; but it is on occasion freer than that of the Bhārata.

To p. 263: On the Prākṛit original of the epic. It is possible that the epic tales may have been composed first in patois; but it is not probable that the philosophical sections, for example, the *Gītā* and parts of *Çānti*, have suffered such a transformation.

To p. 264: On pseudo-epic atrocities. An early epic writer would have said (in prose) *jīvān ahaṁ dṛṣṭavān*. The poet of the pseudo-epic, just after using the word *jīva* (masc.), employs, in xii, 280, 20, not only *jīvāni* but *adrṣṭavān*:

*evaṁ saṁsaramāṇāni jīvāny ahaṁ adrṣṭavān*

From the context it is evident that, as Nīlakanṭha says, the real meaning is "I have seen" (*ahaṁ vedmi*), though the commentator derives the sense through the idea of not-seeing being



equivalent to knowing not by sight but by insight. The form, however, is simply an irregularly augmented verbal, and the sentence means literally, "thus in course of transmigration have I seen spirits." The form stands on a par with the augmented imperative of R. iv, 3, 27, where some late pedant, to avoid the metrical irregularity of an anapæst after the first syllable, has handed down *tam abhyabhāṣa*, "speak to him," as the opening words of a verse (just before *na kimcid apaçabditam*!). The difference between such freedom as this and that found (for the same reason) in R. v, 13, 41, where occurs *samyag āpaḥ pravekṣyāmi*, is that, whereas the later metricist employs an unheard-of liberty, the second poet simply harks back to the legitimate interchange of *āpaḥ* and *apaḥ*, which, to avoid another irregularity, are exchanged in the already stiffening verse of the Rig Veda; for here also we find in RV. x, 121, 8 (to avoid in a triṣṭubh an opening choriambus): *yaçcid āpo mahinā paryapaçyat*. Similarly, in syntax, we find in the pseudo-epic the genitive after a comparative, as in xiii, 14, 5 (cited by Holtzmann), and xii, 218, 28; *nā 'nyo jivaḥ çarīrasya*; exactly as we find it in the later Rāmāyaṇa; for G. vi, 24, 28 merely indicates that the text is late (since the alternate text, R. vi, 49, 20, has the ablative here); but the genitive occurs at R. i, 47, 22, *nā 'sti dhanyataro mama*. That the Rāmāyaṇa was also influenced by Prākṛit forms, may be shown by R. iv, 17, 49: (*mām yadi tvam acodayaḥ*) *Māthilīm aham ekāhnā tava cā 'nitavān bhaveḥ*. Here *bhaveḥ* must be for the dialectic optative *bhave* (as the commentator says, "bhaveyam"). Whether *çādhi*, in *yatra na çādhi* (= *çikṣayasi*), is due to dialectic form, I must leave to experts to decide, R. ii, 105, 10:

*eṣo 'pamā mahābāho tadarthaṁ vettum arhasi*  
*yatra tvam asmān vṛṣabho bhartā bhṛtyān na çādhi hi*

In R. ii, 111, 25, occurs *anuçāsāmi*, sic, and it is difficult to see why *çāsāsi* is not found here.

To p. 265: Note on *bhavati* with the accusative of specification. The only case of this construction in respectable Sanskrit known to me is in Māitri Up. vi, 10: *athe 'ndriyārthān pañca svāduni bhavanti*, "the five (senses) become (operative, as regards) the objects of sense, in tasting." The preceding phrase has *svāduni bhavanti* without object, and the scholiast supplies *prati* with *indriyārthān*. In no circumstances, however, could the sixth

chapter of Māitri prove an early use for a construction otherwise unknown in good Sanskrit. Probably the Petersburg Lexicon is quite right in questioning the reading altogether.

To p. 358: The table is (revised) from Professor Cappeller's MS.

To p. 373: On sāuvīra. For the Balhikas' (Vahlīkas') sāuvīra, see IS. xiii, p. 369. Both Bhārata and Bhāṣya recognize Çakala, the chief town of the Madras.

To p. 374: On the Puñjāb. Compare the grouping of Kashmeer and Puñjāb as places of pilgrimage: Kāçmīramāṇḍale nadyo yāḥ patauti mahānadā, tā nadiḥ sindhum āsādyā çlavān svargam āpnuyāt, xiii, 25, 8 (with Candrabhāgā and Vitastā in 7).

To p. 378: On human sacrifices. The inferred antithesis is, of course, the horror elsewhere felt at the very sacrifice here ordered. So in ii, 22, 11, it is said that "human sacrifice has never been recognized" (seen). But Çiva is here worshipped with human sacrifices, as has always been the case with this God and his consort. On the "blamable vice" of hunting, compare also ii, 68, 20; xii, 28, 31.

To p. 387: On the denarius. In a passage published some years ago (AJP. vol. xix, p. 24) I called attention to the fact that, though the Roman denarius is not directly mentioned in the epic itself, yet it is mentioned in a later addition to the epic, and this addition is in turn recognized (so late are some parts of the epic itself) in two (I might have said three) books of the epic; whence followed the conclusion that those parts of the epic itself which recognize the addition that in turn recognizes the denarius must naturally be later than the introduction of the denarius into the country, and this implies for these parts of the epic a date later by half a thousand years than the date assumed by the synthetic method for the whole epic in its present condition. When in *Die Genesis des Mahābhārata*, p. 45, the author comes to discuss this awkward point, he simply says, without referring to the source of his information or to the actual state of the case: "This poem contains no such evidence of late origin" (as is implied in the recognition of the Roman coin), words of especial significance when one considers that the author everywhere insists on regarding "this poem" as a complete whole, and that they are put immediately after the remark: "No book in which it (the denarius) occurs can belong



to a remote antiquity." The passage as a whole is thus liable to give readers unacquainted with synthetic methods the erroneous impression that the historical facts, instead of disproving the contention of the author, favor the conclusion drawn by him. Compare i, 213, 34: *na vyājena cared dharmam*.

To p. 391, note: On Buddhistic traits. The *Pāṣaṇḍas* in this passage are set next to those who *āgrameṣu vṛthācārāḥ . . . iha lāukikam ihante māṇsaṇitavardhanam*, iii, 188, 48-49. The last verse, *bahupāṣaṇḍasaṁkīrṇāḥ parānnagunāvādināḥ āgramāḥ . . . bhaviṣyanti*, is the converse of the one cited above on p. 87 from iii, 191, 10. In the former passage, Professor L. de la Vallée-Poussin has just called my attention to the significance of the world-destroying "seven suns" as a term "well-known in Pāli and Nepalese books." I had space only to note the item, as his card came while I was correcting page-proof. The particular importance of this observation lies not in the fact that "seven suns" are Buddhistic (for they are also Brahmanistic), but in these two facts combined, first that (in distinction from seven rays) seven suns are rare in Brahmanism and common in Buddhism, and second that they are here associated with *Pāṣaṇḍas*, whom the epic scholiast regards as "unbelievers, particularly Buddhists," and with *vihāras*, another term somewhat more closely associated with Buddhists than with Brahmins. I have pointed out above, p. 49, that the duplicate form of this section is probably later than the *Vāyu Purāṇa*. In this section, the parent-children are a little older than in the parallel verse at 190, 49 = 188, 60, the age of the girls being that of the boys as cited above. The former is the zodiac section (p. 392).

To p. 392: On some later traits in the epic. The passage (in note 3) from *Vana* gives the rare adjectival form *Yāvana nṛpāḥ*, "Ionic kings out of the West." The same section, iii, 254, has a verse, 7 a (not in C.) on the kings of Nepal, *Nepāla-viṣaya*, a name unknown in early literature and presumably interpolated here. The Mongolians, mentioned in vii, 11, 16, also seem to belong to a late period, a fact M. Barth has emphasized. The Huns, too, while common in the *Bhārata*, are strange to the *Rāmāyaṇa* (probably unknown altogether). I really do not know how the synthesist explains such cases, whether as dating from 500 B.C. or as interpolations. The theory is so elastic, with its extrusion of unwelcome data and illogical recourse to

interpolations whenever convenient, that it is perhaps otiose to try to refute it on historical grounds. Again, in regard to late words, merely as words, any one may say that any word may have any age; but there is still a reasonable suspicion that a number of words found in unique combination or only in certain parts of the epic and in later literature may indicate a somewhat close connection between these parts and that literature: *anvāya*, family, i, 209, 2; vii, 144, 6; *atyatikrāmat* (*rathavarān*), vii, 146, 40; *kāndīṭikāḥ* (*prādravan*), ix, 3, 9; x, 8, 102; *nā'yam klībayitum kālāḥ*, ix, 5, 27 and v. l. to vi, 96, 12 = 4,334; *aṣṭāpada*, gold, xii, 299, 40, etc. Compare also in mythology, only three world-protectors, xiii, 159, 31 (effect of trinity?); *Varuṇa's* wife, *Siddhi*, xii, 301, 59; *Citragupta* (p. 184).

To p. 396: On the date of the *Jātakas*. In respect of the importance to be attached to the circumstance that epic tales are recognized in the *Jātakas*, it must not be forgotten that for the form of the *Jātakas*, as we have them, there is no evidence whatever of a very ancient date, and since the oldest sculptured tale does not antedate the third century B. C., even the matter they offer can only doubtfully be referred to so early a century. It is of course quite possible, and some may think it probable, that at least the content, if not the form, of the extant *Jātakas*, is still earlier; but in using the tales for literary and historical comparison it is obviously unsafe to base much upon a double uncertainty, of date and of form. The fact that Buddha always appears in these stories as a *Bodhisattva* makes it possible indeed that the *Jātakas* may be much later than the third century. M. Barth, in the review referred to above, has with his usual clearheadedness called attention to the fact that the custom, generally recognized in these stories, of sending young men to *Taxila* to complete their education, is anything but an antique trait.

CORRECTION.—On pages 55 and 57, *prekkhā* (*prekṣā*) is a lapsus for *pekkhā*.



# ENGLISH INDEX.

ABSORPTION, 182 ff., 185.  
 Accents, 5.  
 Accusative with bhavati, 265, 473.  
 Ages, 3.  
 Allahâbâd, 83.  
 Alliteration, 202 ff.  
 Annihilation, 89.  
 Arabians, 394.  
 Archery, 11, 12.  
 Architecture, 11, 391 ff.  
 Art, 349; arts and sciences, v. Upaveda.  
 Assonance, 200.  
 Astronomy, 14, 15, 392.  
 Atheism, 104, 189.  
 Augment, 248, 251.  
 Authority, 90 ff.

BACTRIANS, 373, 394.  
 Banyan, 83.  
 Bards, 365 ff.  
 Barth, vii, 381, 472, 475 ff.  
 Benfey, 254, 272, 446.  
 Blood, circulation of, 11.  
 Bloomfield, 3, 244.  
 Body (growth of, etc.), 153, 173 ff., 177.  
 Böhlingk, 246, 247, 249, 256, 446.  
 (von) Bradke, 386.  
 Breaths, five, seven, or ten, 36, 171 ff.  
 Brown, 193, 210, 241, 332.  
 Buddhists, 87 ff., 123, 147, 176, 391 ff.  
 Buddhistic works, 386, 395; verses, v.  
   Dhammapada; 79, 204, 237, 291, 308,  
   343, 379; traits in epic, 351, 379, 391,  
   475.  
 Bühler, 21, 25, 27, 232, 333, 361, 376.

CADENCE, 207 ff., 210 ff.  
 Cæsura, 198, 210 ff., 216, 310. See  
   also under each metre.  
 Callimachus, 26.  
 Cappeller, 191, 333, 334, 354, 356, 471.  
 Cartellieri, 387.  
 Ceylon, 80, 393.

Chinese, 393.  
 Çiva, 88, 97 ff., 113 ff., 143, 165, 183,  
   189, 474.  
 Coins, 387.  
 Colebrooke, 220, 242, 354.  
 Collitz, 66.  
 Colors, 172; of soul, 179.  
 Creations, 130, 142, 182.  
 Cunningham, 83.  
 Custom, 90.

DAHLMANN (v. Synthesis), Preface, 391,  
   396.  
 Davids, Rhys, 55, 87, 367, 386.  
 Death, 184.  
 Denarius, 387, 474.  
 Destructible, 182.  
 Dialectic forms, 69, 247, 251, 261 ff.  
 Didactic epic, 331.  
 Diambus, 242, 248.  
 Dio Chrysostomos, 389.  
 Documents, 388.  
 Drama, 54 ff., 62.  
 Drinking, 377.  
 Dualism, 85.

Echo, origin of, 26.  
 Egg (cosmic), 187.  
 Eighteen — vidyās, 17; Purāṇas, 48, 49;  
   (fold), 143; books, islands, armies,  
   etc., 371.  
 Eighty thousand, 6.  
 Elements, five, 33, 149; tanmātra, 34,  
   44, 46, 129, 156 ff., 172, 173 ff.  
 Emergent stanzas, 317.  
 Everett, 85.

FA-HIEN, 392.  
 Fate, 183.  
 Faults, 181.  
 Fausböll, 280.  
 Fick, 55, 380.  
 Free-will, 103.  
 Frog-girl (tale), 267 ff.

- GANGULI, 95.  
 Garbe, 174, 178.  
 Geography, 81, 371, 373 ff., 393 ff.  
 Ghâts, 392.  
 Gildemeister, 220, 254, 256 ff., 326, 446.  
 Gods (v. s. nom.), 4, 183, 379.  
 Grace of God, 188.  
 Grammar, v. Vedāṅga.  
 Grammatical forms (v. Sanskrit, Prākṛit, dialectic forms), of later epic, 264 ff.; 472 ff.  
 Greeks, 87, 387, 397; words, 372, 391 ff., 399.  
 Grierson, 384.  
  
 HARDY, 428, 445.  
 Heaven and hell, 184.  
 Hemistich, 196.  
 Heretics, 86 ff.  
 Hiatus, 197, 199.  
 Holtzmann, Preface, 3, 4, 15, 22, 24 ff., 26, 27, 46, 47 ff., 56, 62, 65, 77, 97, 183, 186, 246-249, 262, 365, 368, 397.  
 Homer, Hindu, 379, 389.  
 Horace, 193, 210.  
 Huns, 393, 475.  
 Hunting, 378.  
 Hwen Tshang, 83.  
 Hypermeters, 252 ff., 275 ff.  
  
 IMPERATIVE future, 196, 247.  
 Inscriptions, metre of, 333, 355, 361; on rock, 388.  
 Inspiration, plenary, 92.  
 Islands, number of, 229, 371.  
  
 JACOB, 45, 174.  
 Jacobi, 15, 60, 62 ff., 78, 79 ff., 84, 215, 220, 222 ff., 236 ff., 242 ff., 252, 254 ff., 256, 258 ff., 326, 335, 337, 354, 356, 369, 374, 381, 445, 446, 449 ff., 453 ff., 456 ff.  
 Jains, 87 ff.  
  
 KAMBOJAS, 392 ff.  
 Kashmere, 72, 116, 394, 474.  
 Kern, 10.  
 Kirste, 399.  
 Kielhorn, 262.  
 Knowledge and soul, 40.  
 Kühnau, 296, 317.  
  
 LAMP, 42.  
 Land grants, 388.  
 Lanman, 206, 260.  
 Lassen, 326, 365, 393.  
 Letters, sixty-three, 364.  
 Lévi, 367.  
 Literature, 1 ff.  
 Logic, 7, 11.  
 Lord-spirit (v. yoga), 134.  
 Lotus, 37 ff., 121; lotus-theft, 221, 381.  
 Lotus of True Law, 389.  
 Lüders, 50, 60, 77.  
 Ludwig, 376, 385, 472.  
  
 MAGIC, 380.  
 Manuscripts of epic, 364, 387.  
 Meat-eating, 377.  
 Medicine, 11, 12, 14, 35.  
 Megasthenes, 389.  
 Metaphors, 205 ff.  
 Metre, affects grammar, 246 ff.  
 Metres, 191 ff.; tables of, 193, 358.  
 Mind, 33 ff.; sixth sense, 112, 166.  
 Mongolians, 475.  
 Mora-verse, 259, 343.  
 Morals, 376 ff.  
 Muir, 46, 84, 368.  
 Müller, 5, 44, 385.  
 Music, 11, 13, 172, 365.  
 Mute and liquid rule, 242.  
  
 NAME and form, 178, 183.  
 Nepal, 475.  
 Numbers, 206.  
  
 OCEAN, allusions to, 80 ff.  
 Oldenberg, 220, 287, 289 ff., 386, 450 ff., 452 ff.  
 Oldenburg, 381.  
 Organs, 34 ff., 129, 149 ff., 155 ff., 166.  
  
 PĀLI, 260, 262 ff.  
 Pantomime, 55.  
 Pathetic repetition, 205, 207.  
 Patna, 392.  
 Persian, 392; word, 371.  
 Philosophy, 85 ff.  
 Physician, 54.  
 Pictures, 388.  
 Fischel, 57, 263.  
 Plants, 171.  
 Poetic licence, 244 ff., 251, 261 ff.



- Polyandry, 376, 399.  
 Prākṛit, 69, 83; metre, 242, 244, 263, 366, 360, 472, 473.  
 Principles, twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth, 113 ff., 125 ff., 133 ff., 189.  
 Prose-poetry, 266 ff.  
 Proverbs, 75, 83, 245, 260, 261, 266.  
 Pseudo-epic, 260, etc., 381, 472.  
 Pun, 204.  
 Punjāb, 78, 374, 474.  
  
 RHAPSODE, 5, 54, 56, 365.  
 Rhyme, 200 ff.  
 Romans, 393.  
  
 SACRIFICES, plants, beasts, human, 377 ff., 474.  
 Sanskrit, 69, 83; grammar, 245 ff.  
 Sānchi, 367.  
 Saturnian verse, 332.  
 Scapegoats, 213, 471.  
 (von) Schroeder, 394.  
 Scythians, 394.  
 Self-existent, 4, 18.  
 Senses (v. mind), 35, 40, 42, 129, 132, 149 ff., 155 ff., 166, 172.  
 Seven, creators, 142; breaths, 171; suns, 391, 475.  
 Seventeen, group, 30, 33, 165 ff.  
 Ships, 82.  
 Shīva, v. Īva.  
 Silkworm, 36, 151.  
 Similes, 205 ff.  
 Sixteen (groups), 168.  
 Sixty, v. guṇas.  
 Sixty-four arts, 16.  
 Sørensen, 472.  
  
 Soul (v. Puruṣa), 42.  
 Sound, 172; eternal, ghoṣa, 183.  
 Stadia, 183.  
 Statues, 392.  
 Suttee, 81.  
 Syllaba anceps, 194 ff., 314.  
 Synthesis, method, Preface; illustrations of, 106, 124, 184, 377, 381, 389, 395, 475.  
  
 TAGS, 211 ff., 360.  
 Taxila, 387 ff., 475.  
 Telang, 27, 93.  
 Terminalis, 67.  
 Theocritus, 380.  
 Thorp, 263.  
 Time, 41, 45, 103, 182 ff.  
 Tūṣāras, 394.  
 Trinitarian doctrine, 46, 184.  
  
 VALLÉE-POUSSIN, 475.  
 Vedic forms, 360.  
 Vishnu, 62, 64, 97, 183.  
 Vowel-changes, 248.  
  
 WEBER, 3, 5, 14, 26, 56, 62, 84, 207, 220, 222, 238 ff., 354, 365 ff., 368, 373, 380, 386, 390, 394, 398.  
 Whites (white men), 72, 116, 144.  
 Widows, v. Suttee.  
 Windisch, 79.  
 Winternitz, ix, 60, 115, 234, 391.  
 Wirtz, 60.  
 Writing, 205, 388.  
  
 ZODIAC, 392.





## SANSKRIT INDEX.

AKKHĀNA, 386.  
 akṣaracchandās, 192, 193, 321.  
 agraḥāra, 388.  
 atijagati, 193, 326.  
 atidhṛti, 193.  
 atīcākvarī, 193.  
 Atri, Kṛṣṇātreyā, 11, 35.  
 Atharvan (v. Vedas), 51.  
 Atharvaçiras, 9, 46.  
 adhyātma (scheme), 132.  
 Aniruddha, 143.  
 anuprāsa, 203.  
 anumāna, 51, 92, 93, 145.  
 anuvañça, 54, 364.  
 Anuñāsana, 364, 398.  
 aparavaktra, 193, 336, 340 ff., 358.  
 apavarga, 107.  
 Apāntaratamas, 3, 97.  
 abhinaya, 55.  
 ariṣṭāni tattvāni, 100.  
 Arthaçāstra, 10, 86, 111.  
 arḥasamavṛtta, 193, 336; epic variations, 348.  
 avidyā, 136, 148.  
 avyakta (v. Prakṛti), 34, 134 ff.  
 Açoka, 359, 396.  
 Açvaghōṣa, 395.  
 açvasamjñāpana, 25.  
 Asamañjas, 77.  
 asambādhā, 193, 322.  
 Asita Devala, 98, 155 ff.  
 ĀKHYĀNA, Bhārata, 9, 386; dharma-satya-, 5, 43, 50.  
 āgama (v. kṛt°), 4, 11, 43, 145, 395; of sects, 115.  
 ācāra, v. custom.  
 ātman (v. soul), 130, etc.  
 āpātālikā, 351.  
 āmnāya, 92.  
 Āyurveda (v. Medicine), 53.  
 Āraṇyaka, 7, 9 ("sung"), 52.  
 āryā, 193, 353, 354 ff., 359, 358, 360.

āryāgīti, 193, 354 ff.  
 Āçvalāyana, 47.  
 Āsuri, 98, 99, 144.  
 ITIVṚTTA, 51.  
 Itihāsa, 4, 7, 10, 47 ff., 50, 64 (great), 111, 368.  
 Indra, 213, 471.  
 indravañçā, 192, 300.  
 indravajrā, 192, 210, 309.  
 indriya (from Indra), 35.  
 Īçvara (v. Lord-spirit), 105, 139, 187, 189.

UTTARA (mīmāṃsā), 7.  
 upagīti, 193, 354.  
 upajāti, 192, 210, 216, 303, 309, 316.  
 Upanishads (v. Vedānta), 9 ff., 13, 25, 27, 79; 145 ff.; secret, 311; metre, 237; Atharvaçiras, 46; Kāṭha, 29, 31, 46, 90, 471; Chānd., 42, 385; Tāitt., 49; Praçna, 6, 27; BĀ., 26, 45, 46; cited, p. 149, etc.; Brahmanāṇḍu, 45; Mahā, 10, 48; Mahānār., 27; Māitri, 27, 30, 33 ff., 45, 90, 167, 471; Muṇḍ., 90, 390; Yogatattva, 31; Çvet., 28, 167.  
 upaniṣā, 10.  
 upamā, 205 ff.  
 upamāna, 93.  
 Upaveda, 7, 10, 11, 13.  
 upasarga, 181.  
 upākhyāna, 50.  
 upādhyāya, 380.  
 Upāṅga, 7, 10, 13.  
 upendravajrā, 192, 210, 309, 316.  
 Uçanas (v. Bṛhaspati).  
 uṣman, 156, 171.

EKĀNTIN, 143.  
 eḍūka, 49, 391.

ĀITIHTA, 43, 51, 145.

OJHA, 380.

ĀUPACCHANDASIKA, 193, 341, 349 ff.

KACCIT chapter, 12, 16, 75, 384.

Kaṇāda, 96, 98.

kathaka, 54 ff., 364 ff.

kathā, 50 ff.

kathaka, 54 ff.

Kapila, 96, 97 ff., 117, 369.

kapha, 12, 35, 122.

Karma, 103, 149. 154, 185

karmendriyas, 130.

kalājñāna, 15, 16, 168; sixty-four, 17, 386; thirty-one elements, 152.

kāñci, 82.

Kāpila, 99.

Kāmaśāstra, 16.

Kāla, v. Time.

kālaśāna, 14, 15.

Kālayāvana, 15, 48, 392.

Kālidāsa, 56, 80, 225.

Kāvya, 53, 79, 80.

kīrtana, 51.

Kurus, 61, 376.

kuçilava, 65, 393.

kṛtāgama, 4.

kṛtānta, 99, 145.

kṛṣṇa (age), 3.

Kṛṣṇa, 4 (religion of), 9, 14, 53, 143, 175, 184, 189; as Dvāipāyana, 4, 54, 97; nature of, 374 ff., 394 ff.

Kṛṣṇātreyā, 11.

kevala, kevalatra, 44, 102, 108.

koṣa v. tri<sup>2</sup>.

koṣakāra, 36, 151, 161.

Kosala and Videha, 78.

Kāulika-śāstra, 380.

Kāuçika, 14, 116.

krama, 5, 14.

kṣetrajñā (v. jīva), 100.

Kṣemendra, 398.

KHETAKA, 382.

GAṆACCHANDAS, 192, 354 ff.

gadya, 8, 272.

Gayā, 83.

Garga, 15 ff.

Gāṇeśa, 115.

gāthā, 52, 305 ff.; epic, 385; verse, 239, 244, 264.

gāthīn, 396.

Gāndharva (Veda, v. Music), śāstra, 17.

gāyana, 366.

Gārgya, 11, 14.

Gālava, 5.

gīti, 5.

guṇa for jyā, 230, 437 (No. 279).

guṇas, (three) 34, (seven of Yogin) 39, 119 ff., 150 ff., 152 ff., 158 ff., (sixty) 163, 164, 173 ff., 355.

geha for gṛha, 263.

Gāuḍas, 202.

Gāutama, 95, 97.

Gāuraçiras, 18.

grantha, 16.

granthika, 366.

GHOṢA, 183.

CAKRAVARTIN, 396.

caturmūrti, 184.

campū, 272.

carana, 6.

Caranavyūha, 5.

citta, 161.

Citrāgupta, 184, 476.

cetanā, 150.

cāitanya, 45.

cāitya, 392.

CHANDAS, 191 ff.

chāyopasevana, 390.

JAGATĪ, 192, 193.

Jātakas, 55, 380, 382, 385, 396, 475.

jīva, 97, 137, 146 ff., 152, 175.

jīva and videha muktī, 111.

Jālmīni, 97.

jyeṣṭha sāmān, 368.

TATTVA, v. Principles.

tatrabhavant, 68.

tatstha, 44.

tanmātrās, v. Elementa.

tapas, 188.

tarkaśāstra, 90, 146.

tāmrapaṭṭa, 388.

tiṣya (age), 3.

Tīrthas, 8, 20, 49, (gāthā) 52.

trikoṇa, *triángulo*, 372.

triṣṭubh, 192, 209 ff., 214 ff., 273 ff.;

bird's-eye view, 275; of Rāmāyana, 276; scoliis, 277; catalectic, 282; hypermetric, 286, 290; defective,



290; mora-triṣṭubhs, 301 ff.; stanza, 309; number of, 356.  
tvaṅkāra, 26.

DAKṢA, 115.  
Daṇḍin, 202 ff.  
Damayanti, 72, 78.  
digvāsas, 88.  
Durgā, 382.  
deva as paramātman, 37.  
drutavilambita, 193, 324, 358.

DHĀNURVEDA, 11 ff.  
dhamanyas, 35.  
Dhammapada, 35, 39, 42, 68, 69, 87, 147, 181; forms of, 260 ff., 263; metre of, 280, 291, 343, 455, 460, 462, 467, 469; parallels with, 379, 407 (No. 37), 427 (No. 196), 445.  
Dharma-works (v. Manu), 6, 8; Āp., 6, 9; Gāut., 9; Bāudh., 25; Yāj., 6, 9; Vās., 9; Vishnu, 8, 9; Sūtras, 15; Dharmasūtras, 17 ff.; epic, 53, (authority) 91.  
dhātavas, 34.  
dhāraka, 367.  
dhāraṇā, 109, 181.

NAṬA, 55, (sūtra) 13, 56.  
nartaka, 54.  
Nala, 72.  
Nahusa, 471.  
Nācikas, 288.  
nāṭaka, 55 ff.  
nāṇḍivādyā, 366.  
Nārada, 10, 11, 57, 100, 367; system of, 133 ff.; law book, 388.  
nāstika, 86.  
nirātman, 41.  
Nirukta, 14.  
niryāna, 62.  
nirvāna, 88, 145.  
nirveda, 145.  
Nitiśāstra, 11, 12, 17.  
Nālganṭhaka, 14.  
Nyāya, 93, 94, 95 ff., 119.  
Nyāyatantras, 11, 17, 19, 117.

PAṢCARĀLAJĀ, 140.  
pañcamahākālpā, 115, 144.  
Pāñcaśikha, 98, 99; system of, 142, 149 ff., 154; date of, 397.

Patañjali, philosopher, 97, 147, 180 ff.; grammarian, 390, 399; metre, 239, 472.  
pathyā, 219 ff., 446.  
padakrama, 5.  
padya, 272.  
Pāñcarātra, 96, 97, 143, 144 ff.  
pāṭhaka, 364.  
Pāṇini, 13, 16, 390, 395.  
pāṇisvanika, 366 ff.  
Pāṇḍavas, 376 ff., 385, 397.  
pāriplava, 365.  
Pācupata, 96, 97, 114 ff., 118.  
pāda, 191, 193.  
Pāṣaṇḍa, 89, 391, 475.  
pitta, 12, 35, 122.  
Purāṇa, 4, 7, 10, 17, 47 ff., 80, 111, 368; Vāyu, 6, 48 ff., 63; Bhaviṣyat, Garuda, Vārāha, 48; Vishnu, 384; metre of, 224 ff., 229, 234, 256 ff., 314.  
purāṇvṛtta, 51.  
Puruṣa, 36, 44, 106, 113 ff., 118; plurality of, 122; eternal, 134, 182.  
Purohita, 380.  
puṣpitāgrā, 193, 336, 340 ff., 358.  
pustaka, 364, 387.  
Puṣyamitra, 399.  
Pūrvaśāstra, 87.  
pūrāṇika, v. Sāta.  
Prakṛti, 44, 106, 112 ff., 117 ff., 121; ādyā, 471; eight, 129; eternal, 134, 170, 182; seven, 146, 170; colors of, 28, 180.  
pratibhā, 107, 181.  
pratirūpaka, 389.  
pratyakṣa, 51, 92, 105, 145.  
pratyūhāra, 182.  
prabhaviṣṇutva, 108.  
pramāṇa, 51, 90.  
pramitākṣarā, 322, 353.  
prayojana, 95.  
pravacana, 8.  
prasava, 128.  
prasāda, 42, 188.  
praharapakalitā, 322, 353.  
praharṣiṇī, 193, 329, 358.  
Prākṛt, v. English index.  
prāṇa, v. Breaths.  
prekṣā (and pekkhā), 55, 57, 470.

BANDIN, 366.  
bala, sixth organ, 150 ff.

bahvṛca, 5.  
 Bādarāyaṇa, 97, 124.  
 Bāhika, 373, 474.  
 buddha and budhyamāna, 132, 134 ff.  
 buddhi (v. Sāṃkhya), 158; has sixty  
 guṇas, 163.  
 buddhīndriyas, 130.  
 Brhaspati (with Uṇas), 11, 18, 87.  
 Brahmajāla sūtra, 55, 57.  
 Brāhman, 11, 90, 104 ff.  
 Brahmān, 4, 183, 187.  
 brahmasūtra (thread), 364 (v. Sūtra).  
 Brāhmaṇa, 7; Āit., 26; Çatapatha, 6,  
 7, 26, 368; Tāṇḍya, Kātha, Kāṇva,  
 Tāittiri, 8; Kālāpa and Kaṭha, 14.  
 BHAGAVADGĪTĀ, 53, 205; metre of, 219,  
 225, 234 ff., 384, 402.  
 Bharata, 11, 57.  
 Bharadvāja, 11, 18.  
 bhavati with acc., 265, 473.  
 bhava(h) for bhaveyam, 473.  
 Bhāgavatas, 91, 115, 117.  
 Bhārati katha, 54, 64, 386 ff.  
 bhujāṅgaprayāta, 193, 280, 323, 357,  
 358.  
 bhūtātman, 39, 40.  
 bhoti, 259.  
 MATHURĀ, 395.  
 Manu, 8, 9, 18 ff., 22, 25, 57, 69, 144,  
 388.  
 manovahā, 35, 181.  
 mantra, 4, 11.  
 Maya, 392.  
 mahātman, 39.  
 Mahābhārata, 4, 54; -kṛt, 358, 389 ff.;  
 date of, 397 ff.  
 Mahābhāṣya, 3, 5, 6, 8, 56; verse, 238,  
 258, 390, 401, 468, 472.  
 mahābhūta, 34, 130 ff., 175.  
 māgadhas, 366.  
 Māgha, 223, 227.  
 mātṛāchandas, 192, 330, 343.  
 mātṛāsamaka, 193, 351, 353 ff., 355 ff.  
 māyā, 86, 101, 116, 138, 151, 235.  
 māriṣa, 68, 204.  
 mālīnī, 193, 334, 357, 358.  
 Mihira, 371.  
 mīmāṃsā, 87.  
 mṛgendramukha, 193, 331, 337.  
 mokṣadharma, 51.

mokṣaśāstra, 16.  
 mleccha, 49, 393.  
 YAMA, 186, 288.  
 yamakas, 205.  
 Yavanas, v. Greeks.  
 Yāska, 14.  
 yuktiśāstra, 17.  
 Yudhiṣṭhira and yudhi sthira, 391.  
 yoga, (eightfold) 44, 86 ff., 111, 136,  
 159, 188.  
 yoga-śāstras, 110, 179.  
 yogin, seven guṇas, 39; practice, 107;  
 body of eight guṇas, 108; faults,  
 181; discipline, 107, 181, 189.  
 RATHAṆTARA, 368.  
 rathoddhatā, 193, 322, 358.  
 rahasya, 9, 10, 13.  
 Rāma, 64, 78, 79, 395.  
 Rāmāyaṇa, 19, 27, 52, 55, 56, 58-84,  
 188; metre of, 226, 231, 236 ff., 242,  
 247 ff., 264, 316, 317, 349 ff., 354, 361,  
 384, 395; also the Appendices, pas-  
 sim, and 473.  
 rucirā, 193, 302 ff., 326, 358; in R., 309.  
 Rudra-Çiva, 115, 184.  
 rudras, 108.  
 rūpaka, 205 ff.  
 Romaharṣa(ṇa), 47.  
 rūdrarasa, 204.  
 LOKĀYATA, 87, 111.  
 VAṆÇASTHABILA, 192, 309.  
 Vatsabhaṭṭi, 333, 355.  
 varṇavṛtta, 192, 321.  
 vasantatilakā, 193, 333, 357, 358.  
 vasso, 364.  
 vācaka, 363.  
 vāṇī, 172.  
 vāta, 12, 35, 122.  
 vātormī, 192, 304, 317 ff.  
 Vāmana, 333.  
 Vālmiki, thief, 57; poet and saint,  
 58 ff., 61 ff.; copied, 204, 225, 229,  
 264; yajurvedin, 368.  
 Vāsudeva, v. Krishna.  
 vāstuvidyā, v. Architecture.  
 Vāhika, 373.  
 vikāras, eleven, 37, 44; sixteen, 128 ff.,  
 168 ff.  
 Vidarbhas, 203.



- vidūṣaka, 55 ff.  
 vidyā, 136, 183.  
 vipulā, rules, 220 ff., 248; examples, 448 ff.  
 viṣeṣas, 44, 129, 187.  
 viṣvā(ni), 251.  
 Viṣṇu, law-book, 388 (v. Krishna).  
 vihāra, 88, 391.  
 vīṇā, 172, 365.  
 Veda, 2 ff., 101; made, 3; vedakartar, 4; lost, 3, 4; size and branches, 5; Samhitā, 7, 53; other names, 2, not including Āraṇyaka, 9; Atharva, 2, 3, 5, 12, 26, 380; Brahma and Brāhma, 9, 12, 13; Rk, 2, 5, 23 ff., 124, 207, 356; Yajus, 2, 5, 25, 368; Sāman, 2, 3, 5, 369; fourfold, divided, etc., 3; Çākalaka, 6; fifth, or Vyāsa's Veda, 7, 10, 53.  
 Vedāṅgas, 7, 9, 11, 13, 14.  
 Vedānta, 9, 43, 53, 93 ff., 111, 143, 150; Secret of, 157.  
 Vedāntasāra, 34, 238.  
 Vedāraṇyaka, 96.  
 vāitālika, 396.  
 vāitāliya, 193, 341, 349 ff.  
 vāiṣeṣika, 96.  
 vālqvadevi, 193, 304, 317 ff., 325, 358.  
 Vāiṣṇavas, 115.  
 vyākhyā, 53.  
 Vyāsa, 58, 71, 123, 124, 157.  
 ÇAKVARI, 193.  
 Çatapatha, v. Brāhmaṇa.  
 Çatarudriya, 24, 368.  
 çabdaçāstra, 17.  
 Çambūka, 72.  
 Çāktas, 115.  
 çākhā, v. Veda.  
 Çāṇḍīya, 14, 97.  
 çārdūlavikrīḍita, 193, 336, 357 ff.  
 çālīnī, 192, 304, 314, 318.  
 Çālihotra, 12, 99.  
 çāstra, 9, 12, 13, 17.  
 çikṣā, 4 (saçāikṣyam), 7, 14.  
 çukra, 153.  
 Çūdra (in later epic), 379.  
 Çāivas, 115.  
 çleṣman, 12.  
 çloka, 192, 194, 214 ff., 219 ff.; scheme of metre, 235, 236; prior pāda, 219 ff.; iambic çloka, 238; posterior pāda, 239; hypermetric, 252 ff.; compared with mātrā, 356.  
 Çvetadvīpa, v. White men.  
 ŞAṢṬIBHĀGA, of Çiva, 113, 165.  
 SAMĀJA, 57.  
 samādhāna, 109.  
 samkhyāna, 126.  
 samprasāda, 41, 42.  
 Sāmkyha, 86 ff., 93, 110, 111, 124, 127 ff.; scheme, 129, 189; sixty guṇas, 164 and 355.  
 Sāmkyayoga, 96, 99, 101; difference, 111, 124, etc.  
 sāman (v. Veda), 16.  
 siddhānta, 117.  
 siddhārtha, 14.  
 Siddhi, wife of Varuṇa, 475.  
 suruṅgā, 372.  
 Sūta, 56, 364 ff.  
 Sūtra, 11, 13, 15, 16, 17; epic verse in, 385; mention of epic, 390; Veda-sūtra and Brahmasūtra, 15, 16.  
 sūtradhāra, 56.  
 sūkhyāçāyika, 366.  
 Sāuras, 115.  
 sāuvira, 373, 474.  
 stutiçāstra, 48.  
 stūpa, 392.  
 stobhas, 207.  
 Sthāpatyaveda, v. Architecture.  
 sma and smāhe, 249.  
 Smṛti, 395.  
 HARIĠITĀS, 53.  
 Harivaṇça, known in Çānti, 9.  
 Hiranyagarbha, 96, 113.







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